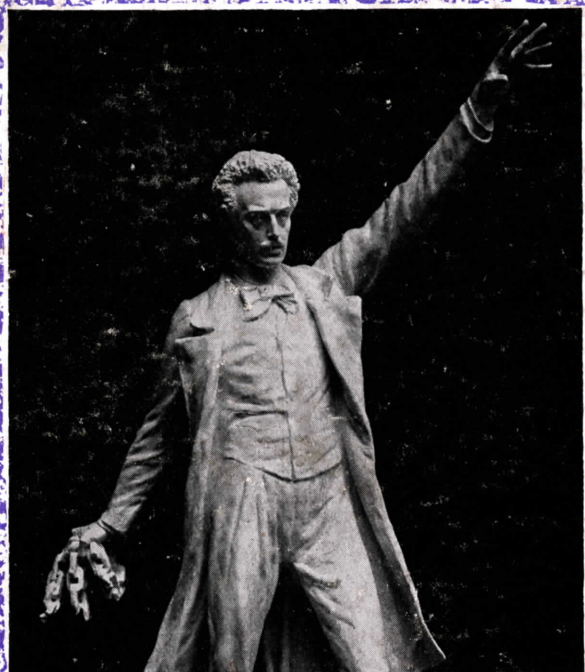


VOICES OF REVOLT



**FERDINAND
LASSALLE**

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

VOICES OF REVOLT



**SPEECHES OF
FERDINAND LASSALLE**

VOICES OF REVOLT

VOLUME III



SPEECHES OF
FERDINAND
LASSALLE

WITH A
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH



NEW YORK

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

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FERDINAND LASSALLE

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INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the modern German labor movement stands Lassalle!

He was the sword, he was the flame. Gerhart Hauptmann's words concerning Florian Geyer are just as appropriate to the first leader of the industrial proletariat: an ardent sense of right coursed through his veins! His burning sense of justice dragged him by way of Fichte and Hegel into the domain of Karl Marx, made him the awakener of the German workers, and the most fiery sounder of the tocsin in the struggle for liberation by the proletariat.

Lassalle was not a "Prussian" and not a "Bavarian." He was a German, and a Jew and a revolutionary into the bargain. To this day each of these three attributes is a curse for those that have been born between the Moselle and the Memel, and are condemned to live and work in this territory. This is perhaps not the least of the reasons for that portion of the politics and tactics of Lassalle that has always remained foreign and inaccessible to us. Let us not dwell here on time-honored disputed questions. We know how Marx and Engels judged Lassalle, but we also know that the writers of the

Communist Manifesto in this relation frequently overshoot the mark. Franz Mehring has given an exhaustive treatment of this subject,¹ and even Karl Marx in a letter to the Countess Hatzfeld, written by Marx after Lassalle's death, makes the following admission: "You are quite right in your suggestion that no one was better equipped than I to appreciate the great and significant qualities in Lassalle. . . . But, altogether apart from this equipment of mine, I loved him personally. The unfortunate thing always was that we continually concealed our affection for each other, as if we were destined to live forever." In another letter, written by Marx to J. B. von Schweitzer, Marx eulogizes Lassalle for having reawakened the German workers' movement to life after a slumber of fifteen years, in spite of any tactical errors he might have made in the course of his propaganda work.

But the most adequate estimate of Lassalle, of his "mistakes and errors," is that afforded by Franz Mehring, in his *Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (vol. ii, p. 247):

"Lassalle was a convinced communist in the sense of the *Communist Manifesto*, and his many errors and miscalculations were due only to the fact that he translated the economic conceptions of the Manifesto into legal and philosophical terms before put-

¹ In his *Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie*; see his *Social Forces in German History*, and D. Riazanov's *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels*.

ting them to his own uses. Owing to the fact that he understood the proletarian class struggle, the worship of the State carried on by our classical philosophy could not possibly attain the formalistic rigidity which it developed under the hands of Rodbertus, but since Lassalle never completely abandoned the idealistic modes of thought, he was never able to relinquish the cult of the State. There is no doubt that he felt far more secure on legal and philosophical ground than in the economic field, though it would be an exaggeration to declare—as do some—that he had made no real, independent study of this subject. His studies in this field were so real and so effective that a whole university full of academic big-wigs might find adequate material for investigation in his work. But he did not dominate the field with the sure mastery of a Marx or an Engels, since his idealistic formulas of thought too frequently impeded his path. In the press of battle he would then resort to whatever weapons were at hand, following the theory of Lessing's old dictum: 'It is not he that made the ladder, but he that ascends it, who will scale the wall; and even an unsafe ladder will support a bold and agile man.' No doubt the bourgeois economists are right in maintaining that Lassalle was not an epoch-making Socialist theorist. If only these moles, who feel so much at home in the dark, had also an eye for what is to be seen in the light of day!

“Though Lassalle’s idealism was his weakness, it also constituted his strength. It was this idealism which imparted to him his rock-bound confidence in the power of the ideal, a confidence that enabled Lassalle to produce such great results. It may be necessary to state in advance that Lassalle did not appreciate so keenly and profoundly the laws of motion and evolution of modern bourgeois society as did Marx and Engels; yet it would be an error to attempt to estimate Lassalle’s historical importance exclusively by this criterion in any other field than in the case of the defect which is mentioned. Such a procedure would be equivalent to regarding historical problems as class room exercises, for such exercises need only be gone through to discover their errors. Every historical character finds his historical justification only by reason of his historical environment.

“If we compare Lassalle with Marx and Engels, who grew up under quite different historical conditions, he may in a certain sense be overshadowed by these two men, if only for the reason that the path of his life was beset with darker shadows than theirs. But if we compare him with his contemporaries living in about the same or even more favorable circumstances, let us say, for instance, with the Young Hegelians in the philosophical field, with Rodbertus in the economic field, with Johann Jacobi in the political field, he gains immensely in breadth and in

height. In spite of the idealistic *Weltanschauung* which he had in common with these men, he was able to penetrate to the core of scientific communism—and none of these men did that—thanks to his great mental gifts, thanks to his revolutionary instincts, and also—more particularly—thanks to his honest and untiring wish for the truth.”

Lassalle's errors were therefore not only inherent in the character of the great agitator; they were in part the product of the political and economic circumstances prevailing at the time in Prussia and Germany, where it was the agitator's most prominent duty to engage in practical work and struggle.

The French bourgeoisie succeeded in putting through its claims in the Great Revolution of 1789. The German bourgeoisie arose after the defeat of 1806 and after the so called “Wars of Liberation,” which smoothed a way simultaneously for an economic revival, as well as for a hale and hearty infantile reaction. Accordingly, the year 1848 in Germany was but a faint echo of the French Revolutions. When Lassalle entered the lists, the dream of German unity, of 1848, which had been swiftly dissipated, lay behind him.

The Hellpachs were cavorting about on their wooden horses and spurring them on against Bismarck, and everywhere the Men of Progress (*Fortschrittsmänner*), were bustling and busying about, “the June bugs of the springtime of the na-

tions," as Heinrich Heine once called them. The bourgeoisie was incapable of recognizing its own historical mission, to say nothing of carrying it out. It permitted its princes and diplomats, after the wars they had forced upon it (the wars of 1864, 1866 and 1871), to confer upon it through the "revolution from above" what it should have acquired for itself, in its own class interest, from below, in 1848, against the opposition of the Prussian Junkers and the German Princes. The immediate consequence was the black, red, and white Empire of the Hohenzollerns: the ultimate disaster, a defeat in the World War.

The German workers at that time stood in the ranks of the so-called Progressives. It was Lassalle's accomplishment to have cut them off from this connection and made them independent by the forming of the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein* (The General German Workers' Union). It was the tragedy of his position to have suffered from the delusion—in spite of this great task, and in spite of all his theoretical knowledge—that he might make use of the working class to force the bourgeoisie also to discharge its historical mission. How can any one oblige John Quince, the carpenter, to be a true lion, for all the lion's skin he may drape about him? How can any one force a democratic Secretary of War to be a republican in spite of his black, red and gold cockade?

It is the cruel irony of our period, in which falls the one hundredth anniversary (1925) of the birth of Lassalle, that it repeats on a more disastrous, on a more all-embracing scale, the same political events, the same political relations, and the same political parties as prevailed in the days of Lassalle's fiery activity. His speeches are, therefore, as if they had been pronounced yesterday. One need only to change a few figures and names; the rest remains the same. The parties and their leaders have merely moved up a few seats, and the Progressives of Lassalle are the Social-Democrats of to-day. The general suffrage right is no longer a battle-slogan. The reactionary forces are perfectly well able to live with and by the aid of the bourgeois democracy. Lassalle is no longer proscribed; on the contrary, he has been elevated to the position of an economic theorist, with the assistance of whose alleged doctrines the German worker is fed the saccharine pap of human kindness.

In reproducing in the following pages a few thoughts taken from those of Lassalle's speeches which are valid even to-day, we are pursuing the object of calling to account all those unclean elements who, like the Social-Democrats on the occasion of their hundredth anniversary of his birth, make use of his name for impure ends, as a means of cloaking their policy and their hostility to the cause. Lassalle was different from his present-day inheritors; his ex-

pressions were different from theirs. "He died young, in battle, as Achilles!" was Karl Marx's lament on Lassalle, from London. His successors are accumulating adipose tissue and rotting on the unclean couch of bourgeois coalitions. It is as if Lassalle had never lived and had never shouted to the workers: "The proletariat alone is the rock on which the church of the future shall be founded." Now, as then, the question of a proletarian revolution is the truly national question. And no duty is, therefore, more imperative than that of freeing the working class from all bourgeois illusions, and leading them into the class struggle, into the revolution. To serve the purpose of bringing about an understanding of the true Lassalle, these pages have been compiled. For it was Lassalle who once said to one of his adherents after the delivery of a speech at Frankfurt: "Whenever I say 'general suffrage right' you must understand me as meaning 'revolution' and 'revolution' and again 'revolution'!"

It is *this* Lassalle whom the Progressives hated like sin. It is *this* Lassalle whom they denounced as an agent of the reaction, as a catspaw of Bismarck. The Progressives, Realpolitikers, compromisers and the dupes of conciliation, who were his contemporaries, may be found again in this volume. We see rising before us the complete political slough of despond of that period, the same miserable subterfuges and follies, the same clowns and millennial

prophets as we find to-day. There is not much difference between 1848 and 1918; the counter-revolution of the former year is remarkably similar to that of the latter year. Furthermore, we find the proletariat faced with the same tasks and duties, and, therefore, we again find the Lassalle whom we love. For he beat the drum on the march of revolution.

He was the sword, he was the flame!

JAKOB ALTMAIER.

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SPEECHES OF FERDINAND LASSALLE

TO THE GERMAN WORKERS

You German workers are funny fellows! When one addresses meetings of French and English workers, one tells them how they may remedy their sad situation; but, in talking to *you*, one must first make you see that your situation is a sad one. As long as you still have a piece of cheap sausage and a glass of beer, you are blind to your surroundings and do not even know that there is anything wrong! This is what comes of this damned frugality of yours! How—will be your answer—is not frugality a virtue? No doubt, in the eyes of the Christian preachers of morals, no doubt frugality is a virtue! Frugality is a virtue of the Hindu saint on his pillar, and of the Christian monk; but the virtue that is appreciated by the historian and the political economist is a far different one. Ask any political economist what is the greatest misfortune of a people and he will answer: to be over-frugal in its requirements! For its needs and requirements are the goads to its evolution and culture. . . .

The virtue of the present-day—the day of political economy—is to have as many needs as possible and to fulfill them in an honest and decent manner! Until you understand this fact I shall have preached to you in vain!

—*From a speech delivered at Frankfort-on-the-Main, May 17, 1863.*

BE NOT DECEIVED

You are being deceived, betrayed, gentlemen!

When you speak of the situation of the workers and of improving this situation, you mean your situation as compared with that of your fellow-citizens at the present moment, compared—in other words—with the general level of the standard of life in the same epoch. And you are being edified with alleged comparisons between your situation and that of the workers in former centuries.

But whether the workers—in view of the alleged rise in the habitual requirements of life, if there has been any improvement in the minimum of such requirements—are better off to-day than were the workers eighty, two hundred, three hundred years ago: of what value is this question to you and what satisfaction can it afford you? It is as little a source of gratification as the doubtless accepted fact that you are better off than the Botocudos and other man-eating savages who are living at the present time.

Every human situation, of course, always depends only on the relation of the means of satisfying a demand to the requirements habitually made at a

certain epoch, or, what amounts to the same thing, on the surplus of the means of satisfaction beyond the lowest limit of the requirements of life habitually advanced at a certain epoch. An enhanced minimum of the lowest demands of life will also provide sufferings and privations which were unknown in earlier days. What does the Botocudo suffer for not being able to buy soap? What does the man-eating savage suffer when he is unable to buy a decent coat? What did the worker suffer, before America was discovered, when he was unable to smoke tobacco? What did the worker suffer, before printing was invented, because he was unable to provide himself with a certain useful book?

All human sufferings and privations ever depend exclusively on the ratio between the means of satisfying demands and the needs and habits of life already present. All human sufferings and privations and all human situations, in other words, any human situation whatever, may, therefore, be measured only by means of a comparison with the situation in which other persons of the same epoch are situated with regard to the habitual needs of life. Any situation of a class is always measured, therefore, by its relation with the situation of the other classes at the same time.

If it were proved beyond the possibility of contradiction that the level of the necessary conditions of life at the various epochs shows an enhancement,

that situations formerly unknown have now become an habitual requirement, and that—for this very reason—sufferings and privations hitherto unknown have also become current, your human situation has always remained the same in all these epochs, namely: you have continued to wallow about along the lower edge of the necessities of life habitually required at any epoch, sometimes a little above it, sometimes a little below it. . . .

—*From Offenes Antwortschreiben* (“*Open Reply*”)

STARVATION AND STARVATION

The families of five persons that live on less than 500 talers annually per family, in other words, families that are living, no doubt, in real want, or at least are very poor—constitute 95.7 per cent of the population. Yes, gentlemen, the number is concealed from you in order to conceal from you your power, for you lack none of the elements of power but *consciousness*. For this reason there is everywhere a conspiracy against you for the purpose of falsifying these facts and figures. . . .

Starvation, gentlemen, is a word that may be taken in a double sense. Actual cases of people falling down in the street and dying instantly of hunger are quite unusual; but cases of persons continually giving forth more energy than they are capable of replacing, by reason of a deficiency of foodstuffs, or too low a standard of living, in other words, an expenditure of strength exceeding the receipts of strength, such cases also mean ultimate starvation. But the latter process of starvation lasts long enough to enable one to put children into the

world. Thus, the population is increased, particularly that of the working classes, and yet, the process of starvation remains in force.

—*From the Arbeiter-Lesebuch* (“*Workers’ Reader*”)

THE UNCLEAR THINKERS

ALL periods of history unite in affording frequent repetitions of the spectacle of unclear thinkers—which class, gentlemen, may also include ostensibly highly cultured persons, such as professors and others, as the St. Paul's Church of lamentable memory has shown—who contract the unhappy delusion of mistaking a comparatively consistent and clear expression of the thought of a declining epoch or institution for a new revolutionary principle.

It is against such persons and tendencies which are revolutionary only in their own conceit that I should like to warn you, gentlemen, for we shall have as little lack of them in the future as we have had in the past.

But we may console ourselves simultaneously with the thought that the numerous movements which collapse immediately or but a short time after their momentary success, which we find in history and which might fill the well-meaning but superficial heart of many a friend of the people with real concern, were revolutionary movements that were revolutionary only in their own fantasies.

A truly revolutionary movement, a movement resting on a truly new principle of thought, has—as the

profound thinker may learn to his solace from history—never been destroyed, at least, never permanently.

—*From the Arbeiter-Programm ("Workers' Program"), a speech delivered in Berlin, April 12, 1862.*

THE PRESS

A FAR more discouraging symptom of the complete dissolution and decay of the Progressive Party is the *press*. I am here touching upon a point of the greatest importance and I regret that in spite of the great detail with which I shall treat it, it is impossible to treat it with the detail it deserves. One thing you must bear in mind constantly, must disseminate constantly: our principal enemy, the principal enemy of any healthy development of the German spirit and of the German people, is to-day the press! The press, at the stage in its evolution which it has now reached, is the true enemy of the people, an enemy all the more dangerous by reason of its many disguises. Its lying, its corruption, its immorality, are exceeded by no other quality, unless perhaps by its own ignorance.

The duplicity of this press was perhaps best brought home to you by its struggle against our organization, and yet, very few of you know even a small fraction of the truth of this situation. Daily new lies: lies by means of pure fact alone, lies by means of invented facts, lies by means of facts distorted into their opposites—such were the weapons with which we were fought! And to cap the climax

of this shame, the newspapers in most cases even refused to print a correction. . . .

But the pinnacle of this outrage is in the fact that the newspapers themselves naïvely admit that the principal motive for their silence was their financial interest. It was the *Rheinische Zeitung*—that unworthy namesake of two great organs which were published in the Rhineland in 1843 and in 1848, and which were an honor to their country—it was the *Rheinische Zeitung*, I say, which led the band in this naïve exposure. “How can people expect,” it cried, when a loud murmur among the Progressive Party itself became audible over the cowardice of the newspapers, “how can people expect the publishers to risk the capital which they have invested in the paper?” To be sure, nothing is more sacred than the publisher’s capital! In fact, with the aid of that shameless process of distorting all conceptions which has so long been the prerogative of our newspapers, it was now argued that it was the actual duty of the newspapers to venture no money loss, or—for God’s sake!—to jeopardize the sacred capital of the publishers! It is as if a soldier—and the newspapers ought to be soldiers, champions of liberty, and claim to be such—should regard it as his first duty under no circumstances to expose himself to the danger of being hit by a bullet!

These are grave, very grave conditions, and, with my soul full of sadness, I do not hesitate to say that

unless a complete transformation of our press can be accomplished, if this newspaper pestilence shall continue for fifty years more, the intelligence of our people will be ruined and destroyed to its depths! But you must understand that if thousands of newspaper writers, these up-to-date teachers of the people, are permitted to spread their stupid ignorance, their consciencelessness, their eunuchs' hatred for everything that is true and great in politics, art and science, and to breathe this spirit into a people which gullibly and confidingly opens its ears to this poison, which is disseminated by hundreds of thousands of voices, because it hopes to imbibe mental nourishment from it, our national intelligence will necessarily be destroyed, even if it were three times as well established as it is. Not even the most talented nation in the world, not even the ancient Greeks, could have survived such a press. And you must understand that even though there may be five or ten or a dozen serious and intelligent and honest men among this band, this fact could alter nothing in what I have said, since the sounds of their voices will die away without an echo in the roar and babble of their colleagues. . . .

A man who wishes to make money should manufacture cotton or cloth or play on the stock exchange, but to poison all the wells of popular instruction for the sake of filthy gain, to feed the people a spiritual death daily from a thousand tubes

—this is the greatest crime that I can conceive of. The true enemy of the people, its most dangerous enemy, the more dangerous since it masquerades in the disguise of a friend, is our present-day press. Let me prevail upon you to cling with ardent enthusiasm to the slogan which I now ask you to make your own: hatred and contempt, death and destruction, to the press of to-day!

—*From Die Feste, die Presse, und der Frankfurter Abgeordnetentag ("The Festivals, the Press, and the Congress of Deputies at Frankfort")*, a speech delivered at the meetings of the Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein, at Barmen, Solingen, and Düsseldorf, September 26, 27, and 28, 1863.

THE ARTIFICERS OF THE CONSTITUTION

WHEN is a written constitution a good one and a permanent one?

Obviously only in the one case, gentlemen, . . . when it corresponds to the true constitution, the real alignment of forces that obtains in the country. When the written constitution is not in agreement with the real constitution, there will be a conflict that cannot be remedied and that will necessarily result in the destruction of the written constitution, which is a mere sheet of paper, as opposed to the real constitution, the actual distribution of forces prevailing in the country.

What should therefore have been done at that time?

In the first place, it was necessary to make not a written constitution, but a real constitution, *i.e.*, the true alignment of forces in the country should have been changed, and changed to the advantage of the citizens.

No doubt it had just become apparent, on March 18 (1848), that the power of the people was already at that moment greater than the power of the standing army. After a long and bloody struggle, the troops had been obliged to retire.

But I long ago pointed out to you the important relation existing between the power of the people and the power of the standing army, as a result of which the actually much smaller power of the standing army is in the long run, nevertheless, more effective than the—actually—greater might of the nation.

This difference is due, if you will remember, to the fact that the power of the nation is an unorganized power, while the power of the standing army is an organized power which is daily available and ready to take up the struggle again, and which, therefore, in the long run, is more effective and must be able to maintain the field against the greater—but unorganized—power of the people, which is capable of united action only in rare moments of great enthusiasm.

If, therefore, the victory gained on March 18 was not to be nullified without recall in its advantages for the people, the victorious moment should have been made use of in order to transform the organized power of the standing army in such a manner as to make it impossible for it ever to be used again as a mere instrument of force by the Monarch against the people. . . .

It was necessary, furthermore, to provide that all the lower officers, extending at least as high as Major, should not be appointed from above, but should be elected by the troops themselves, so that

the posts of officers should not be held by persons hostile to the people, thus making it possible once more to transform the army into a blind instrument of monarchical power. In addition, the army should have been made subject to the regular civil courts except for specifically military offenses, so that by this means it might have been made a common possession of the people and not a thing standing apart, a separate caste.

Besides, all the artillery, the cannons which are, of course, useless except for the national defense, should have been placed in the custody of the municipal authorities elected by the people, except for such guns as were absolutely necessary for military maneuvers. A portion of this artillery should, furthermore, have been used in order to build up artillery sections of the national militia, thus putting the cannons—this very essential constituent of the constitution—under the power of the people.

Of all this, gentlemen, nothing was done in the Spring or in the Summer of 1848, and can you marvel, therefore, that the March revolution was again neutralized and deprived of its resources in November, 1848? Surely you cannot; the latter step was merely a necessary consequence of the fact that no real change had been made in the actual alignment of forces.

The princes, gentlemen, are far better served than you! The servants of the princes are not mere

orators, as those of the people often are. They are *practical* men who know by instinct what is at stake.

Surely, Herr von Manteuffel was not a great orator; but he was a practical man! When he had dispersed the National Assembly and planted the artillery in the streets in November, 1848, what did he do next? Did he begin by drawing up a reactionary constitution? God forbid! He had plenty of time for that! In December, 1848, he even gave you a fairly liberal constitution, at least on paper. But what did he really set about doing in November; what was the first measure? Why, gentlemen, you must remember it very well, he began by disarming the people, by taking away their weapons. You see, gentlemen, the victor's chief concern is to disarm the vanquished, unless he wishes to see the battle renewed at any moment. . . .

I have just shown that in the year 1848 none of the measures was adopted which would have been necessary for the purpose of changing the actual relations of forces existing in the country, or of transforming the army from an army serving princes into an army serving the people. . . .

The making of a *written* constitution was the last consideration; that may be done at any time in thrice twenty-four hours; that was the last thing that concerned any one, and besides, the making of such a constitution too early was equivalent to doing nothing at all.

To transform the real, actual relations of forces within the country, to intervene in the executive arm, and to intervene so thoroughly and remodel it so completely as to make it impossible for it ever again effectively to oppose the will of the nation—this was the task confronting the men of 1848, the task that had necessarily to be performed before a written constitution could offer any promise of durability. . . .

If you have in your garden an apple-tree and proceed to hang on it a label which declares: "This is a fig-tree," have you thereby transformed the tree into a fig-tree? You have not, even though you should gather all your servants and all the inhabitants of the country around and have them all declare aloud with due solemnity: "This is a fig-tree"; the tree will remain what it always has been. And when the next year comes around, the truth will out. The tree will bear apples and not figs.

Quite similar, as we have seen, is the case with the constitution. What is written on this sheet of paper is of no value at all if it does not correspond to the real condition of affairs, to the actual alignment of forces.

On the scrap of paper of December 5, 1848, the King had stated his acceptance, of his own volition, of a great number of concessions, all of which, however, were in contradiction with the true constitution, namely, with the real, actual instruments of

power which the King held unabated in his hands. With the same necessity that may be observed in the operation of the law of gravity, the real constitution, therefore, carried off the victory, step by step, over the written constitution.

Therefore the King was obliged—although the constitution of December 5, 1848, had been accepted by the Revision Committee—at once to undertake the first change, namely, the Three Class Election Law of 1849, which was arbitrarily interpolated in the constitution. With the aid of the Chamber created by the Election Law, certain very essential changes in the constitution had then to be made, so that it might be sworn to by the King in the year 1850; and after he had sworn to it, then was the time for the changes really to begin! Every year since 1850 has been marked by some such change. Even a flag that has passed through a hundred battles cannot present so ragged and perforated an appearance as our constitution.

—*From Ueber Verfassungswesen* ("Concerning the Theory of the Constitution"), a speech delivered at Berlin, on April 6, 1867.

THE DELIVERERS OF THE CONSTITUTION

You know, gentlemen, there exists in our city a party whose organ is the *Volkszeitung*, a party—I say—which, in spite of its name, rallies to this rag of an ensign, to this ragged constitution of ours, a party which, therefore, terms itself the “Faithful to the Constitution,” and whose battle cry is: “Let us adhere to the Constitution, for God’s sake, the Constitution, the Constitution—help, to the rescue! Fire, fire!” Gentlemen, whenever you behold a party arising, regardless of when and where, which makes its battle cry the terrified shout, “To rally round the Constitution,” what must be your inference in such cases? I am asking you, gentlemen, not as men of action and will; my question is not directed to your volition. I am asking you solely as thinking men: what must be your inference from such a situation?

Well, gentlemen, without setting yourselves up to be prophets, you will always be able to say with the utmost certainty in such cases: this constitution is at the last gasp; it is as good as dead; a few years more and it will no longer be in existence.

The reasons are very simple. When a written constitution actually corresponds to the real align-

ment of forces in the country, this cry will never be uttered. Such a constitution has the respectful adherence of every one; no one would dare encroach upon it. No one would even think of coming to grips with such a constitution, for in such an encounter he would be surely worsted. Where the written constitution is in accord with the actual alignment of forces in the country, it will be impossible for any party to make a special battle cry of the beauty of adhering to the constitution. When this cry is uttered, it is a sure and unmistakable sign that it is a shout of terror; in other words, that there is still some condition in the written constitution which contradicts the actual constitution, the actual situation of forces in the country. Once this contradiction is present, the written constitution is lost forever, and no God and no amount of shouting can be of any use.

Such a constitution may suffer change in either direction, either to the Right or to the Left, but it cannot be a permanent constitution. The very cry that it must be retained is evidence of this to any man of clear thought. It may be altered to the Right by an effort on the part of the Government to secure such alteration in order to bring the written constitution into agreement with the actual resources and strength of the organized power of society. Or, the unorganized power of society may make itself felt and prove once more that it is greater than the

organized powers. In this case, the constitution will be altered as far in the direction of the Left as it would be altered, in the previous case, in the direction of the Right. But in any case, it is a lost constitution.

Gentlemen, if you will not only carefully bear in mind and think out the terms of the lecture which I have had the honor of delivering to you, but will apply it and develop it to its utmost consequences, you will have put yourselves in possession of the entire art and science of the constitution question. Constitutional questions are not fundamentally questions of right, but questions of might; the true constitution of a country exists only in the real, actual situation of forces prevailing in a country; written constitutions are real constitutions and of permanent life only when they are the precise expression of the true situation of forces prevailing in society—these are the principles which you must bear in mind. I have developed these principles in your presence to-day only in so far as they apply to the armed forces; in the first place, because the brevity of the time at my disposal has permitted only a limited application of these principles; in the second place, because the army is the most decisive and the most important of all the organized instruments of force. But you will understand by yourselves that the matter applies equally well to the organization of the officials of justice, of administra-

tive officials, etc.; these are likewise organized instruments of power in certain societies. If you will bear this lecture in mind, gentlemen, you will know—if ever again you should be in a position to write a constitution for yourselves—what the necessary procedure must be, and will not content yourselves with filling sheets of paper with writing, but only with the real action of making genuine alterations in the actual situation of forces in the country.

—*From Ueber Verfassungswesen.*

NO COMPROMISE

WHAT will absolutism do if it has succeeded in putting through a victorious counter-revolution?

Absolutism wants to continue in power. There is no doubt of this. But will it desire to maintain itself in its old form, namely, as a naked, undisguised Absolutism? Will it drop the constitution and continue to govern in the former absolutist method without any constitution at all? God forbid! Absolutism is not as stupid as that. . . . For Absolutism has reluctantly accepted the understanding—having been once subjected to a defeat, which in our case is the defeat of March 18, 1848—of the fact that the unorganized social power of the citizenry is, in the last analysis, far superior to absolutism; that absolutism may, in a favorable hour, by virtue of the discipline of its organized forces, have defeated the citizenry for the moment, but that the latter continued to be, while unorganized, nevertheless the socially predominant force: in other words that a new conflict may arise at any moment, in which absolutism will be defeated again, and, if this defeat is better utilized by its adversary, this time forever.

Absolutism, once having been made to feel the social power of the citizenry, now has at least some

obscure suspicion of the fact that, as a man can beget only a man, an ape only an ape, and every creature, therefore, only a creature that shall resemble him, that shall be made in his image, so in the long run the organized elemental power residing in society must inevitably have produced the organized power—the form of government, let us say—which will resemble it and be made in its image.

Of all these things absolutism has a more or less unclear notion, for after all, the men of the Government are—as I have told you—practical men, with an instinct for things as they are. . . .

No matter how intractable absolutism may pretend to be, it is by no means pleased by the precarious existence it leads in its present outright and open contradiction with the social alignment of forces, incurring at any moment the risk of being overwhelmed and crushed, as if by an avalanche, by the descent of these social forces.

Absolutism, therefore, has only one means of maintaining its existence for a time at least: the figment of the constitution. . . .

As soon as absolutism has taken this step, namely, that of an ostensible constitutionalism, it will have achieved a great advantage and prolonged its existence for an indefinite period.

If absolutism should attempt to continue its existence in the old undisguised form, it could not count on any long life. The outright and open con-

tradiction between absolutism and the social condition would make its overthrow the unchanging and ever renewed slogan of society. All society, in fact, could do nothing else—by the very nature of the case itself—than constitute one great conspiracy for the overthrow of its form of government. No government in the world could maintain such a situation for a very long time! A government may, at a favorable moment, call together its army and carry out a successful attack, a successful counter-revolution, but its situation only becomes much more difficult when the government is the attacked party, is acting on the defensive, with the people the attacker. The advantage in struggles of this kind is always on the part of the attacker, for the reason that it is he that has had the opportunity to choose the moment. It is for this reason that most of the *coups d'état* carried out by governments in the present century have met with success, but then, so have most of the revolutions on the part of the people. However, a government may even be able to ward off for a certain time, for instance, for a few months, an attack which it expects the people to make upon it. But it is a matter of the utmost difficulty for any government to remain armed for this encounter over long periods, keeping itself on a war footing for the purpose of warding off an attack which will probably be launched upon it at the most awkward moment, when it is involved in other complications of the

gravest nature. Such a situation is untenable for any government in the long run, and, therefore, almost inconceivable.

But when an absolutist government has surrounded itself with the empty appearances of constitutional forms and proceeds to continue the practice of the ancient absolutism within these forms, it has carried off an immense advantage. For now, owing to the appearance of a favorably achieved balance between the form of government and the social group predominant in society, the latter has been lulled to sleep and satisfied for the moment. That which was to be fought for appears already to have been achieved. This illusion pacifies the struggle, cripples it and breaks its point, by making great masses of the people either satisfied or indifferent and uninterested. From now on only the forces operating unconsciously in society will—in general—work for an overthrow of the government, and not the real consciousness of society itself.

Pseudo-constitutionalism is, therefore—and it is very important for you, gentlemen, to understand this—by no means an achievement of the people, but, on the contrary, only an achievement of absolutism, and the most essential means for prolonging the existence of the latter.

Pseudo-constitutionalism, therefore, as you will now have understood, is to be found in the fact that the government makes statements of what is not so;

that the government declares the State to be a constitutional State, while it is in reality an absolutist State; pseudo-constitutionalism is the lie.

In the struggle with this lie and with its might, the true and obviously victorious instrument is necessarily the exposure of this lie; the proper tactic is simply to destroy the appearance which has made the continuation of the deceptive forms possible, and thus to cut them off from any misleading influence on Tom, Dick and Harry. The proper procedure is to force the lie to take off its mask and to admit to all the world, even formally, that it is really an absolute government.

I tell you that the Diet must—and this is a weapon leading indomitably to a victory—simply state the truth. . . .

All great political action consists in the stating of that which is, and begins with, such a statement.

All political pettifogging consists in concealing and cloaking that which is.

As a matter of fact, gentlemen, I here could—and perhaps ought to—raise grave political accusations, if it were not for the fact that—for the sake of our unity—I consider it better to leave these things unsaid. For years, down to the present day—in and since the inception of the new era—leaders of the people's party in the press—and even if I should carry my discretion so far as to mention no names, you could not help knowing that I have the so-called

Volkszeitung in mind—have been pursuing a method consisting absolutely in no other thing than in the statement of things that are not so. They have proceeded from the assumption that it is necessary to whitewash, to keep secret, to cloak things; according to their mind, it is necessary to persuade the Government that it is a constitutional Government to such an extent that the Government will ultimately believe this statement itself! It is, therefore, their aim to transform the Government by lying. But all true successes in life and in history may be attained only by a real transformation, a real plowing over of the soil, never by a transformation in words of falsehood! These mental starvelings have failed to understand that, without any desire of their own, they have become men of the Government, both in their choice of weapons as well as in the effect of these weapons. In their choice of weapons: for their weapons are the same as those we have become acquainted with in the absolutism that is disguised with a pseudo-constitutionalism, namely, the stating of things that are not so. And likewise, with regard to the operation of these instruments: for these mental starvelings have failed to understand that, in order to impart to the Government through the lies of their newspapers, the idea that the Government is a constitutional Government, they have been obliged daily to preach the same lie to the people and thus actually made the people believe it. These babes

have been unable to understand, moreover, that by these lies they have only been encouraging the Government to continue along the path of pseudo-constitutionalism, a path made very smooth and easy by the work of our friends, and I may say that the Government itself was much astonished at the prestige and the halo prepared for it, at the crown of glory of a "new era" which was pressed upon its undeserving head, to such an extent that the Government has finally been able to make military demands. These unhappy men who preached daily in their leading articles against immorality, did not grasp the fact that the lie is a profoundly immoral instrument, which—in the political struggle—may indeed be of advantage to a Machiavellian art of government, but never to the people themselves.

It is these mental defectives who are responsible in great measure for the fact that things have come to the pass to which they have come.

It is they who, with the battle cry: "Men of honor! The Ministers are men of honor! Confide in the Ministers!" have driven the Diet, by their leading articles, to appropriate the provisional budget for the army organization demanded by the pseudo-constitutional Schwerin-Patow Cabinet, which at that time might easily have been refused. It is they who are responsible, therefore, for the fact that it was made possible at all to introduce the army organization bill, and to place us now in the position of having

to meet this grave conflict, a thing that would have been impossible without their granting the provisional budget.

But let the dead past bury its dead!

It is our duty, however, to fight the more inexorably, the more jealously, in the serious encounters of the press, to prevent a policy of meretricious cloaking from depriving people of their rights once more. I have revealed to you the means which cannot fail to be followed by an unconditional and positive victory of the people; work for this end! There must be a mutual interaction between the Deputies and public opinion. Set up the means we have just discussed, and make it an educational slogan. Disseminate it, fight for it, throughout the circle of your acquaintances, in public and private places, in the whole sphere of your activity. Consider every man either as a conscious or an unconscious opponent of the good cause if he will not make use of this instrument. The method outlined to you is the only method within the Diet's power. For, what others are at its disposal? It would obviously be a most lamentable, a most absurd illusion, if the Diet should believe that by continuing in session and continuing to vote down other demands of the Cabinet—even all the Cabinet's demands—it will be able to put any compulsion on the Cabinet. If the Cabinet dares to tread under foot, to trample on the first unquestionably

constitutional refusal on the part of the Diet, and proceed as if the Diet did not exist, how will it be possible to make the second or third or fourth refusal on the part of the Diet more effective? As a matter of fact, the Government would merely form the habit of regarding inconvenient decisions of the Diet as not having been adopted at all. Both Government and people would accustom themselves to this condition. The pleasant habit of disregarding the resolutions of the Diet would become a rooted one, and it would be more rooted among the people—and not without reason—than in the Government. A Diet which would consent, after its constitutionally adopted decisions had been trodden under foot, to continue to deliberate and go through the motions of legislation, to continue playing its part with the Government in this farce of pseudo-constitutionalism would actually be making itself the Government's worst accomplice. For, it would thereby be making it possible for the Government to annihilate the constitutional rights of the people in spite of the fact that the appearance of a constitutional form was being kept up. And the Diet would be more culpable in this procedure than the Government, for there is far more guilt in my own representative, in the man who should defend my rights, and who betrays them instead, than in my adversary himself.

It would perhaps be even worse if the Chamber should . . . consent to introduce . . . a so-called

compromise. You must raise your voices particularly against such an eventuality.

No compromise is conceivable on this question. . . .

If the Diet should consent to any form of compromise under these circumstances . . . this would no longer be a compromise, an agreement; it would be a complete surrendering of the public law. It would amount to an installing in office of the Bismarckian diplomatic practice, whose watchword is as follows: when the Government is in conflict with the constitutional right of the Chambers, it is the Diet that must yield. You must, therefore, regard every man outright as a conscious or unconscious—and in the latter case even more dangerous—enemy of the righteous cause, who would here speak of compromise. . . . Let us have no illusions, therefore, of conciliation, gentlemen. You have now gathered sufficient experience to know what the ancient absolutism amounts to. Therefore let us make no new compromise with it, but let our watchword be: our hands around his throat and his shoulders on the ground!

—*From Was Nun? ("What Now"), a second lecture on the nature of the constitution, delivered at Berlin, November 17, 1862.*

COALITION OR REVOLUTION?

THE BODY POLITIC

EVEN if we are ready to forgive everything, what is the point to which this bourgeois-liberal movement has now come, and how far may it still get? Has it even attained its own bourgeois-liberal goal? For after all, the facts are now on the table and should be clear to every one! How far, I ask, has the bourgeois-liberal movement gotten in the fifteen years that have passed since 1848, and where does it stand at present?

As a matter of fact, it has simply moved from compromise to compromise, from concession to concession, from conciliation to conciliation, until it has reached the point that we in Prussia are not yet in possession of the achievements that the small constitutional provinces attained in the twenties of this century; we have not even the right to grant the budget, not even the foundation of any constitutional state; we are actually living under a pure absolutism! Thus the Liberal Bourgeoisie has lost, one after another, all the achievements which the Democracy had won for us in 1848, with the shedding of its blood; these have been lost to such an extent, that

the Liberal Bourgeoisie has now given up even the last right—and one which meant a good deal to the bourgeoisie itself—namely, the right of granting the budget. And even under these circumstances the Progressive Party, which has a great majority in the Prussian Diet, was unable to make up its mind to declare an open and outright break with the Government, but simply continues to bicker and conciliate. Instead of cutting the cloth clean between it and the Government, as was its bounden duty, it continues to sit at the same table with the Government which it has itself declared to be guilty of a breach of the penal code!

While in its speeches it declares, itself, that the Government has overthrown the Constitution, it continues in session, piling amendment on amendment, and thus helps the Government maintain an appearance of respectability, as if a constitutional condition still prevailed. The Progressive Party, owing to its weakness, has become the accomplice of the Government. The measure of our patience cannot, therefore, but be exhausted.

Why have I not raised my voice before, gentlemen? After all, I and the outright Democrats in general have never had any doubt that the movement inspired by the Liberal Bourgeoisie in place of the Democratic movement would ultimately come to this sad end. We have long been aware of this condition in advance, but we felt it our duty to

wait until the facts should be on the table, facts which could have an influence on the general opinion.

To-day this condition has been reached. He who will not see to-day must be blind or determined not to see. It would, therefore, be quite silly to-day to accuse me of any desire to abolish our unity. For even if unity should be the highest good, why then, we might just as well all of us, we, as well as the Progressive Party, seek a union with the absolutist and military parties, and mutually embrace each other.

The question at issue is, what is to be the basis of our unity: a unity in weakness, in worthlessness, in exhaustion, such a unity is of no avail.

It is far better to challenge all the vigorous elements and rally them to a great and powerful standard. Two months ago I was still rebuked with the fact that even the entire liberal press in England recognizes our Progressive Party. No doubt this still was the case two months ago.

But will you read the articles which have since appeared in the *London Times*, in the *Daily News*, etc., articles which are no longer directed against our Government, but against our Diet, and which declare unmistakably that a Diet which would accept indignities of this kind is—I am quoting literally—the culmination of the debasement of the people? In what way, therefore, have I been guilty, gentle-

men? Only in my quality as a statesman, *i.e.*, in my ability to foresee a few months earlier what would be admitted openly a few months later by all persons of impartial mind.

If I am now questioned, therefore: "Why don't you wait until the bourgeoisie has finished its struggle with the military state?" I can truthfully answer you: I have not been waiting for this moment, for the simple reason that this moment will never come.

The Liberal Bourgeoisie can never fight this battle to a victorious outcome; the sole means for attaining political freedom is precisely this movement, however, which I have originated, and I shall now prove this to you by reasons which will be more and more convincing as I proceed, and for which I ask your fullest attention. Our Liberal Bourgeoisie, I am telling you, cannot break the military State, cannot achieve political freedom in its struggle. The first, and as yet the weakest reason for this condition, is the fact that it has passed out of existence as a class, and even before it has attained full growth. A stature of completeness is productive of strength, the unfinished state has no strength at all. But this is the feeblest reason—I shall first call your attention to certain facts.

Has the bourgeoisie in our country ever developed the energy shown by the bourgeoisie of France in 1789 and in 1830? Has it ever succeeded in calling forth energetic action anywhere? Never! When

Louis XVI wished to dissolve the Constituent Assembly in France, the bourgeoisie answered unan-
imously, through the lips of Mirabeau: We shall
yield only to the force of bayonets! And, now, in the
city of Frankfort, a constituent assembly was also
in session in the year 1849, and when the King of
Prussia recalled the delegates, the great majority
went home as quickly as they could and only a small
minority offered resistance and proceeded to Stutt-
gart. The *ultima ratio regum*, the last resort of kings,
is the cannon, as has been said before.

But our bourgeoisie will never—come what may—
resort to the energy of such a decision! It is pre-
vented from doing so not only by its fear of govern-
ments, but also by its fear of the people.

To-day the bourgeoisie is still hoodwinking you,
but it knows very well it would lose this influence
in the heat of certain outbursts and it still fears you
very much more than it fears absolutism! It is
for this reason that the bourgeoisie humbles itself
again and again before the steps that lead to the
throne, even though it encounter a veritable shower
of kicks from above, and continues to whine its
declarations that it does not yet give up hope.

Lest I be accused of describing my opponents in
my own words, of setting up a man of straw, there-
fore, permit me to present them to you in their own
words, to quote as evidence, for example, a passage
from a speech delivered by Schulze-Delitzsch on

November 30 of last year, in other words, after the present cabinet had already assumed office, in other words, under the present condition of an overthrown constitution; this speech was delivered at Frankfort-on-the-Main and I am quoting it from one of the newspapers of his supporters, the *Vossische Zeitung*. After pointing out that it is the Prussian Government which will be called upon, after all, by its position of power in Germany, to carry out the historical task of the unification of the country, Schulze-Delitzsch goes on in the following strain: "The period of absolutism, which would guide the destinies of peoples according to its own whim and its own arbitrary caprice, is now past, and the Prussian dynasty, so often blest with God's favors, will some day find a champion who will be able to grasp the purified principle of monarchism in a correct spirit and to apply this understanding to the great good of his own country and of Germany as a whole. Courage and perseverance among the people will produce such a champion in the Prussian dynasty even if he is not yet discernible. The people express their true political maturity by the very fact that they abominate the path of revolution, as contrasted with other nations, and assume instead the peaceable and civilized path of agitation."

And these words were spoken, gentlemen, after the Diet had been denied the right to grant the budget and the military organization bill had been put

through arbitrarily in defiance of the Diet! They were pronounced at a time when the situation of things was not different in principle from that of to-day!

Who is it, therefore, gentlemen, who would hand you over to the reaction, who would deliver you to the tender mercies of Prussian absolutism?

And it is under this banner that you are to march? And it is under this banner that you think you will be able to put down so serious and real a power as that of absolutism and the military State? It is because they are afraid of you that they pin their hopes to the powers above; and with this fear of what is below and with this hope from those that are above, do you think it is possible to achieve anything? Do not forget the words of Goethe:

*“Was ist der Philister? Ein hohler Darm
Voll Furcht und Hoffnung, dass Gott erbarm!”*¹

Such a Philistine movement can never achieve any results, even though we should travel through centuries, or if we should be obliged to live through entire geological periods! . . .

—*From Arbeiterlesebuch.*

¹The Philistine is merely an inflated bladder, full of fears and hopes; God have a mercy on him!

SPARTACUS OR SATURNALIA

My friends! For fourteen long years we had permitted the Liberal Party to go on . . . Practicing an unheard of self-denial, we had avoided everything, every initiative of our own, every demand of our own, that might have deprived this party of the appearance of being the party that controlled the masses of the people! But now, it must be clear to all the world that these fourteen years of unsuccessful waiting would necessarily be followed by fourteen hundred years of equally hopeless waiting, if we should go on letting this party have its way and pretending to be "the people"! It was now clear, at least to every thinking man, that these weaklings would never be able to cut a path for freedom! No consideration could now longer deter us; we now no longer even had a choice; the moment had come for us to come out and establish ourselves as that which we really always had been: an independent, separate party. Indeed, this had now become our bounden duty; we could no longer tolerate the appearance of belonging to a party which had descended to this abyss of shameful weakness! It was necessary for us to save our honor, to save the honor of the country.

For me this motive was so imperative that even if I had had to stand alone in my protest, I should nevertheless have always looked back upon it with pride and satisfaction. But I was not obliged to stand alone. It appeared once more that when one man has the courage to proclaim his principles, the echo from the breast of the people will answer him a thousandfold. Thousands and thousands have joined me in this protest; our organization itself is the result. In this alone we should have performed a great act. When later historians set down the sad history of these days, they will say: but at least there were men who came out in righteous wrath against this shame. Our act has prevented these historians from saying: And there was not one man in Germany who protested against such a disgrace!

The events that have come to pass since then have necessarily placed the limitless weakness of the Progressive Party in even a brighter illumination than before. . . . I shall first remind you of the Rhenish Congress of delegates at Cologne and Rolandseck. These were the Saturnalia of the German bourgeoisie. You should have been there to see. Not only in Cologne, but wherever the eye might look in Germany, wherever your glance encountered the news items of German newspapers—everywhere you could read, see and hear of festivals, preparations for festivals, portraits of delegates to festivals, etc. Can you imagine it? What were these remark-

able persons celebrating? While the situation of the country was such that one should go about in sack-cloth and ashes, they are holding festivals! Festivals of the type inaugurated by the French after a victorious revolution, are celebrated in Germany after defeats. In order to escape the real struggle, they get up a dinner, at which the vanquished sing hymns of victory behind their wine-glasses and roasts. In fact, this topsy-turvy state very closely resembles that of the Roman Saturnalia. In Rome, the slaves seated themselves at table and acted as if they were the masters; so, to-day, the vanquished sit down to a banquet and carry on as if they were the victors, in their pompous and tasteless toasts of victory. And, just as the Roman slaves proved by accepting the Saturnalia that they were willingly subjecting themselves to a whole year of slavery in exchange for this illusory freedom of one day, so our Progressives make clear to every man of understanding, by their illusory celebrations of victory, that they are willing to dispense with the real struggle and the real victory. When Spartacus and his men raised the banner of the slave insurrection in Rome in order to make free men of slaves, he was doing more than engaging in Saturnalian festivities. . . .

The secret of the strength of our Government has thus far been rooted in the rigid weakness of its adversaries. The reaction will always have an easy

time in carrying off the victory if it deals, of course, with such opponents. . . . Nothing has been proved but the total incapacity of the Progressives for any political struggle. A party which cannot cover its most important position with its own corpses in order to defend it—such a party bears no promise of victory within it. Such a party knows no other course than to run away again at every new attack.

Such a party, such a press, do not even deserve an expression of regret when the lash of the Government resounds on their backs. He who has no ability at all to defend his hide, has no right to existence, does not deserve to live! . . .

What interest can we have in men who run away at every attack, in champions who face each new blow, not with their fists, but with their backsides? . . .

What other feelings may be aroused in us by such a spectacle than those of contempt and ridicule, of disgust, of scorn at such heroes? In fact, the higher and purer become the goals pursued by such men, the greater must be our contempt to find that not even such high goals can produce a more manly attitude in their bearers; and the sole slightly extenuating circumstances that may be found for the actions of the Progressives is actually precisely in the fact that in the last analysis their purposes really concern themselves only with affording somewhat more influence to a handful of persons. Such lamentably

contemptible purposes can produce only a lamentably contemptible bearing; only a great idea, only enthusiasm for great goals can beget devotion, self-sacrifice, audacity!

—*From Die Feste, die Presse, und der Frankfurter Abgeordnetentag.*

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

But now I shall indicate the last and true reason why the liberal bourgeoisie cannot bring about political freedom in our country. . . . After we have lost, since 1848, redoubt after redoubt, position after position, in short, everything we gained in that year, you will understand that such a period of fifteen years of history cannot have been an accident; such a period must have an internal motive of which it is the necessary result.

I shall now reveal this cause to you.

You will see that this cause will explain all of German history since 1848 and all of French history since 1789; you will see that the reason for the lack of energy on the part of our Liberal Bourgeoisie, as compared with that of France, is based not merely on the national *character*, but goes back far deeper, and that the sole path for an attainment of political freedom is that of rallying about the banner I am now defending.

This reason is the following: a merely political freedom can now no longer be successfully achieved, because no material interest, because no class interest, and therefore no class, stands behind this demand . . .

No doubt the liberal bourgeoisie loves liberty, but it loves liberty as one loves an ornament in one's apartment, as one loves an article of jewelry; if one cannot afford it, one does without! One will face neither drowning nor burning for such an acquisition. The main point for the bourgeoisie remains its material interests, its trade and its habits, its industry and production; but all these require peace, and serious struggles for liberty would merely endanger this peace for the moment. And, therefore, the liberal bourgeoisie would much rather dispense with political freedom than jeopardize the public peace, and thereby its material interests, by resorting to a serious struggle for freedom.

Who, therefore, which class, stands behind the demand for political freedom? The worker, perhaps? Yes, for a few weeks, or even a few months, by reason of his brave and noble heart! And, therefore, he will again and again fight temporary battles for it and carry off its temporary victories, as he did in March, 1848. But in the long run, the worker also will not be content with mere political liberty; that is impossible. The cares for his daily wages, for the existence of his family and himself, take up too much of his attention; he cannot satisfy his hunger on a mere political liberty; and so he will necessarily relinquish the struggle and in the long run let things proceed as they always have done. Just cast a glance on France, and this statement of

mine will make clear to you what appeared to be the greatest contradictions in the history of France, the Revolution of 1789, as well as the Napoleonic *coup d'état* of 1851.

The Revolution of 1789 was by no means only a political revolution; it would be a grave error to assume this. It was a social revolution, a revolution with material interests at stake; the task of the bourgeoisie was to break feudal production in industry and agriculture, and to replace it with a free exploitation of capital, such as we find in power everywhere to-day. For these goals it developed energy and fire.

It was a social revolution, and such were the social and material interests at stake in 1789, as well as later, in 1830. But when, under the Napoleon who now rules, and of whom, of course, it was not seriously to be feared that he would again restore the feudal conditions of production, that he would violate the material interests of the bourgeoisie, in other words, when the point now turned out to be that of defending a merely political liberty against him, the French bourgeoisie was as weak and tired as ours, and calmly permitted itself to be robbed of its political liberty, a process that has now been going on for twelve years!

If the subject of contention in our country to-day were the social liberties of the bourgeoisie that were at stake in 1789, in France, the liberty of capital

and all those material interests involved in this liberty, our bourgeoisie might perhaps have displayed the same energy that was shown by the French bourgeoisie. But these material questions are no longer under discussion. Our Governments have prepared themselves in advance. In part at least, they introduced the social phase of the Revolution of 1789 long ago, and a merely political liberty will not arouse the enthusiasm of the bourgeoisie, can do no more than inspire them to pious expressions and innocent rhetorical exercises. I think you will agree that I have shown that no class stands or can stand behind the demand of a merely political liberty.

But this demand is opposed by the military parties and the nobility, the absolutism and the bureaucracy, and, indeed, with the greatest energy, in fact, with all the energy that can be released by social interests; for these classes are concerned with the maintenance of the remnants of their power. The reaction is backed, therefore, by classes with the greatest energy, by classes which will use their nails and teeth; political freedom is backed by no class, has the support of only a handful of ideologists and sentimental enthusiasts. Can it surprise you, therefore, that political freedom has been suffering defeats at the hands of the reaction for the past fifteen years? Can it surprise you, under these circumstances, that the bourgeoisie is powerless and will never be able

to fight out its struggle with the military state to the achievement of victory?

The most important thing to be done for political freedom is to back it with a class interest, a social interest, and of course, if possible, the interest of the impoverished classes, whose numbers and energy are so infinitely superior to those of other classes.

Any one who loves political freedom owes me a debt of gratitude for this statement, for even a purely political freedom can secure victory only under this emblem!

No doubt you now feel, gentlemen, how false it was to accuse me of standing in the service of reaction! And I say not only, how false it was! In fact, it would be far beneath me to begin with an attempt to defend my character. . . .

I say, therefore, that this accusation was not only untrue, but that the untruth of it was perfectly apparent to those who raised it against me; I say that they consciously and shamefully distorted the facts! The liberal bourgeoisie does not fear that I am tainted with reaction, as it maintains, but it fears, on the contrary, that the educational work I am carrying on may, in the course of a few years, develop the most serious opposition to the reaction.

Give me 500,000 German workers who will join my organization—and our reaction is a thing of the past! Our bourgeoisie knows this! This is what they fear from me; therefore, they have attacked me

with this blind rage, and while they fear that I am seriously demanding political freedom, they accuse me of standing in the service of reaction! . . .

The split between us and the Progressive Party can no longer be avoided. It is a split that resembles the cleaning of the chaff from the wheat. . . . The split is a reality; this is no longer a time for diplomacy or for considerations of expediency; every man among them must now ask himself, on his conscience, whether he belongs to the wheat or to the chaff!

—*From Arbeiter-Lesebuch.*

LASSALLE A REACTIONARY!

Have you not heard the *Volkszeitung* and the *Berliner Reform* recently disseminate with more energy than ever the rumor that I am in the service of the reaction, and can you not understand, by merely reading this wretched and awkward fabrication, how monstrous is the deception that is being practiced against you?

I shall reveal to you the reason for this deception, workers of Berlin! . . . The Progressive bourgeoisie hate me and pick quarrels with me not because they fear that I am tainted with the principles of reaction, but on the contrary, because they fear that revolution will come from me! Not because I am reactionary in their eyes, but because I am revolutionary in their eyes! And as for the truth of the latter accusation—I have in the truthfulness of my soul admitted it a hundred times; whenever it was raised against me, I have admitted it in public gatherings, in my works, in my speeches, in fact, time and time again I have admitted it before the courts! . . .

. . . Once more, then, why do the Progressives not declare, as would be demanded by the truth, that they hate me and combat me as a revolutionary, because of the nature of their constitution? Why, on

the contrary, do they constantly circulate among you the calumnious remark that I am in the service of the reaction?

The reason is very plain, it is as plain as it is base and outrageous!

The Progressives cannot accuse me of being a revolutionary in your presence. In your presence, as they well know, this accusation, which constitutes the true basis of their rage against me, would merely have the result of attaching the more firmly, whole masses of you, to me; and, therefore, these hypocrites turn their spear the other way and accuse me, in your presence, of serving the reaction, because they hate me as a revolutionary! . . .

Workers! You who are men, whose "yes" means "yes," and whose "no" means "no," what are you going to do with weathercocks of this improved type? What shall you do with men who are in favor of the Reform Act when they are in Frankfort among the Pan-Germans, and who are opposed to the Reform Act when they are in Berlin among the Prussians? What shall you do with tight-rope dancers who affect the black and yellow colors in August, and the black and white in October? What shall you do with men who are worse than weathercocks, since they change their direction even without encountering a blast! And yet, the situation of the German question has suffered no change on the part of the German princes since last August! They

have not inaugurated the slightest new step that might be taken as a semblance of an excuse for this change of tack!

What shall you do with men who, in the most important national question, do not even know what they themselves want, and who, therefore, are all the less capable of telling you what you shall want? What use can you have for men who cannot even follow up a principle when it concerns our entire existence as a nation? What can you do with political children who—like children—love to imitate the great? With men who confuse a people's policy with princes' diplomacy, who aim at diplomatic acuteness and as a result—as is natural—are obliged to admit, in October, the downright stupidity of what they considered remarkably clever in August, still incurring the risk, however, of finding that in some other matter their astuteness in October was by no means superior to their folly in August?

How could you hope, workers, that you would ever be able to achieve the great interests of liberty in coöperation with such men of petty spirit, or to overcome the obstacles which can yield only to a supreme consistency of principle?

What, therefore, should prevent you from joining our ranks?

And are you, workers of Berlin, not obliged to take this step by the additional reason of our social

program: the improvement of your social situation?

Which one of you, workers, could be so narrow-minded and so blind to his own interests as not to recognize the profound injustice of your class situation and the necessity of improving it?

—*From An die Arbeiter Berlins* ("To the Workers of Berlin"), a speech delivered in the name of the *Allgemeiner deutscher Arbeiterverein*, on October 14, 1863.

BLACK, RED AND GOLD, OR BLACK, WHITE AND RED?

You know that the members of the National Union and of the Progressive Party, who constitute the Congress of Deputies, had always declared their adherence to the Frankfort Imperial Constitution of 1849, which they announced was the legal basis, the palladium of the German nation!

I must at the outset seek to clear away any misunderstanding. The revision to the Frankfort Imperial Constitution is not my point of view, nor is it our point of view! In our eyes, the attempt to re-establish the Frankfort Imperial Constitution is nothing more or less than a reactionary Utopia. From our point of view the Frankfort Imperial Constitution was already, when it was adopted, in 1849, nothing else than a final evidence of the impotence of federalism. German unity, a unified sovereign central power, accompanied by a retention of the thirty-four different separate sovereignties, is in itself a contradiction, is as impossible as it is for a white coat to be black. Sovereignty, whether it inhere in the princes or in the people, is indivisible,

by its very nature, as indivisible as the soul of man.

What we really need, therefore, if we are to speak of German unity, is the cessation of these thirty-four independent, separate sovereignties and their combination into one sovereignty. And this is the reason why the Frankfort Imperial Constitution was unable to maintain itself for a single day. It went to pieces, not, as our Progressives believe, by reason of its revolutionary character, which we are told was too advanced for the time, but by reason of its reactionary character. It went to pieces not because of the changes it made, but because it retained too much of the old. It was a sacrifice to the above-mentioned logical contradiction involved in the existence of a unified, central power having thirty-four sovereignties. . . .

For us, therefore, the idea of again establishing the Frankfort Imperial Constitution can be nothing else than a reactionary Utopia. It is a Utopia—a pious wish—for the reason that this constitution, because of its internal contradiction, will be for us as unable to keep alive for a single day in the future as it has been in the past; it is reactionary, because, if we should again be obliged to begin with our unsuccessful experiment of 1849, this would mean that our entire history since 1848 has had no significance and no moral for us at all. In our opinion, which is to the effect that the destruction of the Frankfort

Imperial Constitution was merely the necessary consequence of its internal contradiction and the final evidence of the impotence of federalism,—in our opinion, this period of fourteen years of history would have a meaning, and a great meaning, even though it had been purchased dearly. . . .

On the other hand, Herr von Bismarck rebukes the Progressives for having betrayed Prussia, and on the other hand, the Pan-German organs maintain that the Progressive Party is betraying Germany to the party's secret passion of keeping Prussia at the head. And the most remarkable point, gentlemen, is that both Herr von Bismarck and the Pan-Germans are right, for the Progressives have achieved the apparently impossible task, in their attempt to make themselves beloved on all sides, of betraying everything; they have advocated and denied everything in the same breath! . . .

In our eyes, therefore, the Prussian Constitution, which was only an evidence and a product of a legal violation committed against the people, is without value or interest, as it is without a legal existence. For us, the struggle of the two parties has no essential interest, for both parties, the reactionaries as well as the Progressives, are equally strangers to us.

There is no interest of principle for us in this struggle, since the entire object of contention—the Prussian Constitution—has no interest for us. On

the contrary, the Prussian Constitution can arouse no other interest in us than the desire to have it disappear as quickly as possible! . . .

—*From Die Feste, die Presse, und der Frankfurter Abgeordnetentag.*

THE SUNRISE OF THE FUTURE

The thing that was unable to maintain itself in France, the thing that at that time really went to pieces, was not the Republic as such, but the Republic that abolished the universal suffrage by the Election Law of May 30, 1850, and set up a disguised property qualification in order to exclude the workers; in other words, it was the bourgeois Republic which wished to impress even upon the Republican state the image of the bourgeoisie, the domination of capital. It was this which afforded the French usurper an opportunity to overthrow the Republic under the pretext of establishing the universal suffrage, and yet this Republic under other circumstances would have found an insurmountable bulwark in the breast of the French workers.

The thing, therefore, which was then really not able to maintain itself in France and was, therefore, overthrown, was not the Republic as such, but the bourgeois Republic, and, therefore, an honest study of this situation will show, precisely by means of this example, that the period of history in which we have lived since February, 1848, will no longer tolerate a state which, either in monarchic or republican

form, aims to maintain the dominant political imprint of the third (bourgeois) estate of society.

From the high watch-towers of science, gentlemen, one can discern the red dawn of the new day sooner than if one is situated in the turmoil of daily life.

Gentlemen, have you ever witnessed a sunrise from a high mountain top?

A purple border tinges the extreme horizon with a red and bloody glow that announces the new light; mist and fogs rise and contract into great mounds, attacking the rosy dawn, and for the moment concealing its rays; but no power on earth is capable of hindering the slow and majestic ascent of the sun itself, which, but a single hour later, will stand shining bright and warm in the sky, visible to all the world.

And this single hour in such a great spectacle of nature, which is repeated every day, is equivalent to one or two decades in the far more imposing spectacle of a sunrise in history.

—*From Arbeiter-Programm.*

THE RIGHT TO REVOLUTION; THE DUTY OF THE WORKERS

WE are all workers insofar as we have the will to make ourselves useful to human society in some way or other. This Fourth Estate, which, therefore, contains in its heart-chambers not a germ of any new privilege, is for this very reason synonymous with the entire human race. Its cause is, therefore, the cause of humanity as a whole; its freedom is the freedom of humanity as a whole; its rule is the rule of all.

Any one who appeals, therefore, to the idea of the working class as the dominant principle of society, in the sense in which I have just expounded this to you, will not utter a cry that will divide and separate the classes of society; he will rather utter a cry of conciliation, a cry that will embrace all of society, a cry for the abolition of all the contrasts in the social strata, a cry for union, in which all should join who are opposed to privileges and to suppression of the people by privileged classes, a cry of love, which, once it has forced its way from the heart of the people, will forever be the true slogan of the people, and which, for the sake of its content

alone, will remain nonetheless a cry of love even when it resounds as the people's battle cry. . . .

To be sure, the lower classes still retain more selfishness than they should. But this selfishness, where it is present in this case, is the defect of individuals, of certain persons, and not an essential defect of the class. Even a modicum of instinct will inform the members of the lower classes, that, insofar as every one of them thinks only of himself and acts only for himself, he can never hope for any essential improvement of his situation. But insofar as the lower classes of society aim at an improvement of their situation as a class, an improvement of their lot as a class, to precisely this extent will this personal interest—instead of opposing itself to the historical tendency and thus being condemned as a socially immoral act—will it coincide in direction with the development of the entire people, with the victory of the idea, with the advances of civilization, with the life principle of history itself, which is nothing more or less than the growth of freedom. Or, as we have already seen above, your cause is the cause of humanity as a whole.

You are, therefore, in the fortunate situation, gentlemen, of being—not dead to new ideas—but rather, owing to your own personal interest, extremely susceptible to them. You are in the fortunate situation in which that which constitutes your

true personal, best interest actually coincides with the beating pulses of history, with the driving life force of moral evolution. You may, therefore, attach yourself with personal, with passionate feeling to the evolution of history, and be assured that your position will be the more impregnable, as this passion, in the pure sense in which we have thus depicted it, is the more ardent and consuming.

These are the reasons, gentlemen, why the rule of the Fourth Estate must bring to the nation an efflorescence of morality, of civilization and science, such as has never before been seen in history. . . .

The moral idea of the bourgeoisie holds that the individual is to be guaranteed nothing more than an exclusive right to the self-activity of his forces.

If we were all equally strong, equally intelligent, equally educated and equally wealthy, this idea might be considered as a sufficient and moral idea.

But as we do not and cannot enjoy such equality, this thought is insufficient and in its consequences, therefore, necessarily leads to a profound immorality. For it leads to an exploitation of the weaker by the stronger, the more intelligent, the more wealthy; the stronger will put the weaker in his pocket.

The moral idea of the working class, on the other hand, holds that the free and untrammelled activity of the powers of the individual by himself is of itself not sufficient, but that there must be added, in a morally well-ordered community, a solidarity of

interests, and a common possession, a common mutuality of evolution.

In accordance with this difference, the bourgeoisie conceives the moral purpose of the State as consisting only in the duty to protect the personal liberty of the individual and his property.

This is a policeman's idea, gentlemen, a policeman's idea for the reason that it creates the State after the image of the policeman, whose sole function consists—or should consist—in preventing theft and burglary. I am sorry to say that this policeman notion is not only peculiar to the Liberals, but also to many alleged Democrats, owing to their insufficient mental training. If the bourgeoisie should consistently pronounce its last word, it would be obliged to admit that, according to these ideas of its own, there would be no reason for a State at all, if it were not for the existence of robbers and thieves. . . .

A State, therefore, which is placed under the dominion of the idea of the working class, would no longer—as has been the case with all the States thus far—be driven about willy-nilly by the course of events and the compulsion of circumstances, but would elevate this moral character of the State into its chief task, with extreme clarity and in full consciousness. It would achieve with free vigor and complete consistency things that have thus far been achieved only piece-meal and in the faintest outline in opposition to reluctant concessions, and by this

very means it would thus necessarily bring about an elevation of the spirit, the production of a sum total of happiness, culture, well-being and liberty that have had no parallel in the world's history, and as compared to which even the most highly lauded periods of earlier days will become mere shadows. . . .

But, for all those who are members of the working class, what I have just said should be a reminder of their duty to assume an entirely new attitude.

Nothing is better suited to impart to a certain class a dignified, profoundly moral character, than the consciousness that this class is destined to be the ruling class, that it is called upon to elevate the principle of its class as the principle of the generation in which it lives, to make *its* idea the dominant idea of the entire society and in turn, to reconstruct society in its own image.

The high world-historic privilege of having such a destiny must inspire all your ideas. It is no longer appropriate for you to retain the vices of the oppressed, or the idle distractions of the thoughtless, or even the harmless carelessness of the insignificant.

You are the rock on which the church of the future shall be built!

—*From Arbeiter-Programm.*

TO THE SUPREME COURT

IN the first part of my speech, in my consideration of the Middle Ages, I had mentioned that the abolition of the guilds had been demanded as early as 1672 in the German Diet, and as early as 1614 in the French *Etats Généraux*. I had mentioned that in the year 1776 the Reform Minister Turgot abolished guilds in France, but that the King was forced by the outcries of the privileged classes to recall his own edict a few months later, and that then, finally, by the storming of the Bastille, a single day's work achieved results that had been worked for in vain in Germany and France for almost two centuries.

To this statement I had added the following objective historical observation: "You will see, therefore, gentlemen, that no matter how great are the advantages inherent in reforms by the legal method, this method nevertheless suffers—in all important matters—from the disadvantage of sometimes remaining powerless for centuries, and, on the other hand, that the path of revolution, however undeniable its defects may be, has the advantage of leading swiftly and energetically to a practical outcome."

And in this strictly objective and historical observation, which expounds impartially both the

advantages and disadvantages of revolutions, and which was taken from a historical presentation of the Middle Ages, the First Judge finds a reason for passing a sentence of condemnation, since he assumes that I necessarily prefer the revolutionary course to the legal course, and that I, in consequence, would necessarily be of the same opinion with regard to the present epoch of history and the goals to be achieved in it, and would, therefore, be inspired in the bottom of my heart with the idea that the working classes should act similarly now!—I could hardly believe my eyes when I encountered in the sentence this basis of the condemnation!

Aside from the fact that, even if one should admit this logical process, it would lead only to an indictment for inciting to revolution against the State power, and not to an indictment for inciting to hatred and contempt for citizens of the State—does not the First Judge understand that this condemnation on the basis of inferences is a most flagrant transgression of all the principles of justice? . . .

These inferences are entirely erroneous and deceiving. They are paralogisms whose incorrectness I have proven to you with as much brevity as clearness in the document serving as a justification for my appeal.

But even if these conclusions should be as correct as they really are incorrect—does not the First

Judge understand that he has no right to indulge in such inferences? Does he not know that it is his duty to adhere to my stated words only, and not to venture any intrusion into the sacred domain of my internal freedom of thought? That he has not the slightest right to drag before the Tribunal of Penal Justice views that have not been expressed, even though it might be possible to infer from what has been expressed that such thoughts might be present at the bottom of my soul?

I was boundlessly astonished at this, for the judgment here involves a violation of all the most sacred principles of justice, a violation that is so flagrant that it remains without precedent, on this scale, even in periods of an utter contempt for justice.

Do you know, gentlemen, which case has been chosen by conservative writers of history as the worst atrocity against justice of which the Tribunals of the Terror were guilty under the French Revolution? It is the case of a condemnation which was pronounced on an accused person who had been found guilty of singing the song: "*O Richard, mon roi!*" ("O, Richard, my King!").

Well, then! I am being sentenced because the judge believes he has heard, not from my lips; no, but in the deepest recesses of my soul, the melody: "*O Révolution, ma reine!*" ("O, Revolution, my Queen!"). . . .

I shall not conceal from you, gentlemen, that our

views may be widely different. Certainly I wish for many things which you do not wish, and I am opposed to many things that you wish.

But what has this to do with the sphere of justice?

We are even more widely divergent in the matter of what we believe than in the matter of what we wish.

You do not believe in the possibility of a revolution, gentlemen. And yet, my studies have brought me to the point in which I believe in the possibility of a revolution.

In my speech of defense before the court of the first instance, I already made statements as to the scientific meaning of the word "revolution," the meaning in which I understand this word.

The definition I assigned to this word is simply that of substituting a new principle for an old condition, either with or without the use of force.

In this sense I can say that I am at any rate convinced of the future occurrence of a revolution.

It will either come with full legality and with all the blessings of peace, if men are wise enough to make up their minds in time to enable them to introduce it from above, or it will come—within some appreciable period—as a whirlwind with all the convulsions of violence, as a fury with wild, waving hair, with bronze sandals on her feet.

In either one of these two ways, revolution will

come; of that there is no doubt, and when I cut myself off from the tumult of the day and bury myself in the study of history, I can hear her treading her iron gait.

—*From Die indirekte Steuer und die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse ("Indirect Taxation and the Situation of the Working Class"), a speech delivered by Lassalle in his own defense before the Royal Chamber Court in answer to the accusation of having "publicly incited the propertyless classes to hatred and contempt for the prosperous."*

THE END

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EXPLANATORY NOTES

Allgemeiner deutscher Arbeiterverein ("General German Workers' Union"): An organization founded by Ferdinand Lassalle in 1863.

Bastille: The prison fortress built at the Porte St. Antoine, Paris, in 1369, destroyed by a popular uprising, July 14, 1789. It was regarded as a symbol of monarchical despotism, and July 14, the day of its demolition, remains a national holiday in France.

Bismarck, Prince Otto von (1815-1898): German statesman; founder of the German Empire; famous for his "Exception Laws" directed against the socialist movement in Germany.

Black, Red and Gold: The colors proposed for the national German Flag by the Frankfort Assembly of 1848; symbolically, therefore, a liberal or progressive attitude in politics.

Black, White and Red: The colors of the German national ensign since 1871; symbolically, therefore, an imperialistic and nationalistic attitude.

Chamber: This word is used by Lassalle to designate the Lower House of the Prussian Legislature (the "Diet").

Communist Manifesto: The first popular declaration of the principles and program of Scientific Socialism, written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and printed in 1847.

Constituent Assembly (Also called "National Assembly," or "Convention"): The first of the revolutionary legislative bodies of France (1789-1791), pledged not to separate until the constitution was established.

Engels, Friedrich (1820-1895): For a study of his life and work, see D. Riazanov: *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels*, 1927.

Etats Généraux: See States General.

Fichte, Johann Gottlieb (1762-1814): German philosopher; see Franz Mehring: *Social Forces in German History*, 1927.

Fortschrittspartei ("Progressive Party," also called *Fortschrittsmänner*, "Men of Progress"): A liberal party founded in Prussia in 1861 and predominant in the Prussian Diet until 1866, when the National Liberal Party was formed from it.

Fourth Estate: The persons constituting the lowest and unrepresented classes of society, as distinguished from the commons; we should now call it the proletariat.

Frankfort Parliament: This body, the first predecessor of the modern German Reichstag, assembled in St. Paul's Church, Frankfort, from May 18, 1848, to May 31, 1849. Its constitutional reforms were not finally adopted until 1864.

Hatzfeld, Sophie, Countess of (1805-1881): Married Count Hatzfeld in 1822, divorced in 1851; Lassalle's friendship for her was the cause of his devoting to her service many years which might otherwise have gone to the revolutionary movement.

Hauptmann, Gerhart (born 1862): Living German dramatist; the author of a number of social dramas in prose and verse, including the prose drama *Die Weber* ("The Weavers"), 1892.

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831): German philosopher. His philosophy is characterized by the so-called Hegelian dialectic, or principle which enables reflective thinking to arrange all the categories, or necessary conceptions of reason, in an order of development that corresponds to the actual order, in development, of all reality.

Heine, Heinrich (1797-1856): German lyricist, also the most fluent prose writer of Germany. While not a member of any revolutionary movement, Heine was impelled by his ardent hatred of tyranny to favor many indications of political discontent.

Hellpach, Willy (living Badensian statesman, born 1877): One of the founders of the German "Democratic Party" in 1918.

Jacobi, Johann (1805-1877): German democratic leader, participated in the Revolution of 1848 in Germany, imprisoned many times. A few years before his death, he joined the socialist movement.

Junker (A German word, from the Middle High German *junc herre*, "young sir"): A member of the landed gentry; a country gentleman of the nobility; the German equivalent to the landed nobility of England.

Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim (1728-1781): German critic, dramatist and philosopher; author of *Nathan der Weise*, *Emilia Galotti*, *Minna von Barnhelm*, etc.

Machiavellian Art of Government: Niccolò Machiavelli was a Florentine statesman and writer whose chief work, *Il Principe* ("The Prince"), contains advice to rulers on the proper manner of mystifying and governing a people.

Manteuffel, Otto von (1805-1882): Prussian reactionary statesman, who dispersed the National Assembly in Berlin, November, 1849.

Marx, Karl (1818-1883): For a study of his life and work, see D. Riazanov: *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels*, 1927.

Mehring, Franz (1846-1919): German revolutionary socialist, publicist and historian; author of *Social Forces in German History*, 1927, and of a history of the German Social-Democracy, and a life of Karl Marx (in German).

Memel: A river formerly marking the eastern boundary of Germany (up to 1919). Its mouth, which empties into the Baltic Sea, is now in Lithuania.

Mirabeau, Comte de (1749-1791): French statesman and orator; a member of the Constituent Assembly.

Moselle (Ger. Mosel): A river in eastern France and western Germany, joining the Rhine at Coblenz.

Napoleon, Louis (1808-1873): Nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte; President of the Second French Republic, later Emperor of France (until 1871).

Napoleonic coup d'état of 1851: For a thorough account, see Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, 1926.

National Assembly: Several National Assemblies were held in Germany in 1848 and 1849 to determine the political and social conditions under which the unification of the Empire should take place. All these bodies deliberated without result, however.

Nationalverein: A political organization formed in 1859, ostensibly with the purpose of securing the unification and the free development of Germany, but later imbued with reactionary spirit.

Paralogism: A fallacy in reason in which the reasoner is unconscious; also, loosely, any act of false reasoning.

Progressive Party: See *Fortschrittspartei*.

Realpolitiker (A German compound noun): A statesman who is proud that, though he may be governed by ideals in part, he nevertheless faces the *real* situation as it is. A realist in politics.

Rheinische Zeitung: An organ of the Rhenish radical bourgeoisie, edited from October, 1842, to January, 1843, by Karl Marx.

Rodbertus, Karl (1805-1875): German economic writer; author of a book, *Das Kapital*, with the same title as Karl Marx's great work; see Bukharin: *The Economic Theory of the Leisure Class*, 1927.

Rolandseck: A village and watering-place on the left bank of the Rhine.

Schulze-Delitzsch, Hermann (1808-1883): Reactionary German statesman and economist; see Franz Mehring: *Social Forces in German History*, 1927.

Schweitzer, J. B. von (1833-1875): German socialist, publicist, editor of the periodical *Der Sozialdemokrat* beginning January 1, 1865.

Schwerin-Patow Cabinet: A "liberal" Prussian ministry, one of the members of which was Count Maximilian Schwerin (1804-1872). Characteristically enough, Schwerin was one of the first "liberals" to vote for the policy of the Bismarck Cabinet in 1866.

States General: A general as opposed to provincial legislature, composed of different classes or estates of citizens; the name of the legislative body of the Netherlands, and that of France during the Revolution; it was convoked in France only in periods of national crisis.

Third Estate: The commons (*communitas, communitatis*), as distinguished from the nobles and the clergy.

Three-Class Election Law: An election system in which the suffrage right was divided into three classes, in accordance with the amount of taxes paid by the voter; this system was introduced in Prussia in 1849 and remained in force (with extensive alterations dating from 1893) until the Revolution of November 9, 1918.

Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques (1727-1781): General supervisor of finances in France before the Revolution.

Volkszeitung: A political daily of democratic tendency which began appearing in Berlin, in April, 1853.

Vossische Zeitung: A liberal daily, the oldest still published at Berlin, founded in 1725. It is named after one of its early publishers, Christian Friedrich Voss. Its policy is liberal.

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