

running summary of official diplomatic documents, the author has given a clear overall picture of the developments in policy-making at the diplomatic level without repeating slices of material found in published works in European languages. Because Professor Quested was unable to gain access to the Russian archives, her book is not definitive; nevertheless it remains the most complete and objective account of this vital subject to have appeared to date in any language.

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GRÜNDUNGSDOKUMENTE DES BUNDES DER KOMMUNISTEN (JUNI BIS SEPTEMBER 1847). Edited by Bert Andréas. Hamburg: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co., 1969. 79 pp.

Though the Marxist school has generally ignored or denied it, the sketch of the history of the League of Communists written by Engels in 1885 has long been known to contain several important errors and omissions. Having no documents of the period June–September 1847 at his disposal, Engels confused even his own role in his reconstruction of the events of that time.

Bert Andréas of the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva has retrieved the missing documents from the manuscripts division of the Hamburg State and University Library. For the first time scholars can consult such crucial sources as the official report of the June 1847 congress of the League of Communists (as the League of the Just renamed itself at that congress). The collection of five documents (facsimiles are also provided) includes a draft of the statutes of the League of Communists dated June 9, 1847, a draft of the “Glaubensbekenntnis” of the same date (first question: “Bist Du Kommunist?”), and the first quarterly report of the new league’s leadership, dated London, September 14, 1847.

These documents prove that Engels played an important role in the discussions of the program of the June 1847 congress. He based his well-known “Grundsätze des Kommunismus” upon the “Glaubensbekenntnis” of that congress. All this in turn, as Andréas’s documents demonstrate, proves that the *Communist Manifesto* was not invented by the inspired genius of Karl Marx. The League of the Just, more particularly the progressive, radical section in London, had contemplated a party platform since November 1846. Engels and others had a hand in the rejection of the old conspiratorial practices and the decision to create a modern, working-class political party. Various documents were drawn up and discussed, including several versions of a “kommunistisches Glaubensbekenntnis” and Engels’ “Grundsätze.” The new party (i.e., the League of Communists) presented all these documents to Marx and asked him to write a platform. Marx accepted Engels’ suggestion that he call the platform a “manifesto,” and he wrote it in his own brilliant style *on the basis of the documents supplied by the league.*

In 1848, as in 1864 at the founding of the First International, the program of the revolutionary international party had its roots in existing movements and in its own ideas. Marx, in both instances, “only” formulated those ideas at the party’s request. It takes nothing away from him to have the record set straight.

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