

## The social critique of Auguste Blanqui

# Communism, the future of society

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A careful study of the geology and history shows that mankind began with the isolation, absolute individualism, and that through a long series of improvements must lead to the community.

The proof of this truth will be by the experimental method, the only valid today, because it was based science.

The observation of facts and inferences establish irrefutable inch of this steady march of mankind. We will see clearly that any progress is a victory, defeat, or reversal of communism, its development coincides with that of civilization, the two ideas are identical, that all issues raised successively in history by the needs of our case were a communist solution that matters now pending, so tough, so full of turmoil and war, can do no more receive the other, just get worse from evil and falling into the absurd.

All the improvements of the tax, the authority replaced the farm jobs, tobacco, salt, innovations Communists. Industrial companies, corporations, mutual insurance of any kind, even stamp. The military, colleges, prisons, barracks, communism in limbo, coarse, brutal, but inevitable. Nothing comes out of that path. The tax, the government itself are of communism, the worst case for sure, and yet an absolute necessity. The idea has just said his first word. Prior to be his last, it has changed everything from the front. We are still as barbaric.

See the effects of the current regime! The low price and therefore the abundance of food are required for a calamity, which ruins the producer, is beleaguered industry and commerce. The political economy openly dedicated this blasphemy by his definitions. She

called *utility* natural wealth and *value* social wealth. However, the utility is plenty, and the value is scarcity. Plus there has *utility value*, Unless there has *market value*. O madness! how this is a blessing by itself can become a nuisance? Through the greed of capital, which requires the lion's share, and retired as soon as the price refused him. His retirement adds products, and it is fishing in troubled waters.

The Dutchman, in their Asian possessions, banned the cultivation of pepper, nutmeg, etc. ..., and destroyed by the masses spices, in order to maintain the high prices on the market. In civilized countries, every producer wants the high price of its product and the lowering of all others. The sorry decline of the farmer flour, and despair rising industrial. This ongoing social war is it not a terrible accusation against this organization?

Under the communitarian, good benefits everyone and evil does not benefit anyone. Good harvests are a blessing, a curse bad. No one enjoys what harms others and may suffer from what is useful. All things are settled according to justice and reason. The stock may abound, but it lead to industrial and commercial crises. Quite the contrary, the accumulation of products, impossible today without disasters, will limit while their natural deterioration.

The worst plants often take hold ground at the expense of the best. Capitalism, grasping, eye on the watch, took the part of the association, and this magnificent instrument of progress in his hands became a real rifle. He uses them to exterminate the small and medium industries, medium and small businesses.

These poor people die, smothered in the shadows, the silent. Neither brightness nor scandal. One sees, one hears nothing. They disappear incognito. This is something that the riots of 1848 caused so much fury and blind vengeance without mercy. Merchants can meditate at leisure the fable of La Fontaine, the stream at the crash harmless, the river that swallows silently in its tranquil waters. We pass the river, feet a little wet, it stays at the bottom of river.

On the ruins of the bourgeois modest rises, the more learned and more terrible than the old patrician, the triple financial feudalism, industrial and commercial stands under its feet the entire society, the trick instead of violence, the great robber Road supplanted by the pickpocket.

It said that the past, before dying, hit his last shot with the very weapon that should kill him. By striking, he brought his own hand a mortal wound. The association, serving the capital, becomes a curse as it will not long be supported. It is the privilege of this glorious principle can not be that good. It is wrong for the insecticide Vicat. Bedbugs who sees it die

poisoned.

When the time has come for social change, all hurried to the rescue, helping birth. The depleted energy that will make him go out themselves, without realizing it, the support of their latest effort. We are witnessing a strange spectacle. Before our eyes are held preliminary community.

What is mutual assistance, including the principle receives every time a new application, and works in solidarity gradually all the interest? One side of the transformation approaches. And the association, the favorite of the day, panacea whose praise resound in unison, without a single dissenting voice, if not also what the main avenue and the last word of communism?

No illusions, however. This word does not say as the great majority remained crouched in the dark. The moon would descend on this globe, rather than the community, deprived of its essential element, the lights. It would be easier for us to breathe with no air to it to exist without education, its atmosphere and its vehicle. Between these two things, education, and communism, the link is so close that one can not do without the other, or a step forward or a step backwards. They constantly market and retain front in humanity and do not distance themselves from a line to the end of their journey together.

Ignorance and community are incompatible. Generality of the instruction without communism, and communism without generality of the instruction, two impossibilities are equal. The man of the community is that we do wrong, nor leads. Now everything is an ignorant fool and an instrument of deception, a slave and an instrument of bondage ...

A meaningless, if not a Jesuit, has dared to say in a public meeting: "If the company was composed of producers, good workers, but ignorant, she marches falling off the premises in despotism, but she would live. If society was composed of scholars, not producers, it does not live. "

The same man also said: "I dread this anomaly downgraded you see every day who are highly educated, highly intelligent and are incapable of earning a living. "

It's that precious speaker who pushes education free, compulsory and secular, as an attack on freedom, and increasing regulatory centralization. "

These are all the good wishes and all the hatred of priests, vows of darkness, hatred of enlightenment. The war was the outcasts, after the coup, the rallying cry against the

relentless hunt for college teachers and laymen. You must read the circular of the prefects of the time to understand the negative reaction projects clerical monarchy.

Free education would deliver all the education to the Jesuits. No possible competition before the coalition of clergy and Capital. The only treason dares argue otherwise. Finally, the anathema launched *a society composed entirely of* reveals enough for scientists to perpetuate the caste system, here the pariahs of manual labor, is the privileged intelligence, a mass of morons and a privileged abrutisseurs.

It takes a lot of audacity, if not even more nonsense to claim that a nation of scholars do *not live* and probably grow weary of starvation. No nation of modern times could not fight productive power with a nation of scholars, whether in agriculture or in industry. The distance between the two is greater than between the Gauls of Caesar and the French in 1870.

That the public meetings, if they last, take care emissaries of the Society of Jesus. This is his tactic to keep all the clubs, and to remove issues that are dear to the reverend fathers, these detectives were ordered to take all the masks. But the clerical interest is free education, development suspicion of science and scientists, the outcasts and the war, in other words, for educated and poor.

Anyone under the pretext of freedom and economy, rejects education free and compulsory education free to ask, is an agent of Jesuitism. He also says Republican revolutionary, atheist, materialist, socialist, communist, Proudhon, all he wants, regardless of the color of his mask, they can, without fear of error, call henchman Jesuits. Indeed, common sense shows that free education, without state intervention or free, is, by the omnipotence of the shield, the monopoly of education at the hands of priests.

Now teaching priest means darkness and oppression. The black army, of a hundred thousand soldiers male and female, goes full fury, and hawking the night asking around the extinguisher. Supported by the state, it dominates government, threatens, compresses. The secular arm is at his command, the Capital lavishes all its resources, knowing his best ally, or rather his last hope of salvation.

Who knows today what risk? The full democracy, regardless of grades, proclaimed, invoking the sole remedy, education. Divided for everything else, it is unanimous on this point. The same cry escapes from every throat "Light! Light! More clerical stupidity! "

Clamor. the government turned a deaf ear and replied only by the feverish acceleration of

Jesuit influence. Each year hundreds are closing secular schools and open more numerous congregational schools. Comparing 1848 to 1870, we see that the girls, twenty-five, half owned by the two lessons, and it is barely one sixth day to the laity, of seventeen percent, the number of boys poisoned by the priestly education amounted to fifty per cent, and this frightening increase continuously with repetition for both sexes. The plan cretinization Universal continues unabated. S'accomplirat it?

No! But how late in the advent of happy days! What a depressing halt the strife and misery! The years fly, unnecessary and monotonous, the generations pass, devoured one after another by the monster of superstition and ignorance. He is standing there, blocking the path to humanity to the promised land she sees in the distance, but could not reach.

How much longer will he fight against this enemy who never makes neighborhood, he, and we always forgive, having overthrown? Ah If the revolution had done his duty in 1830, 1848, this half-century, so sadly lost, was enough to reach the goal. The war was over, and nations, leaving the past behind them sink quickly into the night, would advance rapidly towards a brighter future always.

The revolution will she finally wise to his next triumph, or will she once again thanks to the genius of evil, it left far more terrible to get up each of his failures? There are traitors in our ranks who protect hours of setbacks, with cabalistic sentences whose people are fooled. The motto of betrayal will be the next "release of the budget of worship, separation of church and state. "Translate: victory of Catholicism, crushing the revolution. Let our motto is to us - "Removal of worship, expulsion of priests! And it does not bow before the prayer or the threat or before the tip.

Sale would be death. The victorious republic will have no time to waste in useless struggles. Too many obstacles will require years of open trench for the play-out attack by a hedge that can be overcome in the race. The army, the judiciary, Christianity, political organization, simple hedges. Ignorance formidable stronghold. A day for the hedge to the bastion, twenty years.

The hedge interferes with the seat - shaved. It will still be too long, and as the community can be established only on the location of the stronghold destroyed, it can not count on the morrow. A trip to the moon would be a less dangerous chimera. Yet the dream of many impatient, alas, too legitimate impossible dream before the change in attitudes. The will of the whole of France would remain powerless to forestall the hour, and the attempt would only result in failure, signal furious reactions.

There are conditions of existence for all agencies. Apart from these conditions, they are not viable. The community can not be improvised, because it will be a consequence of the statement can not be improvised further. Remember the race of vampires, who is also the chameleons. It would not disappear over the day after the revolution, that the race of naive and simple, its regular food.

The clothes would be returned soon. It would appear from the earth, in crowds, like mushrooms after a storm, charlatans of communism to indoctrinate the men, hypocrites embobeliners community for women. To them, price infallible plot, stewardship, that is to say, the discretionary provision of common goods. The mass of ignorant people become their prey and their army ... just as today, with consequences far more terrible: such a mixture of tyranny and anarchy that revolution happen lightning-cons, not for one day, but for many years under the terrors of the memory alive. A fearful jump back!

Is it not also foolish to imagine that a simple somersault, the company will land on his feet, rebuilt anew? No! things do not go well, nor men, nor in nature.

The community will advance step by step instruction along with his companion and his guide, never forward, never backward, always in front. She will complete the day, thanks to the universality of knowledge, not a single man can be deceived by another. That day, no one wants to suffer the inequality of fortune. Now Communism only satisfies this condition ...

It may be objected that equality of education does not at all the intelligences, and that inequality will always be a brain for intellectual hierarchy, from engineering to the void.

Okay. But among the poorest brain, education will be a full armor sufficient proof against deception, whatever the mask. Experience proves it. The exploiter meet the smile on every face crushing means "Banquiste, go! The conviction of his impotence save him the disappointment. Moreover, the established order, not being an improvisation, the race of vampires has had time to acclimatize and to resign themselves to the new environment. Make no mistake, the fraternity is unable to kill his brother.

The most useful of human faculties, the faculty protector par excellence, which protects us against both inside and outside, the other cons and cons nousmêmes, trial, too rare today, will, for the integral education, a dramatic expansion that will make the weapon of the new society. Fruit of the experience and comparison, it will draw an unknown force. Then it will be all done the trick. A relentless vision will detect the last under his disguises. Knaves and fools cease to form the two great divisions of humanity.

Already credulity is everywhere under attack. The black army still has sequestered the children and women. The men leave. Keep children and adults lose! Always have your own, by privilege., The blank page imprint themselves so easily indelible impressions, and then see erase, replace ... Working so hard! What irrevocable sentence! May she be executed promptly!

The genius remains an exception. The ruling will become the common property. It is enough to dethrone forever hypocrisy, present queen of the world. Feeling hypocritical, hypocrites franchise, hypocritical meekness, devotion hypocrites, hypocrites cordiality and candor, hypocrites, hypocrites of chivalry, of hypocritical virtue of simplicity hypocrites, hypocritical benevolence, hypocrites, my friends, abominable plague you unmasked by the minute, hissed, violated, and religious hypocrisy. the most hellish of all, will not be a historical memory, memory of amazement and horror.

People will looks so sharp that in every person, faults and qualities will be counted one by one, as in a glass jar. Ah He will walk right under penalty of laughter and boos. And yet the indulgence will be the general fund of spirits, for free will, by final decision of science, has ceased to exist. As for the crime, disappeared with Capital and religion, his father and mother.

These are, in our view, the consequences of the universality of knowledge. Note that in this horoscope, communism is as simple fact, not a cause. It will arise inevitably from the general direction and can only come from there.

Now he is alleged to be the sacrifice of the individual and the denial of freedom. Certainly, if he came, forceps, premature, abortion would put this sad at full speed towards the onions of Egypt. But it must be the son of science, who will dare to bring the case against the child of such a mother? Where are the evidence to support the charge that are thrown? It is a gratuitous insult, since the accused had never lived.

And in whose name this arrogant assumption? On behalf of individualism which, for thousands of years, always kills freedom and the individual. How are they, in our case, the individuals whom he has not made serfs and victims? One in ten thousand perhaps. Ten thousand martyrs for an executioner! Ten thousand slaves to a tyrant! and it calls for the freedom! I understand! Some claim escobarderie, ensconced behind a definition. The oligarchy called Does not democracy, perjury honesty, sticking moderation?

The freedom which argues against communism, we know it is the freedom to enslave, exploit the freedom to thank you, great freedom of existence, as Renan said, with the

multitudes to step. That freedom, the people called oppression and crime. He no longer wants to feed his flesh and blood.

Moralists and lawmakers are all asking the principle that man must make to society the sacrifice of a portion of his liberty, in other words the freedom of everyone to limit the freedom of others. This definition is she obeyed by the present order, with both categories of privileged and outcast? How much of easements for freedom? 10, 20, 60, 100, 2,000, 30,000, 100,000? Countless rates, countless applications. The chain alone does not change.

Any encroachment on the freedom of others violates the definition of moralists, the only legitimate, though still remained elusive. It implies social equality between individuals, from which it follows that freedom is limited by equality.

Only the integral association can meet this sovereign law. The old order tramples the shameless and ruthless. Communism is the safeguarding of the individual, individualism is extermination. For one, every individual is sacred. The other does not take into account more than a worm, and sacrificed in the bloody carnage by Trinity Loyola Caesar and Shylock, after which he calmly said: "The community would sacrifice the individual. "

It interferes with the feast of the cannibals, it is clear. But those who do not find fresh bad inconvenience. Is essential. Under what pretext, moreover, we quarrel? Is it to impose communism *a priori* ? Not at all. It merely predict it will be the inevitable result of the investigation universalized. Who could condemn the rapid development of knowledge? If he must follow the regular arrival of the community, nobody has a say.

Each instruction proclaims the only possible answer to the riddles of the sphinx office. It is not quite sure that this invocation is sincere in every mouth. It is still the word as all those who pose a problem. So many parties, so many definitions. For priests, the catechism and no science, for the socialists, it is science and catechism.

No wonder then in this unanimous vote. She did not hide under a bloody war. The people did not worry. It is no arrièrepensée him, and takes no false signs. He has always written his own: *Freedom, Instruction* with a clear and precise meaning. Clericalism, however, after long burdened the two words of its anathemas, relented, seeing his helplessness and sticks to his standard now, to enjoy their prestige. Double and shameless lie. What matters to him, as long as it dupes!

Presentiment that conservatism which led the diffusion of knowledge, his alliance with the extinguisher loud enough. More ignorance, more oppression! It is undermined by the



struggle for basic and extended darkness, the living environment. In socialism the opposite task: to emerge from the present night sky light that will illuminate his victory, victory of justice and common sense on the evil and absurdity. Its mission then will be filled.

It contends, however, require more of him. The capitalist theory, which has filled and filled even the human race so many benefits, worries greatly to see his pupil move to other flags. In his kindness, she sum communism, his young rival, present in detail the details of the future organization to resolve all the difficulties he is pleased to provide, to serve his curiosity finally a building, complete from cellar to attic, without omission of a nail or a peg.

"How the citizens of the new Salentum he would have his person, his time, his fantasies of travel or rest? Who will wash the dishes? Who will sweep? Who will empty the chamber pots and fill the casks? Who will the coal mines, etc. ...? "

At these impertinent questions, one answer "It does not concern you, nor me either. "

Hey What! Here 40-50000000 men, all shod ice better than not an academician, all armed from head to toe against the violence and deception, all of which as sensitive, touchy like wild horses. Nothing that something awful and hated called a government could not show his face among them, not a shadow of authority, not an atom of coercion, not a breath of influence! And those forty million building, to which none of us would go to the ankle, would need to organize, our advice, our regulations, our rod! They can not, without us, where to find shirts and pants, and they would put people in their ear, unless we had warned you eat by mouth! It's hard. As for me, they came to me in my grave to revive the issue of chamber pots, I would say it bluntly: "When you do not know their noses, one behind the mouth. "

Our forty immortals themselves, if a sudden surge by six zeros improvised one million Thiers, one million Ollivier, a million Dupanloup, etc. ... with France to desert them, you simply believe that, mounted figure of forty million, they would spend all their time to address the orations in verse and prose? Not so crazy! *Idem* Must be lunch, and they would not wait an hour to get their hands dirty.

Naturally, the first vote would be the division of labor. The caste system, almost pre-installed by the fact of the forty guys, would it cheered enthusiastically? Oh Nay! I am convinced that Merimee, for example, do not take the privilege of persistently rinse chamber pots, even Etruscan vases. So many hotheads can surround this very necessary task

of a halo of poetry, which would permit to say to one and all /

This reaction became toothless, honor,  
Quite a sad writer, wonderful scavenger.

It is a joyful thing, when discussing communism as the terrors of the opponent are instinctively on this desk fatal! "Who will empty the chamber pot? "It's always the first cry. "Who will empty my chamber pot? "Does he mean, really. But he is too cautious to use the possessive pronoun, and, generously, he spends his alarm to posterity.

Dirty thing selfishness Time alive! A mixture of cynicism and hypocrisy! Are we talking about the past? Dead leaves! We dispelled. History sketched in broad strokes, the most beautiful composure with heaps of corpses and ruins. No butcher no raised eyebrows these fronts impassive. The massacre of a people, evolution of mankind. The invasion of the barbarians? Infusion of young blood and new in the old veins of the Roman Empire. The whirlwind of the Germans and Huns had passed over the Latin world as to purify the corrupt atmosphere. Hurricane angel! As populations and cities that the scourge was lying on its passage ... Need ... Inevitable march of progress. All's well that gave birth to the present, that is to say we. No advance too expensive for such a fine product.

But is it for generations to come? What a change! On the insensitivity followed by a delirious passion. We are stuck with such fury to tenderness of these stump doll in perspective, we hasten to put under lock and key, to preserve them from accidents. Their steps, their actions are counted, balanced, fear of falling. Everything is preordained, as a music sheet for the poor little automatons, and in perpetuity, please. Religion perpetual dynasty perpetual laws, and especially perpetual debt, in payment of so much legitimate concern and love.

Hey Good people, when you reach your ancestors, you will be the case, and a little less, you made them. After being free from the infection of your carcass material, dolls spring break all your plant their spring and will, almost in those terms, the funeral oration of your legal carcasses:

"In the history of humanity, you are top of cholera and the plague. The cruelties and the follies of your ancestors were the fault of ignorance, the result of blind belief. You have done wrong, you knowingly and with premeditation by black selfishness. Because you never believed in nothing but your interest, ignoble skeptics, and that interest you willing to sacrifice even your most distant nephews. "

"Who gave you the mandate to stipulate in our name, to think and act for us? Have we made

the draft on our work? Hypocrites! Under the guise of ensuring our well-being, you have eaten beforehand the fruits of our sweat, bursting with us your best eyes and ears, to prevent us from seeing and hearing. What do you confine yourself to your business, leaving us the task of ours? You had the annual tax for revenue and expenditure. We had to stay within this limit and you drive loyal usufructuaries offset costs and profits. We accept the legacy benefit of inventory. Who pays the debts. "

"They say that your loans were designed to work profitable to posterity, and it must take its share of expenses as profits. It works for her, for her to pay. - For Her? Hypocrites! What company has ever been conceived in a future interest? No! this thought only of him. He mocks the future as well as the past. It uses fragments of one and wants to exploit the other in anticipation. He said: "After me the deluge!" or, if he does not, he thinks and acts accordingly. Household Is there the treasures amassed by nature treasures that are not inexhaustible and does not recur? It makes a horrible waste coal, under the pretext of unknown deposits, subject to the future. We exterminate whales, powerful resource, which will disappear, lost to posterity. This rampage and destroyed at random to the needs or whims. "

Donc, occupons-nous d'aujourd'hui. Demain ne nous appartient pas, ne nous regarde pas. Notre seul devoir est de lui préparer de bons matériaux pour son travail d'organisation. Le reste n'est plus de notre compétence. Un bas Breton n'a point à faire la leçon à l'Institut. Si monsieur Vuillot soutient le contraire, comme c'est probable, disons à son intention personnelle: « Gros-Jean n'en doit pas remonter à son curé ! » Ce rôle de bas Breton ou de Gros-Jean n'est-il pas grotesque ? Et ne faut-il pas admirer la fatuité de ces Lycurgue qui se croient tenus en conscience de minuter article par article le code de l'avenir ? Ils semblent craindre que ces pauvres générations futures ne sachent pas mettre un pied devant l'autre et s'empressent de leur fabriquer, qui un bourrelet, qui des brassières, qui une petite prison roulante pour leur apprendre à marcher libres.

Il est vrai que ces générations ne seront pas en reste de charité et s'attendront à leur tour sur la folie de ces bons ancêtres, maçonnant à l'envi des édifices sociaux pour y claquemurer la postérité. La vieille prison est encore debout ; menaçante et noire, avec deux ou trois lézardes à peine qui ont permis l'évasion de quelques captifs, et déjà comme les mères-poules, à la vue de leurs petits canards descendus à l'eau, les néo-révélateurs sont dans les transes pour les malheureux évadés qui s'ébattent joyeusement au soleil:

« Eh ! Mes enfants ! Quelle imprudence ! Vous allez vous enrhummer au grand air. Vite, rentrez dans le beau palais que j'ai construit en votre faveur. On n'a jamais vu, on ne verra jamais son pareil ! »

Ils sont déjà trois ou quatre Moïses qui assurent avoir bâti à chaux et à ciment pour l'éternité, et les portes de l'enfer ne prévaudront certes pas contre ces paradis neufs à l'enchère. Libre à un croyant de chercher, à travers la brume, quelque fugitive échappée sur

le monument de l'avenir. C'est un but honnête de promenade et un excellent exercice pour les yeux. Mais nous rapporter de cette excursion un dessin complet et minutieux de l'édifice, plan, coupe, hauteur et détails, avec état de lieux authentique... non, mon ami, non, rempochez votre épure.

La manie serait innocente, si ces fanatiques amants de claustration ne prêtaient main-forte contre les démolisseurs de la vieille geôle, qui refusent de travailler à la confection de la nouvelle et prétendent laisser le public en promenade, chose horrible suivant tous les messies.

Que la civilisation ait pour couronnement inévitable la communauté, il serait difficile de nier cette évidence. L'étude du passé et du présent atteste que tout progrès est un pas fait dans cette voie, et l'examen des problèmes aujourd'hui en litige ne permet pas d'y trouver une autre solution raisonnable. Tout est en pleine marche vers ce dénouement. Il ne relève que de l'instruction publique, par conséquent de notre bonne volonté. Le communisme n'est donc pas une utopie. Il est un développement normal et n'a aucune parenté avec les trois ou quatre systèmes, sortis tout équipés de cervelles fantaisistes.

Cabet, par son Icarie et sa tentative de Nauvoo [1], a eu précisément le tort d'assimiler l'idéal régulier de l'avenir aux hypothèses en l'air des révélateurs de pacotille. Il a dû échouer plus rudement encore que ses émules, le communisme étant une résultante générale, et non point un oeuf pondu et couvé dans un coin de l'espèce humaine, par un oiseau à deux pieds, sans plume ni ailes.

Saint-simoniens, fouriéristes, positivistes ont tous déclaré la guerre à la révolution, accusée par eux de négativisme incorrigible. Pendant une trentaine d'années, leurs prêches ont annoncé à l'univers la fin de l'ère de destruction et l'avènement de la période organique, dans la personne de leurs messies respectifs. Rivaux de boutique, les trois sectes ne s'accordaient que dans leurs diatribes contre les révolutionnaires, pécheurs endurcis, refusant d'ouvrir les yeux à la lumière nouvelle et les oreilles à la parole de vie.

Chose remarquable qui suffit pour établir la distinction, les communistes n'ont cessé de former l'avant-garde la plus audacieuse de la démocratie, tandis que les poursuivants d'hypothèses ont rivalisé de platitudes devant tous les gouvernements rétrogrades et mendié leurs bonnes grâces par l'insulte à la république. C'est que le communisme est l'essence, la moelle de la révolution, tandis que les nouvelles religions n'en furent jamais que les ennemies, tout comme l'ancienne.

Personne n'ignore ce que sont aujourd'hui les saint-simoniens : des piliers de l'Empire.

On ne peut pas certes les accuser d'apostasie. Leurs doctrines ont triomphé : la souveraineté du Capital, l'omnipotence de la banque et de la haute industrie. Ils trônent avec elles, rien de mieux. Mais dire que ces braves gens ont été pris pour de dangereux novateurs !

Les fouriéristes, après avoir fait, dix-huit ans, leur cour à Louis-Philippe sur le dos des républicains, ont passé à la république avec la victoire, fort étonnés bientôt et encore plus déconfits de rencontrer la roscription où ils avaient cru trouver la puissance. Disparus dans la tempête avec leur burlesque utopie. Les débris restent mêlés aux rangs démocratiques. Ils n'ont plus d'espoir ailleurs.

Le positivisme, troisième chimère du siècle, a débuté par la négation de tous les cultes, et fini par le système des castes, enté sur une caricature de catholicisme. Du reste, il s'est divisé. Les orthodoxes disent gravement la messe comtiste dans la chambre mortuaire du Prophète. Les protestants passent leur vie à nier la doctrine qu'ils prêchent, ou prêcher la doctrine qu'ils nient, comme on voudra. Tous également remarquables par leur crainte des coups, leur respect de la force et leur soin de fuir le contact des vaincus.

Comte a consacré ses dernières années au panégyrique de l'empereur Nicolas et au trépignement des révolutionnaires. Il avait imaginé ses castes pour gagner le coeur de la réaction. La réaction et le tsar n'ont pas daigné tourner la tête.

Les schismatiques font un certain bruit et possèdent un simulacre d'influence, grâce aux trembleurs de l'athéisme qui sont venus s'abriter sous une équivoque. Passé le péril, cette ombre d'existence s'évanouira, et les positivistes prendront la queue du socialisme ou émigreront dans le camp conservateur.

Le communisme, qui est la révolution même, doit se garder des allures de l'utopie et ne se séparer jamais de la politique. Il en était dehors naguère. Il s'y trouve en plein coeur aujourd'hui. Elle n'est plus que sa servante. Il ne doit pas la surmener, afin de conserver ses services. Il lui est impossible de s'imposer brusquement, pas plus le lendemain que la veille d'une victoire. Autant vaudrait partir pour le soleil. Avant d'être bien haut, on se retrouverait par terre, avec membres brisés et une bonne halte à l'hôpital.

N'oublions pas notre axiome : instruction et communauté cheminent de front et ne peuvent se devancer d'un pas. C'est beaucoup déjà d'avoir une soeur siamoise que tout le monde appelle à grands cris. L'une ne viendra pas sans l'autre.

Il est vrai que ces appels unanimes ont un sous-entendu : la définition. Or, nous l'avons

vu, la définition est double, noire et blanche. Ne soyons pas dupes. Les pièces sont là. Le gouvernement et le conservatisme ne veulent que l'instruction donnée par les prêtres, ce qui signifie : ténèbres. Ils poussent avec frénésie à ce résultat. César, Shylock et Loyola marchent, les coudes serrés, à la conquête de la nuit. Ils n'arriveront pas, mais ils nous empêchent aussi d'arriver.

Les deux forces aux prises se tiennent mutuellement en échec. Personne n'avance, personne ne recule. Immobilité sur place. Pour nous, dans la situation, c'est un succès. La nuit tient à ses ordres 50.000 prêtres, 50.000 congréganistes et à peu près 40.000 instituteurs. Car presque tous aujourd'hui obéissent à la sacristie. L'Université est en pleine trahison.

On ne peut même pas compter sur la presse. Celle de l'opposition ne dépasse guère les murs des villes. La campagne appartient aux feuilles rétrogrades qui viennent appuyer de leur propagande écrite la propagande orale du curé, des ignorantins et des grands propriétaires. Tout est contre nous, rien pour nous.

Que nous reste-t-il donc ? Le souffle du progrès qui circule dans l'air, les communications d'homme à homme par les routes ferrées, la conscience publique, le spectacle de nos ennemis surtout, notre meilleur plaidoyer. Ce qui grandit peut-être, c'est la colère, force précaire. La colère d'aujourd'hui devient souvent la peur de demain. Point de base solide que l'instruction, et les efforts adverses la paralysent. Nous marquons le pas.

Mais le lendemain d'une révolution, coup de théâtre. Non pas qu'il s'opère une transformation subite. Hommes et choses sont les mêmes que la veille. Seulement l'espoir et la crainte ont changé de camp. Les chaînes sont tombées, la nation est libre, et un horizon immense s'ouvre devant elle.

Que faire alors ? Atteler un nouveau relais au même chariot, comme en 1848, et reprendre tranquillement les mêmes ornières ? On sait où elles mènent. Si, au contraire, le sens commun a pris enfin le dessus, voici, tracées côte à côte, deux routes parallèles. L'une, d'étape en étape, aboutit à l'instruction intégrale universelle ; l'autre, par des étapes correspondantes, à la communauté.

Sur les deux routes, au début, même mesure : destruction des obstacles. Ils sont bien connus. Ici, l'armée noire ; à côté, la conspiration du Capital. L'armée noire, on l'évacue au delà des frontières, besogne simple. Le Capital est moins accommodant. On sait son procédé invariable : il fuit ou se cache. Après quoi, le capitalisme se met à la fenêtre et regarde tranquillement le peuple barboter dans le ruisseau. C'est l'histoire de 1848. Le

peuple a gémi, pleuré, maugréé, puis, se fâchant trop tard, a été bien battu et a repris ses fers. Ne recommençons pas.

Empêcher la disparition du numéraire, impossible ! Il n'y faut pas songer seulement. Mais les meubles, voire les plaines, ne peuvent ni se cacher, ni fuir. Cela suffit. On court au plus pressé.

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Note

[1] Colonie communiste fondée aux États-Unis par Cabet en 1849.

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