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*The First International Working Men's Association*

# THE RULES AND PROGRAM OF THE INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Founded in Geneva in October 1868

Online translation (from French) by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (Moscow)

The socialist minority of the League of Peace and Freedom having separated itself from the League as a result of the majority vote at the Bern Congress, the majority being formally opposed to the fundamental principle of all workers' associations -- that of economic and social equalization of classes and individuals -- has thereby adhered to the principles proclaimed by the workers' congresses held in Geneva, Lausanna, and Brussels. Several members of this minority, belonging to various nations, have suggest to us to form a new International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, established entirely within the big International Working Men's Association, but having a special mission to study political and philosophical questions on the basis of the grand principle of universal and genuine equality of all human beings on Earth.

Convinced, on our part, of the usefulness of such an enterprise that would provide sincere socialist democrats of Europe and America with the means of being understood and of affirming their ideas, without any pressure from the false socialism which bourgeois democracy finds necessary to apply these days, we consider it our duty, together with our friends, to take the initiative in forming this new organization.

Therefore we have established ourselves as the central section of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, and we publish today its Program and Rules.

## PROGRAM OF THE INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

1. The Alliance declares itself atheist; it wants abolition of cults, substitution of science for faith and human justice for divine justice.
2. It wants above all political, economic, and social equalization of classes and individuals of both sexes, commencing with abolition of the right of inheritance, so that in future enjoyment be equal to each persons's production, and so that, in conformity with the decision taken at the last workers' congress in Brussels, the land, instruments of labor, like all other capital, on becoming collective property of the entire society, shall be used only by the workers, that is, by agricultural and individual associations.
3. It wants for all children of both sexes, from birth, equal conditions of development, that is, maintenance, education, and training at all degrees of science, industry, and the arts, being convinced that this equality, at first only economic and social, will increasingly lead to a great natural equality of individuals, eliminating all kinds of artificial inequalities, historical products of a social organization as false as it is iniquitous.
4. Being the foe of all despotism, not recognizing any political form other than republican and rejecting completely any reactionary alliance, it also rejects any political action which does not have as its immediate and direct aim

the triumph of the workers' cause against capital.

5. It recognizes that all the existing political and authoritarian states, more and more reducing their activities to simple administrative functions of public service in their respective countries, will have to dissolve into a universal union of free associations, like the agricultural and industrial ones.
6. Since the Social question can only have a final and real solution on the basis of international or universal solidarity of the workers of all countries, the Alliance rejects any policy based on self-styled patriotism and on rivalry between nations.
7. It wants the universal association of all local associations on the basis of Liberty.

## RULES

1. The International Alliance of Socialist Democracy constitutes a branch of the International Working Men's Association and accepts all its general rules.
2. The Founder Members of the Alliance are organizing provisionally a Central Bureau at Geneva.
3. Founder Members belonging to the same country constitute the national bureau of their country.
4. National bureaus are to establish in all regions local groups of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, which, through their respective national bureaus, will ask the Central Bureau of the Alliance to admit them into the International Working Men's Association.
5. All local groups will form their bureau according to the customary procedure accepted by the local sections of the International Working Men's Association.
6. All members of the Alliance must pay a monthly contribution of 10 centimes, half of which will be retained for their own needs by each national group, and the other half will go to the Central Bureau for its general requirements.

In countries where this sum will be judged to be too high, the national bureaus, in accord with the Central Bureau, will have the power to reduce it.

7. At the annual Working Men's Congress the delegation of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, as a branch of the International Working Men's Association, will hold public meetings in a separate building.

Members of the Geneva Initiating Group

J. Philipp Becker. -- M. Bakunin. -- Th. Remy. -- Anotoine

Lindegger. -- Louis Nidegger. -- Valerien Mroczkowsky. -- Jean Zagorsky. -- Phil. Zoller. -- A. Ardin. -- Ch. Perron. -- J. Gay. -- J. Friess. -- Fr. Rochat. -- Nikolai Zhukovsky. -- M. Elpidin. -- Zamperini. -- E. Becker. -- Louis Weiss. -- Perret. -- Marauda. -- Eduoard Crosset. -- A. Blanchard. -- A. Matis. -- C. Raymond. -- Mme. Alexeyeva [Barteneva], -- Mme. Bakunin. -- Mme. Suzette Croset. -- Mme. Rosalie Sanguinede. -- Mme. Desiree Gay. -- Mme. Jenny Guinet. -- Jacques Courtois. -- John Potot. -- Andre Bel. -- Fr. Boffety. -- Ch. Guyot. -- Ch. Postleb. -- Ch. Detraz -- J. Croset. -- J. Sanguinede. -- C. Jaclard. -- L. Coulin. Fr. Gay. -- Blaise Rossety. -- Jos. Marilly. -- C. Brechtel. -- L. Moanachon. -- Fr. Mermillod. -- Donat-father. -- L. J. Cheneval. -- J. Bedeau. -- L. H. Fornachon. -- Piniere. -- Ch. Grange. -- Jacques Laplace. -- S. Pellaton. -- W. Rau. -- Gottlob Walter. -- Adolphe Haeberling. -- Perrie. -- Aolphe Catalan. -- Marc Heridier. -- Louis Allement. -- A. Pellergin-Druart. -- Louis de Coppet. -- Louis Dupraz. -- Guill- meaux. -- Jospeh Baquet. -- Fr. Pisteur. -- Ch. Ruchet. -- Placide Margarittaz. -- Paul Gar- bani. -- Etienne Borret. -- J. J. Scopini. -- F. Crochet. -- Jean Jost. -- Leopold Wucher. -- G. Fillietaz. -- L. Fulliquet. -- Ami Gand- Jules Johannard illon. -- V. Alexeyev [Bartenev]. -- Francois Eugene Dupont Chevalier.

The Founder Members of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy having decided to start a paper under the name *La Revolution*, to be the press organ of this new Association, the provisional Central Bureau will begin publication as soon as it has 300 shares, of 10 francs each and payable in four installments, one every three months, from January 1, 1869. Accordingly, the provisional Central Bureau is appealing to all national bureaus of the Alliance and inviting them to begin subscriptions in their own countries. As these subscriptions are considered voluntary gifts which give no right to receipt of the paper, the national bureaus must simultaneously compile a list of subscribers.

The paper will appear once a week.

Subscriptions cost:

one year	6 fr.
six months	3 fr. 50

On behalf of the provisional Central Bureau:

Secretary, JEAN ZAGORSKY  
8 Rue Montbrilliant

N.B. The national bureaus are requested to send the Central Bureau the money received for the shares and subscriptions before January 1.

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*The First International Working Men's Association*

# MARX'S MARGINAL NOTATIONS ON THE PROGRAM AND RULES OF BAKUNIN'S INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

December 15, 1868

Notes made in the margin of a leaflet  
containing the rules and program of the  
International Alliance of Socialist Democracy

## **Program and Rules of the Alliance**

## **Marx's Remarks**

The socialist minority of the League of Peace and Freedom having separated itself from the League as a result of the majority vote at the Bern Congress, the majority being formally opposed to the fundamental principle of all workers' associations -- that of economic and social equalization of classes and individuals -- has thereby adhered to the principles proclaimed by the workers' congresses held in Geneva, Lausanna, and Brussels. Several members of this minority, belonging to various nations, have suggest to us to form a new International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, established entirely within the big International Working Men's Association, but having a special mission to study political and philosophical questions on the basis of the grand principle of universal and genuine equality of all human beings on Earth.

equality of classes!

established within and  
established against!

Convinced, on our part, of the usefulness of such an enterprise that would provide sincere socialist democrats of Europe and America with the means of being understood and of affirming their ideas, without any pressure from the false socialism which bourgeois democracy finds necessary to apply these days, we consider it our duty, together with our friends, to take the

So socialist democrats  
are not understood  
through the  
International

initiative in forming this new organization.

Therefore we have established ourselves as the central section of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, and we publish today its Program and Rules.

What modesty! They establish themselves as the central authority, clever lads!

### **Program of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy**

1. The Alliance declares itself atheist; it wants abolition of cults, substitution of science for faith and human justice for divine justice.

As if one could declare -- by royal decree -- abolition of faith!

2. It wants above all political, economic, and social equalization of classes and individuals of both sexes, commencing with abolition of the right of inheritance, so that in future enjoyment be equal to each persons's production, and so that, in conformity with the decision taken at the last workers' congress in Brussels, the land, instruments of labor, like all other capital, on becoming collective property of the entire society, shall be used only by the workers, that is, by agricultural and individual associations.

Hermaphrodite man!  
Just like the Russian Commune!  
The old Saint-Simon panacea!

3. It wants for all children of both sexes, from birth, equal conditions of development, that is, maintenance, education, and training at all degrees of science, industry, and the arts, being convinced that this equality, at first only economic and social, will increasingly lead to a great natural equality of individuals, eliminating all kinds of artificial inequalities, historical products of a social organization as false as it is iniquitous.

Empty phrase!

4. Being the foe of all despotism, not recognizing any political form other than republican and rejecting completely any reactionary alliance, it also rejects any political action which does not have as its immediate and direct aim the triumph of the workers' cause against capital.

5. It recognizes that all the existing polit-

If they are reducing

ical and authoritarian states, more and more reducing their activities to simple administrative functions of public service in their respective countries, will have to dissolve into a universal union of free associations, like the agricultural and industrial ones.

themselves, they will not have to dissolve, but disappear spontaneously.

6. Since the Social question can only have a final and real solution on the basis of international or universal solidarity of the workers of all countries, the Alliance rejects any policy based on self-styled patriotism and on rivalry between nations.

There is rivalry and rivalry, my dear Russian!

7. It wants the universal association of all local associations on the basis of Liberty.

### Rules

1. The International Alliance of Socialist Democracy constitutes a branch of the International Working Men's Association and accepts all its general rules.

The International Association does not admit any "International branches".

2. The Founder Members of the Alliance are organizing provisionally a Central Bureau at Geneva.

New Central Council!

3. Founder Members belonging to the same country constitute the national bureau of their country.

4. National bureaus are to establish in all regions local groups of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, which, through their respective national bureaus, will ask the Central Bureau of the Alliance to admit them into the International Working Men's Association.

The Rules of the International do not recognize this "mediatory power".

5. All local groups will form their bureau according to the customary procedure accepted by the local sections of the International Working Men's Association.

6. All members of the Alliance must pay a monthly contribution of 10 centimes, half of which will be retained for their own needs by each national group, and the other half will go

New taxes absorbing our own contributions!



to the Central Bureau for its general requirements.

In countries where this sum will be judged to be too high, the national bureaus, in accord with the Central Bureau, will have the power to reduce it.

7. At the annual Working Men's Congress the delegation of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, as a branch of the International Working Men's Association, will hold public meetings in a separate building.

They want to compromise us under our own patronage!

#### Members of the Geneva Initiating Group

J. Philipp Becker. -- M. Bakunin. -- Th. Remy.  
 -- Anotoine Lindegger. -- Louis Nidegger. --  
 Valerien Mroczkowsky. -- Jean Zagorsky. --  
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 Becker. -- Louis Weiss. -- Perret. -- Marauda.  
 -- Eduoard Crosset. -- A. Blanchard. -- A.  
 Matis. -- C. Raymond. -- Mme. Alexeyeva  
 [Barteneva], -- Mme. Bakunin. -- Mme. Suzette  
 Croset. -- Mme. Rosalie Sanguinede. -- Mme.  
 Desiree Gay. -- Mme. Jenny Guinet. -- Jacques  
 Courtois. -- John Potot. -- Andre Bel. -- Fr.  
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 Detraz -- J. Croset. -- J. Sanguinede. -- C.  
 Jaclard. -- L. Coulin. Fr. Gay. -- Blaise  
 Rossety. -- Jos. Marilly. -- C. Brechtel. -- L.  
 Moanachon. -- Fr. Mermillod. -- Donat-father.  
 -- L. J. Cheneval. -- J. Bedeau. -- L. H.  
 Fornachon. -- Piniere. -- Ch. Grange. --  
 Jacques Laplace. -- S. Pellaton. -- W. Rau. --  
 Gottlob Walter. -- Adolphe Haeberling. --  
 Perrie. -- Aolphe Catalan. -- Marc Heridier. --  
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 G. Fillietaz. -- L. Fulliquet. -- Ami Gand-  
 illon. -- V. Alexeyev [Bartenev]. -- Francois  
 Chevalier.

Asinus Asinorum!  
 And Madame  
 Bakunin!

Jules Johannard  
 Eugene Dupont

The Founder Members of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy having decided to start a paper under the name *La Revolution*, to be the press organ of this new Association, the provisional Central Bureau will begin publication as soon as it has 300 shares, of 10 francs each and payable in four installments, one every three months, from January 1, 1869. Accordingly, the provisional Central Bureau is appealing to all national bureaus of the Alliance and inviting them to begin subscriptions in their own countries. As these subscriptions are considered voluntary gifts which give no right to receipt of the paper, the national bureaus must simultaneously compile a list of subscribers.

and they have the cheek to announce in Switzerland that I shall contribute articles to *La Revolution* without informing me!

The paper will appear once a week.

Subscriptions cost:

one year	6 fr.
six months	3 fr. 50

On behalf of the provisional Central Bureau:

Secretary, JEAN ZAGORSKY  
8 Rue Montbrillant

N.B. The national bureaus are requested to send the Central Bureau the money received for the shares and subscriptions before January 1.

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*The First International Working Men's Association*

# THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION AND BAKUNIN'S INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Approved by IWMA General Council December 22, 1868

Written in French, translation by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow

Just about a month ago, a certain number of citizens formed in Geneva the Central Initiating Committee of a new international society named the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, stating that it was their "special mission to study political and philosophical questions on the basis of the grand principles of... equality, etc." the program and rules printed by this Initiating Committee were only communicated to the General Council of the International Working Men's Association at its meeting on December 15. According to these documents, the said International Alliance is "established entirely within the... International Working Men's Association", at the same time as it is established entirely outside of the Association.

Besides the General Council of the International Association, elected at the Geneva, Lausanne, and Brussels workingmen's congresses, there is to be, in line with the initiating rules, another Central Council in Geneva, which is self-appointed. Besides the local groups of the International Association, there are to be local groups of the International Alliance, which "through their... national bureaus", operating outside the national bureaus of the International Association, "will ask the Central Bureau of the Alliance to admit them into the International Working Men's Association"; the Alliance Central Committee thereby takes upon itself the right of admittance to the International Association. Lastly, the General Congress of the International Association will have its parallel in the General Congress of the International Alliance, for, as the initiating rules say, "At the annual Working Men's Congress, the delegation of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, as a branch of the International Working Men's Association, will hold public meetings in a separate building."

Considering,

That the presence of a second international body operating within and outside the International Working Men's Association will be the most infallible means of its disorganization;

That every other group of individuals, anywhere at all, will have the right to imitate the Geneva initiating group and, under more or less plausible excuses, to bring into the International Working Men's Association other international associations with other "special missions";

That the International Working Men's Association will thereby soon become a plaything for intriguers of every race and nationality;

That the Rules of the International Working Men's Association anyway admit only local and national branches into the Association (see Article 1 and Article 6 of the Rules);

That sections of the International Association are forbidden to give themselves rules or administrative regulations contrary to the General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Association (see Article 12 of the Administrative Regulations);

That the Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Association can only be revised by the General Congress in the event of two-thirds of the delegates present voting in favor of such a revision (see Article 13 of the Administrative Regulations).

The General Council of the International Working Men's Association unanimously agreed at its meeting of December 22, 1868, that:

1. All articles of the Rules of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, defining its relations with the International Working Men's Association, are declared null and void;
2. The International Alliance of Socialist Democracy may not be admitted as a branch of the International Working Men's Association;
3. These resolutions be published in all countries where the International Working Men's Association exists.

*By order of the General Council  
of the International Working Men's Association*

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*The First International Working Men's Association*

# LETTER OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

March 9, 1869

Written in French and English

Issued to all International section

Citizens:

According to Article I of its Statutes, the International Working Men's Association admits "all working men's societies... aiming at the same end, viz., the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation of the working classes".

Since the various sections of workingmen in the same country, and the working classes in different countries, are placed under different circumstances and have attained to different degrees of development, it seems almost necessary that the theoretical notions which reflect the real movement should also diverge.

The community of action, however, called into life by the the International Working Men's Association, the exchange of ideas facilitated by the public organs of different national section, and the direct debates at the General Congresses are sure by and by to engender a common theoretical program.

Consequently, it belongs not to the function of the General Council to subject the program of the Alliance to a critical examination. We have not to inquire whether, yes or no, it be a true scientific expression of the working-class movement. All we have to ask is whether its general tendency does not run against the general tendency of the International Working Men's Association, viz., the complete emancipation of the working class?

One phrase in your program lies open to this objection. It occurs [in] Article 2:

"Elle (l'Alliance) veut tout l'egalisation politique, economique, et sociale des classes."

["The Alliance wants above all political, economic, and social equalization... of classes."]

The "egalisation des classes", literally interpreted, comes to the "harmony of capital and labor" ("l'harmonie du capital et du travail") so persistently preached by the bourgeois socialists. It is not the logically impossible "equalization of classes", but the historically necessary, superseding "abolition of classes" (abolition des classes), this true secret of the proletarian movement, which forms the great aim of the International Working Men's Association.

Considering, however, the context in which that phrase "egalisation des classes" occurs, it seems to be a mere slip of the pen, and the General Council feels confident that you will be anxious to remove from your program an expression which offers such a dangerous misunderstanding.

It suits the principles of the International Working Men's Association to let every section freely shape its own theoretical program, except the single case of an infringement upon its general tendency. There exists, therefore, no obstacle to the transformation of the sections of the Alliance into sections of the International Working Men's Association.

The dissolution of the Alliance and the entrance of its sections into the International Working Men's Association once settled, it would, according to our Regulations, become necessary to inform the General Council of the residence and the numerical strength of each new section.

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*The First International Working Men's Association***CONFIDENTIAL COMMUNICATION**

Written March 28, 1870, (in German) by Marx as the IWMA's corresponding secretary for Germany, and sent confidentially to Dr. Ludwig Kugelmann -- who was then to circulate it to leaders in the German Social-Democratic Workers' party

The Russian Bakunin (although I have known him since 1843, I pass over everything that is not absolutely necessary for an understanding of the following) had a meeting with Marx in London shortly after the founding of the International. Marx received him in the International, for which Bakunin promised to work to the best of his ability. Bakunin went to Italy, received there the Provisional Statutes and the Address to the Working Classes, which Marx sent him, replied "very enthusiastically", and did nothing. After years during which one heard nothing from him, he emerged again in Switzerland. There, he joined not the International but the *Ligue de la Paix et de la Liberte* [The League of Peace and Liberty, founded 1867 -- members included Victor Hugo and Giuseppe Garibaldi]. After the congress of this Peace League (Geneva 1867), Bakunin gets himself elected to its *executive committee*, but in it he finds opponents who not only do not allow him any "dictatorial" influence but also watch him as a "Russian suspect". Shortly after the Brussels Congress of the International (September 1868), the Peace League held its congress in Bern. This time, B. appeared as a firebrand and -- it is to be remarked in passing -- denounced the Occidental bourgeoisie in the same tone that the Muscovite optimists use to attack Western civilization in order to minimize their own barbarism. He proposed a series of resolutions which, absurd in themselves, were designed to instill fear in the bourgeoisie cretins and to allow Herr Bakunin to leave the Peace League and to enter the International with éclat. It suffices to say that the program he proposed at the Bern Congress contained such absurdities as "equality" of "classes", "abolition of the right of inheritance as the beginning of the social revolution", etc. -- senseless prattle, a garland of hollow notions which pretended to be chilling; in short, an insipid improvisation designed to achieve a certain monetary effect. Bakunin's friends in Paris (where a Russian [Grigory Vyrubov] is co-publisher of the *Revue Positiviste*) and in London publicly announced his withdrawal from the Peace League as an *evenement* [event] and proclaimed his grotesque program -- this *olla podrida* [spiced-up stew] of polished commonplaces -- as something strangely fearsome and original.

In the meantime, B. joined the Branche Romande [Romanish Branch] of the International (in Geneva). It took him years before he decided on this step. But it was only a few days before Herr Bakunin decided to overthrow the International and transform it into *his* instrument.

Behind the back of the London General Council -- which was informed only after everything was seemingly ready -- he established the so-called *Alliance des Démocrates Socialistes*. The program of this Alliance was none other than the one B. had proposed at the Bern Peace [League] Congress. Thus, from the outset, the Alliance showed itself to be a propaganda organization of specifically Bakuninist private mysticism, and B. himself, one of the most ignorant of men in the field of social theory, suddenly figures here as a sect founder. However, the theoretical program of this Alliance was pure farce. Its serious side lay in its practical organization. For this Alliance was to be an *international* one, with its central committee in Geneva, that is, under Bakunin's personal direction. At the same time it was to be an "integral" part of the International Working Men's Association. Its branches were to be represented at the "next Congress" of the

International (in Basel) on the one hand, and to have its own separate sessions *alongside the former* on the other hand, etc., etc.

The human material chiefly at Bakunin's disposal consisted of the then-majority of the Federal Romanish Committee of the International in Geneva. J. Ph. Becker, whose propaganda seal occasionally runs away with his head, was pushed forward. In Italy and Spain, Bakunin had some allies.

The General Council in London had been thoroughly informed. But it quietly let Bakunin go on until the moment when he was forced by J. Ph. Becker to submit the statutes (and program) of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy to the General Council for approval. Thereupon followed a far-reaching decision -- entirely "judicial" and "objective", yet in its "basic considerations" full of irony -- which concluded as follows:

1. The General Council does *not* admit the Alliance as a branch of the International.
2. All paragraphs of the statutes of the Alliance which deal with the relationship of the International are declared *null and void*.

In the basic considerations it was demonstrated clearly and strikingly that the Alliance is nothing but a machine for the disorganization of the International.

This came as an unexpected blow. Bakunin had already transformed *L'Egalite*, the central organ of the French-speaking members of the International in Switzerland, into *his* organ; in addition, he founded in Locle a little private journal -- *Progres*. *Progres* still plays that role under the editorship of fanatical Bakunin follower, Guillaume.

After several weeks of reflection, the Central Committee of the Alliance -- under the signature of Perron, a Genevan -- finally sent a reply to the General Council. In it, the Alliance, out of zeal for the cause, offered to sacrifice its independent organization, but only on one condition, namely, a declaration by the General Council that it recognizes the Alliance's "radical" principles.

The General Council replied:

It is not its function to sit in theoretical judgment on the programs of the various sections. Its only task is to see to it that the latter are *not in direct contradiction with its Statutes and their spirit*. Hence the General Council must insist that the absurd phrase "equality of the classes" be stricken out and replaced by the phrase "abolition of classes" (which was done). For the rest, the members of the Alliance can join the International, *after the dissolution of its own independent international organization* and after a list of the various branches has been supplied to the General Council (which, let it be noted, was never done).

With this, the incident was closed. The Alliance dissolved itself *nominally*, but *factually* continued under the leadership of Bakunin, who at the same time dominated the Geneva *Comite Romand Federal* of the International. Added to its lists of organs there was the *Federacion* in Barcelona (and after the Basel



Congress, also the *Eguaglianza* in Naples).

Bakunin then sought to achieve his aim -- to transform the International into his private instrument -- by other means. Through the Geneva Romanish Committee of the General Council he proposed that the "question of inheritance" be put on the agenda of the Basel Congress. The General Council agreed, in order to be able to hit Bakunin on the head directly. Bakunin's plan was this: When the Basel Congress accepts the "principles" (?) he proposed in Bern, he will show the world that he has not gone over to the International, but the International has gone over to him. The simple consequence: The London General Council (whose opposition to the rehashing of the St.-Simonist *vieillerie* [rubbish] was known to Bakunin) must resign and the Basel Congress would *move the General Council to Geneva*; that is, the International would fall under the dictatorship of Bakunin.

Bakunin put his full conspiracy into motion, in order to assure himself of a majority in the Basel Congress. Even fake mandates were not lacking, such as those of Herr Guillaume for Locle, etc. Bakunin himself importuned mandates from Naples and Lyon. All sorts of calumnies against the General Council were spread. Some were told that it was dominated by the *element bourgeois* and others that it was the seat of *communisme autoritaire*.

The result of the Basel Congress is known. Bakunin's proposal did not go through, and the General Council remained in London.

The anger of this defeat -- Bakunin had perhaps tied up a hoped-for success with private speculations in "his heart's spirit and feeling" -- was aired in irritated utterances in *L'Egalite* and *Progres*. These papers in the meantime assumed more and more the form of official oracles. Now one and now the other of the Swiss sections [of the International] was put under excommunication because, despite Bakunin's express instructions, it participated in political movements, etc. Finally the long restrained fury against the General Council broke into the open. *Progres* and *L'Egalite* sneered, attacked, declared that the General Council did not fulfill its duties, for example, in connection with the quarterly bulletins; the General Council must rid itself of direct control over England and establish a separate central committee to occupy itself with English affairs; the resolutions of the General Council in regard to the Fenian prisoners were an infringement of its functions, since it is not supposed to concern itself with the local political questions. Furthermore, *Progres* and *L'Egalite* took the side of Schweitzer, and the General Council was categorically challenged to declare itself officially and publicly on the Liebknecht-Schweitzer question. The journal *Le Travail* (in Paris), into which Schweitzer's Paris friends smuggled articles favorably to him, was praised for this by *Progress* and *L'Egalite*, the latter demanding that *Le Travail* make common cause against the General Council.

Hence the time has come for taking decisive steps. The enclosed is an exact copy of the General Council's circular to the Romanish Central Committee in Geneva. The document [written in French] is too long to translate into German.

CIRCULAR TO THE SWISS ROMANISH FEDERAL COUNCIL

composed around January 1, 1870

In its extraordinary session of January 1, 1870, the General Council resolved:

1. We read in *L'Egalite* of December 11, 1869:

"It is certain that the General Council is neglecting extremely important matters. We remind the General Council of its obligations under Article I of the Regulations: The General Council is obliged to carry out the decisions of the Congress.... We could put enough questions to the General Council for its replies to make up quite a lengthy document. They will come later.... Meanwhile... etc."

The General Council does not know of any article, either in the Statutes or in the Rules, which *oblige*s it to enter into correspondence or into polemics with *L'Egalite* or to provide "answers" to "questions" from any newspapers.

Only the Swiss Romanish Federal Council represents the branch societies in the General Council. When the Federal Council directs questions or reprimands to us, and does it by the only legitimate means -- that is, through its secretary -- the General Council will always be ready to reply. But the Romanish Federal Council has the right neither to abdicate its functions to *L'Egalite* and *Progres* nor to permit them to be usurped by these newspapers.

Generally, speaking, the General Council's correspondence with national and local committees cannot be published without doing great harm to the general interests of the International.

Hence if other organs of the International were to follow the example of *Progres* and *L'Egalite*, the General Council would be faced with the alternative of either discrediting itself publicly by its silence or violating its obligations by replying publicly.

*L'Egalite* joined *Progres* (a paper which has not hitherto declared itself an organ of the *International*, and which is also not sent to the General Council) to demand explanations from the General Council. that is almost a League of Public Welfare! [The latter was a feudal association from 1464 France, founded to oppose policies of Louis XI.]

2. Assuming that the questions put by *L'Egalite* come from the Romanish Federal Council, we are going to answer them, but only on condition that such questions are never put to us again in such a manner.

3. The Question of a Bulletin.

In the Resolutions of the Geneva Congress, which are inserted in the Rules, it is laid down that the national committees shall send the General Council *document* dealing with the proletarian movement and that the General Council shall thereupon publish them as bulletins in the *different languages* as often as *its means permit*. ("As often as its means permit, the General Council shall publish a report, etc.")

The General Council's obligation was thus made dependent on conditions which have never been fulfilled. Even the statistical inquiry provided for in the Rules, decided on by conservative general congresses, and requested by the General Council year after year, has never been made. As for means, the General Council would long ago have ceased to exist without the regional contributions from England and the personal sacrifices of its members.

Thus the Rule adopted by the Geneva Congress has remained a dead letter.

In regard to the Basel Congress, it did not discuss fulfillment of these existing Rules, but only the opportunity of issuing a bulletin in good time, and *it did not make any resolutions* on this. (See German account, published in Basel under the eyes of the congress.)

For the rest, the General Council believes that the basic purpose of the bulletin is at the moment perfectly fulfilled by the various organs of the International published in various languages and exchanged among them. It would be absurd to do by expensive reports what is being done already without cost. Moreover, a bulletin which published what is not printed in the organs of the International would only help our enemies to see behind the scenes.

4. The Question of the Separation of the General Council from the Federal Council of England.

Long before the founding of *L'Egalite*, this proposal used to be made repeatedly in the General Council by two of its English members. It was always rejected almost unanimously.

Although revolutionary *initiative* will probably come from France, England alone can serve as the *lever* for a serious *economic* revolution. It is the only country where there are no longer any peasants and where landed property is concentrated in a few hands. It is the only country where the *capitalist* form -- that is, labor combined on a large scale under capitalist entrepreneurs --

has taken over practically the whole of production. It is the only country where *the great majority of the population consists of wage laborers*. It is the only country where the class struggle and organization of the working class by the trade unions have attained a certain degree of maturity and universality. It is the only country where, thanks to its domination of the world market, ever revolution in economic relationships must directly affect the whole world. While on the one hand landlordism and capitalism have their classic seat in this country, the *material conditions* for their *destruction* are on the other hand the most mature here. The General Council is now in the fortunate position of having its hand directly on this great lever of proletarian revolution, what folly, yea, one might almost say what crime, it would be to let this lever fall into purely English hands!

The English have at their disposal all necessary material preconditions for a social revolution. What they lack is the spirit of generalization and revolutionary passion. Only the General Council can provide them with this, and thus accelerate a truly revolutionary movement here and, in consequence, *everywhere*. The great successes we have already achieved in this respect are attested by the most intelligent and most eminent newspapers of the ruling classes, such as, for example, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Saturday Review*, the *Spectator*, and the *Fortnightly Review*, not to mention the so-called radicals in the House of Commons and the House of Lords who until recently still exerted a great influence on the leaders of the English workers. They accuse us publicly of having poisoned and practically stifled the "English spirit" of the working class and of having driven it to revolutionary socialism.

The only way of bringing about this change is to do what the General Council of the International Association is doing. As the General Council, we are able to initiate measures (for example, the founding of the Land and Labor League) which later, after their execution, appear to the public as spontaneous movements of the English working class.

If a Federal Council were to be established outside the General Council, what would be the immediate effects? The Federal Council would find itself placed between the General Council of the International and the General Council of the Trade Unions, and would have no authority. Furthermore, the General Council of the International would have its great lever taken out of its hands. If we preferred noisy quackery to serious action behind the scenes, we would perhaps commit the mistake of replying publicly to

*L'Egalite's* question why "the General Council permits such a burdensome accumulation of functions".

England should not simply be compared to other countries. It must be considered as the *metropolis of capital*.

5. The Question of the General Council's Resolution on the Irish Amnesty.

While England is the bulwark of landlordism and capitalism, Ireland is the only point where the great blow against official England can really be struck.

First, Ireland is the bulwark of English landlordism. If it fell in Ireland, it would also fall in England. In Ireland this is a hundred times easier, because *the economic struggle there is concentrated exclusively in landed property*, because the struggle there is at the same time a *national* one, and because the people there are more revolutionary and more embittered than in England. In Ireland, landlordism is maintained solely by the English army. The moment the forced union between the two countries ends, a social revolution will break out in Ireland, even if in outmoded form. English landlordism would not only lose a substantial source of its wealth, but also its greatest moral force -- that of *representing the domination of England over Ireland*. On the other hand, by maintaining the power of their landlords in Ireland, the English proletariat makes them invulnerable in England itself.

Second, the English bourgeoisie has not only exploited the Irish misery to keep down the working class in England by forced immigration of poor Irishmen, it has also divided the proletariat into two hostile camps. The revolutionary ardor of the Celtic worker does not go well with the solid but slow nature of the Anglo-Saxon worker. On the contrary, in all the big industrial centres in England, there is a profound antagonism between the Irish and English proletarians. The average English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers wages and the standard of life. He feels national and religious antipathies for him. He regards him practically in the same way the the poor whites in the southern states of North America regard the black slaves. This antagonism between the proletarians in England is artificially nourished and kept alive by the bourgeoisie. It knows that this split is the true secret of maintaining its power.

This antagonism is reproduced also on the other side of the Atlantic. The Irish, driven from their native soil by the oxen and

the sheep, reassemble in North America, where they constitute a conspicuous and ever-growing section of the population. Their only thought, their only passion, is hatred for England. The English and American governments (that is, the classes they represent) nourish these passions in order to perpetuate the covert struggle between the United States and England, and thereby prevent a sincere and serious alliance between the working classes on both sides of the Atlantic, and, consequently, their emancipation.

Furthermore, Ireland is the only pretext the English Government has for maintaining a large standing army, which in case of necessity, as has happened before, can be loosed against the English workers after getting its military training in Ireland.

Finally, England today is seeing a repetition of what happened on a gigantic scale in ancient Rome. A nation that enslaves another forges its own chains.

The position of the International on the Irish Question is thus clear. Its first task is to hasten the social revolution in England. To this end, the decisive blow must be struck in Ireland.

The General Council's resolution on the Irish amnesty serves only as an introduction to other resolutions which will affirm that, apart from ordinary international justice, it is a precondition for the emancipation of the English working class to transform the present forced union (that is, the enslavement of Ireland) into an equal and free confederation, if possible, or complete separation, if need be.

For the rest, the naive doctrines of *L'Egalite* and *Progres* about the connection, or rather the nonexistence of any connection, between the social and political movements have never, to the best of our knowledge, been recognized by any of our International congresses. They run counter to our Statutes, which state: "That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means." The words "as a means" were left out in the French translation made in 1864 by the Paris Committee. When questioned by the General Council, the Paris Committee excused itself by the difficulties of its political position. There are other mutilations of the original text of the Statutes. The first clause of the Statutes reads as follows: "... The struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means... a struggle... for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class rule." The Paris translation speaks of "equal rights and duties"; that is, it reproduces general phrases found virtually in all democratic manifestoes of the hundred years and differently interpreted by different classes, but omits the concrete demand: *The abolition of all class rule*. Further, in the second clause of the Statutes one reads: "That the economical subjection of the man of labor to the monopolizer of the means of labor -- that is, the sources of life", etc. The Paris translation substitutes the word "capital" for "the means of labor -- that is, the sources of life", although the latter expression included the land as well as the other means of labor. The original and authentic text was restored in the French translation published as a pamphlet in Brussels by *La Rive Gauche* in 1866. 6. The Question of Liebknecht-Schweitzer. *L'Egalite*

writes: "Both of these groups belong to the International". This is false. The Eisenach group (which *Progres* and *L'Egalite* would like to transform into Citizen Liebknecht's group) belongs to the International. The Schweitzer group does not belong to it. Schweitzer even explained at length in his newspaper, *Social-Demokrat*, why the Lassallean organization could not join the International without destroying itself. He spoke the truth without realizing it. His artificial, sectarian organization stands in opposition to the historical and spontaneous organization of the working class. *Progres* and *L'Egalite* have summoned the General Council to declare publicly its "opinion" on the personal differences between Liebknecht and Schweitzer. Since Citizen Johann Phillip Becker (who is slandered as much as Liebknecht in Schweitzer's paper) is a member of *L'Egalite*'s editorial board, it seems truly strange that its editors are not better informed about the facts. They should have known Liebknecht, in the *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, publicly invited Schweitzer to accept the General Council as arbiter over their differences, and that Schweitzer has no less publicly refused to recognize the authority of the General Council. For its part, the General Council has left no stone unturned to put an end to this scandal. It instructed its secretary for Germany to enter into correspondence with Schweitzer; this has been done for two years, but all efforts by the Council have broken down in the face of Schweitzer's firm resolve to preserve his autocratic power, together with his sectarian organization, at all costs. It is up to the General Council to determine the favorable moment when its public intervention in this conflict will do more good than harm. 7. Since *L'Egalite*'s accusations are public and could be considered as emanating from the Romanish Federal Council in Geneva, the General Council is to communicate this reply to all committees corresponding with it. By Order of the General Council The French Committee (despite the fact that Bakunin has intrigued mightily in Lyon and Marseilles and has won over a few young hotheads), as well as the *Conseil General Belge* (Brussels), have declared themselves *in entire agreement* with the General Council rescript.

The copy for Geneva (because the secretary for Switzerland, Jung, was very busy) has been somewhat delayed. Hence it crossed an official statement which Perret, the secretary of the Geneva Romanish Central Committee, sent to the General Council.

For the crisis broke out in Geneva before the arrival of our letter there. Some of the editors of *L'Egalite* rebelled against the Bakuninist-dictated direction. Bakunin and his followers (among them six *Egalite* editors) wanted to force the Geneva Committee to dismiss the recalcitrants. But the Geneva Committee had long been tired of Bakunin's despotism and was reluctant to be dragged in against the General Council, in opposition to the German Swiss Committee. Hence it endorsed the *Egalite* editors who had displeased Bakunin. Whereupon the six other editors submitted their resignation from the editorial board, hoping thereby to bring the paper to a standstill.

In reply to our communication the Geneva Central Committee stated that *Egalite*'s attack took place against its wishes, that it had never approved the policy it preached, that the paper would henceforth be edited under strict supervision, etc.

Thereupon Bakunin withdrew from Geneva to Tessin. Now he has control -- at least as far as Switzerland is concerned -- only over *Progres* (Locle).

Soon thereafter, Herzen died. Bakunin, who from the time when he began to pose as the leader of the European labor movement slandered his old friend and patron Herzen, upon the latter's death immediately began to trumpet his eulogies. Why? Because Herzen, despite his personal wealth, received from the pseudo socialist Pan-Slavic party, which was friendly to him, 25,000 francs annually for propaganda. Through his loud eulogies, Bakunin managed to have this money directed to him and thereby entered into "Herzen's inheritance" -- *malgre sa haine de l'heritage* [despite his hatred of the right of inheritance] --

pecuniarily and morally *sine beneficio inventarii* [without legal permission of the estate].

At the same time, a young Russian refugee colony settled in Geneva, consisting of students, who were really honest and who showed their honesty by adopting opposition to Pan-Slavism as the main point of their program.

They are publishing a journal, *La Voix du Peuple*, in Geneva.

About two weeks ago they applied to London, sending in their program and asking approval for the establishment of a Russian branch. The approval was granted.

In a separate letter to Marx, they requested him to represent them provisionally in the General Council. This, too, was accepted. At the same time they indicated -- and seemed thereby to want to apologize to Marx -- that their next step must be to tear off Bakunin's mask publicly, because that man speaks two entirely different languages, one in Russia and another in Europe.

Thus the game of this highly dangerous intrigant -- at least on the terrain of the International -- will soon be played out.

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# ACTIVITIES OF THE ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

September 18, 1871

Notes Engels took (in German) from a Marx speech  
before a committee of the London Conference

The conflict began with the creation of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, founded by Bakunin and others in Geneva. Marx read the two reports, of [December 22] 1868 and of March [9] 1869, against the Alliance; in the second report, the dissolution of the Alliance and the publication of the number of its members and sections were made a condition of the latter's admission to the International. These conditions have never been fulfilled; the Alliance has never really dissolved, but always maintained a kind of organization. The organ of the Geneva sections, *L'Egalite*, in its issue of December 11, 1869, rebuked Marx for not having done his duty by replying to its articles; to which the General Council replied that it was not his duty to enter into a newspaper polemic, but that he was, nevertheless, prepared to answer the questions and complaints of the Romanish Federal Council. This Circular Letter was sent to all the sections; they all approved the attitude of the General Council. The Swiss Council disavowed *L'Egalite* and broke with its management. The management was changed, and ever since then the organs of the followers of the Alliance have been *Le Progres* and, later, *La Solidarite*. Then at the Congress in Locle [April 4-6, 1870] it came to an open split between the two parties, the Romanish Federation and the Jura Federation (Alliance). The General Council let the matter rest; it absolutely forbade the new Council to act as the Romanish Federal Council alongside the existing one. Guillaume, who, contrary to our Statutes, preached abstention from all political activities, at the outbreak of the [Franco-Prussian] war published an appeal, calling for the creation of an army in support of France, in the name of the International, which is even more contrary to our Statutes. [The article, "To the Sections of the International", by James Guillaume and Gaspard Blanc, was printed September 5, 1870.]

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# THE HAGUE CONGRESS

SEPTEMBER 2-7 1872



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The Fifth Congress of the International — held at The Hague, Holland. It was the most representative of all Congresses: comprising delegates from 15 countries.



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# THE BAKUNINISTS AT WORK

*An account of the Spanish revolt  
in the summer of 1873*

by  
**Frederick Engels**

Written in September-October 1873

First published in *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 105-107, October 31, November 2 and 5, 1873

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Transcribed for the Internet by director@marx.org

I

The report just published by the Hague Commission on Mikhail Bakunin's secret Alliance [1] has revealed to the working world the underhand activities, the dirty tricks and phrase-mongery by which the proletarian movement was to be placed at the service of the inflated ambition and selfish ends of a few misunderstood geniuses. Meanwhile these would-be-great men have given us the opportunity in Spain to see something of their practical revolutionary activity. Let us see how they put into practice their ultra-revolutionary phrases about anarchy and autonomy, about the abolition of all authority, especially that of the state, and the immediate and complete emancipation of the workers. We are at last able to do this, since, apart from the newspaper reports about the events in Spain, we now have the report of the New Madrid Federation of the International [*La Nueva Federacion Madrileña á los delegados al sexto Congreso general. Madrid 24 de agosto de 1873*] presented to the Geneva Congress. [2]



As we know, at the time the split in the International occurred the odds were in favour of the members of the secret Alliance in Spain; the great majority of Spanish workers followed their lead. When the Republic was proclaimed in February 1873, the Spanish members of the Alliance found themselves in a quandary. Spain is such a backward country industrially that there can be no question there of *immediate* complete emancipation of the working class. Spain will first have to pass through various preliminary stages of development and remove quite a number of obstacles from its path. The Republic offered a chance of going through these stages in the shortest possible time and quickly surmounting the obstacles. But this chance could be taken only if the Spanish working class played an active *political* role. The labour masses felt this; they strove everywhere to participate in events, to take advantage of the opportunity for action, instead of leaving the propertied classes, as hitherto, a clear field for action and intrigues. The government announced that elections were to be held to the Constituent Cortes. [May 10, 1873] What was the attitude of the International to be? The leaders of the Bakuninists were in a predicament. Continued political inaction became more ridiculous and impossible with every passing day; the workers wanted "to see things done". [*J. W. Goethe, Zueignung. -- Ed.*] The members of the Alliance on the other hand had been preaching for years that no part should be taken in a revolution that did not have as its aim the immediate and complete emancipation of the working class, that political action of any kind implied recognition of the State, which was the root of all evil, and that therefore participation in any form of elections was a crime worthy of death. How they got out of this fix is recounted in the already mentioned Madrid report:

"The same people who rejected the

Hague resolution on the political attitude of the working class and who trampled under foot the Rules of the [International Working Men's] Association, thus bringing division, conflict and confusion into the Spanish Section of the International; the same people who had the effrontery to depict us to the workers as ambitious place-hunters, who, under the pretext of establishing the rule of the working class, sought to establish their own rule; the same people who call themselves autonomists, anarchist revolutionaries, etc., have on this occasion flung themselves into politics, bourgeois politics of the worst kind. They have worked, not to give political power to the working class -- on the contrary this idea is repugnant to them -- but to help to power a bourgeois faction of adventurers, ambitious men and place-hunters who call themselves Intransigent (irreconcilable) Republicans.

"Already on the eve of the general election to the Constituent Cortes the workers of Barcelona, Alcoy and other towns wanted to know what political line they should adopt in the parliamentary struggle and other campaigns. Two big meetings were therefore held, one in Barcelona, the other in Alcoy; at both meetings the Alliance members went out of their way to prevent any decision being reached as to what political line was to be taken by the International" (note bene: by their own International). "It was therefore decided that the *International, as an association, should not engage in an, political activity whatever, but that its members, as individuals, could act on their own as they thought fit and join the part, they chose*, in accordance with

their famous doctrine of autonomy! And what was the result of the application of this absurd doctrine? That most of the members of the International, including the anarchists, took part in the elections with no programme, no banner, and no candidates, thereby helping to bring about the election of almost exclusively bourgeois republicans. Only two or three workers got into the Chamber, and they represent absolutely nothing, their voice has not once been raised in defence of the interests of our class, and they cheerfully voted for all the reactionary motions tabled by the majority."

That is what Bakuninist "abstention from politics" leads to. At quiet times, when the proletariat knows beforehand that at best it can get only a few representatives to parliament and have no chance whatever of winning a parliamentary majority, the workers may sometimes be made to believe that it is a great revolutionary action to sit out the elections at home, and in general, not to attack the State in which they live and which oppresses them, but to attack the State as such which exists nowhere and which accordingly cannot defend itself. This is a splendid way of behaving in a revolutionary manner, especially for people who lose heart easily; and the extent to which the leaders of the Spanish Alliance belong to this category of people is shown in some detail in the aforementioned publication.

As soon as events push the proletariat into the fore, however, abstention becomes a palpable absurdity and the active intervention of the working class an inevitable necessity. And this is what happened in Spain. The abdication of Amadeo ousted the radical monarchists [3] from power and deprived them of the possibility of recovering it in the near future; the Alfonsists [4] stood still less chance at the

time; as for the Carlists, they, as usual, preferred civil war to an election campaign. [5] All these parties, according to the Spanish custom, abstained. Only the federalist Republicans, split into two wings, and the bulk of the workers took part in the elections. Given the enormous attraction which the name of the International still enjoyed at that time among the Spanish workers and given the excellent organisation of the Spanish Section which, at least for practical purposes, still existed at the time, it was certain that any candidate nominated and supported by the International would be brilliantly successful in the industrial districts of Catalonia, in Valencia, in the Andalusian towns and so on, and that a minority would be elected to the Cortes large enough to decide the issue whenever it came to a vote between the two wings of the Republicans. The workers were aware of this; they felt that the time had come to bring their still powerful organisation into play. But the honourable leaders of the Bakuninist school had been preaching the gospel of unqualified abstention too long to be able suddenly to reverse their line; and so they invented that deplorable way out -- that of having the International abstain as a body, but allowing its members as individuals to vote *as they liked*. The result of this declaration of political bankruptcy was that the workers, as always in such cases, voted for those who made the most radical speeches, that is, for the Intransigents, and considering themselves therefore more or less responsible for subsequent steps taken by their deputies, became involved in them.



The members of the Alliance could not possibly persist in the ridiculous position into which their cunning electoral policy had landed them; it would have meant the end of their control over the International in Spain. They had to act, if only for the sake of appearances. Salvation for them lay in a *general STRIKE*.

In the Bakuninist programme a general STRIKE is the lever employed by which the social revolution is started. One fine morning all the workers in all the industries of a country, or even of the whole world, stop work, thus forcing the propertied classes either humbly to submit within four weeks at the most, or to attack the workers, who would then have the right to defend themselves and use this opportunity to pull down the entire old society. The idea is far from new; this horse was since 1848 hard ridden by French, and later Belgian socialists; it is originally, however, an English breed. During the rapid and vigorous growth of Chartism among the English workers following the crisis of 1837, the "holy month", a strike on a national scale was advocated as early as 1839 (see Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, Second Edition [1892], p. 234) and this had such a strong appeal that in July 1842 the industrial workers in northern England tried to put it into practice. -- Great importance was also attached to the general STRIKE at the Geneva Congress of the Alliance held on September 1, 1873, [6] although it was universally admitted that this required a well-formed organisation of the working class and plentiful funds. And there's the rub. On the one hand the governments, especially if encouraged by political abstention, will never allow the organisation or the funds of the workers to reach such a level; on the other hand, political events and oppressive acts by the ruling classes will lead to the liberation of the workers long before the proletariat is able to set up such an ideal organisation and this colossal reserve fund. But if it had them, there would be no need to use the roundabout way of a general STRIKE to achieve its goal.

No one with any knowledge of the secret springs of the Alliance can doubt that the idea of using this well-tryed method originated in the Swiss centre. Be that as it may, the Spanish leaders saw in this a way of doing something without actually delving in "politics" and they gladly took it. The miraculous qualities of a general STRIKE were everywhere propounded and preparations were made to start it at Barcelona and Alcoy.

Meanwhile the political situation was steadily heading for a crisis. Castelar and his associates, the old federal republican braggarts, were frightened by the movement, which had outgrown them. They were obliged to hand over the reins of government to Pi y Margall [*June 11, 1873*], who sought a compromise with the Intransigents. Of all the official republicans, Pi was the only Socialist, the only one who realised that the republic had to depend on the support of the workers. He promptly produced a programme of social measures which could be carried out immediately and would not only benefit the workers directly but eventually lead to further steps, thus at least giving the first impetus to the social revolution. But the Bakuninist members of the International, who were obliged to reject even the most revolutionary measures if they emanated from the "State", preferred to support the most preposterous swindlers among the Intransigents rather than a minister. Pi's negotiations with the Intransigents dragged on. The Intransigents began to lose patience, and the most hot-headed of them started a cantonal uprising in Andalusia. The leaders of the Alliance now had to act too if they did not want to trail in the wake of the intransigent bourgeois. And so a general STRIKE was ordered.



Presently, among other things, a poster was issued in Barcelona stating:

"Workers! We are calling a general STRIKE to show the profound abhorrence we feel on seeing the government using the army fight our brother workers, while neglecting the struggle against the Carlists", etc. [*Engels probably quotes from La Solidarité Révolutionnaire, No. 6, July 16, 1873. -- Ed.*]

The workers of Barcelona -- Spain's largest industrial city, which has seen more barricade fighting than any other city in the world -- were asked to oppose the armed government force not with arms in their hands, but with a general strike, that is, a measure directly involving only individual bourgeois, but not their collective representative -- the State power. During the period of peacetime inaction, the workers of Barcelona had been able to listen to the inflammatory phrases of mild men like Alerini, Farga Pellicer and Viñas; but when the time came to act, when Alerini, Farga Pellicer and Viñas first announced their fine election programme, then proceeded to calm passions, and finally, instead of issuing a call to arms declared a general STRIKE, the workers actually despised them. Even the weakest Intransigent showed more energy than the strongest member of the Alliance. The Alliance and the International, which was hoodwinked by it, lost all influence and when these gentlemen called for a general STRIKE claiming that this would paralyse the government the workers simply ridiculed them. What the activities of the false International did achieve, however, was that Barcelona took no part in the cantonal uprising. Barcelona was the only town whose participation could have provided firm support for the working-class element, which was everywhere strongly represented in the; movement, and thus held out the prospect of the workers ultimately controlling the entire movement. Furthermore, with the participation of Barcelona, victory would have been as good as won. But Barcelona did not raise a finger; the workers of Barcelona, who had seen through the Intransigents and been cheated by the Alliance, remained inactive, thus allowing the Madrid government to secure the final victory. All of which did not prevent Alerini and Brousse, members of the Alliance (the report on the Alliance contained further details about them), from stating in their paper, the *Solidarité Révolutionnaire*:

"The revolutionary movement is spreading like wildfire throughout the peninsula ... *nothing has as yet happened in Barcelona, but the revolution is permanent in the market place!*"

But it was the revolution of the Alliancists, which consists in beating the big drum and for this reason remains "permanently" in the same "place".

At the same time the general STRIKE became the order of the day in Alcoy. Alcoy is a new industrial town of some 30,000 inhabitants, where the International, in its Bakuninist form gained a foothold only a year ago and spread rapidly. Socialism, in any form, went down well with these workers, who until then had known nothing of the movement; the same thing happens in Germany where occasionally in some backward town the General Association of German Workers [7] suddenly gains a large temporary following. Alcoy was therefore chosen as the seat of the Bakuninist Federal Commission for Spain, [8] and it is the work of this Federal Commission that we are going to see here.

On July 7, a workers' meeting voted for a general STRIKE and on the following day sent a deputation to the alcalde (the mayor) asking him to summon the manufacturers within 24 hours

and present to them the workers' demands. Albors, the alcalde, a bourgeois Republican, stalled off the workers, sent to Alicante for troops and advised the manufacturers not to yield but to barricade themselves in their houses. He himself would remain at his post. After a meeting with the manufacturers -- we are here following the official report of the Alliance Federal Commission dated July 14, 1873 [*"A los Trabajadores"*, *La Federación*, No. 206, July 26, 1873] -- Albors, who had originally promised the workers to remain neutral, issued a proclamation in which he "insulted and slandered the workers and sided with the manufacturers thus destroying the rights and the freedom of the strikers and challenging them to fight". How the pious wishes of a mayor can destroy the rights and the freedom of the strikers is not made clear. Anyway, the workers led by the Alliance notified the municipal council through a committee that if it did not intend to remain neutral during the strike as it promised, it had better resign in order to avoid a conflict. The committee was turned away and as it was leaving the town hall, the police opened fire on the peaceful and unarmed people standing in the square. This is how the fight started, according to the report of the Alliance. The people armed themselves, and a battle began which was said to have lasted "twenty hours". On one side, the workers, whose number is given by the *Solidarité Révolutionnaire* as 5,000, on the other, 32 gendarmes in the town hall and a few armed men in four or five houses in the market place. These houses were burnt down by the people in the good Prussian manner. Eventually the gendarmes ran out of ammunition and had to surrender.

"There would have been less misfortunes to lament," says the report of the Alliance Commission, "if the Alcalde Albors had not deceived the people by pretending to surrender and then cowardly ordering the murder of those who entered the town hall relying on his word. And the Alcalde himself would not have been killed by the justly enraged population had he not fired his revolver point-blank at those who went to arrest him."

And what were the casualties in this battle?

"Although we cannot know exactly the number of dead and wounded" (on the people's side) "we can nevertheless say that they numbered *no less than ten*. On the side of provokers there were no less than *fifteen* dead and wounded."

This was the first street battle of the Alliance. For twenty hours, 5,000 men fought against 32 gendarmes and a few armed bourgeois, and defeated them after they had run out of ammunition, losing *ten men* in all. The Alliance may well drum Falstaff's dictum into the heads of its adepts that "the better part of valour is discretion". [*Shakespeare, The First Part of King Henry IV, Act V, Scene 4. -- Ed.*]

Needless to say, all the horror stories carried by the bourgeois papers about factories senselessly burnt down, numerous gendarmes shot down, and of people having petrol poured over them and set on fire, are pure inventions. The victorious workers, even if led by members of the Alliance whose motto is, "to hell with ceremony!", always treat their defeated adversaries far too generously, and so the latter accuse them of all the misdeeds which *they themselves* never fail to

perpetrate when they are victorious.

And so victory had been won.

The *Solidarité Révolutionnaire* writes jubilantly: "Our friends in Alcoy, numbering 5,000, are masters of the situation."

And what did these "masters" do with their "situation"?

Here the report of the Alliance and its newspaper leave us in the lurch and we have to rely on the ordinary newspaper reports. From these we learn that a "Committee of Public Safety", that is, a revolutionary government, was then set up in Alcoy. To be sure that their Congress at Saint-Imier [\[9\]](#) (Switzerland), on September 15 1872, the members of the Alliance decided that

"any organisation of political, so-called provisional or revolutionary authority, can be nothing but a new fraud and would be just as dangerous for the proletariat as any of the now existing governments". [*Les deux Congres de Saint-Imier*", *Bulletin de la Federación jurassienne...*, No. 17-18, September 15-October 1, 1872, p. 13.]

The members of the Spanish Federal Commission, meeting at Alcoy, had moreover done everything they could to get this resolution adopted also by the Congress of the Spanish Section of the International. And yet we find that Severino Albarracin, a member of this Commission, and, according to some reports, also Francisco Tomas, its secretary, were members of this provisional and revolutionary government, the Committee of Public Safety, of Alcoy!

And what did this Committee of Public Safety do? What measures did it adopt to bring about "the immediate and complete emancipation of the workers"? It forbade any man to leave the city, although women were allowed to do so, provided they ... had a *pass*! The enemies of all authority re-introducing a *pass*! Everything else was utter confusion, inactivity and helplessness.

Meanwhile, General Velarde was coming up from Alicante with troops. The government had every reason for wishing to deal with the local insurrections in the provinces quietly. And the "masters of the situation" in Alcoy had every reason for wanting to extricate themselves from a situation which they did not know how to handle. Accordingly, Deputy Cervera, who acted as a go-between, had an easy task. The Committee of Public Safety resigned, and on July 12 the troops entered the town without meeting any resistance, the only promise made to the Committee of Public Safety for this being ... a general amnesty. The Alliance "masters of the situation" had once again extricated themselves from a tight spot. And there the Alcoy adventure ended.

The Alliance report tells us that at Sanlúcar de Barrameda, near Cádiz,

"the Alcalde closed down the premises of the International and his threats and his incessant attacks on the personal rights of the citizens incensed the workers. A commission demanded of the minister observance of the law and the re-opening of the premises which had been arbitrarily closed down. Mr. Pi agreed to this in principle ... but refused to comply in practice. It became clear to the workers that the Government was determined to outlaw their Association; they dismissed the local authorities and appointed others in their place, who

re-opened the premises of the Association." [*"A los Trabajadores", La Federación, No. 206, July 26, 1873.*]

"In Sanlúcar ... the people are masters of the situation!" the *Solidarité Révolutionnaire* writes triumphantly. The members of the Alliance, who here too, contrary to their anarchist principles, formed a revolutionary government, did not know what to do with their power. They wasted time in futile debates and paper resolutions, and when General Pavía, on August 5, after taking Seville and Cádiz, sent a few companies of the Soria brigade to Sanlúcar he encountered ... no resistance.

Such were the heroic deeds performed by the Alliance where it had no competition.

### III

The street fighting in Alcoy was immediately followed by a revolt of the Intransigents in Andalusia. Pi y Margall was still at the helm, engaged in continuous negotiations with the leaders of this party with the object of forming a ministry with them; why then did they begin an uprising before the negotiations had failed? The reason for this rash action has never been properly explained, it is however certain, that the main concern of the Intransigents was the actual establishment of a federal republic as quickly as possible in order to seize power and the many new administrative posts that were to be created in the various cantons. The splitting up of Spain had been deferred too long by the Cortes in Madrid, and so they had to tackle the job themselves and proclaim sovereign cantons everywhere. The attitude hitherto maintained by the (Bakuninist) International, which since the elections was deeply involved in the actions of the Intransigents, gave grounds for counting on the Bakuninists' support: indeed, had not the Bakuninists just seized Alcoy by force and were thus in open conflict with the government? The Bakuninists moreover had for years been preaching that all revolutionary action from above was an evil, and everything should be organised and carried through from below. And now here was an opportunity to apply the famous principle of autonomy from below, at least in a few towns. Predictably, the Bakuninist workers fell into the trap and pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for the Intransigents, only to be rewarded later by their allies with the usual kicks and bullets.

What was the position of the members of the Bakuninist International in all this movement? They helped to evolve its federalist particularism; they put into practice as far as possible their anarchist ideal. The same Bakuninists who in Cordoba a few months earlier had declared that to establish a revolutionary government was to betray and cheat the workers, the same Bakuninists now sat in all the revolutionary municipal governments of Andalusia, but always in a minority, so that the Intransigents could do whatever they wished. While the latter retained the political and military leadership, the workers were put off with pompous phrases or resolutions purporting to introduce social reforms of the crudest and most meaningless sort, which moreover existed only on paper. As soon as the Bakuninist leaders demanded real concessions, they were scornfully repulsed. When talking to English newspaper correspondents, the Intransigent leaders of the movement hastened to dissociate themselves from these so-called "members of the International" and to renounce all responsibility for them, declaring that their leaders and all fugitives from the Paris Commune were being kept under strict police supervision. Finally, as we shall see, the Intransigents in Seville, during the battle with the government troops, fired also on their Bakuninist allies.

Thus it happened that within a few days the whole of Andalusia was in the hands of the armed Intransigents. Seville, Malaga, Granada, Cádiz, etc. were taken almost without resistance. Each town proclaimed itself a sovereign canton and set up a revolutionary committee (*junta*). Murcia, Cartagena, and Valencia followed suit. A similar attempt, but of a more peaceful nature, was made in Salamanca. Thus, nearly all the large Spanish cities were held by the insurgents, with the exception of Madrid, the capital, which is purely a luxury city and hardly ever plays a decisive role, and of Barcelona. If Barcelona had risen success would have been almost assured, and in addition it would have provided powerful support for the working-class element of the movement. But as we have seen, the Intransigents in Barcelona were comparatively powerless, whereas the Bakuninists, who were still very strong there at the time, used the general STRIKE only for *appeasement purposes*. Thus Barcelona this time was not at its post.

Nevertheless, the uprising, though started in a senseless way, had a fair chance of success if conducted with some intelligence, even if in the manner of the Spanish military revolts, in which the garrison of one town rises, marches to the next town and wins over the garrison there which had been propagandised in advance, and, growing like an avalanche, advances on the capital, until a successful engagement or the desertion to its side of the troops sent out against it, decides the victory. This method was eminently suited to the occasion. The insurgents had long been organised everywhere into volunteer battalions, whose discipline, it is true, was poor, but certainly no worse than that of the remnants of the old Spanish army, which for the most part had been disbanded. The only reliable troops the government had were the gendarmes (*guardias civiles*), and these were scattered all over the country. The thing was to prevent the gendarmes from mustering, and this could only be done by boldly giving battle in the open field. No great risk was involved in this since the government could send against the volunteers only troops that were just as undisciplined as they themselves. And if they wanted to win, this was the only way to go about it.

But no. The federalism of the Intransigents and their Bakuninist tail consisted precisely in the fact that each town acted on its own, declaring that the important thing was not co-operation with other towns but separation from them, thus precluding any possibility of a combined attack. What was an unavoidable evil during the German Peasant War and the German insurrections of May 1849, namely, the fragmentation and isolation of the revolutionary forces which enabled the government troops to smash one revolt after the other, [10] was here proclaimed a principle of supreme revolutionary wisdom. Bakunin had that satisfaction. As early as September 1870 (in his *Lettres a un franfaisa*) he had declared that the only way to drive the Prussians out of France by a revolutionary struggle was to do away with all forms of centralised leadership and leave each town, each village, each parish to wage war on its own. If one thus opposed the Prussian army under its centralised command with unfettered revolutionary passion victory would be ensured. Confronted with the collective mind of the French people, thrown at last on its own resources, the individual mind of Moltke would obviously sink into insignificance. The French then refused to see this, but in Spain Bakunin had won a brilliant victory, as we have already seen and shall yet see.

Meanwhile, this uprising, launched without reason like a bolt from the blue, had made it impossible for Pi y Margall to continue his negotiations with the Intransigents. He was compelled to resign, [July 18, 1873] and was replaced by pure republicans like Castelar, undisguised

bourgeois, whose primary aim was to crush the working-class movement, which they had previously used but which had now become a hindrance to them. One division under General Pavía was sent against Andalusia, another under General Campos against Valencia and Cartagena. The main body consisted of gendarmes drawn from all over Spain, all of them old soldiers whose discipline was still unshaken. Here too, as during the attacks of the Versailles army on Paris, the gendarmes were to bolster up the demoralised regulars and to form the spearhead of the attacking columns, a task which in both cases they fulfilled to the best of their abilities. Besides the gendarmes, the divisions contained a few rather diminished line regiments, so that each of them numbered some 3,000 men. This was all the Government was able to raise against the insurgents.

General Pavía took the field round about July 20. A detachment of gendarmes and line troops under Ripoll occupied Cordoba on the 24th. On the 29th Pavía attacked the barricaded Seville, which fell to him on the 30th or 31st, the dates are often not clearly stated in these telegrams. Leaving behind a flying column to put down the surrounding country, he marched against Cádiz, whose defenders only fought on the approaches to the city, and with little spirit at that, and then, on August 4, they allowed themselves to be disarmed without resistance. In the days that followed, Pavía disarmed, also without resistance, Sanlúcar de Barrameda, San Roque, Tarifa, Algeciras, and a great many other small towns each of which had set itself up as a sovereign canton. At the same time he sent detachments against Malaga, which surrendered on August 3, and Granada, which surrendered on August 8, without offering any resistance. Thus by August 10, in less than a fortnight and almost without a struggle, the whole of Andalusia had been subdued.

On July 26, Martinez Campos began the attack on Valencia. The revolt there had been raised by the workers. When the split in the Spanish International occurred, the real International had the majority in Valencia, and the new Spanish Federal Council was transferred there. [11] Soon after the proclamation of the Republic, when revolutionary battles lay ahead, the Bakuninist workers of Valencia, mistrusting the Barcelona leaders who cloaked their appeasement policy with ultra-revolutionary phrases, offered the members of the real International their co-operation in all local movements. When the cantonal movement started, both groups, making use of the Intransigents, immediately attacked and ejected the troops. Who formed the Valencian junta remains unknown, but from the reports of the English newspaper correspondents it appears that workers definitely predominated in the junta, just as they did among the Valencian Volunteers. The same correspondents spoke of the Valencian insurgents with a respect which they were far from showing towards the other rebels, who were mostly Intransigents; they praised their discipline and the order which prevailed in the city, and predicted a long resistance and a hard struggle. They were not mistaken. Valencia, an open city, withstood the attacks of Campos' division from July 26 to August 8, that is longer than the whole of Andalusia.

In the province of Murcia, the capital of the same name was occupied without a fight; after the fall of Valencia Campos moved against Cartagena, one of the strongest fortresses in Spain, protected on the landward side by a rampart and advanced forts on the commanding heights. The 3,000 government troops, who had no siege artillery whatsoever, and whose light field guns were of course powerless against the heavy artillery of the forts, had to confine themselves to laying siege to the city from the landward side. This was of little avail, however, as long as the people of Cartagena dominated the sea with the naval vessels they had captured in the harbour. The insurgents, who, while the fight had been going on in Valencia and Andalusia, were wholly preoccupied with their own affairs, began to think of the outside world after the other revolts had

been quelled, when they themselves began to run short of money and provisions. Only then did they make an attempt to march on Madrid, which was at least 60 German miles [*German mile is equal to 7,420,438 metres.* -- *Ed.*] away, more than twice as far as, for instance, Valencia or Granada! The expedition ended in disaster not far from Cartagena. The siege precluded any possibility of further land sorties, so they attempted sorties with the aid of the fleet. And what sorties! There could be no question of raising revolts again with the aid of Cartagena warships in the coastal towns which had recently been subdued. The fleet of the Sovereign Canton of Cartagena therefore confined itself to threatening to shell the other coastal towns from Valencia to Malaga, which, according to the theory of the people of Cartagena, were likewise sovereign -- and if need be to shell them in actual fact if they failed to deliver on board the required provisions and war contribution in hard cash. While these cities, as sovereign cantons, had been fighting the government, Cartagena adhered to the principle of "every man for himself". Now when they had been defeated the principle which was held to be valid was -- "everyone for Cartagena!" That was how the Intransigents of Cartagena and their Bakuninist supporters interpreted the federalism of the sovereign cantons.

In order to reinforce the ranks of the fighters for liberty, the government of Cartagena released from the local jail about 1,800 convicts -- Spain's worst robbers and murderers. After the disclosures made in the report on the Alliance there can no longer be any room for doubt that this revolutionary step was suggested to it by the Bakuninists. The report shows Bakunin enthusiastically advocating the "unleashing of all evil passions" and holding up the Russian brigand as a model for all true revolutionaries. What is fair for the Russian is fair for the Spaniard. When the local government of Cartagena released the "evil passions" of the 1,800 jailed cut-throats, thereby carrying demoralisation among its troops to the extreme limit, it acted wholly in the spirit of Bakunin. And when, instead of battering down its own fortifications, the Spanish government awaited the fall of Cartagena through the internal disorganisation of its defenders, it was pursuing an entirely correct policy.

## IV

Now let us hear what the report of the New Madrid Federation has to say about the whole movement.

"On the second Sunday in August a Congress was to be held in Valencia, which, among other things, was to determine the attitude the Spanish International Federation was to adopt towards the important political events taking place in Spain since February 11, the day the Republic was proclaimed. But this nonsensical" (*descabellada*, literally: *dishevelled*) "cantonal uprising, which was such an abject failure and in which members of the International eagerly took part in almost all the insurgent provinces, has not only brought the work of the Federal Council to a standstill by dispersing most of its members, but has almost completely disorganised the local federations and, what is worse, exposed their members to the full measure of hatred and persecution that an ignominiously started and defeated popular insurrection always entails...."

"When the cantonal uprising started, when the juntas, i.e., the cantonal governments, were formed, these people" (the Bakuninists) "who had spoken so violently against political power, and accused us of authoritarianism, lost no time in joining those governments. And in important cities such as Seville, Cádiz, Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Granada and Valencia, many members of the International who call themselves anti-authoritarians sat on the cantonal juntas with no programme other than that of autonomy for the provinces or cantons. This is officially established by the proclamations and other documents issued by those juntas over the signatures of well-known members of this International.

"Such a flagrant contradiction between theory and practice, between propaganda and action, would be of small account if our Association could have derived any benefit from it, or if it could have advanced the organisation of our forces, or in any way furthered the attainment of our main goal -- the emancipation of the working class. Just the opposite took place, as it was bound to in the absence of the primary condition, namely, the active collaboration of the Spanish proletariat, which could have been so easily achieved by acting in the name of the International. There was no agreement between the local federations; the movement was abandoned to individual or local initiative without leadership (apart from that *which the mysterious Alliance was able to force upon it, and that Alliance to our shame still dominates the Spanish International*) and without any programme other than that of our natural enemies, the bourgeois republicans. Thus, the cantonal movement suffered the most ignominious defeat without offering hardly any resistance, and dragging down with it also the prestige and organisation of the International in Spain. For every excess, every crime, every outrage that takes place the republicans today blame the members of the International. We are even assured, that at Seville during the fighting the Intransigents fired at their own allies, the members of the" (Bakuninist) "International. Taking clever advantage of our follies, the reactionaries are inciting the republicans to persecute us and vilify us in the eyes of the indifferent masses; it seems that what they were unable to achieve in the days of Sagasta, i.e., to give the International a bad name among the great mass of Spanish workers, they may be able to achieve now.

"A number of workers' sections in Barcelona dissociated themselves from the International and publicly protested against the people of the newspaper *La Federación*" (the main organ of the Bakuninists) "and their inexplicable attitude. In Jérez, Puerto de Santa Maria and elsewhere the federations have decided to dissolve themselves. The few members of the International who lived in Loja (Granada province) were expelled by the population. In Madrid, where people still enjoy the greatest freedom, the old" (Bakuninist) "federation shows no sign of life, while ours is compelled to remain inactive and silent if it does not want to take the blame for other people's sins. In the northern cities the Carlist war, which is becoming more bitter day by day, precludes any activity on our part. Finally, in Valencia, where the government won the day after a struggle lasting a fortnight, the members of the International who have not fled are forced to remain in hiding, and the Federal Council has been dissolved."

So much for the Madrid report. As we see, it agrees in all particulars with the above historical account.



## What then is the result of our whole investigation?

1. As soon as they were faced with a serious revolutionary situation, the Bakuninists had to throw the whole of their old programme overboard. First they sacrificed their doctrine of absolute abstention from political, and especially electoral, activities. Then anarchy, the abolition of the State, shared the same fate. Instead of abolishing the State they tried, on the contrary, to set up a number of new, small states. They then dropped the principle that the workers must not take part in any revolution that did not have as its aim the immediate and complete emancipation of the proletariat, and they themselves took part in a movement that was notoriously bourgeois. Finally they went against the dogma they had only just proclaimed -- that the establishment of a revolutionary government is but another fraud another betrayal of the working class -- for they sat quite comfortably in the juntas of the various towns, and moreover almost everywhere as an impotent minority outvoted and politically exploited by the bourgeoisie.
  2. This renunciation of the principles they had always been preaching was made moreover in the most cowardly and deceitful manner and was prompted by a guilty conscience, so that neither the Bakuninists themselves nor the masses they led had any programme or knew what they wanted when they joined the movement. What was the natural consequence of this? It was that the Bakuninists either prevented any action from being taken, as in Barcelona, or drifted into sporadic, desultory and senseless uprisings, as in Alcoy and Sanlúcar de Barrameda; or that the leadership of the uprising was taken over by the intransigent bourgeois, as was the case in most of the revolts. Thus, when it came to doing things, the ultra-revolutionary rantings of the Bakuninists either turned into appeasement or into uprisings that were doomed to failure, or, led to their joining a bourgeois party which exploited the workers politically in the most disgraceful manner and treated them to kicks into the bargain.
  3. Nothing remains of the so-called principles of anarchy, free federation of independent groups, etc., but the boundless, and senseless fragmentation of the revolutionary resources, which enabled the government to conquer one city after another with a handful of soldiers, practically unresisted.
  4. The outcome of all this is that not only have the once so well organised and numerous Spanish sections of the International -- both the false and the true ones -- found themselves involved in the downfall of the Intransigents and are now actually dissolved, but are also having ascribed to them innumerable atrocities, without which the philistines of all nationalities cannot imagine a workers' uprising, and this may make impossible, perhaps for years to come, the international re-organisation of the Spanish proletariat.
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## NOTES

From the *Collected Works*

**BACKGROUND:** This series of articles was written in the wake of the events in Spain during the summer of 1873, which were the culmination of the Spanish bourgeois revolution of 1868-74. Engels focused his attention on the involvement of the Spanish Bakuninists in the abortive cantonal revolts (July-September) organised in the south and south-east of the country by the Intransigents, an extremist republican grouping that advocated the partition of Spain into independent cantons. The Intransigents and their Bakuninist allies were dissatisfied with the radical social measures undertaken by the Left republican government of Pi y Margall (sale of state and Church lands, establishment of mixed commissions to regulate labour conditions, a free regime in the colonies, etc.) and with the Constitution drawn up by the Cortes, which proclaimed a federative republic. They weakened the republican camp by forcing Pi y Margall to resign on July 18, 1873, and thus paved the way for the establishment of a military dictatorship in Spain early in 1874 and then for the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy.

Engels drew his information from the periodical press and various documents of the Spanish sections of the International, above all from a report submitted by the New Madrid Federation to the Geneva Congress of the International held on September 8-13, 1873.

Following the publication in *Der Volksstaat*, Engels' series of articles came out as a pamphlet entitled *Die Bakunisten an der Arbeit. Denkschrift über den letzten Aufstand in Spanien* (Leipzig, November 1873); in April-May 1874 it was published in the New York *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (Nos. 11-13 and 15-16). In 1894 *The Bakuninists at Work* was included in the collection of Engels' articles *Internationales aus dem "Volksstaat" (1871-75)* published by Vorwärts Publishers in Berlin. For that publication Engels provided the Preliminary Remark (see present edition, Vol. 27) and made several corrections.

The work was published in English for the first time in K. Marx, F. Engels, *Revolution in Spain*, Lawrence & Wishart, International Publishers, London-New York, 1939.

[1] The text published in *Der Volksstaat* in 1873 and the reprint of the same year had no author's note, but a reference in brackets: "see the article 'Cagliostro Bakunin' in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 87 et seqq." This anonymously published article contained a brief summary in German of Marx's and Engels' *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association* with excerpts from different chapters. It was written by Adolf Hepner and published in *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 87-90 of September 19, 21, 24 and 26, 1873. Engels referred to it because a full German translation of the work about the Alliance was then just being prepared.

[2] On July 1, 1873, the General Council in New York officially announced the convocation of the regular congress of the International in Geneva on September 8. It was to discuss revision of the Rules, organisation of an international trades union association, the political activity of the organised workers, labour statistics, and other questions. Initially Marx and Engels intended to be present at the congress and take part in its work but after an analysis of the situation within the International, concluded that the congress could not be really representative. Almost all the organisations of the International, being unable to send delegates, transferred their mandates to members of the Romance Federation of Switzerland. This was also the case with the New Madrid Federation whose leaders sent a copy of their

report to the Geneva Congress to Engels in London. What prompted Marx and Engels to change their attitude towards the congress was mainly their growing awareness that the IWMA as a form of international association could no longer meet the needs of the expanding proletarian movement.

At the sixth congress of the International Association in Geneva (September 8-13, 1873) 28 delegates out of 31 belonged to the Swiss organisations of the International or its émigré sections in Switzerland. Only 3 delegates represented other countries.

The congress heard the report of the General Council and reports from the localities. While discussing the Rules the majority of the delegates led by J. Ph. Becker confirmed the decisions of the Hague Congress of 1872 on expanding the functions of the General Council. The congress underlined the need for the working class to carry on a political struggle, and adopted a resolution on further measures to establish an international association of trades unions. New York remained the seat of the General Council. The Geneva Congress of 1873 was the last congress of the International.

[3] A reference to the liberal-constitutional monarchists who supported the protégé of the European powers on the Spanish throne, King Amadeo of Savoy.

[4] The *Alfonsists* a reactionary political grouping in Spain who backed Alfonso (son of Isabella II), the Bourbon pretender to the Spanish throne. He was proclaimed King (Alfonso XII) in 1874. The Alfonsists relied on the big landowners, the clergy and the upper crust of the bourgeoisie.

[5] *The Carlists*: A clerical-absolutist group which supported the claims of Don Carlos, King Ferdinand VII's brother, to the Spanish throne in the first half of the 19th century. Leaning for support on the reactionary military circles and Catholic clergy, as well as the backward peasantry from the mountainous regions of Spain the Carlists unleashed a civil war in 1833 which lasted till 1840 (the First Carlist war). When Don Carlos died in 1855, the Carlists supported the candidature of his grandson, Don Carlos, Jr. In 1872, during the political crisis, the Carlists became more active and this led to another civil war (Second Carlist war) which lasted until 1876.

[6] A reference to the congress, held in Geneva from September 1 to 6, 1873, of representatives of the anarchist and reformist organisations which had challenged the resolutions of the Hague Congress and thereby placed themselves outside the International, as stated in the decisions of the General Council of January 26 and May 30, 1873. The congress was convened by the Bakuninist Geneva Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Socialist Action (see Note 75). The congress proclaimed the negation of all authority the basic principle of the international anarchist association, abolished the General Council, denied congresses the right to adopt resolutions on questions of principle, and dropped Article 7a, on the political action of the working class, from the General Rules.

[7] By the Bismarckian socialists, Marx and Engels meant the leaders of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers (founded in May 1863) and they called their newspaper -- the *Neue Social-Demokrat* -- the police mouthpiece because both pursued a policy of accommodation to the Bismarck regime and attacked the revolutionary proletarian wing in the German workers' movement and in the International.

The name "white shirts" (les blouses blanche) refers to the gangs of declassed elements recruited by the police of the Second Empire. Pretending to be workers, they staged provocatory demonstrations and disturbances, thus providing the authorities with pretexts for persecuting genuine workers' organizations.

[8] By decision of the congress of Spanish anarchists in Cordova (see Note 220) of December 30, 1872, the Spanish Federal Council was replaced by a Federal Commission with limited powers (for details see K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy, and the International Working Men's Association*).

[9] A congress of representatives of secret organisations of the Bakuninist Alliance from various countries was held in Saint-Imier on September 15-16 1872, on the initiative of the Jura Federation. The congress decided to reject the resolutions of the Hague Congress and the authority of the General Council. It adopted a resolution against the political struggle of the working class and the necessity of an independent political party of the proletariat. Its address called upon sections to oppose the General Council and to convene their own "anti-authoritarian" congress in six months' time. The decisions of the Saint-Imier Congress signified an actual split in the International

[10] A reference to the great insurrection of the German peasants in 1524-25 known as the German Peasant War, and to the uprisings in Saxony, the Rhine Province of Prussia, the Palatinate and Baden in May 1849 in defence of the Imperial Constitution drawn up by the Frankfurt National Assembly but rejected by the German princes. The struggle for the Imperial Constitution (in the Palatinate and Baden it continued until July 1849) was the final stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848-49 in Germany.

See Engels' [The Peasant War in Germany](#), and *The Campaign for the German Imperial Constitution*.

[11] On the initiative of the New Madrid Federation the adherents of the General Council of the International in Spain formed, in January 1873, a new Spanish Federal Council in Valencia to counterbalance the actions of the anarchist federations, which had substituted the Federal Commission for the Federal Council.



# INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

aka

*The First International*

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## [History and description of the First International](#)

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## IMAGES

[Original notice of meeting](#)

[Membership form](#)

[Engels' membership card](#)

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## MINUTE BOOKS

MINUTES FROM CENTRAL  
COUNCIL: October 1865 to  
December 1866

[MINUTES FROM GENERAL  
COUNCIL](#): From January 1867

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## WRITINGS

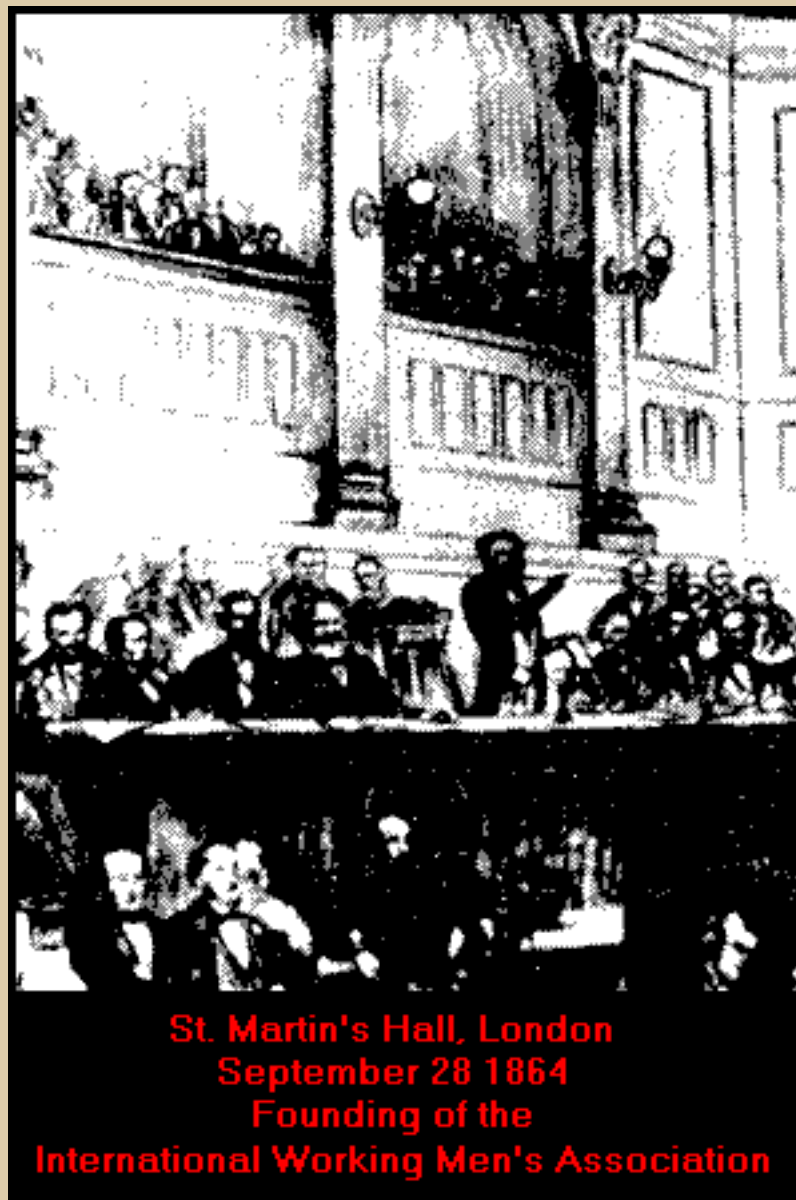
### 1864

**1864 10-27**: Address: [The Inaugural  
Address of the International](#)

**1864 10-27**: Document: [General Rules  
and Administrative Regulations](#)

**1864 11-04**: Letter: [Marx joins the  
International](#) (M)

**1864 11-08**: Resolutions: On the  
Composition of the Provisional



Central Council (*M*)

1864 11-22: Resolutions: On the Terms of the Admission of Workers' Organisations to the International (*M*)

1864 11-28: Letter: [To the Stuttgart Beobachter](#) (*M*)

1864 11-29: Letter: [To Abraham Lincoln, on his re-election](#) (*M*)

1864 11-29: Resolutions: On the Composition of the Provisional Central Council (*M*)

1864 12-??: Notes: [For a speech on France's "historical friendship" with Poland](#) (*M*)

## 1865

1865 01-24: Letter: ["On Proudhon"](#)  
[to J. B. Schweitzer (*M*)

1865 02-06: Letter: [To the Editor of the \*Social-Democrat\*](#) (*ME*)

1865 02-12: Article: [The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party](#) (*E*)

1865 02-23: Letter: [To the Editor of the \*Social-Democrat\*](#) (*ME*)

1865 02-27: Notice: [Concerning \*The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party\*](#) (*E*)

1865 03-07: Resolutions: [The Central Council on the Conflict in the Paris Section](#) (*M*)

1865 03-17: Review: [The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party](#) (*M*)

1865 03-19: Letter: [Statement Regarding the Causes of the Breach with the \*Social-Democrat\*](#) (*M*)

1865 03-28: Letter: [To the \*Berliner Reform\*](#) (*M*)

1865 04-08: Article: [The "President of Mankind"](#) (*M*)

1865 04-13: Letter: [A Correction](#) (M)

1865 05-09: Address: To US

President Johnson (M)

1865 06-27: Address: [Value, Price and Profit](#) (M)

1865 09-19: Resolution: On the Convocation of a General Congress of the International in 1866 (M)

1865 09-26: Minutes: [London Conference of the IWMA](#)

## 1866

1866 01-23: Resolution: [On the Procedure of Discussing the Programme of the Congress](#) (M)

1866 03-24: Article: [What Have the Working Classes to Do with Poland?](#) (E)

1866 05-04: Letter: [A Warning](#) (M)

1866 07-31: Proposals: [The Standing Committee on the Programme of the Geneva Congress](#) (M)

1866 08-30: Instructions: [For the Delegates of the Provisional General Council.](#) (M)

1866 09-18: Resolution: Gratitude to the Delegates of the Central (General) Council to the Geneva Congress (M)

## 1867

1867 01-22: Speech: [To the Polish Meeting in London.](#) (M)

1867 02-18: Letter: [A Correction for Zeitung fur Norddeutschland](#) (M)

1867 07-23: Resolutions: [Concerning the Agenda of the Lausanne Congress](#) (M)

1867 08-13: Resolution: [On the Attitude of the IWMA to the Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom](#) (M)

**1867 11-20:** Resolution: [The Fenian Prisoners at Manchester and the IWMA](#) (*M*)

## 1868

**1868 05-12:** The Position of the International on Prussian Protectionist Tariffs (*M*)

**1868 06-02:** Resolution on Changing the Place of the International's Congress in 1868 (*M*)

**1868 07-07:** Resolution of the General Council on Félix Pyat's Provocative Behaviour (*M*)

**1868 07-14:** Declaration of the General Council Concerning the British Government's Attitude Towards Tsarist Russia (*M*)

**1868 08-11:** Draft Resolution on the Consequences of Using Machinery under Capitalism Proposed by the General Council to the Brussels Congress (*M*)

**1868 08-18:** To the President and Executive Committee of the General Association of German Workers (*M*)

**1868 08-25:** Draft Resolution on the Reduction of the Working Day Proposed by the General Council to the Brussels Congress (*M*)

**1868 09-01:** [The Fourth Annual Report of the General Council](#) (*M*)

**1868 09-16:** To the Directorate of the Schiller Institute (*E*)

**1868 10-03:** [On the Dissolution of the Lassallean Workers' Association](#) (*E*)

**1868 10-04:** Connections Between the IWMA and English Working Men's Organisations (*M*)

**1868 11-09:** How Mr. Gladstone's Bank Letter of 1866 Procured a Loan of Six Millions for Russia (*M*)

**1868 11-03:** Preamble to the Resolutions of the Geneva (1866) and



Brussels (1868) Congresses of the International (*M*)

**1868 11-23:** Statement to the German Workers' Educational Society in London (*M*)

**1868 12-22:** [The IWMA and the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy](#) (*M*)

## 1869

**1869 01-06:** Resume of the Meetings of the General Council. *IWMA to the Editor of "The Bee-Hive"* (*M*)

**1869 02-21:** Report on the Miners' Guilds in the Coalfields of Saxony

**1869 03-09:** [The General Council of the IWMA to the Central Bureau of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy](#) (*M*)

**1869 04-04:** Article: The Belgian Massacres. *To the Workmen of Europe and the United States* (*M*)

**1869 05-12:** Address: [To the National Labour Union \(US\)](#) (*M*)

**1869 07-20:** Resolution: [The "Right of Inheritance"](#)

**1869 08-03:** GC Report: [On the Right of Inheritance](#) (*M*)

**1869 08-03:** GC Report: [To the Fourth Annual Congress of the IWMA](#) (*M*)

**1869 11-16:** Draft Resolution of the General Council on the Policy of the British Government Towards the Irish Prisoners (*M*)

## 1870

**1870 01-01:** The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland (*M*)

**1870 01-04:** Obituary: Citizen Robert Shaw (*M*)

**1870 02-21:** The English Government

and the Fenian Prisoners (*M*)

1870 03-08: Concerning the Conflict in the Lyons Section (*M*)

1870 03-24: The General Council of the IWMA to Committee Members of the Russian (*M*)

1870 03-28: [Confidential](#)

[Communication](#) (*M*)

1870 04-18: To the International Metalworkers' Society (*M*)

1870 05-03: GC Declaration: Concerning the Persecution of the Members of the French Sections. (*M*)

1870 05-10: Draft GC Resolution: On the "French Federal Section in London" (*M*)

1870 05-17: GC Resolution: On *The Bee-Hive* (*M*)

1870 05-17: GC Resolution: On the Convocation of the Congress in Mainz (*M*)

1870 06-14: To the Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (*ME*)

1870 06-29: GC Resolution: On the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland. *The GC to the Romance Federal Committee* (*M*)

1870 07-05: The Lock-out of the Building Trades at Geneva. (*M*)

1870 07-14: [Programme for the 5th Congress](#) (*M*)

1870 07-14: Confidential Communication to All Sections (*M*)

1870 07-14: Programme for the Mainz Congress of the International

1870 07-23: [First Address on the Franco-Prussian War](#)

1870 07-29: Notes on the War (*E*)

1870 08-02: To the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' (*M*)

1870 08-30: Letter: To the Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (*ME*)

1870 09-09: [Second Address on the](#)

[Franco-Prussian War](#) (*M*)

**1870 09-14:** Concerning the Arrest of the Members of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (*M*)

**1870 12-23:** To the Sixth Congress of the Belgian Sections of the IWMA (*E*)

## 1871

**1871 01-16:** On the Freedom of the Press and Meetings in Germany (*M*)

**1871 02-13:** To the Spanish Federal Council of the IWMA (*E*)

**1871 03-15:** The Aspect of Affairs in Russia (*E*)

**1871 03-21:** To the Editor of *The Times* (*ME*)

**1871 03-22:** Statement by the General Council to the Editor of *The Times* and Other Papers (*M*)

**1871 03-23:** To the Editorial Boards of the *Volksstaat* and the *Zukunft* (*M*)

**1871 03-31:** To the Editor of *De Werker* (*M*)

**1871 04-03:** To the Editor of *The Times* (*M*)

**1871 04-05:** On the Cigar-Workers' Strike in Antwerp (*M*)

**1871 04-18:** Outline of an Appeal of the General Council to the Weavers' and Spinners' Trade Unions of Manchester for Assistance to the Spanish Textile Workers' Strike (*E*)

**1871 04-25:** Resolution of the General Council Expelling Henri Louis Tolain from the IWMA (*ME*)

**1871 05-10:** Once Again "Herr Vogt" (*E*)

**1871 05-30:** [Third Address on the Franco-Prussian War](#) (*Commune*)

**1871 06-08:** To the Editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette* (*M*)

**1871 06-12:** Statement by the General Council on Jules Favre's Circular (*ME*)

1871 06-20: Statement by the General Council to the Editor of *The Times* (ME)

1871 06-20: Statement by the General Council to the Editor of *The Standard*. (ME)

1871 06-21: Statement by the General Council on George Jacob Holyoake's Letter (E)

1871 06-21: Letter from the General Council to the Editor of *The Spectator* (resp. *Examiner*) (E)

1871 06-27: To the Editor of *The Daily News* (M)

1871 06-27: Statement by the General Council on the Letters of G. J. Holyoake and B. Lucraft (E)

1871 06-30: Letter to Max Friedländer, the Editor of the *Neue Freie Presse* (M)

1871 06-30: The Address *The Civil War in France* and the English Press (E)

1871 06-30: Letter to Frederick Greenwood, the Editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette* (M)

1871 07-11: Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador, in Paris (M)

1871 07-11: To the Editor of *The Morning Advertiser* (M)

1871 07-13: To the Editor of *The Standard* (M)

1871 07-28: Mazzini's Statement against the IWMA (E)

1871 08-07: Covering Letter to the Editor of *The Times* (M)

1871 08-07: To the Editor of *The Times* (E)

1871 08-17: To the Editor of *L'International* (M)

1871 08-19: To the Editor of *Public Opinion* (M)

1871 08-19: To the Editor of *Public Opinion* (M)

1871 08-24: To the Editor of the *Gaulois* (M)

**1871 08-25:** Letter to the Editor of *The Sun*, Charles Dana (*M*)

**1871 08-29:** The Commune and Archbishop Darboy (*M*)

**1871 08-29:** To the Editor of *La Vérité* (*M*)

**1871 08-30:** To the Editor of *The Evening Standard* (*M*)

**1871 09-04:** Propositions to the General Council Concerning Preparations for the London Conference (*ME*)

**1871 09-05:** Propositions to Be Submitted to the Conference by the General Council (*ME*)

**1871 09-17:** The London Conference of the IWMA

- [On the Activity of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy](#). Record of the Speech at the Sitting of the Conference Commission of 18 September 1871 (*M*)
- Motions of the General Council Adopted by the Conference (*ME*)
- **1871 09-20:** Speech: [Political Action and the Working Class](#)
- On the Political Action of the Working Class (*E*)
- On the Political Action of the Working Class (*E*)
- Resolution of the London Conference relating to the Split in Romance Switzerland (*M*)
- Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the IWMA Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871 (*ME*)

**1871 10-24:** General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the IWMA (*ME*) New edition.

**1871 10-07:** Resolution of the General

Council Expelling Gustave Durand from the IWMA (*E*)

1871 10-13: To Enrico Bignami, Editor of *La Plebe* (*E*)

1871 10-14: Declaration of the General Council on Nechayev's Misuse of the Name of the IWMA (*M*)

1871 10-17: Resolution of the General Council on the Rules of the French Section of 1871 (*M*)

1871 10-21: On the Progress of the IWMA in Italy and Spain. Engels' Record of His Report at the General Council Meeting of October 17, 1871 (*E*)

1871 10-20: To the Editors of the *Gazzettino Rosa*: Covering Letter to the "Declaration of the General Council on Nechayev's Misuse of the Name of the IWMA" (*E*)

1871 10-31: Statement by the General Council Concerning Alexander Baillie Cochrane's Letter (*E*)

1871 11-04: On the Company Swindle in England (*E*)

1871 11-07: Resolution of the General Council on the French Section of 1871 (*M*)

1871 11-07: Giuseppe Garibaldi's Statement and Its Effects on the Working Classes in Italy. Engels' Record of His Report at the General Council Meeting of November 7, 1871 (*E*)

1871 11-14: Working Men's Congress at Rome. -- Bebel's Speeches in the Reichstag. (*E*)

1871 11-17: Declaration (*M*)

1871 11-24: Statement Sent by the General Council to the Editors of the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt* (*M*)

1871 11-25: To the Federal Council of the Spanish Region in Madrid (*E*)

1871 11-29: To the Editors of *II Proletario Italiano* (*E*)

**1871 11-30:** Credentials for Giuseppe Boriani (*E*)

**1871 12-05:** The Position of the Danish Members of the International on the Agrarian Question. Engels' Record of His Report at the General Council Meeting of December 5, 1871 (*E*)

**1871 12-10:** On the Position of the International's Sections in European Countries (*E*)

**1871 12-06:** Declaration Sent by the General Council to the Editors of Italian Newspapers Concerning Mazzini's Articles about the International (*E*)

**1871 12-20:** To the Editor of *The Eastern Post* (*M*)

## 1872

**1872 03-05:** Pamphlet: [Fictitious Splits in the International](#) (*ME*)

**1872 03-05:** Resolution: [US Federation Split](#)

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**1872 09-??:** Resolution: [Working Class Parties](#)

**1872 09-08:** Speech: [The Political Battleground](#)

**1872 01-03:** The Congress of Sonvillier and the International (*M*)

**1872 01-16:** Letter: To *The Eastern Post* (*M*)

**1872 01-28:** Letter: To *The Eastern Post* (*M*)

**1872 02-07:** Letter: To *Gazzettino Rosa* (*E*)

**1872 02-16:** To the Section of Commercial Employees in Barcelona (*E*)

**1872 02-20:** Declaration of the General Council of the IWMA (*ME*)

**1872 03-05:** Fictitious Splits in the International. Private Circular from the General Council of the IWMA (*ME*)

**1872 03-12:** Resolutions on the Split in the United States' Federation Passed by the General Council of the IWMA in Its Sittings of 5th and 12th March, 1872 (*M*)

**1872 03-12:** Letter: To *La Liberte* (*M*)

**1872 03-18:** Resolutions of the Meeting Held to Celebrate the Anniversary of the Paris Commune (*M*)

**1872 03-27:** To the Spanish Federal Council (*E*)

**1872 06-15:** The Nationalisation of the Land (*M*)

**1872 04-03:** To Citizen Delegates of the Regional Spanish Congress Assembled at Saragossa (*E*)

**1872 04-06:** To the Saragossa Congress (*E*)

**1872 04-16:** Declaration of the General Council of the IWMA Concerning Cochrane's Speech in the House of Commons (*M*)

**1872 04-16:** To the Society of Ferrarese Workers (*E*)

**1872 04-20:** Letters from London. -- I. The English Agricultural Labourers' Strike (*E*)

**1872 04-23:** On the Police Persecution of the Member of the International Theodore Cuno (*E*)

**1872 05-10:** To the Society of Ferrarese Workers (*E*)

**1872 05-14:** Relations Between the Irish Sections and the British Federal Council (*E*)

**1872 05-20:** Declaration of the General Council Concerning the Universal Federalist Council (*M*)

**1872 05-23:** Stefanoni and the



International Again (*M*)

1872 05-23: [Reply to Brentano's](#)

[Article](#) (*M*)

1872 06-14: To the *Emancipation of the Proletarian Society* in Turin (*E*)

1872 06-29: Announcement of the General Council on the Convocation and the Agenda of the Congress at The Hague (*E*)

1872 07-05: Resolutions of the Sub-Committee on Mikhail Bakunin and the Alliance

1872 07-09: The International in America (*E*)

1872 07-18: To Citizen Vincenzo Spotti, Secretary of the Committee for the Emancipation of the Working Classes in Parma (*E*)

1872 07-21: To the Striking Miners of the Ruhr Valley (*M*)

1872 07-28: The General Council's Reply to the Protest of the Jura Federation Against the Convening of a Congress at The Hague (*M*)

1872 07-28: [Reply to Brentano's](#)

[Second Article](#) (*M*)

1872 08-??: Amendments to the General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the IWMA Adopted by the General Council in the Summer of 1872 (*M*)

1872 08-06: The General Council to All the Members of the IWMA (*E*)

1872 08-08: To the Spanish Sections of the IWMA (*ME*)

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1872 08-23: Address of the General Council to the Italian Sections of the IWMA Concerning the Rimini Conference (*E*)

**1872 08-28:** Resolution on the Behaviour of Members of the General Council at the Congress (*M*)

**1872 08-??:** [Report of the General Council to the Fifth Annual Congress of the IWMA Held at The Hague, from the 2nd to the 7th September 1872](#) (*M*)

**1872 08-??:** [Report on the Alliance of Socialist Democracy Presented in the Name of the General Council to the Congress at The Hague](#) (*E*)

**1872 09-02:** [The Hague Congress](#) (*E*)

**1872 09-06:** Motion for the Procedure of Debate on the General Rules and Administrative Regulations (*E*)

**1872 09-06:** Proposal on the Transfer of the Seat and on the Composition of the General Council for 1872 (*E*)

**1872 10-21:** [Resolutions of the General Congress Held at The Hague from the 2nd to the 7th September, 1872](#) (*E*)

**1872 09-15:** On the Hague Congress. A Correspondent's Report of a Speech Made at a Meeting in Amsterdam on September 8, 1872 (*M*)

**1872 09-12:** To the Editor of *Le Corsaire* (*M*)

**1872 09-17:** To the Editor of *The Daily News* (*M*)

**1872 09-17:** On the Hague Congress of the International (*E*)

**1872 10-01:** The Congress at The Hague (Letter to Enrico Bignami) (*E*)

**1872 10-04:** Imperative Mandates at the Hague Congress. (*E*)

**1872 10-05:** Letters from London. -- II. More about the Hague (*E*)

**1872 10-16:** To the British Federal Council, IWMA Concerning Portuguese Strikes (*E*)

**1872 10-20:** To the Editors of *Der Volksstaat* (*M*)

**1872 10-31:** Report to the General Council of the I.W.M.A. upon the Situation in Spain, Portugal and Italy (*E*)

**1872 11-13:** To the Workers' and Peasants' Association of Lower Lombardy (Section of the International) in Lodi (*E*)

**1872 11-14:** Letters from London. -- III. Meeting in Hyde Park (*E*)

**1872 12-09:** Mandate to E. Larroque (*E*)

**1872 12-11:** Letters from London. -- IV. Meeting in Hyde Park. -- Situation in Spain (*E*)

**1872 12-20:** To the Editor of *The International* (*ME*)

**1872 12-20:** The Manchester Foreign Section to All Sections and Members of the British Federation

**1872 12-23:** Address of the British Federal Council to the Sections, Branches, Affiliated Societies and Members of the IWMA (*M*)

?????: [The Housing Question](#)

## 1873

**1873 01-??:** Political Indifferentism (*M*)

**1873 01-02:** To the Editor of *The Times* (*M*)

**1873 01-15:** The "Crisis" in Prussia (*E*)

**1873 01-25:** Reply to the Second Circular of the Self-styled Majority of the British Federal Council (*M*)

**1873 01-11:** News on the Activities of the International on the Continent

**1873 02-08:** Notes for the General Council

**1873 03-07:** The Republic in Spain

**1873 03-??:** [On Authority](#)

**1873 03-22:** News on the International Labour Movement

**1873 04-15:** To the General Council

of the IWMA

**1873 05-07:** On the Articles in the *Neuer Social-Democrat* (From a Letter to A. Hepner)

**1873 05-02:** The International and the *Neuer*

**1873 05-22:** Communication from the Continent

**1873 06-14:** To the General Council of the IWMA

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**1873 07-18:** Note on a Review of E. Renan's *L'Antechrist*

**1873 07-13:** Comment upon Giuseppe Garibaldi's Letter to Prospero Crescio

**1873 08-??:** The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the IWMA. Report and Documents Published by Decision of the Hague Congress of the International (*ME*)

**1873 10-31:** [The Bakuninists at Work. An Account of the Spanish Revolt in the Summer of 1873](#)

**1873 ??/??:** Varia on Germany

## 1874

**1874 02-22:** The English Elections

**1874 03-08:** The Imperial Military Law

**1868-72:** [The Conflict with Bakunin](#)



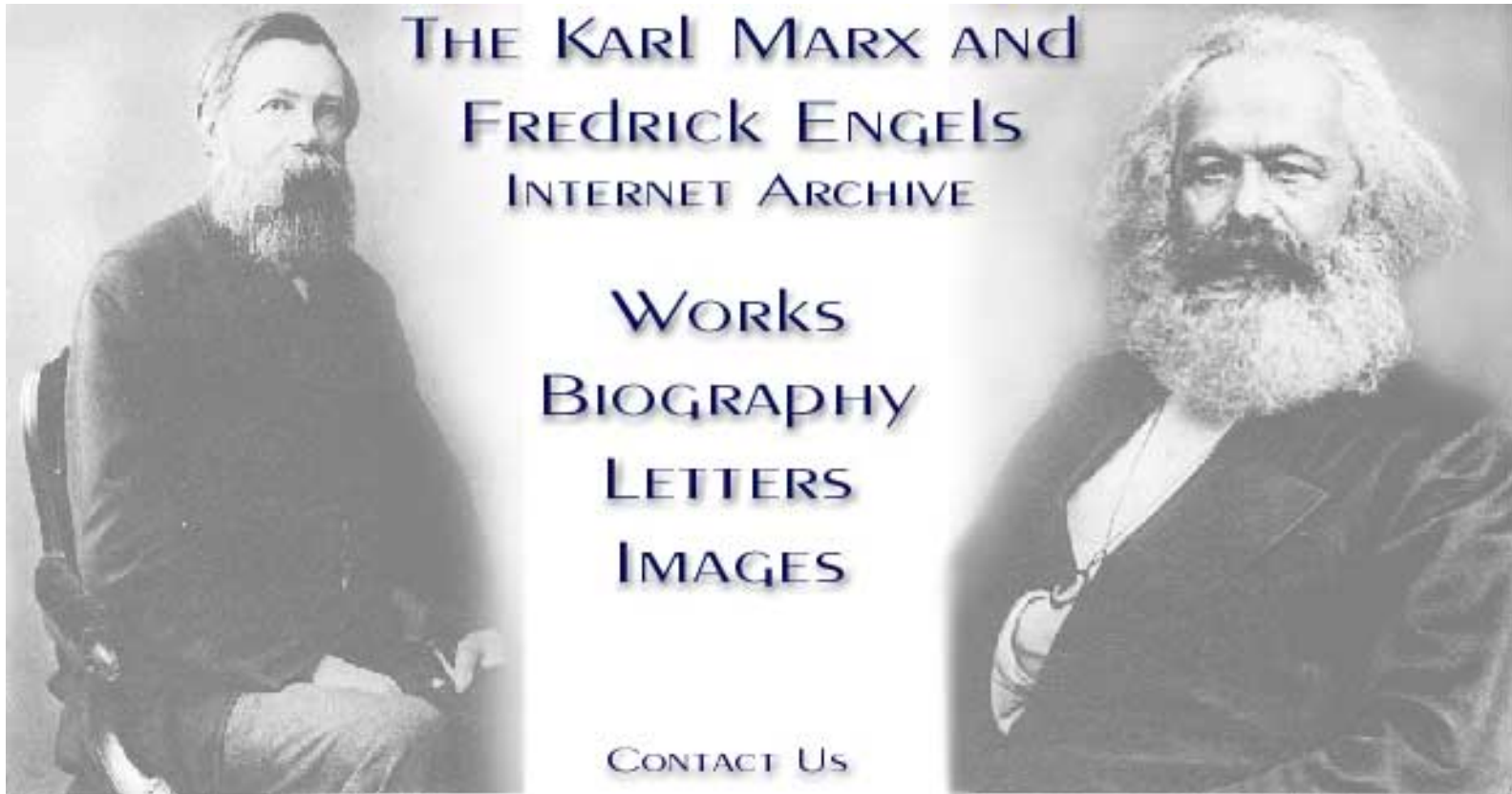
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