"The working class must not constitute itself as a political party; it must not, under any pretext, engage in political action, for to combat the State is to recognise the State: and this is contrary to eternal principles. Workers must not go on strike; for to struggle to increase one's wages or to prevent their decrease is like recognising Wages: and this is contrary to the eternal principles of the emancipation of the working class!

"If in the political struggle against the bourgeois State the workers succeed only in extracting concessions, then they are guilty of compromise; and this is contrary to eternal principles. All peaceful movements, such as those in which English and American workers have the bad habit of engaging, are therefore to be despised. Workers must not struggle to establish a legal limit to the working day, because this is to compromise with the masters, who can then only exploit them for 10 or 12 hours, instead of 14 or 16. They must not even exert themselves in order legally to prohibit the employment in factories of children under the age of ten, because by such means they do not bring to an end the exploitation of children under ten: they thus commit a new compromise, which stains the purity of the eternal principles.

"Workers should even less desire that, as happens in the United States of America, the State whose budget is swollen by what is taken from the working class should be obliged to give primary education to the workers' children; for primary education is not complete education. It is better that working men and working women should not be able to read or write or do sums than that they should receive education from a teacher in a school run by the State. It is far better that ignorance and a working day of 16
hours should debase the working classes than that eternal principles should be violated!

"If the political struggle of the working class assumes violent forms and if the workers replace the dictatorship of the bourgeois class with their own revolutionary dictatorship, then they are guilty of the terrible crime of lèse-principe; for, in order to satisfy their miserable profane daily needs and to crush the resistance of the bourgeois class, they, instead of laying down their arms and abolishing the State, give to the State a revolutionary and transitory form. Workers must not even form single unions for every trade, for by so doing they perpetuate the social division of labour as they find it in bourgeois society; this division, which fragments the working class, is the true basis of their present enslavement.

"In a word, the workers should fold their arms and stop wasting time in political and economic movements. These movements can never produce anything more than short-term results. As truly religious men they should scorn daily needs and cry out with voices full of faith: 'May our class be crucified, may our race perish, but let the eternal principles remain immaculate!' As pious Christians they must believe the words of their pastor, despise the good things of this world and think only of going to Paradise. In place of Paradise read the social liquidation which is going to take place one day in some or other corner of the globe, no one knows how, or through whom, and the mystification is identical in all respects.

"In expectation, therefore, of this famous social liquidation, the working class must behave itself in a respectable manner, like a flock of well-fed sheep; it must leave the government in peace, fear the police, respect the law and offer itself up uncomplaining as cannon-fodder.

"In practical everyday life, workers must be the most obedient servants of the State; but in their hearts they must protest energetically against its very existence, and give proof of their profound theoretical contempt for it by acquiring and reading literary treatises on its abolition; they must further scrupulously refrain from putting up any resistance to the capitalist regime apart from declamations on the society of the future, when this hated regime will have ceased to exist!"

It cannot be denied that if the apostles of political indifferentism were to express themselves with such clarity, the working class would make short shrift of them and would resent being insulted by these doctrinaire bourgeois and displaced gentlemen, who are
so stupid or so naive as to attempt to deny to the working class any real means of struggle. For all arms with which to fight must be drawn from society as it is and the fatal conditions of this struggle have the misfortune of not being easily adapted to the idealistic fantasies which these doctors in social science have exalted as divinities, under the names of Freedom, Autonomy, Anarchy. However, the working-class movement is today so powerful that these philanthropic sectarians dare not repeat for the economic struggle those great truths which they used incessantly to proclaim on the subject of the political struggle. They are simply too cowardly to apply them any longer to strikes, combinations, single-craft unions, laws on the labour of women and children, on the limitation of the working day, etc., etc.

Now let us see whether they are still able to be brought back to the good old traditions, to modesty, good faith and eternal principles.

The first socialists (Fourier, Owen, Saint-Simon, etc.), since social conditions were not sufficiently developed to allow the working class to constitute itself as a militant class, were necessarily obliged to limit themselves to dreams about the model society of the future and were led thus to condemn all the attempts such as strikes, combinations or political movements set in train by the workers to improve their lot. But while we cannot repudiate these patriarchs of socialism, just as chemists cannot repudiate their forebears the alchemists, we must at least avoid lapsing into their mistakes, which, if we were to commit them, would be inexcusable.

Later, however, in 1839, when the political and economic struggle of the working class in England had taken on a fairly marked character, Bray, one of Owen’s disciples and one of the many who long before Proudhon hit upon the idea of mutualism, published a book entitled Labour’s Wrongs and Labour’s Remedy.\(^a\)

In one of the chapters on the inefficacy of all the remedies aimed for by the present struggle, he makes a savage critique of all the activities, political or economic, of the English working class, condemns the political movement, strikes, the limitation of the working day, the restriction of the work of women and children in factories, since all this—or so he claims—instead of taking us out of the present state of society, keeps us there and does nothing but render the antagonisms more intense.

\(^a\) The title of the book is in English in the original with the Italian translation in brackets.—Ed.
This brings us to the oracle of these doctors of social science, M. Proudhon. While the master had the courage to declare himself energetically opposed to all economic activities (combinations, strikes, etc.) which contradicted his redemptive theories of mutualism, at the same time by his writings and personal participation, he encouraged the working-class political movement, and his disciples do not dare to declare themselves openly against it. As early as 1847, when the master’s great work, *Système des contradictions économiques,* had just appeared, I refuted his sophisms against the working-class movement.* None the less, in 1864, after the Ollivier law, which granted the French workers, in a very restrictive fashion, a certain right of combination, Proudhon returned to the charge in a book, *De la capacité politique des classes ouvrières,* published a few days after his death.

The master’s strictures were so much to the taste of the bourgeoisie that *The Times,* on the occasion of the great tailors’ strike in London in 1866, did Proudhon the honour of translating him and of condemning the strikers with the master’s very words. Here are some selections.

The miners of Rive-de-Gier went on strike; the soldiers were called in to bring them back to reason.256

Proudhon cries: “The authority which had the miners of Rive-de-Gier shot acted disgracefully. But it was acting like Brutus of old caught between his paternal love and his consular duty: it was necessary to sacrifice his sons to save the Republic. Brutus did not hesitate, and posterity dare not condemn him.” **

In all the memory of the proletariat there is no record of a bourgeois who has hesitated to sacrifice his workers to save his interests. What Brutuses the bourgeois must then be!

“Well, no: there is no right of combination, just as there is no right to defraud or steal or to commit incest or adultery.” ***

There is however all too clearly a right to *stupidity.*

What then are the eternal principles, in whose name the master fulminates his mystic anathema?


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a Here and below the titles of Proudhon’s works are given in Italian.— Ed.
b See present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 206-12.— Ed.
First eternal principle:

"Wage rates determine the price of commodities" [p. 340].

Even those who have no knowledge of political economy and who are unaware that the great bourgeois economist Ricardo in his *On the Principles of Political Economy*, published in 1817, has refuted this long-standing error once and for all, are however aware of the remarkable fact that British industry can sell its products at a price far lower than that of any other nation, although wages are relatively higher in England than in any other European country.

Second eternal principle:

"The law which authorises combinations is highly anti-juridical, anti-economic and contrary to any society and order" [p. 335].

In a word, "contrary to the economic Right of free competition" [p. 334].

If the master had been a little less chauvin, he might have asked himself how it happened that forty years ago a law, thus contrary to the economic rights of free competition, was promulgated in England, and that as industry develops, and alongside it free competition, this law—so contrary to any society and order—imposes itself as a necessity even to bourgeois states themselves. He might perhaps have discovered that this right (with a capital R) exists only in the *Economic Manuals* written by the Brothers Ignoramus of bourgeois political economy, in which manuals are contained such pearls as this: *Property is the fruit of labour ... of others, they neglect to add.*

Third eternal principle:

"Therefore, under the pretext of raising the working class from its condition of so-called social inferiority, it will be necessary to start by denouncing a whole class of citizens, the class of bosses, entrepreneurs, masters and bourgeois; it will be necessary to rouse workers' democracy to despise and to hate these unworthy members of the middle class; it will be necessary to prefer mercantile and industrial war to legal repression, and class antagonism to the State police."

The master, in order to prevent the working class from escaping from its condition of so-called social inferiority, condemns the combinations that constitute the working class as a class antagonistic to the respectable category of masters, entrepreneurs and bourgeois,


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*a In the original the title of Ricardo's book is given in Italian.— Ed.*
who for their part certainly prefer, as does Proudhon, the State police to class antagonism. To avoid any offence to this respectable class, the good M. Proudhon recommends to the workers (up to the coming of the mutualist regime, and despite its serious disadvantages) "freedom or competition, our only guarantee".*

The master preached indifferentism in matters of economics—so as to protect freedom or bourgeois competition, our only guarantee. His disciples preach indifferentism in matters of politics—so as to protect bourgeois freedom, their only guarantee. If the early Christians, who also preached political indifferentism, needed an emperor's arm to transform themselves from oppressed into oppressors, so the modern apostles of political indifferentism do not believe that their own eternal principles impose on them abstinence from worldly pleasures and the temporal privileges of bourgeois society. However we must recognise that they display a stoicism worthy of the early Christian martyrs in supporting those 14 or 16 working hours such as overburden the workers in the factories.

London, January 1873

Written in December 1872-early January 1873

First published in December 1873 in the collection *Almanacco Repubblicano per l'anno 1874*

Signed: Karl Marx

Sir,—My attention is called to a paragraph in The Times of to-day a headed “Karl Marx and the International”. It is there asserted that the General Council of the International Working Men’s Association, while calling upon the different federations and sections to propose themselves the plenipotentiaries to be appointed by the General Council, has declared it

“imperatively necessary that an exact copy should be simultaneously forwarded to Karl Marx in London. The drift of this is that none will receive credentials but those acceptable to and approved by Karl Marx in London, and as these agents will, as a matter of course, have to be in constant communication with him, he will be virtually the autocrat of the movement”.

The circular in question is published, among others, in the Leipsic Volksstaat of the 25th of December. b It calls upon the German members of the Association to send a copy of their proposals to the late corresponding secretary for Germany (that is to say, to me) for the purpose of authentication. It is evident that the new General Council cannot know either the persons or their handwriting. The service demanded from me appeared to the New York General Council so much a matter of course that I was not even previously communicated with upon the subject. With the authentication of agents for the other countries, where the free organization of the International meets with legal impediments, I have nothing whatever to do.

a No. 27576, January 2, 1873.—Ed.
The paragraph further states,

"In France these agents expel members without a hearing, and dissolve sections, committees, and federations at pleasure."

Your correspondent will have to explain how these agents can commit all these horrors before a single one of them has been appointed. If in France individuals have been expelled from the International,¹ it has been by the local sections, and not at all by the New York General Council.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

Karl Marx

January 2

First published in The Times, No. 27577. Reproduced from the newspaper
January 3, 1873

¹ The reference is to Louis Marchand, Abel Bousquet and Paul Brousse.— Ed.
Frederick Engels

THE "CRISIS" IN PRUSSIA

The "great nation" of France has, indeed, been ousted by the "great nation" of Germany, and rightly so. In Versailles, a political crisis arises because the French rural squirearchy are conspiring to replace the existing republic with the monarchy; at the same time, a crisis breaks out in Berlin because the rural squirearchy of Prussia are unwilling to sacrifice the old feudal estate-police, to which they are still entitled, eighty years after the French Revolution. Can anyone doubt for a moment longer the superiority of German "culture" over French civilisation? With their customary superficiality, the French squabble about mere forms, such as republic and monarchy. The thorough Prussians get to the bottom of the matter by safeguarding, not a day too early, in 1872—the last in Europe to do so except for Mecklenburg and Russia—the foundation of society, the peasants' backsides, from the squires' flogging—or may be not!

Nothing is more indicative of the wretched attitude of the Prussian bourgeoisie than this entire farce about district regulations. In 1848, Prussia had its revolution; the bourgeoisie held power in its hands; an oath of loyalty from the army to the constitution—no matter what kind of constitution—would have sufficed to secure power to the bourgeoisie. The feudal elements and the bureaucrats were so terrified that, at the time, the abolition of the remnants of feudalism seemed to be a matter of course. The first draft constitutions of 1848 and even 1849 did, in fact, contain all the essentials for this development, if only in the usual miserable form. The very slightest resistance from the bourgeoisie would
have sufficed to make a return of the feudal rights impossible; for, apart from the few rural squires, nobody had any interest in this happening, except for the romantic Frederick William IV. Yet hardly had European reaction triumphed when the Prussian bourgeoisie crawled to the feet of Manteuffel, responding to every cut from his whip with grateful tail-wagging. Not only did it return the estate-police and all sorts of other feudal rubbish to the landed nobility east of the Elbe; it chastised itself for its sinful liberalism by destroying, on its own, even the liberty to exercise trades instituted in 1808, and by restoring the guilds in the middle of the nineteenth century.260

The bourgeoisie is, at best, an unheroic class. Even its most brilliant achievements, those in England in the seventeenth century and those in France in the eighteenth, were not gained in battle by the bourgeoisie itself, but won for it by the popular masses, the workers and peasants. In France, too, the bourgeoisie rescued itself from the terror of the June days of 1848261 by throwing itself at the feet of a play-actor\(^a\); in England, too, 1848 was followed by a long period of reaction; but in both countries this reaction was based on the pretext of protecting the foundations of bourgeois society from attacks by the proletariat. In Prussia, the result of the revolution was to permit the romantic Frederick William IV finally to fulfil the medieval desires of his heart, as triumphant reaction swept away a multitude of anti-romantic institutions that had smuggled their way into the Prussian state in the period from Frederick II until Stein and Hardenberg. On the pretext of protecting it from the proletariat, bourgeois society was once again placed under the rule of feudalism. No bourgeoisie in the world can boast of such a period of ignominy as that experienced by the Prussian bourgeoisie under Manteuffel. In what other country would it have been possible to hail a man like Hinckeldey a champion and martyr of liberty?262

Finally, as a result of conflicting palace intrigues, along comes the New Era.263 An old-style liberal ministry unexpectedly falls into the lap of the bourgeoisie, and the latter, the most cowardly of all bourgeoisies, not having raised a finger to bring it into being, suddenly imagines that it is at the helm of the state, that the old Prussian military and police state has vanished, that it can appoint and depose ministers and impose its will on the Court. If the Manteuffel period had proved the cowardliness of the bourgeoisie, the New Era exposed its political incompetence.

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\(a\) Louis Bonaparte.—*Ed.*
The price at which the old-liberal ministry was admitted was the re-organisation of the army. The Italian war\textsuperscript{264} provided the desired opportunity to demand this of the Diet. On the one hand, the mobilisation of 1859 had proved that the old army organisation had become totally obsolete. On the other, the indifference with which the annexation of Savoy and Nice was greeted in France proved that French chauvinism could only be effectively set in motion by the prospect of conquests on the Rhine, i.e., by a war against Prussia. It was thus evident that, as soon as Louis Bonaparte's position as emperor was again placed in jeopardy by internal developments in France, this danger could only be warded off by a war against Prussia, which, without alliances, could only result in the defeat of the old Prussian army. On the other hand, although itself essentially a military state, Prussia had not created the necessity for the large armies of nowadays. It was too weak for this. Yet all the less could it steer clear of the common continental necessity since its ambiguous "policy of having a free hand" had cut it off from all reliable alliances. Finally, whatever the nature of the re-organisation of the army, the Prussian bourgeoisie must have realised it could not prevent it. Its one correct plan of action could, therefore, only be to barter the approval of the inevitable re-organisation for as many political concessions as possible. But the Prussian bourgeoisie, though still black and blue from the trampling it had received from the Manteuffel regime, all at once started getting above itself. It suddenly imagined itself to be the decisive power in the state; it rejected the re-organisation of the army. With that, the dream was again over. Bismarck came to teach them that their paper constitution and their votes in the Chambers were nothing but dead wood, that in Prussia it was the King who ruled and the Chambers were only there to say Yes. The army re-organisation was carried out despite the constitution and the deputies were treated once again \textit{à la} Manteuffel.\textsuperscript{265} After a brief sham resistance, of which it tired sooner than its adversary Bismarck did, the bourgeoisie found in the Danish war\textsuperscript{266} the first pretext for making bashful attempts at a reconciliation; and after Sadowa\textsuperscript{267} it no longer showed any embarrassment at all, falling enthusiastically at Bismarck's feet, to figure from now on only in his retinue; after the French war\textsuperscript{a} its enthusiasm no longer knew any bounds. From then on it belonged to Bismarck body and soul, and was virtually absorbed by him.

\textsuperscript{a} The Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.—\textit{Ed.}
There is, however, a thing in this world that Hegel discovered and called "the irony of history". This irony of history has played its game with greater men than Bismarck, and the Prussian state and Bismarck also succumbed to it. From the moment the long-desired goals of Prussian policy were, one by one, attained—from that moment, the foundations of the Prussian state began to shake. Old Prussia is essentially based on the Junkerdom, from which officers and bureaucracy are chiefly recruited. The Junkers exist in their most flourishing form only in the six eastern provinces, and need, their estates being mostly limited, certain feudal privileges in order to exist. Without these, most Junkers would soon sink to the level of ordinary landowners. As long as there were only the two western provinces a to compete with it, the Junkerdom was in no danger. But the annexations of 1866 had already strengthened the bourgeois and peasant element in the state to a tremendous degree. It was not merely legitimist humbug, but rather the justified awareness of its own position being endangered that provoked the resistance of the Stahl-Gerlach party b to these annexations. The incorporation of the petty states in the North German Confederation, the transfer of the decisive state functions to this Confederation, the consequent mediatisation of the Prussian Upper House, the final accession of the southern states c—all these events were just so many hard blows to the Junkerdom, which only formed a tiny minority in the Empire. Yet this is not all. Every government, even the most despotic, is compelled to govern with due regard for the existing conditions, or else it breaks its neck. Prussia could subjugate Little Germany, but it could not impose its Junkerdom on the twenty-five million Germans west of the Elbe. On the contrary: the Junkers, a necessity for old Prussia, became a fetter on the "Empire". Just as Bismarck had been compelled, against his earlier intentions, to introduce freedom to pursue trades, freedom of movement between the individual states and other bourgeois reforms—admittedly in a bureaucratically mutilated form—the irony of history finally condemned him, the Junker par excellence, to use the axe on the Junkers by having recourse to district regulations.

These district regulations are some of the most woe-begone laws ever made. Their content may be summarised in two words. They deprive the individual Junker of the power appertaining to him by virtue of feudal prerogative, in order, in the guise of district regulations.

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a Westphalia and the Rhine Province.—Ed.
self-administration, to give it back to the Junker class. As before, medium-size and big landed property will dominate in the agricultural districts of the eastern provinces; it will even receive a new accretion of power through having been allocated rights hitherto belonging to the state. The individual Junker, however, loses the privileged position he used to enjoy as a feudal lord. He descends to the level of an ordinary modern landowner—thus ceasing to be a Junker. But thereby the foundations of old Prussia are undermined and, therefore, the Upper House was quite right, from its own point of view, to resist the district regulations. With the district regulations—no Junkerdom, and without Junkerdom—no more Prussia as such.

The Prussian bourgeoisie remained worthy of itself in this affair. At first, it was claimed that the district regulations were merely an instalment on self-administration; they had to be accepted because, at the time, nothing better could be achieved; they were a compromise with the government, but in future not another inch should be conceded. The Upper House rejects the district regulations. Although already bound by the compromise vis-à-vis the House of Deputies, the government demands new concessions from it. The House is brave enough to grant them without any further ado; in return, the bourgeois are promised a wholesale creation of new peers\(^2\) and are presented with the prospect of a reform of the Upper House. The new peers are created—twenty-five generals and bureaucrats—and the Upper House accepts. The compromise is saved, but—the reform of the Upper House has been shelved. Comfort is taken in the idea that the district regulations are still a quite enormous step forward—and along comes the news of the ministerial crisis. Roon, Selchow, Itzenplitz wish to resign—a sweeping victory for the Liberals—inevitability of a liberal...?—no, not precisely!—of a united ministry! Our bourgeois are so modest. In fact, they are content with even less. Bismarck vacates the premiership; Roon, the opponent of the district regulations, succeeds him; yet another general\(^a\) enters the ministry; Selchow and Itzenplitz remain; the united ministry is less united than ever, with the feudal elements in it strengthened, while the bourgeois calmly continues to swill down his beer in the proud awareness that, when all is said and done, Bismarck is still the soul of the whole affair.

This example describes exactly the position of the Prussian bourgeoisie. It claims the credit for the fact that Bismarck is

\(^a\) A. K. G. von Kameke.— Ed.
forced, by the historical situation in which he has placed Prussia and by the industrial progress of the last twenty years, to do what it itself was too cowardly to push through between 1848 and 1850. It does not even have the courage to force its Bismarck to carry out these small reforms in a straightforward, openly bourgeois way without police-state bungling; it loudly rejoices that Bismarck is compelled to—castrate—its own demands of 1846. 

And, mark well, only its economic demands—which not even a thousand Bismarcks could prevent being put into effect, even if they wanted to. The political demands, the transfer of political power to the bourgeoisie, are now only mentioned for decency's sake, if at all. The Prussian bourgeoisie does not want political dominance; rotten without having reached maturity, as official Russia already was in the age of Voltaire, it has already arrived, without ever having ruled, at the same stage of degeneration that the French bourgeoisie has attained after eighty years of struggles and a long period of dominance. *Panem et circenses*, bread and circuses, the degenerate Roman plebs demanded of their emperors; *panem et circenses*, soaring profits and brute luxury, are what the Prussian bourgeoisie, not the Prussian people, demand of theirs. The Roman plebeians were swept away, along with their emperors, by the Germanic barbarians; behind the Prussian bourgeoisie, the German workers loom up menacingly.

Written at the beginning of January 1873
First published in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 5, January 15, 1873

Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time
Karl Marx

[REPLY TO THE SECOND CIRCULAR
OF THE SELF-STYLED MAJORITY
OF THE BRITISH FEDERAL COUNCIL]²⁷⁴

The new circular of the self-styled majority of the B.F.C.ª
pretends to be a reply to the two circulars of the B.F.C. and of the
Manchester Foreign Section. In reality it does not refute one
single point raised in these circulars. It merely attempts to throw
dust into the eyes of its readers by personal gossip, slander, and
lies, relying upon the unavoidable want of acquaintance, on the
part of the newly-formed Sections, with the history of the
International.

It is very characteristic, that of six members of the Executive
Committee whose signatures figure at the bottom of that circular,c
two, Messers. Jung and Pape, have no longer any locus standi²⁸⁷
on the B.F.C. They were delegates, the first for Middlesbro', the
second for Nottingham, and one of the above Sections has
withdrawn the credential, while the other unanimously repudiated
the manifesto. We shall quote some instances only of the
impudence of assertion which distinguishes the document in
question.

As to the so-called official reports, it says,

"No list of delegates to the Hague has been given, though the Circulars glibly
speak of '64."

ª Address of the British Federal Council to the Branches, Sections, Affiliated Societies,
and Members of the Federation. British Federation of the International Working Men’s
Association, London [1873].— Ed.
b See this volume, pp. 304-14.— Ed.
c H. Jung, H. Mayo, F. Pape, R. Foster, J. Grout and J. Hales.— Ed.
d Recognised position.— Ed.
The report here mentioned is merely an official edition of the resolutions passed by the Congress and the list of delegates, already printed at the Hague, and reprinted in most continental papers, International or Middle-class, would have been out of place. Besides, the report gives for every vote, the numbers voting, and where a division took place, the names too.

"Resolutions have been suppressed, or cooked—for instance—the resolution relative to the contribution to the General Council was to raise the contribution to the General Council to 1s. per year for every member of the Association, Trades Unions included."

The official report states 2nd, under the heading “Contributions to be paid to the General Council”. With regard to the demands, on the one hand to raise, on the other to diminish the rate of contributions, the Congress maintained the 1d. by 17 votes against 12, and 8 abstentions. What is there suppressed?

As to the “cooking” of resolutions, let them dare to point out one resolution of the Report which is not in strict accordance with the minutes.

What, on the other hand, the authors of this circular are capable of in the line of “cooking”, is shown by their assertions regarding the Congress resolutions on political action. In the first instance the phrase, “The conquest of political power has become the great duty of the working class”, has been literally inserted in Resolution IX of the London conference from the Inaugural Address of the International (1864) although they pretend that it had been invented by the Hague Congress.

Secondly, the authors of the Circular maintain that it is a mis-translation to render the French “doit servir” by the English “ought to serve”. If a mistake had been made, it would have been made by the late General Council in the official English translation of the original French text of the Conference Resolutions. But there is no mistake. As the authors of the Circular do not appear to be on the best terms with either their English or their French, we must refer them to any common dictionary, for instance, Boyer’s English-French dictionary, Paris, Baudry, 1854, under ought “It ought to be so, cela doit être ainsi.”

In order to disprove the statement that the Hague resolutions are fully endorsed in France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Portugal, America, Denmark, Poland and Switzerland, the circular

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a See this volume, pp. 243-53.—Ed.
b Ibid., p. 245.—Ed.
c Ibid., p. 243.—Ed.
of John Hales demands the addresses of the secretaries of these different countries. As to Germany, he has only to look to the Volksstaat and half a dozen other working men’s papers; as to Austria and Hungary, to the Volkswille; as to Portugal, to the Pensamento Social; as to Denmark, to the Socialist; as to Spain, to the Emancipacion; as to Holland, to De Werkman; as to Italy, to the Plebe; as to Switzerland, to the Égalité and the Tagwacht. With regard to America, the only working-men’s federation there existing appointed last year for its Federal Council, the very men now forming the General Council. With regard to Poland and France, the addresses of the respective correspondents will certainly not be entrusted to the discretion of John Hales and Co.

As to the “spontaneous” character of the secession movement, the simple fact is that the Secessionist Congress held in September last, in opposition to the International Hague Congress, at St. Imier, passed a formal resolution to organize that movement everywhere by “coming to an immediate agreement with all Sections and Federations” favourable to Secession so as to be able to hold a secessionist “International Congress within six months at latest”.

Written in mid-January 1873
First published in The International Herald, No. 43, January 25, 1873
Reproduced from the newspaper checked with Marx’s partly extant manuscript

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Frederick Engels

[NEWS ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE INTERNATIONAL ON THE CONTINENT] 277

I

[The International Herald, No. 41, January 11, 1873]

From the Continent we receive the following information:— From the Italian International newspaper La Plebe, it appeared that the Italian Government, which nowhere interferes with the Secessionist Sections, had opened a campaign of violent prosecutions against the Lodi Section, which had recognised the new General Council, and adhered to the Hague resolutions. The Section was dissolved and warrants of arrest launched against all the members of the Committee, three of whom were actually thrown into prison, while the six others escaped. Amongst those arrested is Bignami, the editor of the Plebe. The number of that paper containing the address of the General Council (published in No. 34 of The International Herald) was also seized on that account, while the most violent manifestoes of the Secessionists are freely allowed to circulate. The prisoners are to be tried for high treason.

Our Madrid paper La Emancipacion, states that the movement of resistance to the secessionist action of the Spanish Federal Council is growing daily. The moment that Council convoked a Congress

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a This refers to the articles “Sequestro LIX”, “Uno post unum”, “Jeri é stato”, and to Petrus, “Ai lettori!” in La Plebe, Nos. 119-121, December 4, 8 and 12, 1872.—Ed.

b The reference is to the General Council address of October 20, 1872, “To the Federations, Affiliated Societies, Sections and All Members of the International Working Men’s Association” published by The International Herald, No. 34, November 23, 1872; the Italian translation appeared in La Plebe, No. 118, November 27, 1872.—Ed.

c “La Nueva Federacion Madrileña á todas las federaciones y secciones de la Asociacion Internacional en España”, La Emancipacion, No. 76, November 30, 1872.—Ed.
to meet at Cordova on the 26th December,278 in order to accept or reject the Hague resolutions, the New Federation of Madrid declared that by this action the Council had placed itself outside the pale of the International, and called upon all Sections and Local Federations not to send delegates to the Secession Congress, but to appoint a new provisional Federal Council.a To this proposition have adhered the local Federations of Lérida, Toledo, Saragossa, Vitoria, Alcalá de Henares, the New Federation of Cadiz, and important Sections of Valencia, Denia, Pont de Vilumara, and other places. Besides these the Federation of Gracia (manufacturing suburb of Barcelona) has adhered to the Hague resolutions, and blamed the conduct of the Spanish delegates at that Congress, while the Federation of Granada has resolved to send a delegateb to the Secession Congress at Cordova, but has elected for that purpose a staunch anti-secessionist.279 No doubt the Spanish Federal Council will have it all their own way at Cordova, but that will only bring the crisis to a head.

From a letter from Portugal,280 it appeared that the working-class movement there, organised by the International, was growing to extraordinary dimensions. In Lisbon and neighbourhood alone, above fifteen thousand working men had been organised in Trades’ Unions, and the organisation was spreading to Oporto and the North. The whole of these societies have been formed by, and continue under the direct influence of the International, which, however, is prevented by the laws of the country to organise itself with full liberty. The International paper, O Pensamento Social, is now self-supporting. We may add that in Portugal there are no secessionists. The Hague resolutions have been not only unanimously endorsed, but received with enthusiasm. The Pensamento, in its No. 25, contains an article declaring the Hague Congress to be the most important one ever held since the foundation of the International, and hailing its resolutions as establishing an immense progress in the development of the Association.c

It will be seen by the above statements that the late majority of the British Federal Council have, in their action, imitated to the letter that of the Spanish Secessionist Council. It is thus evident

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a "La Nueva Federacion Madrileña á todas las federaciones, secciones é individuos de la Asociacion Internacional en España”, La Emancipacion, No. 73, November 9, 1872.—Ed.

b Mariano Rodriguez.—Ed.

c "O Congresso da Internacional na Haya”, O Pensamento Social, No. 25, October 6, 1872.—Ed.
that they have been acting upon the same plan here and in Spain, and have been led by the same wire-pullers. Unfortunately in Spain a number of true Internationals have joined the late insurrection, and this may give the Secessionists a momentary advantage.  

II

[The International Herald, No. 44, February 1, 1873]

A letter from the Spanish Federal Council invited our attention to the fact that the engine-drivers and stokers are now on strike in Spain, and that the railway companies are sending to England, Belgium, and other countries for men to use in defeating the attempts of their employees to improve their position. Our Council appointed a committee to draw up a paragraph containing a statement of the case, and to send it to the newspapers. The committee attended to its duty, as proved by the appearance of the paragraph in the papers published the following Saturday. Other steps for making the Spanish strike known to the engine-drivers and stokers of England were adopted.

III

[The International Herald, No. 45, February 8, 1873]

The news we have from the Continent is interesting. The report from Germany brought intelligence of a great victory. The International deputy to the German Parliament, Bebel, who had been sentenced by a Saxon Law-court for offences committed in a speech, to be imprisoned for nine months, and to lose all rights derived from public election, has just been re-elected on the 20th January, by the majority of 10,470 votes  against 4,420 given to the government candidate. This is the third time that Bebel has been elected in his district, and by 2,500 more votes than he had at any previous election. Thus, Bismarck will again have to face the only man who, in the present parliament, dares openly to oppose him in the interest of the working class, and

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a February 1, 1873.—Ed.
b Ernst Petzold.—Ed.
the only man of whom he is really afraid. Everything has been done to prevent Bebel's re-election; intimidation, dissolution, by the police, of meetings of electors, etc.; the candidate opposed to him was about the decentest man they could find, but in spite of all these efforts, the working men of Glauchau and neighbourhood gave Bebel nearly three votes out of every four votes polled, and that without any Samuel Morley to pay expenses.

Further details have arrived respecting the Secessionist Congress in Spain. It appears that it was to all intents and purposes a Minority Congress. Out of 101 local federations, counting altogether 398 Sections, only 41 local federations, or 57 Sections, were represented; so that the votes passed at that Congress have been taken by delegates representing less than one sixth of the Sections existing in Spain. The above statistics being taken from the secessionist paper "La Federacion", will not be disputed. To act by surprise, and to get a minority vote to sanction their acts, is everywhere the policy of the Secessionists; another proof that they are everywhere acting under the same secret instructions.

In France, numerous arrests of pretended members of the International have taken place in almost all the large towns. It is of course impossible to know whether the real members of the Association have been found out, and even if it were known, it could not be published, in the interests of the parties arrested, as it is now punishable in France to belong to the International. All that is known is, that the few secessionists in France have gone scot-free. They, on the contrary, are on such excellent terms with M. Thiers's government, that, for instance, at Béziers they are represented by a superintendent of police, a certain Bousquet, for whose honesty the gospel of the secession party, the Bulletin jurassien, has lately vouched in the most enthusiastic manner.284

IV

[The International Herald, No. 46, February 15, 1873]

From Portugal we hear that the Portuguese Federation, on learning that the so-called Spanish congress at Cordova had declared for secession, immediately wrote to the new federation of

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284 "Tercer Congreso Regional de la Federacion Española" and "Movimento obrero universal. España", La Federacion, Nos. 177 and 178, January 4 and 11, 1873.— Ed.
Madrid (International) to declare that Portugal, to a man, stood by the Association against the Secessionists; that attempts had been made to introduce into their ranks the secret "Alliance", and that Bakounine, himself, had written to one of them,\(^a\) persuading them to push that secret society; but that they unanimously resolved to express to Bakounine their formal disapprobation of the acts of the Alliance. This letter to the New Federation of Madrid is written and signed by the Secretary, Franca, by order, and in the name of the delegates of the sections, and published in the Madrid Emancipacion of the first of February. The Portuguese Federation now counts more than 15,000 members; it has, in Lisbon alone, 48 sections of trades, each forming a Trade's Union. So much for the assertion of the Secessionists, that all the organized federations are with them!

Written in January-mid-February 1873

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in *The International Herald*, Nos. 41, 44, 45 and 46, January 11, February 1, 8 and 15, 1873

\(^a\) This refers to M. Bakunin's letter to F. Mora of April 5, 1872 (see this volume, pp. 578-80).—*Ed.*
1. *The International Herald* and the *Emancipacion* sent regularly, hope they have arrived.

2. The Hales gang actually did hold their congress on January 26, all 10 of them; they dare not even say which sections they claim to represent. A wretched fiasco. Naturally decided not to recognise the Hague decisions or the General Council. Report—first half—in *The Eastern Post*, February 1; today's contains no continuation!²⁸⁶ The Federal Council will send you the things officially. These people have lost almost all their support, apart from Hales' personal following in the East End of London. One of the signatories of Hales' first circular,⁵ Bennett, has returned to our people with strict orders from his section (Halifax) to stand by them and the **LAWFUL Association**. He was only re-admitted after much **EATING OF HUMBLE PIE**. (See today's *International Herald*⁶)

3. In *Lodi*, the *Plebe* is remaining loyal, though not breaking openly with the others, which they would not be able to do for the time being anyway. But the others themselves are carrying things to the limit. They are convening an Italian congress for March 15, but only intend to admit sections that have recognised the Rimini resolutions²⁸⁷ or recognise them by the deadline! So much for autonomy and free federations. It is all right to trample the Rules of the International underfoot, but the Rimini resolutions are sacrosanct.

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² To the Branches, Sections and Members of the British Federation of the International Working Men's Association, [London,] December 10, 1872.— Ed.

4. We greatly regret that the G.C., instead of simply stating that the Jurassians have resigned by rejecting the Hague resolutions and forming a separate league [Sonderbund], has merely suspended them. First, it is always possible that a conference will be demanded. Second, the issue now comes before Congress in a quite different form: their delegates must be admitted provisionally, until their mandate has been put to the vote. Third, the G.C. must take the same steps against the Belgians and the Spaniards, ditto against the Hales gang, and these successive suspensions make a much worse impression than if the G.C. had waited a few more weeks, until it knew the results of the Belgian and Spanish congresses, and then issued one general proclamation setting out the formal reasons and also explaining in simple terms that one cannot be both inside and outside the International, cannot claim to belong to it and simultaneously declare its rules invalid, and then purement et simplement stating that those in question had placed themselves outside the International.

5. I hope the relevant resolution has been sent to Sonvillier and Geneva from there, as I have received no instruction to this effect. As far as Serraillier is concerned, he cannot send anything there at the moment, with arrests raining down and all correspondence with France cut.

6. Your authorised representative Larroque has collected his authorisation here himself—as a refugee. From here he went to San Sebastián, where he will get the thing moving again.

7. In Portugal all is well, as the Emancipacion sent today shows. We also have private letters from there; the people are working very hard on the trade unions.

8. In Lodi only Bignami is left. The party committee in Hamburg has sent them 20 thalers and Oberwinder 50 guildens from Vienna, which has not failed to have an effect.

9. Cuno’s manoeuvre, to disguise himself as Capestro, has already been exposed in the Brussels Internationale.

10. If the G.C. is not already receiving the secessionist sheets, some unknown name will have to take out a subscription to them. Here, with the greatest difficulty and by roundabout ways, we obtain one copy of each, and not always that—we still have not received the last three issues of the Bulletin jurassien. So, with the best will in the world, we cannot procure them for you. Anyway, they are only L’Internationale (Brussels), the Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne (Sonvillier) and La Federacion (Barcelona).

a Social-Democratic Workers’ Party.—Ed.
11. I have spoken to Le Moussu about the stamps; he will procure them, just as last year. Yet it is odd that this could not be done in New York.

12. What has become of MacDonnell? He must have arrived long since. I have neither seen nor heard anything of him.

Must catch the post.

Best wishes,

F. Engels

London, February 8, 1873


Printed according to the manuscript

Published in English for the first time

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a In the manuscript mistakenly: “1872”.—Ed.
It is hard to say which has sunk lower in the last three years, the monarchy or the republic. The monarchy—on the continent of Europe, at least—is everywhere assuming its final form, Caesarism, at an increasing pace. Everywhere sham constitutionalism with universal suffrage, an overgrown army as the buttress of government, bribery and corruption as the chief means of government, and enrichment through corruption and fraud as the sole end of government, are irresistibly undermining all the splendid constitutional guarantees, the artificial balance of forces, of which our bourgeois dreamt in the idyllic days of Louis Philippe, when even the most corrupt were still angels of innocence compared with the “great men” of today. As the bourgeoisie daily loses the character of a class temporarily indispensable in the social organism, shedding its specific social functions to become a mere gang of swindlers, its state turns into an institution for the protection, not of production, but of the overt theft of products. Not only does this state carry its own condemnation within itself; it has actually already been condemned by history in Louis Napoleon. Yet it is also the last possible form of monarchy. All other forms of monarchy are worn out and obsolete. After it, the only possible type of state left is the republic.

The republic, however, is not faring any better. From 1789 to 1869, it was the ideal of enthusiastic freedom fighters, always aspired to, attained after a hard, bloody struggle, and scarcely attained—fleeing again. Since a King of Prussia\(^a\) succeeded in

\(^a\) William I.—Ed.
setting up a French republic all that has changed. From 1870—and this is the progress attained—republics are no longer made by republicans, precisely because there are no pure republicans left, but by royalists despairing of the monarchy. To avoid civil war, the monarchist-minded bourgeois are consolidating the republic in France and proclaiming it in Spain— in France, because there are too many pretenders; in Spain, because the last possible king\textsuperscript{a} is on strike.

Herein lies a twofold advance.

First, the magic that hitherto surrounded the name of the republic has been dispelled. After the events in France and in Spain, only a Karl Blind can cling to the superstitious belief in the miraculous effects of a republic. The republic is finally seen in Europe, too, for what it is in essence, and in America in actual fact— as the consummate form of the rule of the bourgeoisie. I say “finally in Europe, too”, because republics like Switzerland, Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck and the ex-free city of Frankfort—God rest her soul—are irrelevant here. The modern republic, with which alone we are concerned at this point, is the political organisation of a great people, not the provincial political institution of a city, a canton or a club of cantons that has been historically handed down from the Middle Ages, assuming more or less democratic forms, and, at best, replacing patrician rule with a peasant rule that is scarcely any better. Switzerland exists partly through the indulgence and partly through the jealousy of its great neighbours; whenever these are united, it is forced to swallow its republican phrases and obey orders. Such countries exist only as long as they do not attempt to intervene in the course of history, which is why they are neutralised and thus prevented from doing so. The era of the true European republics dates from September 4, or rather from the day of Sedan,\textsuperscript{293} even if a brief Caesarist setback (under no matter which pretender) might be possible. And in this sense, it might be said that the Thiers republic is the final realisation of the republic of 1792; the republic of the Jacobins without the self-deception of the Jacobins. From now on, the working class can no longer have any illusions about the nature of the modern republic: the type of state in which the rule of the bourgeoisie achieves its final, consummate expression. In the modern republic political equality, which is still subject to certain exceptions in all monarchies, is at last fully implemented. And this political equality—what is it but the

\textsuperscript{a} Amadeo I.— Ed.
declaration that class differences do not concern the state, that the bourgeoisie have as much right to be bourgeois as the workers to be proletarians?

Yet this final, consummate form of bourgeois rule, the republic, is only introduced by the bourgeoisie themselves with the utmost reluctance; it forces itself on them. Why this curious contradiction? Because the introduction of the republic means breaking with all political tradition; because it requires every political institution to justify its existence; because, therefore, all the traditional influences that support the powers that be under the monarchy fall away. In other words: if the modern republic is the consummate form of bourgeois rule, it is also the type of state that frees the class struggle from its last fetters and prepares the battleground for it. The modern republic is, in fact, nothing but this battleground. And this is the second advance. On the one hand, the bourgeoisie feels that its end is near as soon as the ground of the monarchy is whipped away from under its feet and, with it, all the conservative power that resided in the superstitious belief of the uneducated masses, particularly in the countryside, in the traditional supremacy of the royal houses—no matter whether this superstition worships the kingdom of God’s grace, as in Prussia, or the legendary peasant emperor Napoleon, as in France. On the other hand, the proletariat feels that the funeral dirge of the monarchy is simultaneously the clarion call for the decisive battle with the bourgeoisie. The modern republic is nothing but the stage cleared for the last great class struggle in world history—and this is what gives it its tremendous significance.

In order, however, for this class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat to be decided, these two classes must be sufficiently developed in the countries concerned, at least in the large towns. In Spain this is only the case in individual parts of the country. In Catalonia, large-scale industry is relatively highly developed. In Andalusia and some other areas big landed property and large-scale agriculture—landowners and wage-labourers—prevail; in most of the country small farmers prevail in rural areas, small industry in the towns. The conditions for a proletarian revolution are thus relatively poorly developed, and, for precisely this reason, there still remains a great deal to be done in Spain for a bourgeois republic; above all, its mission here is to clear the stage for the imminent class struggle.

A primary necessity is the abolition of the army and the introduction of a people’s militia. Geographically, Spain is so favourably situated that it can only be seriously attacked by one
neighbour, and even then only along the short front of the Pyrenees; a front that does not even comprise an eighth of its total perimeter. Moreover, the conditions of the terrain in the country are such that they complicate mobile warfare by large armies in the same measure as they facilitate irregular popular warfare. We saw this under Napoleon, who at times despatched up to 300,000 men to Spain, but they were always defeated by the people's dour resistance; we have seen this countless times since then and see it to this day in the impotence of the Spanish army in the face of the few gangs of Carlists in the mountains. A country like this has no pretext for an army. Furthermore, since 1830 the army in Spain has merely been the lever of all those generals' plots which have brought down the government every few years with a military revolt, in order to replace old thieves with new. To dissolve the Spanish army is to release Spain from civil war. This, then, would be the first demand the Spanish workers should make on the new government.

Once the army is abolished, the main reason that the Catalans, in particular, are demanding a federal state organisation disappears. Revolutionary Catalonia, the great working-class suburb of Spain, as it were, has hitherto been kept down by heavy concentrations of troops, just as Bonaparte and Thiers kept Paris and Lyons down. This is why the Catalans demanded the division of Spain into federal states with independent administration. If the army goes, so does the main reason for this demand; it will be possible to achieve independence in principle without the reactionary destruction of national unity, and without reproducing a larger Switzerland.

The financial legislation of Spain, as regards both internal taxes and border tariffs, is nonsensical from start to finish. A bourgeois republic can do a great deal about this. The same applies to the confiscation of the landed property of the Church, which has often been confiscated but has always been amassed once again, and, last but not least, the provision of highways, which are nowhere in a worse state than here.

A few years of peaceful bourgeois republic would prepare the ground in Spain for a proletarian revolution in a way that would surprise even the most advanced Spanish workers. Instead of repeating the bloody farce of the previous revolution, instead of staging isolated, easily crushed rebellions, it is to be hoped that the

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a Engels means the earlier stages of the Spanish bourgeois revolution of 1868-74.— Ed.
Spanish workers will make use of the republic in order to join together more firmly and organise themselves with a view to an approaching revolution, a revolution they will command. The bourgeois government of the new republic is merely seeking an excuse to suppress the revolutionary movement and shoot down the workers, as the republicans Favre and consorts did in Paris. May the Spanish workers not give them the excuse!

Written in the latter half of February 1873
First published in Der Volksstaat, No. 18, March 1, 1873; La Emancipacion, March 7, 1873; O Pensamento Social, March 23, 1873

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A number of socialists have latterly launched a regular crusade against what they call the principle of authority. It is sufficient for them to say that this or that act is authoritarian for it to be condemned. This summary mode of procedure is being abused to such an extent that it has become necessary to look into the matter somewhat more closely. Authority, in the sense in which the word is used here, means: the imposition of the will of another upon ours; on the other hand, authority presupposes subordination. Now, since these two words sound bad and the relationship which they represent is disagreeable to the subordinated party, the question is to ascertain whether there is any way of dispensing with it, whether—given the conditions of present-day society—we could not create another social system, in which this authority would be given no scope any longer and would consequently have to disappear. On examining the economic, industrial and agricultural conditions which form the basis of present-day bourgeois society, we find that they tend more and more to replace isolated action by combined action of individuals. Modern industry with its big factories and mills, where hundreds of workers supervise complicated machines driven by steam, has superseded the small workshops of the separate producers; the carriages and wagons of the highways have been substituted by railway trains, just as the small schooners and sailing feluccas have been by steam-boats. Even agriculture falls increasingly under the dominion of the machine and of steam, which slowly but relentlessly put in the place of the small proprietors big capitalists, who with the aid of hired workers cultivate vast stretches of land. Everywhere combined action, the complication of processes dependent upon each
other, displaces independent action by individuals. But whoever mentions combined action speaks of organisation; now, is it possible to have organisation without authority?

Supposing a social revolution dethroned the capitalists, who now exercise their authority over the production and circulation of wealth. Supposing, to adopt entirely the point of view of the anti-authoritarians, that the land and the instruments of labour had become the collective property of the workers who use them. Will authority have disappeared or will it only have changed its form? Let us see.

Let us take by way of example a cotton spinning mill. The cotton must pass through at least six successive operations before it is reduced to the state of thread, and these operations take place for the most part in different rooms. Furthermore, keeping the machines going requires an engineer to look after the steam engine, mechanics to make the current repairs, and many other labourers whose business it is to transfer the products from one room to another, and so forth. All these workers, men, women and children, are obliged to begin and finish their work at the hours fixed by the authority of the steam, which cares nothing for individual autonomy. The workers must, therefore, first come to an understanding on the hours of work; and these hours, once they are fixed, must be observed by all, without any exception. Thereafter particular questions arise in each room and at every moment concerning the mode of production, distribution of materials, etc., which must be settled at once on pain of seeing all production immediately stopped; whether they are settled by decision of a delegate placed at the head of each branch of labour or, if possible, by a majority vote, the will of the single individual will always have to subordinate itself, which means that questions are settled in an authoritarian way. The automatic machinery of a big factory is much more despotic than the small capitalists who employ workers ever have been. At least with regard to the hours of work one may write upon the portals of these factories: Lasciate ogni autonomia, voi che entrate! If man, by dint of his knowledge and inventive genius, has subdued the forces of nature, the latter avenge themselves upon him by subjecting him, in so far as he employs them, to a veritable despotism independent of all social organisation. Wanting to abolish authority in large-scale industry is

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a "Leave, ye that enter in, all autonomy behind!" (Dante, The Divine Comedy, Hell, Canto III, Verse 3—paraphrased).—Ed.
tantamount to wanting to abolish industry itself, to destroy the power loom in order to return to the spinning wheel.

Let us take another example—the railway. Here, too, the co-operation of an infinite number of individuals is absolutely necessary, and this co-operation must be practised during precisely fixed hours so that no accidents may happen. Here, too, the first condition of the job is a dominant will that settles all subordinate questions, whether this will is represented by a single delegate or a committee charged with the execution of the resolutions of the majority of persons interested. In either case there is very pronounced authority. Moreover, what would happen to the first train despatched if the authority of the railway employees over the Hon. passengers were abolished?

But the necessity of authority, and of imperious authority at that, will nowhere be found more evident than on board a ship on the high seas. There, in time of danger, the lives of all depend on the instantaneous and absolute obedience of all to the will of one.

When I submitted arguments like these to the most rabid anti-authoritarians the only answer they were able to give me was the following: Yes, that's true, but here it is not a case of authority which we confer on our delegates, but of a commission entrusted! These gentlemen think that when they have changed the names of things they have changed the things themselves. This is how these profound thinkers mock at the whole world.

We have thus seen that, on the one hand, a certain authority, no matter how delegated, and, on the other hand, a certain subordination, are things which, independently of all social organisation, are imposed upon us together with the material conditions under which we produce and make products circulate.

We have seen, besides, that the material conditions of production and circulation inevitably develop with large-scale industry and large-scale agriculture, and increasingly tend to enlarge the scope of this authority. Hence it is absurd to speak of the principle of authority as being absolutely evil, and of the principle of autonomy as being absolutely good. Authority and autonomy are relative things whose spheres vary with the various phases of the development of society. If the autonomists confined themselves to saying that the social organisation of the future would restrict authority solely to the limits within which the conditions of production render it inevitable, we could understand each other; but they are blind to all facts that make the thing necessary and they passionately fight the word.

Why do the anti-authoritarians not confine themselves to crying
out against political authority, the state? All socialists are agreed that the political state, and with it political authority, will disappear as a result of the coming social revolution, that is, that public functions will lose their political character and be transformed into the simple administrative functions of watching over the true interests of society. But the anti-authoritarians demand that the authoritarian political state be abolished at one stroke, even before the social conditions that gave birth to it have been destroyed. They demand that the first act of the social revolution shall be the abolition of authority. Have these gentlemen ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is the act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other part by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon—authoritarian means, if such there be at all; and if the victorious party does not want to have fought in vain, it must maintain this rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. Would the Paris Commune have lasted a single day if it had not made use of this authority of the armed people against the bourgeois? Should we not, on the contrary, reproach it for not having used it freely enough?

Therefore, either one of two things: either the anti-authoritarians don't know what they are talking about, in which case they are creating nothing but confusion; or they do know, and in that case they are betraying the movement of the proletariat. In either case they serve the reaction.

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Signed: Federico Engels

Printed according to the collection
Translated from the Italian
Frederick Engels

[NEWS
ON THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MOVEMENT] 296

[I]

[The International Herald, No. 51, March 22, 1873]

Spain

The strike of the engineers and stokers on the Northern Railway still continues. The middle class papers state that the engineers and stokers, on strike of the Valencia Railway, have given in, but this is about the third time this assertion is made by them, and we shall not believe it until we see it confirmed in the Spanish International papers.

The demand of the International factory workers of Barcelona and neighbourhood for a reduction of the hours of work to ten, appears to have been complied with, as the factories keep working, and the respectable papers are ominously silent on this point. The hours of work, heretofore, were from 12 to 13. It is to be observed that this point has been carried principally by the men of Gracia, the manufactory suburb of Barcelona, and that they, as early as November last, had unanimously declared for the Hague Resolutions.

The letter-press compositors of Madrid have compelled the masters, without strike, to agree to the new terms proposed by them.

Germany

The type-compositors of Germany are engaged in a struggle which threatens to become very severe. They have a Trades Union which numbers about 4,000, out of 7,000 type-compositors in all Germany. On the other hand, the master printers have a society

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a See this volume, p. 411.— Ed.
also, by the rules of which, the masters bind themselves upon an appeal on behalf of the Committee in case of a serious strike, to discharge at once any Union men in their employ. Now, the type-compositors of Leipzig, a short time ago, went on strike for higher wages, and the masters’ committee finding themselves beaten in Leipzig, have called upon the masters all over Germany to give notice to all Union men. This has been done in Leipzig, Berlin, Breslau, Frankfort, Munich and most other large towns of Germany, so that unless an agreement is come to within a few days, the great mass of the compositors will be locked out by next Sunday week, and the whole German press and book trade completely disorganised. While thus the printing offices of the masters are completely paralyzed, the co-operative printing establishment of Leipzig is flourishing to such a degree that the orders on hand cannot be executed.

Dresden.—A Co-operative Carpenters and Joiners Association has been started.

Switzerland

The strike of the jewellers of Geneva for the nine hours’ working day still continues; at the same time the great majority of the masters have given in, and reopened their shops on the nine hours’ system, so that with a little continued assistance to the men, the final victory cannot be doubtful.

This is the second great strike in Geneva which has been won through the intercession of the International.297

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[The International Herald, No. 52, March 29, 1873]

Spain

The strike of the engineers and stokers on the railway from Valencia to Tarragona and Almansa has ended by the complete triumph of the men who have obtained all their demands. That on the Northern Railway of Spain, on the other hand, appears to have broken down for want of a proper organization.

a Wrocław.—Ed.
At Barcelona, the coalheavers of the port have gained, in consequence of a short and successful strike, an advance of wages averaging 10d. a day—instead of 3s. 9d. they now get 4s. 7d. for every working day of eight hours.

Switzerland

There will be held shortly a Swiss Working Men’s Congress at Olten; the date has not yet been fixed. A Swiss Shoemaker’s Congress is preparing.

Germany

The type-compositors’ strike, alluded to in our last, appears to take a very favourable turn for the men. The masters had played out their great trump card, by calling upon all members of their society all over Germany to give notice to all members of the men’s union that might be in their employ. But this appeal, though perfectly justified by the rules of the masters’ society, does not appear to have been met everywhere with the necessary alacrity; indeed the Hamburg master printers declared it to be uncalled for, and left the society altogether rather than obey. In consequence the masters’ committee has been obliged to eat humble pie and to apply to the men’s committee—hitherto ignored and repudiated by them—to re-open negotiations for an amicable settlement of the dispute.

At Dresden, the International Trades Union of house painters, japanners, gilders, etc., has its central seat. This society established only a year ago, has not only compelled the masters to do away with Sunday obnoxious regulations, but also established a cooperative workshop in which numerous members of the associated trades find employment.

At Regensburg (Bavaria) the shoemakers, headed by the members of the International Shoemaker’s Union, have gone on strike for a rise of wages.

At Mayence, a shoemakers’ strike has been going on for a full month, without a prospect of being brought soon to a close; most of the unmarried men have left.

The Berlin coopers published an appeal to their colleagues in the north of Germany to form a Trades Union; they state that they have just carried a strike to a victorious end and wish to expand the organisation which has so far been locally successful.
In Hamburg the 350 workmen of a large piano-factory are on strike for an advance of wages.
In Görlitz (Silesia) the tailors have struck, on the 17th of March, for an advance of wages of 30 per cent; the masters offered 10 per cent which was refused.
The Berlin joiners and cabinet-makers are asking an advance of 33 per cent, and are determined to go on strike if not successful by peaceable means.

United States

In New York, a German Working Men's paper has been started under the auspices of the International. It exposes the shameful tricks by which the American manufactories coin money out of the sweat and the starvation of their workpeople. The Singer Sewing Machine Co., is chosen for a first example. Thus, the company's manager gives out the work, to the overlookers in every room in the shape of contracts; they again employ sub-contractors, these parcel out their jobs to other sub-sub-contractors, until finally the last understrapping contractor makes his own contract with the workpeople that have to do the real work. It is impossible to drive the "sweating system" any further; here we see it in its perfection. Not only the capitalist, but a whole hierarchy of understrappers are here directly interested in sweating a profit out of the workman's labour—no wonder that he, the workman, scarcely receives the pittance without which life and work become an impossibility.

[III]
[The International Herald, No. 54, April 12, 1873]

Germany

The letter-press printers' and compositors' strike continues. The masters' proposals, being unacceptable, have been refused by the men. In the meantime one master after another, especially in the smaller towns, have to give in, so that the prospects are very favourable for the men.

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a Arbeiter-Zeitung.—Ed.
At Hanover, the bookbinders' strike has ended in the complete victory of the men. Their demands, a ten hours' working day and an advance of wages of 25 per cent, have been accorded to in full by the masters. The bookbinders of Germany will hold a General Congress at Nuremberg on Easter Sunday.

At Chemnitz, the tailors demanded from their employers an advance of wages of 33 per cent, and the complete cessation of Sunday labour. These demands having been refused, the men went on strike on the 30th of March.

The shoemakers' strike at Mayence continues. Another strike in the same trade has broken out at Pforzheim; at Würzburg and at Erfurt strikes of that trade appear impending, the men asking an advance of wages.

The German Bricklayers Union announces a strike of bricklayers and masons at Flensburg for shorter hours of work. The basket makers at Hamburg are on strike for the same reason, as also the workpeople of a large cotton mill near Hanover.

Austria

The Vienna tailors having demanded from their employers an advance of wages and a reduction of the hours of work, which was refused, the men of more than forty shops, including the principal ones, went on strike.

The same has occurred with the tailors at Graz.

Belgium

A General European Tailors' Congress has just taken place at Brussels, at which the provisional Rules of a European Tailors' Union were adopted, to which all democratic socialist tailors' societies are invited to accede; all societies wishing to go on strike, to obtain, before striking, the approval of the rest, if they intend to claim the support of the European Union. An annual Congress of the Union is to take place.

Switzerland

The Geneva Jewellers' strike is now finally brought to a close. The nine hours' working day has been victoriously carried.
At Zurich the carpenters and joiners, at Winterthur the tailors, are on strike for the usual reasons, shorter hours and higher wages.

At Neuchâtel, the shoemakers have gained an advance without resorting to a strike.

**America**

The servant girls of Ottawa (Canada) have formed a Trades Union.

**Germany**

*Berlin.*—The gardeners’ journeymen are on strike for ten hours and an advance of wages.—A strike of the pianoforte makers for 33 1/2 per cent advance of wages and 8 hours a day is impending.

*Munich.*—The working class movement here is very active. Almost all trades have their unions; a central Trades' Council is being formed. The jewellers have carried an advance of wages of 25 per cent; the tailors, without a strike, 15 per cent.

*Augsburg.*—A portion of the carpenters—those employed by the seven largest masters of the town, about 90 in all—are locked out, because they will not accept the new tariff of wages offered by the masters.

*Leipzig.*—The great struggle between the master printers and the type-compositors, which from here spread all over Germany, has ended in the complete victory of the men. The haughty masters have had to accept all the conditions imposed by the latter, namely, withdrawal of the general notice given to all union men, and settlement of a new scale of wages by a mixed committee of men and masters. These conditions being agreed to, the men's committee declared the strike at an end.

*Danzig.*—The ships' carpenters' strike has ended in a defeat, owing to the direct interference of the government in favour of the masters, by threatening with dismissal every man employed in

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a Gdansk.—*Ed.*
the navy yards who should support the strike, and other similar measures.

Hamburg.—A strike of the shoemakers of Hamburg, Altona, and neighbourhood is impending, as the masters seem determined to resist the demands of the men.

Of smaller strikes we noticed those of the ships' carpenters at Kiel (Holstein); the moulders at Itzehoe (Holstein); the cork cutters at Delmenhorst, about 900; the joiners and cabinet-makers at Bremerhaven, etc., principally caused by insufficient wages. All over Germany the organization of Trades Unions, local and national, and even international (comprising the workmen of each trade in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland) is progressing very actively, and wages are more and more approaching the English level.

Austria

Vienna.—The tailors' strike continues. That of the engineers in a large machine shop, begun inconsiderately, has broken down completely. On the other hand, that of the file cutters has been triumphant; the whole of the masters have agreed to the 20 per cent advance asked by the men.

Graz.—The cabinet-makers and joiners went on strike on the 21st April for shorter hours and 20 per cent advance of wages. The shoemakers in a large shoe shop have struck for 11 hours a day, which is now the usual time in Vienna.

Hungary

Pesth.—The Hungarian Working Men's Organization suppressed after the defeat of the Paris Commune, has now been re-established at a large meeting held on the 23rd March. The Organization possesses two newspapers, one in the Hungarian, the other in the German language. The committee is composed of old Internationals, amongst whom we find the name of C. Farkas, delegate at the Hague Congress as treasurer.

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a The reference is to the weekly published in Hungarian (Munkás-Heti-Krónika) and German (Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik).—Ed.

b In the newspaper mistakenly: O. Farkas.—Ed.
Switzerland

The Geneva jewellers’ strike is now completely ended; the nine hours have been completely carried by the men. At Zurich the carpenters are out; six masters, so far, have given in. The tailors’ strike at Winterthur continues. The tailors’ demands at Lausanne have been acceded to by the employers to avoid a strike.

Belgium

At Écaussinnes 200 quarrymen turned out, but the strike appears to have come to an end very soon. Particulars are wanting.

[V]

[The International Herald, No. 57, May 3, 1873]

Switzerland

The tailors’ strike at Winterthur has been successful. All employers but one have acceded to the demands of the men. The shoemakers of Zurich intend striking for higher wages and request the men of the trade to refrain from seeking work there.

Roumania

The workpeople on the railway workshop at the Bucharest Station are on the point of striking unless the directors accede to their demands.

Germany

The International Metal Workers’ Union (Germany, Austria, and Switzerland) has convoked its annual Congress at Dresden for Whit-Sunday, June 1st.

Hamburg.—The Saddlers are on strike since the 19th April, the masters having declined acceding to the men’s demands. The shoemakers’ strike, of which we spoke as impending in our last
week's issue, has now broken out. The men are asking an advance of wages of 25 per cent. The ships' carpenters' strikes in various places of the North of Germany, of which we have already spoken, are principally caused by the masters' resistance to the newly formed German ships' carpenters' union which it is intended to nip in the bud; but the men stood out valiantly. As a matter of course, the Imperial German Navy Yard authorities at Kiel and elsewhere give all the support in their power to the masters.

Munich.—The shoemakers are on strike for 30 per cent advance of wages and 12 hours maximum daily labour. Masters employing 250 men have given in; 150 unmarried men have left the place, so that victory appears certain.

Berlin.—The shoemakers, about 3,000 in number, have struck for an advance of wages of 33 per cent. All unmarried men are leaving. The strike of the gardeners' assistants appears to have broken down, for want of a proper organization. This however is now being prepared. The men have formed a union with a view to speedy action.

Pforzheim.—The shoemakers' strike is at an end. The men asked for an advance of 20 per cent, and have got 15 per cent.

Mayence.—The strike in Wolfs' shoe-factory has been brought to a close by the employers withdrawing the notice of 15 per cent reduction of wages and paying to the men about £20 towards the expenses of the strike.

At Cologne the joiners, at Trier the tanners, were on the point of striking for higher wages.

Austria

Workers in wood visiting the Vienna Exhibition are informed that the Committee of the Vienna Union of the trade meets at the Florian Tavern, Stumpergasse, Mariahilf, Vienna.

[VI]

[The International Herald, No. 60, May 24, 1873]

America

The Gasmen of the New York Gas Company went on strike on April 5th for the restoration of the eight hours working day, which had been conceded to them some time ago, but soon
lengthened again to 12 and 15 hours for night and day work respectively. The Republican police of the City of New York took at once the part of the Company, and sent strong detachments of constables to the different Gas Works: while the Charity Committee for Emigrants at once sent thither 200 Italians, just landed at Ward's Island, to take the places of the men on strike. These Italians, marched to the works under a strong escort of police, and there compelled by brute force to perform a kind of work they were utterly unused to, and incompetent to perform, very soon demanded to be brought back to the Island. This was refused point blank and they were kept to work by the intervention of the police. Two of them tried to escape by climbing over the wall, but fell into the East River and were drowned; several others who tried the same experiment were recaptured by the police in the water; since then the Gas Works are surrounded, both on the land-side and on the water-side, by a cordon of police to prevent escapes from this new kind of prison. These Italians, moreover, are utterly incompetent for the work they are expected to perform.

This is the way in which the *Model Republic* proceeds, as soon as the working class, in demanding its rights, interferes with the interests of the comforts of the capitalist class.

*Austria*

*Vienna.*—The File-cutters' strike continues. The Tailors' strike is at an end—the men have gained considerable advantages if they could not carry all their points; their wages have been raised and their hours of labour reduced.

*Graz.*—Great agitation among the journeymen Bakers in order to reduce the working hours, hitherto *from 18 to 20 a day!*—The Joiners' strike continues.

The working men's agitation in Austria is everywhere proceeding in a most satisfactory manner.

*Hungary*

A general congress of the Hungarian Shoemakers is going to take place on the 1st June at Pesth. The Austrian Shoemakers

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a Where the emigrants were placed in quarantine.—*Ed.*
intend to send delegates too. Amongst the questions to be discussed is the establishment of a normal working day of equal length all over the country, the establishment of a Hungarian Shoemaker’s Union, and of co-operative workshops, etc.

Switzerland

The Jewellers’ strike just closed by the victory of the men, has again proved what fools the masters are to themselves when they resist the just demands of the workmen. Barely one fourth of the strikers have returned to work; the rest have found employment elsewhere, and the masters now have the greatest difficulty in finding the sufficient number of men. Serves them right.

Germany

Halle.—A strike of Miners has been successful, it lasted only a few days, when the masters gave in.

Hamburg.—The Shoemakers’ strike continues.

Altenburg.—The Tailors, after a short strike, obtained an advance of \(16\frac{2}{3}\) per cent.

Numerous strikes are in preparation, among others, those of the Brushmakers of Berlin for 25 per cent advance; of the Saddlers of Stuttgart for 10 hours a day and 25 per cent advance, together with the abolition of compulsory boarding and lodging in the master’s house.

A lock out has taken place among the Stonemasons of Zeitz and neighbourhood, but as this trade is internationally united in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, success is pretty safe. The same association has a strike on its hands at Hamburg.

The annual general congress of the German Building Trades, will take place at Chemnitz (Saxony) in June.

Written in March-May 1873

Reproduced from the newspaper First published in The International Herald, Nos. 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 60, March 22 and 29, April 12 and 26, May 3 and 24, 1873
Frederick Engels

TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL
OF THE INTERNATIONAL
WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

122 Regent’s Park Road N. W.
London 15-th April 1873

Citizens,

I have received your letter of the 21-st March along with Bill £8.-6 for Lodi. At the same time I received a letter from Bignami stating that he was again hiding in order to avoid being dragged to prison to undergo a sentence of imprisonment which he prefers doing later on after having been restored to better health. The money could therefore not have arrived at a more favourable moment. I got it changed for 200 francs in French banknotes which I sent to him immediately.

Le Moussu has undertaken to do the stamps\(^3\) and I have repeatedly reminded him of it, but as far as I know they are not much advanced yet.

The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* has come to hand regularly.

The cost of printing of the Rules\(^a\) in English and French was about £15 each, those in German were much cheaper as they were first printed in the *Volksstaat* and nothing charged for composition, but only for paper, printing and binding.\(^c\) This of course could not be repeated now.

The report on the Alliance\(^b\) is now being drawn up, and Lafargue & I work at it daily, no time is being lost. The documents were kept by Lucain at Brussels until after Christmas,\(^c\) and he has some still.

German Rules are still here, several hundreds which are at the

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\(a\) See this volume, pp. 3-20.——*Ed.*

\(b\) Ibid., pp. 454-580.—*Ed.*

\(c\) This refers to the papers of the Commission to investigate the Bakuninist Alliance appointed at the Hague Congress.—*Ed.*
Council's disposal. English none. French have all been sent to France, but not arrived. Perhaps we can recover some. We are trying.

As soon as the Alliance is put into shape, we shall do the Congress minutes.302

The Emancipacion of Madrid is dying if not dead. We have sent them £15., but as scarcely anybody paid for the copies received, it appears impossible to keep it up.303 I am in correspondence with Mesa with regard to another paper to be started but cannot say what will be the result.

The Pensamento Social of Lisbon, an excellent paper which in its last number had a very good reply to the Spanish federal Commission of Alcoy on the Alliance question, b will also have to suspend its publication for a short time, but will reappear.

The International Herald, as you will have seen, also is on its last legs. We may try to keep it alive till the next English Congress (Whit-week)304 after which it may be possible to start something else. The Herald is not worth much except as an organ of publicity for the B.F.C., but, as such, for the moment almost indispensable.

You will have seen from the French papers that Walter (Heddeghem) comes out as a downright spy. He is said to have been a Bonapartist mouchard. c At Toulouse, Swarm (Dentraygues) has not behaved much better, but not having read the full report, I cannot speak with certainty; at all events he was no mouchard before, but seems weak & capricious.

Fraternal Greeting

F. Engels

So far, no money has been received by me for the Council. No news either from Italy, except that temporarily the Plebe appears to be suspended too. The arrest of the Alliancists at Bologna & Mirandola will not last long, they will soon be liberated; if some of them are now and then arrested by mistake, they never suffer seriously.


Reproduced from the manuscript

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a British Federal Council.— Ed.
b "Da commissao de correspondencia...", O Pensamento Social, No. 51, April 5, 1873.— Ed.
c Police agent.— Ed.
Frederick Engels

[ON THE ARTICLES
IN THE NEUER SOCIAL-DEMOKRAT
(FROM A LETTER TO A. HEPNER)]

For your further information about the Neuer’s notorious article, we wish to draw your attention—and, in part, not for the first time—to the following: a) to the absurdity of maintaining that Bakunin is against conspiracies, when he has instigated a general conspiracy—the Alliance—within the International, admittedly not against the government, but against the International; b) the notion that the International in France could lead any kind of existence other than a “secret” one after the Dufaure Law; that, however, a secret propaganda society and a conspiracy are two different things; c) the fact that the Hague Congress came out so energetically against the Blanquists, who wanted to make the International a vehicle for conspiracies, that they withdrew from the International and openly declared that they were against it because it lacked “revolutionary energy”; d) the fact that Heddeghem (Walter), the tall quiet man in The Hague with red hair—accompanied by a small woman dressed in mourning with a Mary Magdalene face, allegedly his “wife”—who has now been unmasked as an old police agent, was only put forward to the old General Council by Serralier for admittance, along with his branch, after he [Heddeghem] had referred to the Blanquist Ranvier, a member of the General Council, and was acknowledged by the latter as thoroughly reliable; e) the fact that both Heddeghem and Dentraygues had the mandates of their sections as laid down in the Rules, and thus had to be admitted to the Congress, so long

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a “Internationale Arbeiterasseziation”, Neuer Social-Demokrat, No. 49, April 27, 1873.—Ed.
b Of the Paris and Toulouse sections respectively.—Ed.
as no charge was brought against them, which did not occur to any member of the minority; f) the fact that the Neuer cannot be considered anything but a police organ as it reiterates the catchphrase, disseminated by police agents and Bonapartists such as Vogt & Co., that Marx is attempting to act as an "international leader of conspirators" and has already had "a dozen Communist trials", when the very actions of the Hague Congress, with whose majority Marx is identified, against the Blanquists prove the opposite, and the police lies about the one Communist trial of 1852 were exposed long ago by Marx's *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne*; g) the fact that if anyone from the Neuer Social-Demokrat is now, for once, sentenced to imprisonment, we know what we are to think, since the Neuer has itself drawn attention to the police manoeuvre of having police agents sentenced along with the others, but allowing them to lead a more comfortable life in prison. "May the workers always keep their eyes open!"

Incidentally, Dentraygues was no spy, but a down-at-heel character, who only became an informer in cachot and then soon became an out-and-out creature of the police. On the other hand, Heddeghem was already a mouchard under Bonaparte; we have only the Blanquists to thank for him. The "grand old freedom fighter" Bakunin, however, has always had mouchards in his ranks—for example, Albert Richard, who has been his right-hand-man for France since 1868, since the foundation of the Alliance. And as the Jurassians claim that they also have secret sections in France (the trials prove the converse), where then is the difference affected by the Neuer?

As far as the article in No. 45 is concerned, a few things still need to be said about the claims made in it. Opposition to the Hague Congress has been voiced by: 1. The so-called Italian Federation, which has never belonged to the International because it refuses to recognise the General Rules, and for this reason can

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*b Engels ironically quotes from the article in the Neuer Social-Demokrat under discussion.—*Ed.*
*c Gaol.—*Ed.*
*d Police agent.—*Ed.*
*e "Les proconsuls marxistes en France", *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...*, No. 8, April 15, 1873.—*Ed.*
*f "Internationale Arbeiterassoziation", *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, No. 45, April 18, 1873.—*Ed.*
never belong to the International until it falls in line.—On the other hand, a number of genuine Italian sections have recognised them, and are in regular contact with the General Council. 2. The Jura Federation, 150 men, as against 4,000-5,000 in French Switzerland alone; it has, therefore, been suspended. 3. The Belgians. 4. Some of the Spaniards, while others have set up the Federal Council in Valencia, which is in regular contact with the General Council in New York. 5. In England all of ten men, who have not got a single real section behind them, while the English Federal Council, supported by numerous sections, several of which are 500 or more strong, and which are increasing week by week, makes recognition of the Hague resolutions a basic condition for admission. 6. The fact that, in France, "insofar as any organisation survives there", it has remained loyal to The Hague and the General Council is demonstrated precisely by the trials that are the pretext for the article in No. 49. The "refugees of the Commune", neither as such nor in their "majority", have ever had occasion for "turning energetically against, etc." since the faction never existed. The Blanquists, all five of them, including four members of the Commune, have withdrawn because the International would not allow itself to become the tool of their conspiracy. Otherwise nothing whatsoever has occurred to provide the remotest pretext for this lie.

Written in late April 1873
First published in Der Volksstaat, No. 37, May 7, 1873
Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time

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* The four Communards were, apparently, A. Arnaud, M. E. Vaillant, F. É. Cournet and G. Ranvier. The fifth Blanquist was Walter (L. Van-Heddeghem).—*Ed.*
London, May 2, 1873

No. 49 of the Neuer carries a mendacious article\(^a\) about the latest trials of the International in France,\(^b\) which will probably have earned its author an extra douceur\(^c\) from the reptile funds,\(^d\) so thickly does he lay on the lies. For the trial in Toulouse the Neuer refers to an article in the Brussels Internationale\(^e\); this article was itself borrowed from the Liberté and emanates from Mr. Jules Guesde,\(^f\) a French refugee who, since his arrival in Geneva, has been blowing the Bakunist trumpet fit to burst, along with the other panjandrums in exile there, and was one of the signatories of the famous circular of the Jura Federation at the Jura Congress at Sonvillier (November 1871), in which the secret Alliance of Mr. Bakunin declared war on the public International.\(^g\) We shall see presently what part Mr. Guesde played in the French International. He calls Mr. Dentraysgues, who at this trial had denounced his co-defendants as members of the International, the general authorised representative of Marx and wants to transfer the blame for this betrayal and the subsequent sentences on Marx, the General Council, and the “authoritarian organisation from above”.

Here are the facts.

On December 24, 1871, Mr. Dentraysgues, a draughtsman at the railway office at Pézenas (Département Hérault), contacted the

\(^a\) “Internationale Arbeiterassoziation”, Neuer Social-Demokrat, No. 49, April 27, 1873.— Ed.

\(^b\) Consideration.— Ed.

\(^c\) “Nous extrayons les lignes suivantes...”, L’Internationale, No. 223, April 20, 1873.— Ed.

\(^d\) J. Guesde, “Les arrestations continuent...”, La Liberté, No. 15, April 13, 1873.— Ed.

\(^e\) See this volume, pp. 64-70, 102-05 and 116-22.— Ed.
General Council to announce that a radical democratic committee representing seven trade unions, whose president he was, was seeking admission to the International. On January 4, the secretary for France\(^a\) wrote to Pézenas to Calas (now sentenced to one year), who was fully accredited by a reference from the affiliated Social-Democratic committee in Béziers (Hérault)—its members were also sentenced and were, moreover, known to be trustworthy by several members of the Commune present in London. On January 14, Calas gave Dentraygues a declaration of trustworthiness, saying that he had reached agreement with him: "we will play into each other's hands". In March, Dentraygues moved to Toulouse; thus, at the time of his arrest, he had been active there for a full nine months, and far from complaining about him, the Toulouse Internationals had always lived in harmony with him, and confirmed this on August 18, by selecting him \textit{unanimously} in all four—large—sections as their delegate to the Hague Congress. The four mandates, signed only by the members of the committee and the group leaders, bear a total of 67 signatures. If, then, the General Council appointed this man as its authorised representative for Toulouse and area, it was merely expressing the wishes of the Toulouse members themselves.

Now for Mr. Guesde.

On August 18, 1872, the Montpellier section informed the General Council that Mr. Paul Brousse, a correspondent and friend of Mr. Guesde, was trying to bring about a split in the section; he was demanding that the members refuse to pay the agreed contributions to the travel expenses of the Toulouse delegate, in fact do nothing at all until the Hague Congress had decided. Mr. Brousse, it was said, had been expelled from the section for this; it requested the General Council to expel him from the International. The letter was signed by Calas and three others. The General Council knew that Mr. Brousse was engaged in intrigues on behalf of the secessionists of the Jura Federation, but considered it unnecessary to attribute any further importance to the young man—he was a medical student—and let him go. Mr. Guesde, then in Rome, wrote in early October to the \textit{Liberté}\(^b\) branding the quite natural steps of the Montpellier section as "authoritarian"; but while he designated his friend Brousse by his initial only, he had the name "Calas in Montpellier" \textit{printed in full}. The French police needed no further prompting. A letter

\(^a\) A. Serraillier.—\textit{Ed.}

\(^b\) J. Guesde, "Rien ou presque rien...", \textit{La Liberté}, No. 42, October 20, 1872.—\textit{Ed.}
despatched about this time from the secretary of the General Council to Calas was immediately intercepted at the post office; in it there was much talk of Dentaygues; Dentaygues was immediately arrested and, shortly afterwards, so was Calas.

Who, then, was the informer—Dentaygues or Guesde?

When Mr. Guesde further says that the despatch of *missi dominici* by the General Council, that the coming and going of delegates from outside, whose description is well known to the police, is the best way to betray the International in France, he is forgetting:

1. that the three authorised representatives of the General Council in France were not benefactors who had arrived from outside, but people resident at the places that had authorised them, who enjoyed the trust of the sections themselves;

2. that the only international “delegates from outside” who figured in Southern France last autumn and winter had not been sent by the General Council, but by the secessionists of the Jura Federation. These gentlemen were so loudmouthed in public cafés in Toulouse, etc., shortly before the arrests, that the attention of the police was thereby directed to our Association; and only the real Internationals were seized, as always and everywhere, while the anarchistic braggarts enjoy the special protection of the upper police echelons.

Although Mr. Dentaygues has made certain revelations for personal reasons and from weakness, there are sufficient grounds for proving he was not a police spy up to his conviction. In any event, the gentlemen of the Alliance, whose co-founder was the present Bonapartist agent Albert Richard of Lyons, have no cause whatsoever to throw stones at others, still less has the *Neuer*, whose political past and present constitute the worst blemish on the German labour movement.

As far as the Paris trial is concerned, it is now established that Heddegheim was a police spy. This man, appointed secretary by his section in Paris, gave as his reference the Communard and member of the General Council Ranvier, who gave him a splendid

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*a* Engels apparently refers to A. Serraillier's letter to Calas of December 18, 1872, written on behalf of the New York General Council; it was intercepted by the French police.—*Ed.*

*b* Plenipotentiaries (in the Carolingian state, the appellation of officials exercising control over local administration).—*Ed.*

*c* [J. Guesde,] “*Le Congrès de Mirandola...*”, *La Liberté*, No. 13, March 30, 1873.—*Ed.*

*d* Ch. Larroque, F. Argaing and L. Van-Heddegheim.—*Ed.*
testimonial with regard to his reliability and activity; Heddeghem was admitted on its basis. In this case, as in the first, the General Council had thus observed all the precautions at its disposal.

What is new is the assertion that Bakunin was expelled at The Hague because he wished to “eliminate the reprehensible engagement in secret conspiracies”. The commission of the Hague Congress on the Alliance to which the rules of this Bakuninist secret conspiracy—not against the government but against the International—were submitted, came to a quite different result.

Just as new is the assertion that Marx has “experienced more than a dozen Communist trials of his followers”. History knows of only one Communist trial, that in Cologne in 1852; but the Neuer is not paid for telling the truth. In any event, we shall bear in mind its final warning:

“The manoeuvre of the police force, when they bring about a political trial, of formally convicting their secret agents, too, but ensuring that they have a comfortable life in prison thereafter.”

We should give heed to this passage taken from the “Life” of Herr von Schweitzer.

“So may the workers always keep their eyes open”, if one day the gentlemen of the Neuer should happen to be “formally convicted”!

First published in Der Volksstaat, No. 38, May 10, 1873

Printed according to the newspaper

Published in English for the first time
Communications from the Continent reported that the Secession movement, which had been set on foot in some places, had been followed by the usual result—Anarchy. Certain individuals, envying the cheap importance that the mere act of secession had given some of their fellows had resolved to learn the trick themselves, and had, of course, found no difficulty in setting up a very ready pretext in order to become Seceders from Secession. The attempt which had been made to remedy this state of things by inducing the erratic Sections to affiliate to the Jurassian Federation, though doubtless pleasing enough to M. M. Bakounin and Guillaume, whom it would have elevated to virtual dictatorship and to the national susceptibilities of a prime mover of the pernicious agitation in England, had not been found so acceptable to the denizens of those other countries whose “Institutions” had escaped the blotting of a co-operative pennyworth of foggy elucidation. Hence the anticipated result, the Secessionist fractions were rapidly thinning out into mere isolated groups, without a common understanding, except to quarrel with each other and to keep the peace towards the enemies of Labour—a situation which, though possibly not without its charme for a Morley, could only gain its full need of appreciation at the hands of a Thiers or a Bismarck.

Written on about May 22, 1873
First published in The International Herald, No. 60, May 24, 1873

\[a\] J. Hales.—Ed.
Frederick Engels

TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL
OF THE INTERNATIONAL
WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

122 Regents Park Road N.W.
London, June 14th, 1873

Citoyens,

I have to reply to your two letters of the 11th April and 14th May. As communicated before, the whole of the money for Lodi (fr. 200) was forwarded by me on April 10th to Bignami, new persecutions having arisen. The money was acknowledged by Bignami whose receipt I hold.— About 10 days ago, the Plebe has re-appeared and brought your address to the Spaniards and also, in a very prominent place, your declaration about the self-exclusion, from our Association, of the Secessionists. The documents in question have been sent to the Spanish Federal Council.

My copy of the alterations of rules as prepared for the late General Council has disappeared, I have however been promised another which shall be forwarded as soon as received.

As the Plebe is alive again I shall report about Italian Emigration and Gas strike etc. in my first correspondence to that paper. I could not act before, my only correspondent Bignami being out of the way and not having given me another address.

Le Moussu has been reminded of the stamps.

The £4.3 are to hand and shall be used and directed as soon as a safe address in Paris can be found.

Fraternally yours,

F. Engels


Reproduced from the manuscript

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a See this volume, p. 437.— Ed.
b Ibid.— Ed.
For a long time, the *Volksstaat* has published nothing about the state of affairs in the International Working Men's Association except the official documents of the General Council in New York. It acted in the same way as all the other international papers and the greater part of the members of the Association itself. While the organs of the Hague minority led by the Bakuninist secret Alliance moved heaven and earth to present themselves as representatives of the real majority of the International, to defame and slander in every way the majority of the Congress, the old General Council and especially Marx, and to rally the unrecognised geniuses of all nations,—those attacked by them contented themselves with stating once and for all the real facts about the Hague Congress and to contrast the worst of the slanders against the facts. For the rest, they relied on the good sense of the workers and the actions of the General Council, which showed itself quite equal to the tasks of its position.

The following will show that this mode of action spontaneously adhered to without any further arrangements has borne fruit.

In *England*, several English members of the last General Council, in whose faces Marx threw in The Hague the accusation of corruption—on the basis of documentary proofs and their own admissions, without any of them daring to raise any objections—caused a split in the British Federal Council last December. They left and convened a secessionist congress, which consisted of eleven persons altogether, of whom no one even dared to say which sections they represented or whether they represented any at all. The eleven persons spoke out in indignation against the Hague decisions and rallied under the banner of the
From the International

secessionists, foremost among them two foreigners, Eccarius and Jung. From that moment, there were two federal councils, with the difference, however, that one of them, the international one, had almost all sections behind it, while the other, the secessionist one, represented no one but its own members. The latter played out this comedy for several months, but has finally passed away. One cannot play this sort of farce before the English workers, schooled by a fifty-year-old movement. On the other hand, the British Federation of the International held a congress at Manchester on June 1 and 2, which was undoubtedly an epoch-making event in the English labour movement. It was attended by 26 delegates who represented the main centres of English industry as well as several smaller towns. The report of the Federal Council differed from all previous documents of this kind by the fact that—in a country with a tradition of legality—it asserted the right of the working class to use force in order to realise its demands.

The congress approved the report and decided that the red flag is to be the flag of the British adherents of the International; the working class demands not only the return of all landed property to the working people but also of all means of production; it calls for the eight-hour working day as a preliminary measure; it sends congratulations to the Spanish workers who have succeeded in establishing a republic and in electing ten workers to the Cortes; and requests the English Government immediately to release all Irish Fenians still imprisoned.—Anyone familiar with the history of the English labour movement will admit that no English workers' congress has ever advanced such far-reaching demands. In any case, this congress and the miserable end of the separatist, self-appointed Federal Council has determined the attitude of the British Section of the International.

In Switzerland, the secessionists have it just as tough. It is known that the Jura Federation was, from time immemorial, the soul of all secessionism [Sonderbündlerei] in the International. Already at the Hague Congress its delegates declared that they represented the true majority of the International and would prove it at the next congress. But time is the best adviser, even to those who blow their own trumpet. On April 27 and 28, the Jura Federation held its congress in Neuchâtel. It transpires from the proceedings that

\[\text{\textsuperscript{a}}\] "Report of the British Federal Congress, held at Manchester, June 1 and 2, 1873", General and British Federative Rules of the International Working Men's Association, together with a Report of the Second Annual Congress of the British Federation, held at Manchester, June 1st & 2nd, 1873 [London, 1873]. The resolutions of the congress mentioned below were also published in that volume.—Ed.
the federation has eleven Swiss sections, out of which nine were represented. The report of the committee does not say a single word on the situation in these eleven sections, on their strength, etc.; on the other hand it declares that the whole International is, so to speak, solidly behind their secessionism.\footnote{a} Now, will this enormous majority come out at the next general congress and overturn the decisions of the Hague Congress? No, not exactly. On the contrary, the same committee proposes—and these “autonomous” delegates immediately accept the proposal: Lest the new congress should again fall in the dangerous errors of the Hague Congress, the secessionist federations should hold their own congress in some Swiss city and recognise no congress that might be convened by the New York General Council.

The Hague Congress expressly instructed the General Council to select a Swiss city in which to hold the next congress.\footnote{b} The decision of the Jura Federation thus signifies nothing but yet another climb-down hiding behind loud phrases.

In fact, it was time for these gentlemen to cover their rear. On June 1 and 2—fatal days for the secessionists—the congress of Swiss workers was held at Olten. Out of 80 delegates, there were five (!) Jurassians. It was proposed to found a centralised Swiss workers’ union.

The five delegates from Jura\footnote{c} countered with a proposal for an artificial federal system limited by all sorts of provisos which would have made the whole organisation ineffective. As they were in a hopeless minority, they set to the work of wasting other people’s time, just as in The Hague. The congress lost the whole Sunday debating this so-called “fundamental issue”. Finally, the majority found itself compelled, just as in The Hague, to shut these tiresome talkers up, in order to get to work. On Monday it was simply decided to found a centralised union, whereupon the five preachers read out a meaningless statement, left the hall and went home. And these people, these complete nothings in their own land, have for years proclaimed their vocation to reorganise the International!

Well, it never rains but it pours. In Italy, where the anarchists of the secessionist variety are lording it for the present, one of them, Crescio of Piacenza, sent his new paper \textit{L’Avvenire Sociale} (The

\footnote{a}{Le Congrès Jurassien, des 27 et 28 avril 1873', \textit{Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...}, No. 9, May 1, 1873.—Ed.}
\footnote{b}{See this volume, p. 253.—Ed.}
\footnote{c}{J. L. Pindy, J. Guillaume, L. Schwitzguébel, Ch. Gameter, H. Wenker.—Ed.}
Social Future) to Garibaldi, who, as these gentlemen constantly claim, is one of them. The paper was full of angry invective against what they call "the authoritarian principle", which in their view is at the root of all evil. Garibaldi replied:

"Dear Crescio, hearty thanks, etc. You intend, in your paper, to make war upon untruth and slavery. That is a very fine programme, but I believe that the International, in fighting against the principle of authority, makes a mistake and obstructs its own progress. The Paris Commune fell because there was in Paris no authority but only anarchy."\(^{a}\)

This veteran fighter for freedom who achieved more in one year—i.e., 1860—than all the anarchists will ever attempt in the course of their life, places a great value on discipline because he himself had to discipline his troops, and he did it not like the official soldiers, by drill and the threat of the firing-squad, but when facing the enemy.

Unfortunately we have not yet come to the end of the list of mishaps which the secessionists had to endure. Only one thing was still missing and that too took place. The Neuer, whose police nose had long since caught the peculiar smell of these arch mischief-makers of the International, now supports them whole-heartedly. In issue 68 the paper states\(^{b}\) that the rules drafted by the Belgians—\(^{319}\)—who had in fact left the International—completely correspond to its views and holds out the prospect of its joining the secessionists. Thus all our wishes have been fulfilled. When Hasselmann and Hasenclever appear at the secessionist congress, this separatist organisation will acquire its true character. On the right Bakunin, on the left Hasenclever and in the middle the hapless Belgians, who are led by the nose of their Proudhonist phrases!

Written on June 19-20, 1873
First published in Der Volksstaat, No. 53, July 2, 1873
Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English in full for the first time

\(^{a}\) G. Garibaldi, "Caro Crescio", La Favilla, No. 134, June 5, 1873 (cf. this volume, pp. 453 and 504).—Ed.

\(^{b}\) "Internationale Arbeiterassoziation", Neuer Social-Demokrat, No. 68, June 18, 1873.—Ed.
I heard Renan's alleged discoveries, e.g., with regard to the exact dating, to the month, of the composition of the so-called Revelation of St. John, the solution of the mystical number 666=Népων Καϊσαρ and its confirmation by the variant 616=Nero Caesar, etc., etc., in Berlin in the winter term of 1841-42 at Professor Ferdinand Benary's lecture on the Apocalypse. Only Benary, the real solver of the mystical number, was honest enough to admit how much he owed to his predecessors, while Mr. Renan, here as elsewhere, simply appropriates for himself the results of a protracted development in German science.

Written between July 5 and mid-July 1873
First published in Kölnische Zeitung, No. 197 (First Instalment), July 18, 1873
Printed according to the newspaper
Published in English for the first time

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a E. Renan, L'Antéchrist, Paris, 1873.—Ed.
Frederick Engels

[COMMENT UPON GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI'S LETTER TO PROSPERO CRESCIO]³²¹

My dear Crescio,

Hearty thanks for sending to me your Avvenire Sociale which I shall read with interest.

You intend, in your paper, to make war upon untruth and slavery. That is a very fine programme, but I believe that the International, in fighting against the principle of authority, makes a mistake and obstructs its own progress. The Paris Commune fell because there was in Paris no authority but only anarchy. Spain and France are suffering from the same evil.

I wish success to the Avvenire, and,

Remain yours,

G. Garibaldi.

It is necessary to explain that "the International" which Garibaldi evidently has in mind's eye is the Italian portion of the Association, the majority of which is, upon this very question of authority, in rebellion against the General Council. Garibaldi's censure of the "anti-authoritists" as they call themselves, is, therefore, a justification of the attitude which the Association generally, holds on this question.

Written between July 7 and 12, 1873

Reproduced from the newspaper

First published in The Eastern Post, No. 250, July 13, 1873

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³²¹ G. Garibaldi, "Caro Crescio", La Favilla, No. 134, June 5, 1873.— Ed.
Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

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

REPORT AND DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED BY DECISION
OF THE HAGUE CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL

I

INTRODUCTION

The International Working Men's Association, in setting itself the aim of rallying under one banner the scattered forces of the world proletariat and thus becoming the living representative of the community of interests that unites the workers, was bound to open its doors to socialists of all shades. Its founders and the representatives of the workers' organisations of the Old and New worlds who at international congresses sanctioned the General Rules of the Association, forgot that the very scope of its programme would allow the declassed elements* to worm their way in and establish, at its very heart, secret organisations whose efforts, instead of being directed against the bourgeoisie and the existing governments, would be turned against the International itself. Such has been the case with the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.

At the Hague Congress, the General Council demanded an inquiry into this secret organisation. The Congress entrusted the

* In French the déclassés are people of the propertied classes who were ousted or who broke away from that class without thereby becoming proletarians, such as business adventurers, rogues and gamblers, most of them professional literati or politicians, etc. The proletariat, too, has its déclassé elements; they make up the lumpenproletariat. [Engel's note to the 1874 German edition.]
L'ALLIANCE
DE LA
DÉMOCRATIE SOCIALISTE
ET
L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE
DES TRAVAILLEURS.

RAPPORT ET DOCUMENTS PUBLIÉS PAR ORDRE DU
CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DE LA HAYE.

LONDRES :
A. DARSON, SUCCESSEUR DE FOUCAULT,
46B, RATHBONE PLACE, OXFORD ST.

HAMBourg :
EN VENTE CHEZ OTTO MEISSNER.

1873.

PRICE TWO SHILLINGS.

Title page of Marx and Engels' pamphlet *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association*
task to a commission of five (citizens Cuno, Lucaïn, Splingard, Vichard and Walter, who resigned), which delivered its report at the session of September 7. The Congress passed the following resolution:

1. To expel from the International Mikhail Bakunin, as founder of the Alliance and also for an act committed on his own behalf;
2. To expel James Guillaume, as a member of the Alliance;
3. To publish the documents relating to the Alliance.

Since its members are scattered over various countries, the Commission of Inquiry into the Alliance was unable to publish the documents which were the basis of its report, and so Citizen Vichart, the only member resident in London, sent them to the protocol commission, which is now publishing them, on its own responsibility, in the ensuing report.

The file on the Alliance was so voluminous that the commission sitting during the Congress only had time to familiarise itself with the most important documents in order to arrive at a practical conclusion; thus, most of the Russian material could not be submitted to it; and the report presented by it to the Congress, since it only covered part of the question, can no longer be considered adequate. We have therefore been obliged to give a history of the Alliance so that the reader will be able to understand the meaning and importance of these documents.

The documents published by us belong to several categories. Some have already been published separately and mostly in French, but to understand the spirit of the Alliance properly, they must be compared with others, since, collated in this way, they appear in a new light. One of them is the programme of the public Alliance. Other documents belong to the International and are being published for the first time; still others belong to the Spanish branch of the secret Alliance, whose existence was publicly disclosed in the spring of 1872 by members of the Alliance. Anyone who has followed the Spanish movement during this period will only find more detailed information on facts which have already been made more or less public. These documents are important, not because they are being published for the first time, but because it is the first time that they have been compared in such a manner as to reveal the common secret action from which

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a "Rapport de la commission d'enquête sur la Société l'Alliance", La Liberté, No. 37, September 15, 1872.—Ed.

b See this volume, pp. 577-78.—Ed.

c The original mistakenly has: "1871".—Ed.
they originated, and above all because we are comparing them with the two categories of documents which follow. The first consists of documents published in Russian which disclose the true programme and methods of the Alliance. These documents, thanks to the language which protected them, remained hitherto unknown in the West, and this circumstance made it possible for the authors to give free rein to their imagination and their language. The faithful translations furnished by us will allow the reader to gauge the intellectual, moral, political and economic worth of the Alliance's leaders.

The second category consists of a single document: the Alliance's secret statutes; it is the only document of any substantial length that is being published, for the first time, in this report. It may be asked whether revolutionaries are permitted to publish the statutes of a secret society, of a supposed conspiracy. First, these secret statutes were expressly named among the documents whose publication was demanded at the Hague Congress by the Alliance commission and none of the delegates, not even the member constituting the minority of the commission,\(^a\) voted against this. This publication has therefore been formally ordered by the Congress, whose instructions we must carry out; but it is essential to point out the following:

Here we have a society which, under the mask of the most extreme anarchism, directs its blows not against the existing governments but against the revolutionaries who accept neither its dogma nor its leadership. Founded by a minority at a bourgeois congress,\(^b\) it infiltrates the ranks of the international organisation of the working class, at first attempts to dominate it and, when this plan fails, sets to work to disorganise it. It brazenly substitutes its sectarian programme and narrow ideas for the broad programme and great aspirations of our Association; it organises within the public sections of the International its own little secret sections which obey the same instructions and in a good many instances succeed in gaining control of the public sections by prearranged action; in its newspapers it publicly attacks all those who refuse to submit to its will, and by its own avowal provokes open warfare within our ranks. It resorts to any means, any disloyalty to achieve its ends; lies, slander, intimidation, the stab in the back—it finds them all equally suitable. Finally, in Russia it substitutes itself entirely for the International and commits, in its name, crimes against the common law, acts of fraud and an assassination for

\(^a\) Splingard.— *Ed.*
which the government and bourgeois press has blamed our Association. And the International must remain silent about all these acts because the society responsible for them is secret! The International has in its possession the statutes of this society, which is its mortal enemy; statutes in which it openly proclaims itself a modern Society of Jesus and declares that it has the right and the duty to practise all the methods employed by the Jesuits; statutes that explain in a flash the whole series of hostile acts to which the International has been subjected from this quarter; but the International must not make use of these statutes—that would be denouncing a secret society!

There is only one means of combating all these intrigues, but it will prove astonishly effective; this means is complete publicity. Exposure of all these schemings in their entirety will render them utterly powerless. To protect them with our silence would be not only an act of naïveté that the leaders of the Alliance would be the first to ridicule; it would be sheer cowardice. What is more, it would be an act of treachery towards those Spanish members of the International who, while belonging to the secret Alliance, have not hesitated to divulge its existence and its mode of action, since it has set itself up in open hostility to the International. Besides, all that is contained in the secret statutes is to be found, in much more emphatic form, in the documents published in Russian by Bakunin and Nechayev themselves. The statutes are but their confirmation.

Let the ringleaders of the Alliance cry out that they have been denounced. We deliver them up to the scorn of the workers and the benevolence of the governments whom they have served so well in disorganising the proletarian movement. The Zurich Tagwacht, in a reply to Bakunin, had every right to say:

“If you are not a paid agent, the one thing quite certain is that a paid agent would never have succeeded in doing as much harm as you.”

II

THE SECRET ALLIANCE

The Alliance of Socialist Democracy is entirely bourgeois in origin. It did not emerge from the International; it is the

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*a “Diese Anmerkungen...”, an editorial note to Bakunin’s letter “An die Redaktion der Tagwacht in Zürich” of February 14, 1872, Die Tagwacht, No. 11, March 16, 1872.— Ed.*
offspring of the League of Peace and Freedom, a still-born bourgeois republican society. The International was already firmly established when Mikhail Bakunin took it into his head to play the part of the proletariat's emancipator. The International only offered him a field of activity common to all its members. In order to secure advancement there, he would have had to win his spurs by dint of hard and dedicated work; he thought he would find a better opportunity and an easier path on the side of the bourgeois members of the League.

Thus, in September 1867, he had himself elected member of the Permanent Committee of the League of Peace, and he took his part seriously; it could even be said that he and Barni, now a deputy at Versailles, were the life and soul of this committee. Posing as theoretician of the League, Bakunin was to have published under its auspices a work entitled *Le fédéralisme, le socialisme et l'anti-théologisme.* However, he soon realised that the League was still an insignificant society and that the liberals of which it was composed only saw in its congresses a means of combining pleasure trips with high-flown harangues, while the International, in contrast, was growing from day to day. He now dreamed of grafting the League onto the International. To put this plan into practice, Bakunin, on Elpidin's introduction, had himself accepted in July 1868 as member of the Geneva Central Section; on the other hand, he got the League Committee to adopt a proposal suggesting that the International Congress of Brussels should form a pact of offensive and defensive alliance between the two societies; and in order that the League's Congress should sanction this fiery initiative, he drew up, and then made the Committee endorse and distribute, a confidential circular to the "Gentlemen" of the League. In it, he admitted frankly that the League, hitherto a hopeless farce, could not gain in importance except by opposing the alliance of the oppressors with

"the alliance of the peoples, the alliance of the workers ... we will not become anything unless we wish to be the sincere and serious representatives of millions of workers."

The providential mission of the holy League was to present a bourgeois parliament, nominated by itself, to the working class, which was invited to entrust this body with its political management.

* This bible of isms was discontinued by the third sheet owing to lack of copy.
"In order to become a beneficial and real power," concludes the circular, "our League must become the pure political expression of the great economic and social interests and principles which are triumphantly developed and propagated today by the great International Association of the Working Men of Europe and America."

The Congress of Brussels had the temerity to reject the League's proposition.326 Bakunin's disappointment and fury knew no bounds. On the one hand, the International was slipping out of his protection. On the other, the League's chairman, Professor Gustav Vogt, read him a stern lecture.

"Either you were not sure," he wrote to Bakunin, "of the effect of our invitation, in which case you have compromised our League; or you knew what a surprise your friends of the International had in store for us, in which case you have most infamously deceived us. I ask you what we are going to tell our Congress..." 327

Bakunin replied in a letter which anyone was invited to read.

"I could not have foreseen," he said, "that the Congress of the International would reply with an insult as gross as it was pretentious, but this is due to the intrigues of a certain clique of Germans who detest the Russians" (verbally, he explained to his audience that this clique was Marx's). "You ask me what we are going to do. I earnestly request the honour of replying to this gross insult on behalf of the Committee, from the platform of our Congress."

Instead of keeping his word, Bakunin changed his tune. He proposed to the League's Berne Congress a programme of fantasy socialism in which he called for equalisation of classes and individuals,a in order to outdo the ladies of the League who had hitherto only demanded equalisation of the sexes. Defeated again, he left the Congress with an insignificant minority and went to Geneva.*

The alliance of bourgeois and workers dreamed of by Bakunin was not to be limited to a public alliance. The secret statutes of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Documents, No. 1b) contain indications which make it clear that, in the very heart of the League, Bakunin had laid the foundations for the secret society which was to control it. Not only are the names of the governing

* Among the secessionists, we find the names of Albert Richard from Lyons, now an agent of the Bonapartist police; Gambuzzi, a Neapolitan lawyer (see the chapter on Italy); Zhukovsky, later secretary of the public Alliance; and a certain Buttner, a Geneva tinsmith, who now belongs to the ultra-reactionary party.

a Discours de Bakounine et de Mroczkowski au deuxième Congrès de la Paix, à Berne, Kolokol, No. 14/15, December 1, 1868.— Ed.
b See this volume, p. 571.— Ed.
bodies identical to those of the League (Permanent Central Committee, Central Bureau, National Committees), but the secret statutes declare that the "majority of the founder members of the Alliance" are "former members of the Berne Congress". In order to win recognition for himself as head of the International, he had to present himself as head of another army whose absolute devotion to him was to be ensured by a secret organisation. After having openly planted his society in the International, he counted on extending its ramifications into all sections and on taking over absolute control by this means. With this aim, he founded the (public) Alliance of Socialist Democracy in Geneva. Ostensibly, this was only a public society which, although entirely absorbed by the International, was, however, to have a separate international organisation, a central committee, national bureaux, and sections independent of our Association; alongside our annual Congress, the Alliance was to hold its own publicly. But this public Alliance covered another which, in its turn, was controlled by the even more secret Alliance of the international brethren, the Bodyguard Hundred of the dictator Bakunin.

The secret statutes of the "organisation of the Alliance of the international brethren" indicate that in this Alliance there were "three grades: I. The international brethren; II. the national brethren; III. the half-secret, half-public organisation of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy".

I. The international brethren, whose number is limited to a "hundred", form the college of cardinals. They are subordinate to a central committee and to national committees organised into executive bureaux and supervisory committees. These committees are themselves responsible to the "constituent", or general, assembly of at least two-thirds of the international brethren. These members of the Alliance

"have no homeland other than the world revolution, no foreign land and no enemy other than the reaction. They reject any policy of negotiation and concession, and regard as reactionary any political movement which does not have as its immediate and direct goal the triumph of their principles".

But since this article relegates to the Greek Calends the political action of the Hundred, and since these irreconcilable ones do not intend to renounce the advantages attached to public functions, Article 8 reads:

"No brother shall accept a public post except with the consent of the Committee to which he belongs."
We shall see, when we come to discuss Spain and Italy, how the leaders of the Alliance hastened to implement this article in practice. The international brethren

"are brethren ... each of whom must be sacred to all the others, more sacred than a blood brother. Each brother shall be helped and protected by all the others to the limits of the possible."

The Nechayev affair will show us what this mysterious limit of the possible is.

"All the international brethren know one another. No political secret must ever exist among them. None may take part in any secret society whatever without the positive consent of his Committee and, if necessary, should the latter so demand, without that of the Central Committee. And he may take part only on condition that he reveals to them all the secrets that could interest them directly or indirectly."

The Pietris and the Stiebers only use inferior or lost people as informers; but by sending their false brethren into secret societies to betray secrets of the latter, the Alliance imposes the role of spy on the very men who, according to its plan, should take control of the "world revolution". Moreover, the revolutionary buffoon crowns the ignoble with the grotesque.

"Only he may become an international brother who has sincerely accepted all the programme in all its consequences, theoretical and practical, and who adds revolutionary passion to intelligence, energy, honesty" (!) "and discretion—he who has the devil in his flesh."

II. The national brethren are organised in each country as a national association by the international brethren and under the same plan, but in no case should they suspect even the existence of an international organisation.

III. The Secret International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, whose members are recruited everywhere, has a legislative body in the Permanent Central Committee which, when it meets, christens itself the General Secret Assembly of the Alliance. This meeting takes place once a year during the Congress of the International, or, in special cases, when convoked by the Central Bureau or else by the Geneva Central Section.

The *Geneva Central Section* is the "permanent delegation of the permanent Central Committee", and the "Executive Council of the Alliance". It is subdivided into the *Central Bureau* and the *Supervisory Committee*. The Central Bureau, consisting of 3 to 7 members, is the real executive power of the Alliance:

"it will receive its guidance from the Geneva Central Section and will pass on its communications, not to say its secret orders, to all the National Committees, from which it will receive secret reports at least once a month."
This Central Bureau has found a way of having its cake and eating it, of being secret and public at the same time; for, as part of the

"secret central section, the Central Bureau shall be a secret organisation ... as the executive directorate of the public Alliance, it shall be a public organisation".

And so it can be seen that Bakunin had already organised all the secret and public direction of his "dear Alliance" even before it existed, and that the members who took part in any election were only puppets in a play staged by himself. Moreover, he did not hesitate to say so, as we shall soon see.—The Geneva Central Section, whose task was to guide the Central Bureau, was itself only part of the comedy; for its decisions, although settled by majority vote, were only binding on the Bureau if the majority of its members did not wish to appeal against them to the general assembly, which it must convocate at three weeks' notice.

"To be regular, the General Assembly, when thus convoked, must be composed of two-thirds of all its members."

It can be seen that the Central Bureau had surrounded itself with all the constitutional guarantees necessary to ensure its independence.

One might be naive enough to believe that this autonomous Central Bureau had at least been freely elected by the Geneva Central Section. Nothing of the kind. The provisional Central Bureau had been

"presented to the Geneva initiating group as provisionally elected by all the founder members of the Alliance, of whom the majority, as former members of the Berne Congress, have returned to their countries" (except for Bakunin) "after having delegated their powers to Citizen B."

The founder members of the Alliance were thus nothing more than a few bourgeois secessionists from the League of Peace.

In this way, the Permanent Central Committee, which had annexed the constituent and legislative power over the whole Alliance, was nominated by itself. The permanent executive delegation of this Permanent Central Committee, the Geneva Central Section, was nominated by itself and not by this Committee. The Central Executive Bureau of this Geneva Central Section, instead of being elected by it, was imposed on it by a group of individuals who had all "delegated their powers to Citizen B."
And so "Citizen B." is the pivot of the Alliance. To retain his pivotal function, the secret statutes of the Alliance say literally:

"Its ostensible form of government will be that of a presidency in a federative republic";—

a presidency prior to which the president already existed in permanent "Citizen B."

Since the Alliance is an international society, each country is to have a National Committee formed

"of all the members of the Permanent Central Committee who belong to the same nation".

It only requires three members to constitute a National Committee. To ensure the regularity of the hierarchical ladder,

"the National Committees will serve as the sole intermediaries between the Central Bureau and all the local groups of their country".

The National Committees

"shall have the task of organising the Alliance in their countries so that it shall always be dominated and represented at the Congresses by members of the Permanent Central Committee".

This is what is known in the language of the Alliance as organising from the bottom to the top. These local groups only have the right to approach the National Committees with their programmes and rules so that they might be submitted

"for confirmation by the Central Bureau, without which the local groups cannot belong to the Alliance".

Once this despotic and hierarchic secret organisation had been injected into the International, all that remained to finish matters was to disorganise it. All it needed for this was to anarchise and autonomise its sections and transform its central organs into simple letter-boxes—"correspondence and statistical bureaus"—as was, indeed, attempted later.

The list of revolutionary services rendered by permanent "Citizen B." was not so glorious that he could hope to make permanent in the secret Alliance, much less in the public one, the dictatorship which he had appropriated for his own convenience. He therefore had to hide it under democratic-sounding humbug. And so the secret statutes prescribe that the provisional Central Bureau (for which read the permanent citizen) will function until the Alliance's first public general assembly, which would nominate the members of the new Permanent Central Bureau. But
“as it is urgent that the Central Bureau should always consist of members of the Permanent Central Committee, this latter, through the organ of its National Committees, will take care to organise and direct all the local groups in such a way that they will delegate to this assembly only members of the Permanent Central Committee or, failing them, men absolutely devoted to the leadership of their respective National Committees, so that the Permanent Central Committee should always have the upper hand in the entire organisation of the Alliance”.

These instructions were not given by a Bonapartist minister or prefect on the eve of the elections, but, in order to ensure his permanence, by the anti-authoritarian, quintessential, immense anarchist, the archpriest of the organisation from bottom to top, the Bayard of the autonomy of sections and the free federation of autonomous groups—Saint-Michael Bakunin.

So far we have analysed the secret organisation designed to perpetuate the dictatorship of “Citizen B.”; now let us deal with his programme.

“The association of international brethren aims for a universal revolution, simultaneously social, philosophical, economic and political, so that of the present order of things—based on private property, exploitation, and the principle of authority, whether religious, metaphysical, bourgeois-doctrinaire, or even Jacobin-revolutionary—not a stone shall remain standing, first in all Europe and then throughout the rest of the world. With the cry of peace for the workers, liberty for all the oppressed and death to the rulers, exploiters and guardians of all kinds, we seek to destroy all states and all churches along with all their institutions and laws, religious, political, juridical, financial, police, university, economic and social, so that all these millions of poor human beings, deceived, enslaved, tormented and exploited, delivered from all their directors and benefactors, official and officious, collective and individual, may breathe at last with complete freedom.”

Here indeed we have revolutionary revolutionism! The first condition for the achievement of this astounding goal is to refuse to fight the existing states and governments with the means employed by ordinary revolutionaries, but on the contrary to hurl resounding, grandiloquent phrases at

“the institution of the State and that which is both its consequence and basis—i.e., private property”.

Thus it is not the Bonapartist State, the Prussian or Russian State that has to be overthrown, but an abstract State, the State as such, a State that nowhere exists. But while the international brethren in their desperate struggle against this State that is situated somewhere in the clouds know how to avoid the truncheons, the prison and the bullets that real states deal out to ordinary revolutionaries, we see on the other hand that they have reserved themselves the right, subject only to papal dispensation, to profit by all the advantages offered by these real bourgeois
states. Fanelli, an Italian deputy, Soriano, an employee of the government of Amadeus of Savoy, and perhaps Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc, Bonapartist police agents, show how amenable the Pope is in this respect... That is why the police shows so little concern over "the Alliance or, to put it frankly, the conspiracy" of Citizen B. against the abstract idea of the state.

The first act of the revolution, then, must be to decree the abolition of the state, as Bakunin did on September 28 in Lyons, despite the fact that this abolition of the state is of necessity an authoritarian act. By the state he means all political power, revolutionary or reactionary,

"for it matters little to us that this authority calls itself church, monarchy, constitutional state, bourgeois republic, or even revolutionary dictatorship. We detest them and we reject them all alike as infallible sources of exploitation and despotism".

And he goes on to declare that all the revolutionaries who, on the day after the revolution, want "construction of a revolutionary state" are far more dangerous than all the existing governments put together, and that

"we, the international brethren, are the natural enemies of these revolutionaries"

because to disorganise the revolution is the first duty of the international brethren.

The reply to this bragging about the immediate abolition of the state and the establishment of anarchy has already been given in the last General Council's private circular on "Fictitious Splits in the International", of March 1872, page 37:

"Anarchy, then, is the great war-horse of their master Bakunin, who has taken nothing from the socialist systems except a set of labels. All socialists see anarchy as the following programme: once the aim of the proletarian movement, i.e., abolition of classes, is attained, the power of the State, which serves to keep the great majority of producers in bondage to a very small exploiter minority, disappears, and the functions of government become simple administrative functions. The Alliance reverses the whole process. It proclaims anarchy in proletarian ranks as the most infallible means of breaking the powerful concentration of social and political forces in the hands of the exploiters. Under this pretext, it asks the International, at a time when the old world is seeking a way of crushing it, to replace its organisation with anarchy."

\[a\] See this volume, pp. 121-22.—\textit{Ed.}
Let us see, however, just what the consequences of the anarchist gospel are; let us suppose the state has been abolished by decree. According to Article 6, the consequences of this act will be: the bankruptcy of the state, an end to the payment of private debts by the intervention of the state, an end to the payment of all taxes and all contributions, the dissolution of the army, the magistrature, the bureaucracy, the police and the clergy (!); the abolition of official justice, accompanied by an auto-da-fé of all title-deeds and all judicial and civil junk, the confiscation of all productive capital and instruments of labour for the benefit of the workers' associations and an alliance of these associations, which "will form the Commune". This Commune will give individuals thus dispossessed the strict necessaries of life, while granting them freedom to earn more by their own labour.

What happened at Lyons has proved that merely decreeing the abolition of the state is far from sufficient to accomplish all these fine promises. Two companies of the bourgeois National Guards proved quite sufficient, on the other hand, to shatter this splendid dream and send Bakunin hurrying back to Geneva with the miraculous decree in his pocket. Naturally he could not imagine his supporters to be so stupid that they need not be given some sort of plan of organisation that would put his decree into practical effect. Here is the plan:

"For the organisation of the Commune—a federation of permanently acting barricades and the functioning of a Council of the Revolutionary Commune by the delegation of one or two deputies from each barricade, and one per street, or per block, these deputies being invested with imperative mandates and always responsible and revocable at any time" (odd barricades, these barricades of the Alliance, where instead of fighting they spend their time writing mandates). "The Commune Council, thus organised, will be able to elect from its membership special Executive Committees for each branch of the revolutionary administration of the Commune."

The insurgent capital, thus constituted as a Commune, then proclaims to the other communes of the country that it renounces all claim to govern them; it invites them to reorganise themselves in a revolutionary way and then to send their responsible and recallable deputies, vested with their imperative mandates, to an agreed place where they will set up a federation of insurgent associations, communes and provinces and organise a revolutionary force capable of triumphing over reaction. This organisation will not be confined to the communes of the insurgent country; other provinces or countries will be able to take part in it, while

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a See pp. 575-76 of this volume.—Ed.
"the provinces, communes, associations and individuals that side with the reaction shall be debarred from it".

So the abolition of frontiers goes hand in hand with the most benevolent tolerance towards the reactionary provinces, which would not hesitate to resume the civil war.

Thus in this anarchistic organisation of the tribune-barricades we have first the Commune Council, then the executive committees which, to be able to be anything at all, must be vested with some power and supported by a public force; this is to be followed by nothing short of a federal parliament, whose principal object will be to organise this public force. Like the Commune Council, this parliament will have to assign executive power to one or more committees which by this act alone will be given an authoritarian character that the demands of the struggle will increasingly accentuate. We are thus confronted with a perfect reconstruction of all the elements of the "authoritarian State"; and the fact that we call this machine a "revolutionary Commune organised from bottom to top", makes little difference. The name changes nothing of the substance; organisation from bottom to top exists in any bourgeois republic and imperative mandates date from the Middle Ages. Indeed Bakunin himself admits as much when (in Article 8) he describes his organisation as a "new revolutionary State".

As for the practical value of this plan of revolution with its talking instead of fighting, we shall say nothing.

Now we shall reveal the secret of all the Alliance's double and triple-bottomed boxes. To make sure that the orthodox programme is adhered to and that anarchy behaves itself properly,

"it is necessary that in the midst of popular anarchy, which will constitute the very life and energy of the revolution, unity of revolutionary idea and action should find an organ. This organ must be the secret and world association of the international brethren.

"This association proceeds from the conviction that revolutions are never made either by individuals or by secret societies. They come about, as it were, of their own accord, produced by the force of things, by the course of events and facts. They are prepared over a long time deep in the instinctive consciousness of the popular masses, and then they flare up.... All that a well-organised secret society can do is, first, to assist in the birth of the revolution by spreading among the masses ideas corresponding to their instincts, and to organise, not the army of the revolution—the army must always be the people" (cannon fodder), "but a revolutionary General Staff composed of devoted, energetic, intelligent and above all sincere friends of the people, who are not ambitious or vain, and who are capable of serving as intermediaries between the revolutionary idea" (monopolised by them) "and the popular instincts."

\* See p. 576 of this volume.—Ed.
"The number of these individuals should not, therefore, be too large. For the international organisation in the whole of Europe a hundred firmly and seriously united revolutionaries would be sufficient. Two or three hundred revolutionaries would be enough for the organisation of the biggest country."

So everything changes. Anarchy, the "unleashing of popular life", of "evil passions" and all the rest is no longer enough. To assure the success of the revolution one must have unity of thought and action. The members of the International are trying to create this unity by propaganda, by discussion and the public organisation of the proletariat. But all Bakunin needs is a secret organisation of one hundred people, the privileged representatives of the revolutionary idea, the general staff in the background, self-appointed and commanded by the permanent "Citizen B". Unity of thought and action means nothing but orthodoxy and blind obedience. Perinde ac cadaver. We are indeed confronted with a veritable Society of Jesus.

To say that the hundred international brethren must "serve as intermediaries between the revolutionary idea and the popular instincts", is to create an unbridgeable gulf between the Alliance's revolutionary idea and the proletarian masses; it means proclaiming that these hundred guardsmen cannot be recruited anywhere but from among the privileged classes.

III

THE ALLIANCE IN SWITZERLAND

The Alliance, like Falstaff, found that "the better part of valour is discretion". Also, the "devil in the flesh" of the international brethren did not prevent them from deferring humbly in every way to the power of the existing States, while protesting vigorously against the institution of the abstract State; but he directed their attacks solely against the International. First, they wanted to dominate it. Having failed to do so, they tried to disorganise it. We shall now show their activities in the different countries.

The international brethren were merely a general staff in the reserve: they lacked an army. They considered the International created to that end. If they were to be allowed to take command

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a "Be like unto a corpse." The phrase used by St. Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus, to formulate the Jesuit principle imposing unquestioning obedience on the junior members of the Society.—Ed.

b W. Shakespeare, King Henry IV, Part I, Act 5, Scene 4.—Ed.
of an army, they had to insinuate the public Alliance into the International. Fearing that the former might lose face if they applied to the General Council for admission, which would be tantamount to recognising its authority, they approached the Belgian and Paris Federal Councils several times and without success. These repeated refusals forced the Alliance to ask the General Council, on December 15, 1868, for affiliation.\textsuperscript{a} They sent their statutes and their programme in which they openly announced their intentions (Documents, No. 2\textsuperscript{b}). Although the Alliance declared itself “entirely absorbed by the International” it aspired to form a second international corps within the International. Alongside the International’s General Council, elected by the Congresses, there was to be the Alliance’s Central Committee, which would sit at Geneva and would be self-nominated; alongside the International’s local groups, there would be the Alliance’s local groups which, through the intermediary of their national bureaux, functioning outside the national bureaux of the International, “would apply to the Alliance’s Central Bureau for their admission into the International”. The Central Bureau of the Alliance was, then, appropriating the right of admittance to the International. Alongside the Congresses of the International, there were to be the Congresses of the Alliance, for “during the annual working men’s Congresses, the Alliance’s delegation” aspired to hold “its public sittings in separate premises”.

On December 22, the General Council (in a letter published in its circular: \textit{Fictitious Splits in the International}, p. 7\textsuperscript{c}) stating that these aspirations were in flagrant contradiction to the International’s rules, flatly rejected the affiliation of the Alliance. Several months later, the Alliance again applied to the General Council and demanded to know whether its principles were acceptable or not. In case of an affirmative answer, it declared itself prepared to dissolve and break up into simple sections of the International. On March 9, 1869, the General Council (see \textit{Fictitious Splits in the International}, p. 8\textsuperscript{d}) replied that for it to pronounce on the scientific value of the Alliance’s programme would be to exceed its functions, and that if “equalisation of classes” was replaced by “abolition of classes”, there would be no obstacle to converting the sections of the Alliance into sections of the International. It added:

\textsuperscript{a} The Alliance’s address was dated November 29, 1868; on December 15 it was discussed in the General Council of the International.—\textit{Ed.}

\textsuperscript{b} See this volume, pp. 577-78.—\textit{Ed.}

\textsuperscript{c} Ibid., pp. 86-87.—\textit{Ed.}

\textsuperscript{d} Ibid., pp. 88-89.—\textit{Ed.}
“The dissolution of the Alliance and the entrance of its sections into the International once settled, it would, according to our Regulations, become necessary to inform the Council of the seat and the numerical strength of each new section.”

On June 22, 1869, the Geneva section of the Alliance announced to the General Council as a fait accompli the dissolution of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, all of whose sections had been invited “to transform themselves into the International sections”. After this explicit declaration, and misled by some signatures on the programme which gave the impression that the Alliance had been recognised by the Romance Federal Committee, the General Council admitted it. It should be added that not one of the conditions accepted had ever been fulfilled. Far from it: the secret organisation hidden behind the public Alliance now went into full action. Behind the International’s Geneva section was the Central Bureau of the secret Alliance; behind the International’s sections of Naples, Barcelona, Lyons and Jura hid the secret sections of the Alliance. Relying on this free-masonry, whose existence was suspected neither by the mass of the International’s membership nor by their administrative centres, Bakunin hoped to win control of the International at the Basle Congress in September 1869. At this Congress, thanks to its dishonest methods, the secret Alliance found itself represented by at least ten delegates, including the famous Albert Richard and Bakunin himself. They had brought with them a number of blank mandates which could not be used owing to the lack of reliable people, although they were offered to the Basle members of the International. Even this numerical strength, however, was not enough to make Congress sanction the abolition of the right of inheritance, that relic of Saint-Simon which Bakunin wanted to use as the practical point of departure for socialism329, much less was it able to impose on the Congress his dream of transferring the General Council from London to Geneva.

Meanwhile, there was open war in Geneva between the Romance Federal Committee, almost unanimously supported by the Geneva members of the International, and the Alliance. The latter’s allies in this war were Le Progrès of Locle edited by James Guillaume, and L’Égalité of Geneva which, although an official organ of the Romance Federal Committee, was edited by a committee which mainly consisted of the Alliance members and attacked the Romance Federal Committee at every possible opportunity. Without losing sight of its great aim—the transfer of the seat of the General Council to Geneva—the editorial board of
L'Égalité launched a campaign against the existing General Council and invited Le Travail of Paris to lend its support. In its circular of January 1, 1870, the General Council declared that it considered it unnecessary to enter into controversy with these newspapers. Meanwhile, the Romance Federal Committee had already removed the Alliance members from the editorial board of L'Égalité.

At this stage, the sect had not yet donned its anti-authoritarian mask. Believing that it would be able to take over the General Council, it was the first, at the Basle Congress, to put forward and edit the administrative resolutions conceding to the latter the "authoritarian powers" which it was to attack so violently two years later. Nothing gives a clearer picture of its idea of the General Council's authoritarian role than the following extract from Le Progrès of Locle edited by James Guillaume (December 4, 1869) concerning the conflict between the Social-Demokrat and Der Volksstaat:

"It seems to us that it should be the duty of our Association's General Council to intervene, to open an inquiry into what is happening in Germany, to decide between Schweitzer and Liebknecht, and thereby put a stop to the uncertainty into which we are thrown by this strange situation."

Is it possible to believe that this is the same Guillaume who, in a circular from Sonvillier on November 12, 1871, reproached this same General Council, which had not been authoritarian enough previously, for having "wanted to introduce the principle of authority into the International".

Ever since they began to appear, the Alliance's newspapers had not confined themselves to propagating its special programme, in which no one could have seen any harm; but they insisted on creating and interposing a premeditated confusion between its own programme and that of the International. This occurred wherever the Alliance was running, or collaborating with, a newspaper—in Spain, in Switzerland, in Italy; but it was in the Russian publications that the system reached perfection.

The sect struck a decisive blow during the Congress of the Romance Federation at La Chaux-de-Fonds (April 4, 1870). It was a matter of forcing the Geneva sections to recognise the public Alliance of Geneva as being part of the federation and of

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a K. Marx, The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland.—Ed.
b "On sait que la presque totalité", Le Progrès, No. 25, December 4, 1869.—Ed.
c Circulaire à toutes les fédérations de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, Sonvillier, le 12 novembre, 1871.—Ed.
transferring the Federal Committee and its organ to a locality in Jura where the secret Alliance was in control.

When the Congress opened, two delegates from the “Alliance section” asked to be admitted. The Geneva delegates proposed the deferment of this matter until the end of the Congress and the immediate discussion of the programme as more important. They declared that their imperative mandate ordered them to resign rather than admit this section to their group

“in view of the intrigues and domineering tendencies of the Alliance people, and because to vote for the admission of the Alliance would be to vote for a split in the Romance Federation”.

But the Alliance did not want to miss this opportunity. The proximity of the little Jura sections had enabled them to obtain a feeble fictitious majority, since Geneva and the big centres of the International were only very weakly represented. On the insistence of Guillaume and Schwitzguébel, the section was admitted by a majority contested by only one or two votes. The Geneva delegates received from all the sections, which were immediately consulted by telegraph, the order to withdraw from the Congress. With the International’s members at La Chaux-de-Fonds supporting the Genevans, the members of the Alliance had to leave the premises of the Congress, since they belonged to the local sections. Although, according to their own organ (see La Solidarité for May 7, 1870), they only represented fifteen sections, whereas Geneva alone had thirty, they usurped the name of the Romance Congress, nominated a new Romance Federal Committee, in which Chevalley and Cagnon* distinguished themselves, and promoted Guillaume’s La Solidarité to the rank of the Romance Federation’s organ. This young schoolmaster had the special mission of decrying “the factory workers” of Geneva, those odious “bourgeois”, of making war on L’Égalité, the newspaper of the Romance Federation, and of preaching absolute abstention in political matters. The most notable articles on this latter subject were written by Bastelica at Marseilles, and by the two pillars of the Alliance at Lyons, Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc.\footnote{a}

* Two months later, the organ of that same Committee, La Solidarité for July 9 warned that these two persons were thieves. They had in fact proved their anarchic revolutionism by robbing the Co-operative Association of Tailors at La Chaux-de-Fonds.

\footnote{a} A. Bastelica, “Mon cher Guillaume...”, La Solidarité, No. 5, May 7, 1870 and [A. Richard, G. Blanc], “La Commission fédérale”, La Solidarité, Nos. 3 and 5, April 23 and May 7, 1870.— Ed.
Incidentally, the short-lived and fictitious majority of the Congress at La Chaux-de-Fonds had acted in flagrant violation of the statutes of the Romance Federation which it claimed to represent; and it should be noted that the Alliance's leaders had played an important part in compiling these statutes. Under articles 53 and 55, any important decision by the Congress, to acquire force of law, had to be sanctioned by two-thirds of the federal sections. Now the sections of Geneva and La Chaux-de-Fonds alone, which had declared themselves opposed to the Alliance, constituted over two-thirds of the total number. At two big general meetings, the International's Geneva members, in spite of opposition from Bakunin and his friends, almost unanimously approved the conduct of their delegates who, to general applause, suggested to the Alliance that it should stay where it belonged and give up its ambitions of entering the Romance Federation; on this condition, reconciliation could be achieved. Later, some disillusioned members of the Alliance proposed its dissolution, but Bakunin and his acolytes opposed this with all their might. Nevertheless, the Alliance continued to insist on joining the Romance Federation, which was then forced to decide on the expulsion of Bakunin and the other ringleaders.

And so there were now two Romance Federal committees, one at Geneva, the other at La Chaux-de-Fonds. The vast majority of the sections remained loyal to the former, while the latter had a following of only fifteen sections, many of which, as we shall see later, ceased to exist one by one.

Hardly had the Romance Congress closed, when the new Committee at La Chaux-de-Fonds in a letter signed by F. Robert, secretary, and Henri Chevalley, chairman (see note above, p. 474), called for the intervention of the General Council. After examining the documents submitted by both sides, the General Council decided, on June 28, 1870, to let the Geneva Committee retain its old functions, and to invite the new Federal Committee of La Chaux-de-Fonds to adopt a local name. Disappointed in its hopes by this decision, the Committee of La Chaux-de-Fonds denounced the General Council for authoritarianism, forgetting that it had

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a Statuts pour la Fédération des Sections Romandes adoptés par le Congrès Romand, tenu à Genève au Cercle international des Quatre-Saisons, les 2, 3 et 4 janvier 1869, Geneva, pp. 15-16.— Ed.
b Of April 9 and 10, 1870.— Ed.
c K. Marx, General Council Resolution on the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland.— Ed.
been the first to ask for the latter's intervention. The trouble caused to the Swiss Federation by this persistence in trying to usurp the name of the Romance Federal Committee forced the General Council to suspend all official relations with the Committee of La Chaux-de-Fonds.

On September 4, 1870, the Republic was proclaimed in Paris. The Alliance felt that the hour had come to “unchain the revolutionary hydra in Switzerland” (Guillaume’s style). La Solidarité launched a manifesto demanding the formation of Swiss volunteers to fight the Prussians. This manifesto, if we are to believe the pedagogue Guillaume, although “in no way anonymous”, was nevertheless “unsigned”. Unfortunately, all the Alliance’s belligerent fervour evaporated after the seizure of the newspaper and the manifesto. “But I,” exclaimed the seething Guillaume, who was burning to “risk his neck”, “I have remained at my post ... by the newspaper’s printing press” (Bulletin jurassien, June 15, 1872).

The revolutionary movement in Lyons was just flaring up. Bakunin hastened to rejoin his lieutenant, Albert Richard, and his sergeants, Bastelica and Gaspard Blanc. On September 28, the day of his arrival, the people had occupied the Town Hall. Bakunin installed himself there. And then came the critical moment, moment anticipated for many years, when Bakunin could at last accomplish the most revolutionary act that the world had ever seen: he decreed the Abolition of the State. But the State, in the shape and form of two companies of bourgeois National Guards, made an entry through a door which had inadvertently been left unguarded, cleared the hall, and forced Bakunin to beat a hasty retreat to Geneva.

At the very moment when the belligerent Guillaume was defending the September Republic “at his post”, his faithful Achates, Robin, fled from this Republic and sought refuge in London. Although aware that he was one of the Alliance’s most fanatic supporters and, moreover, the author of the attacks launched against it in L’Égalité, and in spite of the reports from the Brest sections on Robin’s far from courageous conduct, the General Council accepted him owing to the absence of its French

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a [J. Guillaume,] “Le Conseil général...”, La Solidarité, No. 16, July 23, 1870.—_Ed._

b [J. Guillaume, G. Blanc,] “Manifeste aux sections de l’Internationale”, La Solidarité, No. 22, supplement, September 5, 1870.—_Ed._

c J. Guillaume, “Au Comité fédéral jurassien”, Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne..., No. 10/11, June 15, 1872.—_Ed._
members. From that moment on, Robin never ceased to act as the officious correspondent of the Committee of La Chaux-de-Fonds. On March 14, 1871, he proposed convoking a private conference of the International to clear up the Swiss dispute. The Council, realising in advance that great events were brewing in Paris, flatly refused. Robin made several more attempts and even proposed that the Council should make a definite decision on the dispute. On July 25, the General Council decided that this matter should be one of the questions submitted to the Conference which was to be convoked in September 1871.

On August 10, the Alliance, little desirous of seeing its activities scrutinised by a conference, announced that it had been dissolved as from the sixth of that month. However, reinforced by a few French refugees, it soon reappeared under other names, such as the "Section of Socialist Atheists" and the "Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Socialist Action". In conformity with Resolution V of the Basle Congress and by agreement with the Romance Federal Committee, the General Council refused to recognise these sections, which were new hotbeds of intrigue.333

The London Conference (September 1871) confirmed the General Council's decision of June 28, 1870 concerning the Jura dissidents.

La Solidarité had ceased to exist, and the new adherents of the Alliance founded La Révolution Sociale, one of whose contributors was Mme. André Léo. At the Congress of the League of Peace in Lausanne, when Ferré was in prison waiting for the time when he would go to Satory, she had declared that

Raoul Rigault and Ferré were the two sinister figures of the Commune who, until then" (the execution of the hostages) "had not ceased to demand bloody measures, though always unsuccessfully".b

From its first issue, this newspaper had striven to put itself on the same level as Le Figaro, Le Gaulois, and Le Paris-Journal and other filthy rags by republishing their scurrilous attacks on the General Council. It now considered the time ripe for fanning the flames of national hatred even within the International itself. According to it, the General Council was a German committee master-minded by a Bismarck.

With its three resolutions concerning the Swiss dispute, the political action of the working class, and the public disowning of

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a On September 26, 1871.— Ed.
b A. Léo, La guerre sociale. Discours prononcé au Congrès de la Paix à Lausanne. Neuchâtel 1871.— Ed.
Nechayev, the Conference had hit the Alliance hard. The first of these resolutions placed the blame directly on the pseudo-Romance Committee at La Chaux-de-Fonds and approved the action of the General Council. It advised the Jura sections to join the Romance Federation, and in the event of this union not proving possible, it decided that the sections representing the mountains should take the name of the Jura Federation. It was stated that if their committee continued its newspaper war in front of the bourgeois public, these papers would be disowned by the General Council.—The second resolution, on the political action of the working class, nullified the confusion which Bakunin had wished to cause in the International by inserting into his programme the doctrine of absolute abstention in political matters.—The third resolution, on Nechayev, was a direct threat to Bakunin. It will be seen later, when we discuss Russia, to what extent Bakunin was personally interested in hiding the nefarious deeds of the Alliance from Western Europe.

The Alliance rightly saw this as a declaration of war, and immediately went into action. The Jura sections which supported the pseudo-Romance committee met in Congress on November 12, 1871 at Sonvillier. There were sixteen delegates present who claimed to represent nine sections. In accordance with the report by the Federal Committee, the Courtelay section, represented by two delegates, “had suspended its activities”; the central section of Locle “had ended by dissolving itself”, but had temporarily reconstituted itself in order to send two delegates to the Congress of sixteen; the section representing the engravers and guillotiers of Courtelay (two delegates) “formed as a resistance society” outside the International; the propaganda section of La Chaux-de-Fonds (one delegate) “is in a critical situation, and its position, far from improving, tends rather to deteriorate”. The central section of Neuchâtel (two delegates, one of them Guillaume) “has suffered considerably, and would have inevitably fallen, but for the dedication of several members”. The two social study circles of Sonvillier and Saint-Imier (four delegates) in the district of
Courtelary were formed, according to the report, due to the dissolution of the Courtelary central section; now, the few members of this district had themselves represented three times, and by six delegates! The Moutier section (one delegate) seemed only to consist of its Committee. And so of sixteen delegates, fourteen represented dead or moribund sections. But to gain some idea of the damage done to this federation by the preaching of anarchy, one must read this report a little further. Of twenty-two sections, only nine were represented at the Congress; seven had never replied to any of the Committee's communications, and four were declared well and truly defunct. And this is the federation which believed itself called to shake the International to its very foundations!

The Congress of Sonvillier began, however, by submitting to the London Conference, which had imposed on it the name of the Jura Federation; but at the same time, as proof of anarchism, it declared that the whole of the Romance Federation was dissolved. (The latter restored autonomy to the Jurassians by driving them out of the sections.) The Congress then put out its bombastic circular with the principal aim of protesting against the legality of the Conference and of appealing to a general Congress which should be convoked as soon as possible.\(^a\)

The circular accused the International of having deviated from its spirit, which was no less than "an immense protest against authority". Until the Congress of Brussels, everything had been for the best in the best of all possible societies; but at Basle, the delegates lost their heads and, prey to "blind trust", they "violated the spirit and the letter of the general statutes" in which the autonomy of each section and each group of sections had been so clearly proclaimed. Now the International had written the word authority on its banners, but the Jura Federation, that puppet of the Alliance, had written autonomy of the sections. We have already seen how the Alliance means to put this autonomy into practice.

The sins of the Basle Congress were exceeded even more by those of the London Conference, whose resolutions

"tend to turn the International, a free federation of autonomous sections, into an hierarchic and authoritarian organisation of disciplined sections placed entirely under the control of the General Council which can arbitrarily either refuse to admit them or suspend their work".

\(^a\) Circulaire à toutes les fédérations de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs.—

*Ed.*
The members of the Alliance who drew up this circular evidently forgot that their secret rules were only made to consolidate an "hierarchic and authoritarian organisation" dominated by permanent "Citizen B.", and that instructions were being given in it to "discipline" the sections and place them not only "in the hands", but under "the high hand", of that same "citizen".

If the sins of the Conference were mortal, then the sin of sins, the sin against the holy spirit, was committed by the General Council. There were "several individuals" in it who considered their

"mandate" (as Council members) "to be their own private property, and London seemed to them the immutable capital of our Association... Some went so far ... as to make their particular programme, their personal tenets the predominant ones in the International ... as the only official theory acknowledged in the Association ... and in this way an orthodoxy gradually formed with its seat at London and the members of the General Council as its representatives."

In short, they wanted to establish the unity of the International by "centralisation and dictatorship".—In this same circular, the Alliance aspired to dominate the International "with its own particular programme", declaring it to be "an immense protest against authority" and proclaiming that the emancipation of the workers by the workers themselves must be achieved "without any controlling authority, even though this authority has been elected and sanctioned by the workers". We shall see that wherever the Alliance had any influence, it did exactly what it falsely accused the General Council of doing—it tried to impose its ridiculous travesty of a theory as "the only official theory acknowledged in the Association".*—This only affected the Alliance's public and

* Mazzini, for example, held the entire International responsible for the grotesque inventions of pope Bakunin. The General Council felt itself obliged to declare publicly in the Italian newspapers that it "has always opposed the repeated attempts to substitute for the broad, comprehensive programme of the International Working Men's Association (which has made membership open to Bakunin's followers) Bakunin's narrow and sectarian programme, the adoption of which would automatically entail the exclusion of the vast majority of members of the International".b Jules Favre's circular, the report of the Rural Sacase on our Association, the reactionary discussions during the debates by the Spanish Cortés on the International, and, finally, all the public attacks launched against it, are riddled with quotations of ultra-anarchist phrases that originated in the Bakuninist camp.

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a G. Mazzini. "Documenti sull'Internazionale", La Roma del Popolo, No. 38, November 16, 1871.—Ed.

b F. Engels, Declaration Sent by the General Council to the Editors of Italian Newspapers Concerning Mazzini's Articles about the International (see this volume, pp. 60-61).—Ed.
open activities. As for its secret activities, "the spirit and the letter" of the secret statutes have already enlightened us concerning the degree of "orthodoxy", of "personal doctrine", of "centralisation" and of "dictatorship" which reigned in this "free federation of autonomous groups". We fully realise that the Alliance wanted to prevent the working class from creating for itself a common leadership, since Bakunin's providence had already foreseen this when setting up his Alliance as the general staff of the revolution.

Far from wanting to impose an orthodoxy on the International, the General Council had proposed at the London Conference that the sectarian names of certain sections should be abolished, and this proposition was accepted unanimously.*

Here is the General Council's statement on sects in its private circular (Fictitious Splits, p. 24†).

"The first phase of the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie is marked by a sectarian movement. That is logical at a time when the proletariat has not yet developed sufficiently to act as a class. Certain thinkers criticise social antagonisms and suggest fantastic solutions thereof, which the mass of workers is left to accept, preach and put into practice. The sects formed by these initiators are abstentionist by their very nature, i.e., alien to all real action, politics, strikes, coalitions, or, in a word, to any united movement. The mass of the proletariat always remains indifferent or even hostile to their propaganda. The Paris and Lyons workers did not want the Saint-Simonians, the Fourierists, the Icarians, any more than the Chartists and the English trades unionists wanted the Owenists. These sects act as levers of the movement in the beginning, but become an obstruction as soon as the movement outgrows them; after which they become reactionary. Witness the sects in France and England, and lately the Lassalleans in Germany who, after having hindered the proletariat's organisation for several years, ended by becoming simple instruments of the

* Resolution II of the Conference, Art. 2: "All local branches, sections, groups and their committees are henceforth to designate and constitute themselves simply and exclusively as branches, sections, groups and committees of the International Working Men's Association, with the names of their respective localities attached." Art. 3: "Consequently, no branches, sections or groups will henceforth be allowed to designate themselves by sectarian names, such as Positivists, Mutualists, Collectivists, Communists, etc., or to form separatist bodies under the name of sections of propaganda, etc., pretending to accomplish special missions distinct from the common purposes of the Association."

† See this volume, p. 106-07.—Ed.
police. To sum up, we have here the infancy of the proletarian movement, just as astrology and alchemy are the infancy of science. If the International were to be founded it was necessary that the proletariat would go through this phase.

"Contrary to the sectarian organisations with their vagaries and rivalries, the International is a genuine and militant organisation of the proletarian class of all countries united in their common struggle against the capitalists and the landowners, against their class power organised in the state. The International's Rules, therefore, speak of only simple 'working men's societies', all following the same goal and accepting the same programme, which presents a general outline of the proletarian movement, while leaving its theoretical elaboration to be guided by the needs of the practical struggle and the exchange of ideas in the sections, unrestrictedly admitting all shades of socialist convictions in their organs and Congresses."

The Alliance did not want the International to be a militant society. The circular demanded that it should be the faithful image of the future society:

"We must therefore try to bring this organisation as close as possible to our ideal.... The International, embryo of the future human society, must henceforth be the faithful image of our principles of liberty and federation, and must reject any principle leading to authoritarianism, to dictatorship."

If the Jura Federation had succeeded in its plan to transform the International into the faithful image of a society which did not yet exist, and to forbid it any means of concerted action, with the secret aim of subjecting it to the "authoritarianism and dictatorship" of the Alliance and its permanent dictator, "Citizen B.", this would have gratified the desires of the European police, who wanted nothing more than to see the International forced to retreat.

To prove to their former colleagues of the League of Peace and to the radical bourgeoisie that the campaign which they had just launched was directed against the International and not against the bourgeoisie, the men of the Alliance sent their circular to all the radical newspapers. M. Gambetta's *La République française* hastened to acknowledge their services with an article full of encouragement for the Jurassians and attacks on the London Conference.\(^a\) The *Bulletin jurassien*, happy to have found this support in the bourgeois press, reproduced *in extenso* this article in

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\(^a\) "Questions ouvrières", *La République française*, No. 125, March 11, 1872.—*Ed.*
its issue No. 3, thus showing that the ultra-revolutionary members of the Alliance and the Gambettists of Versailles were united by an entente that was indeed cordiale. To spread more widely among the bourgeoisie the welcome tidings of an incipient split in the International, the Sonviller circular was sold in the streets of several French cities, notably Montpellier, on market day. It is known that the sale of printed matter on the streets, in France, must be authorised by the police.*

This circular was distributed by the bale wherever the Alliance thought it could recruit friends and malcontents against the General Council. The result was almost negligible. The Spanish members of the Alliance declared themselves opposed to the convocation of the Congress as demanded by the circular and even had the audacity to send reprimands to the Pope. In Italy, only one person, Terzaghi, declared himself in favour of the Congress for a while. In Belgium, where there were no known members of the Alliance, but where the International's entire movement was floundering in a morass of bourgeois phrases about political abstention, autonomy, liberty, federation, and decentralisation and was stuck fast in its own petty parochial interests, the circular had some success. Although the Belgian Federal Council abstained from supporting the convocation of an extraordinary General Congress—which, incidentally, would have been absurd, since Belgium had been represented by six delegates at the Conference—it drew up draft general statutes which simply suppressed the General Council. When this proposition was discussed at the Belgian Congress, the delegate for Lodelinsart observed that the best criterion, for the workers, was the mood of their employers. To judge solely by the joy which the idea of suppressing the General Council engendered among the employers, it could be claimed that it was impossible to

"commit a bigger blunder than to decree this suppression".c

The proposition was consequently rejected. In Switzerland, the Romance Federation protested vigorously, but everywhere else the circular was merely received with the silence of contempt.

* The Toulouse Trial. See La Réforme (of Toulouse), March 18, 1873.

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a "Les socialistes n'ayant plus d'organes...", Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne..., No. 3, March 15, 1872, p. 3.—Ed.
b Joseph Hubert.—Ed.
c "Congrès Ouvrier Belge du 14 juillet", L'Internationale, No. 184, July 21, 1872.—Ed.
The General Council replied to the Sonvillier Circular and to the Alliance's continual manoeuvres with a private circular: *Fictitious Splits in the International* dated March 5, 1872. A large part of this circular has been summarised above. The Hague Congress effectively dealt with these intrigues and with the intriguers themselves.

Indeed, these men who made a noise out of all proportion to their importance, met with indisputable success. The whole of the liberal and police press openly sided with them; in their personal defamation of the General Council and their impotent attacks on the International, they were backed by self-styled reformers from all countries: in England, by the bourgeois republicans whose intrigues were foiled by the General Council; in Italy, by the dogmatic free-thinkers who, under Stefano's banner, proposed to found a "universal society of rationalists" with an obligatory seat at Rome, an "authoritarian" and "hierarchic" organisation, atheist monasteries and convents, etc., and whose statutes award a marble bust to be installed in the Congress hall for every bourgeois who donates ten thousand francs; finally, in Germany, by the Bismarckian socialists who, apart from their police newspaper, the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, act as whiteshirts for the Prusso-German Empire.

When *La Révolution Sociale* ceased publication, the Alliance used as its official press organ the *Bulletin jurassien* which, under the pretext of protecting the autonomous sections against the authoritarianism of the General Council and against the usurpations of the London Conference, was working to disorganise the International. Its issue of March 20, 1872 frankly averred that

"by International it does not mean this or that organisation embracing part of the proletariat today. Organisations are secondary and transitory.... The International is, to put it more generally, the feeling of solidarity among the exploited which dominates the modern world".

The International reduced to a pure "feeling of solidarity" will be even more platonic than Christian charity. To give proof of the honest methods applied by the *Bulletin*, we quote the following passage from a letter by Tokarzewicz, editor-in-chief of the Polish newspaper *Wolność* in Zurich:

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* a K. Marx, *Declaration of the General Council Concerning the Universal Federalist Council* (see this volume, pp. 157-59).— Ed.

* b "Le 18 mars", *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...*, No. 4, March 20, 1872.— Ed.
“In the Bulletin jurassien No. 13, there is a programme of the Polish Socialist Society of Zurich which will publish its newspaper Wolności in a few days. We authorise you, three days after the receipt of this letter, to inform the International’s General Council that the programme is false.”

The issue of this Bulletin for June 15 contains the answers from the Alliance members (Bakunin, Malon, Claris, Guillaume, etc.) to the General Council’s private circular. Their answers do not answer any of the accusations which the General Council brought against the Alliance and its leaders. The pope, at a loss for explanations, decided to close the debate by calling the circular “a pile of filth”.

“Moreover,” he declared, “I have always reserved the right to bring all my calumniators before a jury of honour, which the next Congress will doubtless not refuse me. And as soon as this jury offers me all the guarantees of an impartial and serious trial, I will be able to reveal to it, with all the necessary details, all the facts, both political and personal, without fearing the inconveniences and dangers of an indiscreet disclosure.”

Needless to say, Citizen B. risked his neck—as usual. He did not appear at The Hague.

The Congress was drawing near, and the Alliance knew that before it was held, a report was to be published on the Nechayev affair. Citizen Utin had been commissioned by the Conference to compile it. It was of vital importance that this report should not be published before the Congress, so that the members would not be fully informed about it. Citizen Utin went to Zurich to carry out his task. Hardly had he settled there, when he was the victim of an assassination attempt which we unhesitatingly ascribe to the Alliance. In Zurich, Utin had no enemies apart from a few Slavs of the Alliance under the “high hand” of Bakunin. Moreover, the organisation of ambushes and assassinations is one of the methods of struggle recognised and employed by this society; we shall see other examples in Spain and Russia. Eight persons who spoke a Slavonic language lay in wait for Utin in an isolated spot near a canal. When he drew near them, they attacked him from behind, hit him repeatedly on the head with large stones, inflicted a dangerous wound on one of his eyes, and would have killed him and thrown him into the canal after first beating him up, had it

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b M. Bakunin.—Ed.
not been for the arrival of four German students. On seeing them, the assassins fled. This attempt did not prevent Citizen Utin from finishing his work and sending it to the Congress.

IV

THE ALLIANCE IN SPAIN

After the Congress of the League of Peace held at Berne in September 1868, Fanelli, one of the Alliance’s founders and a member of the Italian parliament, went to Madrid. He had been furnished with references by Bakunin for Garrido, deputy at Cortès, who put him in touch with republican circles, bourgeois and working-class alike. A short while after, in November of that year, Alliance membership cards were sent from Geneva to Morago, Cordova y Lopez (republican with ambitions of becoming a deputy and the editor of the Combe, a bourgeois newspaper), and to Rubau Donadeu (unsuccessful candidate for Barcelona, founder of a pseudo-socialist party). The knowledge of the arrival of these membership cards threw the young international section of Madrid into confusion. President Jalvo withdrew, not wanting to belong to an association which harboured a secret society composed of bourgeois and which allowed itself to be ruled by that society.

As early as the Basle Congress, the Spanish International had been represented by two Alliance members, Farga Pellicer and Sentiñon, the latter being featured on the official list of delegates as “delegate for the Alliance”. After the Congress of the Spanish International in Barcelona (June 1870), the Alliance established itself at Palma, Valencia, Malaga and Cadiz. In 1871, sections were founded at Seville and Cordoba. At the beginning of 1871, Morago and Viñas, delegates of the Barcelona Alliance, suggested to members of the Federal Council (Francisco Mora, Angel Mora, Anselmo Lorenzo, Borrell, etc.) ... the foundation of an Alliance section in Madrid; but the latter objected, saying that the Alliance

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a This assault took place on June 18, 1872.— Ed.
b N. Outine, Au Vème Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs à La Haye, manuscript (see English translation in The Hague Congress of the First International, September 2-7, 1872. Minutes and Documents, Moscow, 1976.— Ed.
c The original mistakenly has: “1869”.— Ed.
d Compte-rendu du IVe Congrès international, tenu à Bâle, en septembre 1869, Brussels, 1869.— Ed.
e The original mistakenly has: “July”.— Ed.
was a dangerous society if it was secret, and useless if it was public. For the second time, the mere mention of the name was enough to sow the seeds of discord in the heart of the Federal Council; Borrell even uttered these prophetic words:

"From now on, all trust between us is dead."{a}

But when government persecution forced the members of the Federal Council to emigrate to Portugal, it was there that Morago succeeded in convincing them of the usefulness of this secret association, and it was there that the Alliance section of Madrid was founded at their initiative. At Lisbon, a few Portuguese, who were members of the International, were affiliated to the Alliance by Morago. Finding, however, that these newcomers did not offer him enough guarantees, he founded, without their knowledge, another Alliance group consisting of the worst elements among the bourgeois and the workers, recruited from the freemasons. This new group, which included an unfrocked curate named Bonança, attempted to organise the International by sections of ten members who, under its direction, were to help carry out the schemes of the Comte de Péniche, and whom this political intriguer managed to drag into a dangerous venture of which the sole aim was to put him in power. In view of the Alliance intrigues in Portugal and Spain, the Portuguese members of the International withdrew from this secret society and at the Hague Congress they pressed for its expulsion from the International as a public safety measure.

At the Conference of the Spanish International at Valencia (September 1871),{344} the Alliance delegates, also delegates of the International as always, gave their secret society a complete organisation for the Iberian peninsula. The majority of them, believing that the Alliance programme was identical to that of the International, that this secret organisation existed everywhere, that it was almost a duty to join it, and that the Alliance was striving to develop and not dominate the International, decided that all the members of the Federal Council should be initiated. As soon as Morago, who until then had not dared to return to Spain, heard about this fact, he came to Madrid in all haste and accused Mora of "wanting to subordinate the Alliance to the International", which was contrary to the Alliance's intentions. And to give weight to this opinion, he let Mesa read, the following January, a letter

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{a} The quotation is from the pamphlet by P. Lafargue, A los Internacionales de la region Española, Madrid, 1872.—Ed.
from Bakunin in which the latter evolved a Machiavellian plan for domination over the working class. This plan was as follows:

"The Alliance must appear to exist within the International, but in reality at a certain distance from it, in order better to observe and control it. For this reason, members who belong to Councils and Committees of International sections must always be in the minority in the Alliance sections." (Statement by José Mesa, dated September 1, 1872, addressed to the Hague Congress).345

At a meeting of the Alliance, Morago accused Mesa of having betrayed Bakunin's society by initiating all the members of the Federal Council, which gave them a majority in the Alliance section and established, in fact, the domination of the International over the Alliance. To avoid this domination, the secret instructions prescribed that only one or two Alliance members should infiltrate into the councils or committees of the International and control them under the direction and with the support of the Alliance section where all resolutions were passed which the International ought to adopt.—From that moment, Morago declared war on the Federal Council and, as in Portugal, founded a new Alliance section which remained unknown to those under suspicion. The initiates at various points in Spain backed him up and began to accuse the Federal Council of neglecting its duties to the Alliance, as is proved by a circular from the Valencia Alliance section (January 30, 1872) signed "Damon", Montoro's Alliance pseudonym.346

When the Sonvillier circular arrived, the Spanish Alliance took care not to side with Jura. Even the mother section of Barcelona, in an official letter of November 14, 1871, treated pope Michael, whom it suspected of personal rivalry with Karl Marx,* very curtly and in an altogether heretic manner.

* Copies of this letter, addressed by Alerini "on behalf of the Barcelona group" of the Alliance to "my dear Bastelica and dear friends", were sent to all the sections of the Spanish Alliance. Here are some extracts:

"The present General Council cannot last beyond next year's Congress, and its baneful activities can only be temporary.... A public rupture, on the contrary, would deal our cause a blow from which it would only recover with difficulty, assuming it resisted. We cannot, then, encourage in any way your separatist tendencies... Some of us have wondered if, apart from the question of principle, there might not also be in it, or alongside it, personal problems—problems of rivalry, for instance, between our friend Michael and Karl Marx, between the members of the old A. and the General Council... We have been distressed to see, in La Révolution Sociale, the attacks on the General Council and Karl Marx... When we know the opinion

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3 The reference is to the anonymous articles [written by A. Léo] "Comment les socialistes honnêtes" and "L'esprit de l'Association internationale", La Révolution Sociale, Nos. 2 and 3, November 2 and 9, 1871.—Ed.
The Federal Council supported this letter, which shows how little influence the Swiss centre had in Spain at the time. But afterwards it was noticeable that grace had fallen on the recalcitrant hearts. At a meeting of the Madrid Federation of the International (January 7, 1872), at which the Sonvillier circular was discussed, the new group, headed by Morago, prevented the reading of the Romance Federation's counter-circular and suppressed the discussion. On February 24, Rafar (Alliance pseudonym of Rafael Farga) wrote to the Alliance's Madrid section:

"It is essential to kill the reactionary influences and authoritarian tendencies of the General Council."

However, it was only at Palma in Majorca that the Alliance was able to achieve the public adherence of the International's members to the Jura circular. It can be seen that ecclesiastical discipline was beginning to break the last attempts at resistance to the infallibility of the pope.

Faced with all this underground work, the Spanish Federal Council realised that it must get rid of the Alliance as soon as possible. The government persecutions furnished it with a pretext. In the event of the International's dissolution, it proposed to form secret groups of "defenders of the International" into which the Alliance sections would imperceptibly merge. The introduction of numerous members was bound to change the character of the sections, and they would finally disappear with these groups on the day when the persecutions ceased. But the Alliance guessed at the hidden purpose of this plan and foiled it, although without this organisation, the International's existence in Spain would have been in jeopardy if the government had carried out its threats. The Alliance, on the contrary, made the following proposal:

"If we are outlawed, it would be useful to give the International an external form which could be allowed by the government; the local councils would be like secret cells which, under the Alliance's influence, would impose on the sections a wholly revolutionary direction." (Circular of the Alliance's Seville section, October 25, 1871.)

of our friends on the peninsula, who are influencing the local councils, then this might change our attitude towards a general decision, to which we shall conform in every respect, etc., etc."

The old A. is the public Alliance nipped in the bud by the General Council. The copy of the letter from which we have taken these passages is in Alerini's handwriting.

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a "Réponse du Comité Fédéral Romand à la circulaire des 16 signataires membres du Congrès de Sonvilliers", L'Égalité, No. 24, December 24, 1871.— Ed.
Cowardly in action, bold in words—such was the Alliance in Spain, as elsewhere.

The London Conference's resolution on working-class politics forced the Alliance into open hostilities with the International and gave the Federal Council an opportunity to state its perfect agreement with the great majority of the International's membership. Furthermore, it suggested the idea of forming a big working men's party in Spain. To achieve this aim, the working class would first have to be completely isolated from all the bourgeois parties, especially the Republican party which recruited most of its voters and active supporters from the workers. The Federal Council advised abstention in all elections of deputies, whether monarchist or republican. To rid the people of all illusions about the pseudo-socialist phraseology of the Republicans, the editors of La Emancipacion, who were also members of the Federal Council, sent a letter to the representatives of the Federalist Republican party, who were holding a congress in Madrid, in which they asked them for practical measures and called on them to state their attitude to the International's programme. This meant delivering a serious blow to the Republican party. The Alliance undertook to soften it, since it was, on the contrary, in league with the Republicans.

In Madrid, it founded a newspaper, El Condenado, which adopted as its programme the three cardinal virtues of the Alliance: Atheism, Anarchy, and Collectivism, but which preached to the workers that they should not demand a reduction in working hours. "Brother" Morago had a fellow contributor in Estévénez, one of the three members of the Republican party's Directing Committee and lately governor of Madrid and Minister for War. At Malaga, Pino, a member of the Federal Commission of the pseudo-International, and, at Madrid, Felipe Martin, now the Alliance's commercial traveller, were serving the Republican party as electoral agents. And in order to have its Fanelli in the Spanish Cortes, the Alliance proposed backing Morago's candidature.

The Alliance already had two serious grudges against the Federal Council: 1) the latter had abstained on the Jura question; 2) it had also attempted to infringe its [the Alliance's] inviolability. After the Council adopted a position over the Republican party which wrecked all the Alliance's plans, the latter decided to destroy it. The letter to the Republican Congress was taken by the Alliance as a declaration of war. La Igualdad, the party's most

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influential organ, violently attacked the editors of *La Emancipacion* and accused them of having sold themselves to Sagasta.\(^a\) The *Condenado* encouraged this disgraceful charge by maintaining a stubborn silence. The Alliance did more for the Republican party. As a result of this letter, it had the editors of *La Emancipacion* expelled from the International's Madrid Federation, which it dominated.

In spite of government persecution, the Federal Council, during its six-month period of administration after the Conference of Valencia, had raised the number of local federations from 13 to 70; it had, in 100 other localities, prepared the setting up of local federations and had organised eight trades into national resistance societies; moreover, the great association of Catalan factory workers was being formed under its auspices. These services had given the members of the Council such moral influence that Bakunin felt it necessary to bring them back on to the path of truth with a long fatherly admonition sent to Mora, the Council's general secretary, on April 5, 1872 (see Documents, No. 3\(^b\)). The Congress of Saragossa (April 4-11, 1872),\(^350\) despite the efforts of the Alliance, which was represented by at least twelve delegates, annulled the expulsion and renominated two of the expelled members for the new Federal Council,\(^c\) ignoring their repeated refusals to accept their candidatures.

During the Congress of Saragossa, as always, the Alliance was holding secret meetings on the side. The members of the Federal Council proposed dissolving the Alliance. To prevent the proposal being rejected, it was neatly circumvented. Two months later, on June 2, those same citizens, in their capacity as leaders of the Spanish Alliance and on behalf of its Madrid section, sent the other sections a circular\(^351\) in which they renewed their proposal, giving the following reason:

“The Alliance has deviated from the path which it should, in our opinion, have taken in this region; it has falsified the idea which brought it into being and, instead of being an integral part of our great Association, an active element which would have given impetus to the different organisations of the International by helping and encouraging them in their development, it has broken away completely from the rest of the Association and has become an organisation apart and, as it were, superior, with tendencies towards domination, introducing mistrust, discord

\(^a\) “Segun dice el combate...”, “No quieren acabas...”, *La Igualdad*, Nos. 1069 and 1074, March 19 and 24, 1872.— *Ed.*
\(^b\) See this volume, pp. 578-80.— *Ed.*
\(^c\) Francisco Mora and Anselmo Lorenzo.— *Ed.*
and division among us.... At Saragossa, instead of bringing solutions and ideas, it has, on the contrary, only put impediments and obstacles in the way of the important work of the Congress."\(^a\)

Of all the Spanish Alliance sections, only the one at Cadiz responded by announcing its dissolution. On the very next day, the Alliance again had the signatories of the June 2 circular expelled from the International's Madrid Federation. It used as its pretext an article in *La Emancipacion* of June 1 which demanded an enquiry into

"the sources of the wealth acquired by ministers, generals, magistrates, public officials, mayors, etc. ... and by all those in politics who, without having exercised any public functions, have lived under the wing of the governments, lending them their support in the Cortes and hiding their iniquities under a mask of false opposition ... and whose property should have been confiscated as a first measure on the day after a revolution".\(^b\)

The Alliance saw this as a direct attack on its friends in the Republican party and accused the editors of *La Emancipacion* of having betrayed the cause of the proletariat under the pretext that in demanding the confiscation of property stolen from the State, they implicitly recognised private property. Nothing demonstrates more clearly the reactionary spirit which was hidden under the Alliance's revolutionary charlatanism and which it wanted to inject into the working class. Nothing proves more clearly the bad faith of the Alliance members than the expulsion, as defenders of private property, of the very men whom they had anathematised for their communist ideas.

This new expulsion was made in violation of the rules in force prescribing the formation of a jury of honour for which the accused could nominate two out of the seven jurors, against whose verdict he could appeal to the section's general assembly.\(^c\) Instead of all this, the Alliance, in order to avoid any restriction of its autonomy, had the expulsion decreed at the same sitting at which it made the accusation. Out of the section's total membership of 130, only 15 were present, and these were in league with one another. The expelled members appealed to the Federal Council.\(^d\)

This Council, thanks to the Alliance's intrigues, had been transferred to Valencia. Of the two members of the old Federal

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\(^a\) Circular "Seccion de la A... de Madrid. 2 de junio de 1872", *La Emancipacion*, No. 59, July 27, 1872, p. 3.— Ed.

\(^b\) "Informacion revolucionaria", *La Emancipacion*, No. 51, June 1, 1872.— Ed.

\(^c\) Estatutos de la Federacion Regional Española de la Asociacion Internacional de los Trabajadores.—Ed.

Council who were re-elected at the Congress of Saragossa, Mora had not accepted and Lorenzo had tendered his resignation shortly afterwards. From that moment, the Federal Council belonged body and soul to the Alliance. And so it responded to the appeal of the expelled members with a declaration of its incompetence, although Article 7 of the Spanish Federation's rules imposed on it the duty of suspending, with the right of appeal to the next Congress, any local federation which violated the statutes. The expelled members then formed a "new federation" and demanded recognition from the Council which, in deference to the autonomy of the sections, formally refused. The New Madrid Federation then approached the General Council, which accepted it in conformity with Articles II, 7 and IV, 4 of the Administrative Regulations. The Hague General Congress approved this act and unanimously admitted the delegate from the New Madrid Federation.  

The Alliance realised the full importance of this first rebellious move. It realised that, unless it were nipped in the bud, the Spanish International, so docile hitherto, would slip out of its hands; and so it set in motion all the means at its disposal, honest and otherwise. It began with defamation. It announced in the newspapers and posted up in the section halls the names of the expelled members: Angel and Francisco Mora, José Mesa, Victor Pagés, Iglesias, Saenz, Calleja, Pauly and Lafargue were dubbed traitors. Mora, who, to carry out his duties as general secretary, had given up his job and for long months had been maintained by his brother, since there were no funds out of which to pay him, was accused of having lived at the International's expense. Mesa, who was editing a fashion magazine to earn his living and had just translated an article for an illustrated journal, was alleged to have sold himself to the bourgeoisie. Lafargue was charged with the mortal sin of having, by a gargantuan dinner, submitted to the temptations of St. Anthony the weak flesh of Martinez and Montoro, two members of the new Federal Council of the Alliance, as if they carried their consciences in their paunches. We are only mentioning here the public and published libels. These measures failing to yield the results desired, the next move was intimidation. In Valencia, Mora was lured into an ambush by members of the Federal Council who were waiting for him armed with clubs. He was rescued by the members of the local federation.

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"See this volume, pp. 10, 12.—Ed.

b Paul Lafargue.—Ed."
who knew the ways of these gentlemen and asserted that it was in the face of arguments equally striking that Lorenzo had tendered his resignation. At Madrid, a similar attempt was made shortly afterwards on Iglesias. The Alliance congregation of the Index marked out La Emancipacion for the censure of the faithful. At Cadiz, to instil a salutary fear into the hearts of the sinful, it was stated that any person selling La Emancipacion would be expelled from the International as a traitor. The Alliance's anarchy takes the form of inquisitorial practice.

As was its custom, the Alliance tried to have all the representation of the Spanish International at the Hague Congress made up of its own members. To this end, the Federal Council passed round the sections a private circular whose existence was carefully kept secret from the New Madrid Federation. It proposed to send to the Congress a collective representation elected by the votes of all members of the International, and to raise a general contribution of 25 centimos per head to defray the expenses. Since the local federations had no time to arrive at an agreement on the candidatures, it was clear, as the facts proved, that the Alliance's official candidates, delegated to the Congress at the International's expense, would be elected. However, this circular fell into the hands of the New Madrid Federation and was forwarded to the General Council which, knowing that the Federal Council was subordinate to the Alliance, saw that the moment for action had arrived and sent a letter to the Spanish Federal Council, in which it was stated:

"Citizens,

"We hold proof that within the International, and particularly in Spain, there exists a secret society called the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. This society, whose centre is in Switzerland, considers it its special mission to guide our great Association in keeping with its own particular tendencies and lead it towards goals unknown to the vast majority of International members. Moreover, we know from the Seville Razon that at least three members of your Council belong to the Alliance...

"If the organisation and character of this society were already contrary to the spirit and the letter of our Rules, when it was still public, its secret existence within the International, in spite of its promise, represents no less than treason against our Association.

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The International knows but one type of members, all with equal rights and duties; the Alliance divides them into two classes, the initiated and the uninitiated, the latter doomed to be led by the former by means of an organisation of whose very existence they are unaware. The International demands that its adherents should acknowledge *Truth, Justice and Morality* as the basis of their conduct; the Alliance obliges its supporters to hide from the uninitiated members of the International the existence of the secret organisation, the motives and even the aim of their words and deeds.\(^a\)

The General Council also asked them to provide certain material for the inquiry into the Alliance which it intended to present to the Hague Congress, and an explanation of how they reconciled their duties to the International with the presence in the heart of the Federal Council of at least three notorious members of the Alliance.

The Federal Council replied with an evasive letter in which, however, it recognised the Alliance's existence.

Since the manoeuvres which we have been discussing seemed inadequate to guarantee the success of the election, the Alliance went so far in its newspapers as to nominate Farga, Alerini, Soriano, Marselau, Mendez and Morago as official candidates. The result of the voting was: Marselau—3,568; Morago—3,442; Mendez—2,850; Soriano—2,751. Of the other candidates, Lostau obtained 2,430 votes in four Catalan towns which were clearly not yet properly disciplined; Fusté scored 1,053 votes at Sans in Catalonia. None of the other candidates gained more than 250 votes. To ensure the election of Farga and Alerini, the Federal Council gave the city of Barcelona, where the Alliance predominated, the privilege of nominating its own delegates, who were, naturally, Alerini and Farga.—The same official circular stated that the four Catalan towns which had nominated Lostau and Fusté, thus rejecting the Alliance's official candidates, paid 2,654 reales (663 frs. 50 c.) for the delegation's expenses whereas the other Spanish cities, on which the Alliance had foisted its own candidates, since the workers were little accustomed to managing their own affairs, only paid a total of 2,799 reales (699 frs. 75 c.). The New Madrid Federation had good reason to say that the money of the International's members was being used to send the Alliance's delegates to the Hague.\(^b\) Furthermore, the Alliance's

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\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 211-12.—*Ed.*

\(^b\) "*Compañeros ... Madrid, 21 de julio de 1872*, La Emancipacion, No. 59, July 27, 1872.—*Ed.*
Federal Council did not pay in full the subscriptions due to the General Council.

All this was not enough for the Alliance. It had to have an Alliance imperative mandate for its delegates, and this is how it was wangled. Through its circular of July 7, the Federal Council demanded, and obtained, the authorisation to lump together in one collective mandate the imperative mandates issued by the local federations. This manoeuvre, worse than any Bonapartist plebiscite, allowed the Alliance to draw up for its delegation a mandate which it intended to impose on the Congress, while forbidding its own delegates to take part in the voting unless an immediate change was made in the manner of voting as prescribed to the International in its Administrative Regulations. That this was mere mystification is proved by the fact that the Spanish delegates at the Congress of Saint-Imier, despite their mandate, took part in the voting which was being carried out by federations, the manner so much praised by Castelar and practised by the League of Peace.*

* Sentiñon, a doctor of medicine in Barcelona, a personal friend of Bakunin, and one of the founders of the Spanish Alliance, advised members of the International well before the Hague Congress not to pay their subscriptions to the General Council because it would use them to buy rifles. He tried to prevent the Spanish International from defending the cause of the defeated Commune. Imprisoned for a press offence, he launched a manifesto in which he courageously renounced the International, which was being persecuted at the time. Shunned for this by the whole of the working class in Barcelona, he nevertheless continued to be one of the Alliance’s secret leaders, for in a letter of August 14, 1871, three months after the collapse of the Commune, Montoro, a member of the Alliance, referred an Alliance correspondent to Sentiñon who, he said, could recommend him and confirm his Alliance membership.

Viñas, a medical student, whom Sentiñon, in a letter of January 26, 1872, recommended to Liebknecht as “the soul of the International in Barcelona”, left the International during the persecution so as not to compromise his family, although the police did not even bother to imprison him.

Farga Pellicer, another Alliance leader, was accused in the same letter from Sentiñon of having absconded during the persecution, leaving the others to take the legal responsibility for his articles. The rabbit-like courage of the Alliance members boldly asserts, at all times and in all places, their anti-authoritarian autonomy. Their way of protesting against the authority of the bourgeois state is to take flight.

Soriano, another leader, and a professor of ... occult sciences, withdrew from the International at the height of the persecution. At the Congress of Saragossa, he opposed, with pathetic courage, the public holding of the Congress demanded by Lafargue and other delegates, because he considered it imprudent to provoke the anger of the authorities. Recently, under Amadeus, Soriano accepted a government post.
In Italy, the Alliance preceded the International. Pope Michael stayed there and built up numerous contacts among the young radical elements of the bourgeoisie. The first section of the Italian International, the one at Naples, was, since the time of its foundation, controlled by these bourgeois and Alliance elements. Gambuzzi,* a lawyer and one of the founders of the Alliance, raised his “model worker” Caporusso to the chairmanship of the section. At the Basle Congress, Bakunin, arm in arm with his faithful Caporusso, represented the Neapolitan members of the International, whereas Fanelli,** the Antonelli of the Alliance and a delegate for workers’ associations formed outside the International, was delayed en route owing to illness.

"Morago, shopkeeper and frequenter of taverns, preserved his autonomy as a professional gambler by living on the earnings of his wife and his apprentices. When the Federal Council emigrated to Lisbon, he deserted his post as member of the Council and suggested throwing the International’s papers into the sea. When Sagasta outlawed the International, he again deserted his post as member of the Madrid local Council and sheltered from the storm in the haven of the Alliance. Although lacking a Christ, the Alliance abounded in St. Peters.

"Clément Bové, as Chairman of the Catalan Factory Workers’ Association (las tres clases de vapor354), was discharged and expelled for his excessively autonomous handling of funds.

"Dionisio García Fraile, called “our dear colleague” by La Federación, an Alliance organ, in its issue of July 28, 1872, where he published a long letter full of attacks on the New Madrid Federation, worked for the police at Saint-Sebastien and embezzled funds belonging to sections of the International.

"One of Caporusso’s most fervent partisans was the lawyer Carlo Gambuzzi, who thought he had found in him the ideal chairman for an International section. It was Gambuzzi who furnished him with the necessary means to go to the Basle Congress. When Caporusso’s expulsion was decided upon in the general assembly of the section, Gambuzzi protested vigorously against the publication of this fact in the Bulletin, and also persuaded his friends not to insist on the insertion in the bulletin of the other shameful fact, the embezzlement of 300 frs.” (Letter from Cafiero, July 12, 1871).355

**Fanelli had long been a member of the Italian parliament. On being questioned about this matter, Gambuzzi stated that it was an excellent thing to be a deputy: that it made you immune to the police and allowed you to travel free of charge on all the Italian railways. The Alliance forbade the workers all political action, since to demand of the State any regulation of working hours for women and children was to recognise the State and to acknowledge the principle of evil; but the Alliance’s bourgeois leaders had papal dispensations which allowed them to sit in parliament and enjoy the privileges offered by bourgeois States. Fanelli’s atheistic and anarchistic activities in the Italian parliament had been limited, so far, to a high-flown eulogy of the authoritarian Mazzini, the man of “Dio e popolo”."
His close friendship with the Holy Father went to our brave Caporusso's head. On returning to Naples, he thought himself superior to the other Alliance members; he behaved as if he were the boss of the section.

"His trip to Basle changed Caporusso completely... He came back from the Congress with strange ideas and pretensions entirely contrary to our association's principles. He spoke, at first quietly, then openly in an imperious manner, of powers which he did not, and could not, have; he affirmed that the General Council had confidence in no one but himself, and that if the section did not bow to his will, he had been empowered to dissolve it and found another." (Official report from the Naples section to the General Council, November a 1871, drawn up and signed by Carmelo Palladino, Alliance lawyer.)

Caporusso's powers must have come from the Alliance's Central Committee, for the International never issued any of the kind. The good Caporusso, who only saw the International as a source of personal profit, nominated his son-in-law, an ex-Jesuit and an unfrocked priest,

"professor of the International, and compelled the unfortunate workers to swallow his tirades on respect for private property and other fatuities of bourgeois political economy" (letter from Cafiero).*

He then sold himself to the capitalists, who were disturbed about the progress being made by the International in Naples. On their orders, he dragged the Neapolitan furriers into a completely hopeless strike. Imprisoned with three other members, he pocketed the sum of 300 frs. sent by the section for the maintenance of the four prisoners. These noble deeds led to his expulsion from the section, which continued to exist until it was forcibly dissolved (August 20, 1871). But the Alliance, on escaping from police persecution, profited by this to take the International's place. When sending the official report quoted above, Carmelo

* Rebuffed at Naples, Caporusso had the nerve, two years later, to try and inflict this same individual on the General Council with the following testimonial: "Citizen Chairman of the International, the great problem of labour and capital, which was dealt with at the Working Men's Congress of Basle and which is today taxing the minds of all classes, has now been solved. The man who has been studying the complex problem of the social question is my son-in-law, my daughter's husband, who, examining the decisions of this Congress and invoking the favours of science, has picked up the thread of the difficult knot wherewith to put into perfect equilibrium the working-class family and the bourgeoisie, each in its own right", etc. (signed: Stefano Caporusso).356

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a The original has: "July".— Ed.
b Carmelo Palladino, Relazione Sulla Sezione Napoletana dell'Associazione Internazionale dei Lavoratori. Napoli, November 13, 1871 (manuscript).— Ed.
c Michelangelo Statuti.— Ed.
Palladino protested on November 13, 1871 against the London Conference in the very terms and with the very arguments used in the Sonvillier circular dated one day earlier.

In November 1871, a section consisting of various elements was formed in Milan. It included workers, mainly mechanics brought by Cuno, alongside students, journalists from the small newspapers, and clerks, all completely under the influence of the Alliance. Owing to his pan-Germanic origins, Cuno was debarred from these mysteries. However, he made sure that after a pilgrimage to Locarno, the Rome of the Alliance, these young bourgeois were organised into a section of the secret society. Shortly afterwards (February 1872), Cuno was arrested and deported by the Italian police. Thanks to this heavenly providence, the Alliance now had a free field, and gradually gained control over the Milan section of the International.

On October 8, 1871, the Working Men’s Federation was formed in Turin. It asked the General Council for admission to the International. Its secretary, Carlo Terzaghi, wrote literally: “Attendiamo i vostri ordini” (we await your orders). To prove that the International in Italy, from its first steps, must work its way through the bureaucratic channels of the Alliance, he announced that

“the Council will receive through Bakunin a letter from the Working Men’s Association in Ravenna declaring itself a section of the International”.

On December 4, Carlo Terzaghi informed the General Council that the Working Men’s Federation was divided, since the majority were Mazzinists and the minority had formed a section called Emancipation of the Proletarian. He profited by the occasion to ask the Council for money for his newspaper Il Proletario. It was not the General Council’s business to provide for the needs of the press; but there was in London a committee which was engaged in collecting funds to assist the International’s press. The committee was about to send a subsidy of 150 frs., when the Gazzettino Rosa announced that the Turin section had openly sided with Jura and had decided to send a delegate to a world congress convoked by the Jura Federation. Two months later, Terzaghi boasted to Regis that he had taken this resolution after having received Bakunin’s instructions personally, at Locarno. In view of this hostile attitude to the International, the committee did not send the money.

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a See this volume, pp. 151-52.—Ed.
b C. Terzaghi’s letter to the General Council of October 10, 1871.—Ed.
c “Movimento operajo”, Gazzettino Rosa, No. 360, December 28, 1871.—Ed.
Although Terzaghi was the Alliance's right arm at Turin, the true papal nuncio there was a certain Jacobi, a self-styled Polish physician. In order to explain the hatred which he felt for the so-called pan-Germanism of the General Council, this doctor member of the Alliance accused it of

"negligence and inertia in the Franco-Prussian war; it should be blamed for the failure of the Commune, in that it did not use its immense power to support the movement in Paris, and its Germanic tendencies are conspicuous when one considers that, at the walls of Paris, in the German army, there were 40,000 members of the International" (!), "and the General Council could not, or would not, use its influence to prevent the continuation of the war" (!!—Report from Regis to the General Council, March 1, 1872).360

Confusing the General Council with the Press Committee, he accused it of "following the theory of corrupt and corrupting governments" by refusing the 150 francs to Terzaghi of the Alliance. To prove that this complaint came from the bottom of the Alliance's heart, Guillaume considered it his duty to repeat it at the Hague Congress.

While Terzaghi was publicly beating the big anti-authoritarian drum of the Alliance in his newspaper, he was secretly writing to the General Council and asking it to refuse authoritatively the subscriptions of the Working Men's Federation of Turin and demanding the formal excommunication of the journalist Beghelli, who was not even a member of the International. This same Terzaghi, the "friend (amicone) of the Turin prefect of police, who used to offer him vermouth when they met" (official report of the Federal Council of Turin, April 5, 1872 a), denounced at a public meeting the presence of the refugee Regis, sent to Turin by the General Council. Given these leads, the police went in pursuit of Regis, who only managed to cross the frontier thanks to the section's help.

Terzaghi ended his Alliance assignment in Turin as follows. When serious charges were levelled against him, he

"threatened to burn the section's books if he were not re-elected secretary, if they refused to submit to his authority, or if they censured him in any way. In any one of these cases, he would take his revenge by becoming a police agent, (questurino)" (report of the Turin Federal Council, quoted above).

Terzaghi had good reason for wanting to intimidate the section. In his capacity as treasurer and secretary, he had helped himself to the funds far too liberally in the truly Alliance fashion. Despite the

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a C. Bert, Associazione Internazionale dei Lavoratori. Società l'Emancipazione del Proletario Regione Piemontese, Turin, April 5, 1872.— Ed.
Council's official ban, he had allotted himself an allowance of 90 frs.; he had entered in the books, as paid, sums which had not been paid and which had disappeared from the funds. The balance sheet personally drawn up by him showed 56 frs. in hand which could not be found and which he refused to make good, as well as declined to pay for 200 subscription stamps received from the General Council. The General Assembly unanimously threw him out (seaccio) (see report quoted above). The Alliance, which always respected the autonomy of sections, ratified this expulsion by immediately nominating Terzaghi honorary member of the Florentine section and, later, as delegate for that section to the Conference of Rimini. 361

In a letter of March 10 a few days later, Terzaghi explained his expulsion to the General Council as follows: he had tendered his resignation as member and secretary of that section of riff-raff and spies (canaglia et mardocheria) because it was "composed of government agents and Mazzinists", and they had tried to pin the blame on him "do you know what for? For preaching war on capital!" (a war which he had been practising on the section's funds). The letter was intended to prove that the General Council had been strangely misled about the character of this brave Terzaghi who asked for nothing better than to be its humble servant. After all, he had "always declared that, to be a member of the International, it was necessary to pay one's subscriptions to the General Council"—contrary to the secret orders of the Alliance.

"If we joined the Congress of Jura, it was not to make war on you, dear friends; we were merely swimming with the stream. Our aim was to bring a word of peace into the conflict. As for the centralisation of the sections, without depriving them, however, of some of their own autonomy, I find it very useful"—"I hope that the higher Council will refuse to admit the Mazzinist Working Men's Federation. You may be sure that no one will dare tax you with authoritarianism. Myself, I assume all the responsibility... If it were available, I would like to have an accurate biography of Karl Marx. We haven't an authentic one in Italy, and I would like to be the first to have this honour."

And what was behind all this toadyng?

"Not for myself, but for the cause, so as not to give way to my numerous enemies and to show them that the International is united, I earnestly beg you, if there is still time, to allow me the subsidy of 150 frs. which was decreed to me by the higher Council."

Imagining himself to be immune, Terzaghi seems to have made himself so impossible in Florence with new escapades that even Fascio Operaio a was forced to disown him. Let us hope that the Jura Committee will better appreciate his services.

a Workers' Union.— Ed.
If in Terzaghi the Alliance had found its true representative, it was in Romagna that it found its real territory, where it formed its group of so-called International sections whose first rule of conduct was not to observe the General Rules, not to announce their own formation, and not to pay subscriptions to the General Council. They were true autonomous sections. They adopted the name of *Fascio Operaio* and served as centres for various working men’s associations. Their first Congress, held at Bologna on March 17, 1872, was asked:

“In the general interest, and to guarantee the complete autonomy of the *Fascio Operaio*, should we subject it to the direction of the General Committee in London or to the one in Jura, or should it remain entirely independent, while keeping up relations with both committees?”

The reply was in the form of the following resolution:

“The Congress does not recognise the General Committee of London or that of Jura as anything other than mere correspondence and statistical bureaux, and instructs the local representation in Bologna to establish relations with both of them and to report back to the sections.”

The *Fascio Operaio* committed a great blunder in disclosing the mysterious existence of the Alliance’s secret centre to the profane. The Jura Committee felt obliged to make a public denial of its secret existence.—As for the General Council, the representation at Bologna never once informed it of its own existence.

As soon as the Alliance heard about the convocation of the Hague Congress, it pushed to the fore its *Fascio Operaio* which, in the name of its autonomous authority, or its authoritarian autonomy, grabbed the title of Italian Federation and convoked a conference at Rimini on August 5. Of the 21 sections represented there, only one, that of Naples, belonged to the International, whereas none of the really active sections of the International was represented, not even that of Milan. This Conference disclosed the Alliance’s plan of campaign in the following resolution:

“Considering that the London Conference (September 1871) has tried to impose, with its resolution IX, on the whole International Working Men’s Association an authoritarian doctrine which is that of the *German Communist Party*;

“that the General Council is the promoter and supporter of this fact;

“that the doctrine of the *authoritarian communists* is the negation of the revolutionary sentiment of the Italian proletariat;

“that the General Council has employed highly unworthy methods, such as

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calumny and mystification, with the sole aim of imposing its special communist authoritarian doctrine on entire International Association;

"that the General Council has reached the height of unworthiness with its private circular, dated London, March 5, 1872, in which, pursuing its work of calumny and mystification, it reveals all its craving for authority, particularly in the two remarkable passages following:

"'It would be difficult to carry out orders without enjoying moral 'authority', in the absence of any other 'freely recognised authority'". (Private circular, p. 27a).

"'The General Council intends to demand at the next Congress an investigation of this secret organisation and its promoters in certain countries, such as Spain, for example (p. 31b);

"that the reactionary spirit of the General Council has provoked the revolutionary resentment of the Belgians, the French, the Spaniards, the Slavs, the Italians, and some of the Swiss, and has also provoked the proposition for the suppression of the Council and likewise the reform of the General Rules;

"that the General Council, not without reason, has convoked the General Congress at The Hague, the place furthest removed from these revolutionary countries;

"FOR THESE REASONS,

"The Conference solemnly declares to all the workers of the world that from this moment the Italian Federation of the International Working Men's Association breaks off all solidarity with the General Council of London, affirming at the same time economic solidarity with all the workers and proposing to all sections which do not share the authoritarian principles of the General Council that they send their representatives on September 2, 1872 not to The Hague, but to Neuchâtel (Switzerland) for the opening of the general anti-authoritarian Congress on the same day.

"Rimini, August 6, 1872. For the Conference: Carlo Cafiero, chairman, Andrea Costa, secretary".c

The attempt to substitute the Fascio Operaio for the General Council was a total failure. Even the Spanish Federal Council, a mere branch of the Alliance, did not dare to submit the Rimini resolution to the vote of the International's Spanish members. The Alliance, to make amends for its blunder, went to the Hague Congress without cancelling the convocation of its anti-authoritarian Congress at Saint-Imier.

Italy had only become the promised land of the Alliance by special act of grace. Pope Michael unveils this mystery for us in his letter to Mora (Documents, No. 3d):

"Italy has what other countries lack: a youth which is passionate, energetic, completely at a loss, with no prospects, with no way out, and which, despite its bourgeois origins, is not morally and intellectually exhausted like the bourgeois youth of other countries. Today it is throwing itself headlong into revolutionary socialism,

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a See this volume, p. 110.— Ed.
b Ibid., p. 115.— Ed.
c Associazione Internazionale dei Lavoratori. Federazione Italiana. Prima Conferenza. Risoluzione, Rimini, August 6, 1872.— Ed.
d See this volume, pp. 578-80.— Ed.
accepting our entire programme, the programme of the Alliance. Mazzini, our mighty antagonist of genius” (sic) “is dead, and the Mazzinist party is completely disorganised, and Garibaldi is letting himself be carried away more and more by that youth which bears his name, but is going, or rather running, infinitely further ahead of him.” *

The Holy Father is right. The Alliance in Italy is not a “workers’ union”, but a rabble of déclassés. All the so-called sections of the Italian International are run by lawyers without clients, doctors with neither patients nor medical knowledge, students of billiards, commercial travellers and other tradespeople, and principally journalists from small papers with a more or less dubious reputation. Italy is the only country where the International press—or what calls itself such—has acquired the typical characteristics of Le Figaro. One need only glance at the writing of the secretaries of these so-called sections to realise that it is the work of clerks or professional authors. By taking over all the official posts in the sections in this way, the Alliance managed to compel the Italian workers, every time they wanted to enter into relations with one another or with the other councils of the International, to resort to the services of déclassé members of the Alliance who found in the International a “career” and a “way out”.

VI

THE ALLIANCE IN FRANCE

The French members were not very numerous but they were more keen. At Lyons, the Alliance was led by Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc, and at Marseilles by Bastelica—all three of whom were active contributors to the newspapers run by Guillaume. It is thanks to them that the Alliance succeeded in disorganising the movement at Lyons in September 1870. This movement, for them,

* Here is what Garibaldi himself says about this: “My dear Crescio—hearty thanks for sending to me your Avvenire Sociale which I shall read with interest. You intend, in your paper, to make war upon untruth and slavery. That is a very fine programme, but I believe that the International, in fighting against the principle of authority, makes a mistake and obstructs its own progress. The Paris Commune fell because there was in Paris no authority but only anarchy, Spain and France are suffering from the same evil. I wish success to the Avvenire, and, remain yours, G. Garibaldi.”

a La Favilla, No. 134, June 5, 1873 (cf. this volume, p. 453).—Ed.
was only important in that it allowed Bakunin to launch his unforgettable decree on the abolition of the State.—The activities of the Alliance after the failure of the Lyons insurrection are neatly summed up in the following passage from a letter by Bastelica (Marseilles, December 13, 1870):

“Our real power among the workers is enormous; but our section has not been reorganised since the last persecutions. We dare not do this for fear that in the absence of the leaders, the elements may disintegrate. We are biding our time.”

That Bastelica, then in a foot regiment, could at any moment be sent away from Marseilles, was sufficient reason for him to hinder the reorganisation of the International section, so essential to its autonomy did he consider the presence of Alliance leaders.—The most evident result of the Alliance’s activities was to discredit in the eyes of the workers of Lyons and Marseilles the International, which, as always and everywhere, it claimed to represent.

The end of Richard and Blanc is known. In the autumn of 1871, they turned up in London and attempted to recruit from among the French refugees auxiliaries for a Bonapartist restoration. In January 1872, they published a brochure: L’EMPIRE ET LA FRANCE NOUVELLE. Appel du peuple et de la jeunesse a la conscience française, by Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc, Brussels, 1872.

With the usual modesty of the Alliance’s quacks, they trotted out their patter as follows:

“We, who have formed the great army of the French proletariat ... we, the most influential leaders of the International in France ... happily, we have not been shot, and we are here to raise before them (ambitious parliamentarians, bloated republicans, self-styled democrats of all kinds) the standard under which we fight, and to fling forth to an astounded Europe—despite the calumnies, despite the threats, despite the attacks of every kind in store for us—this cry which issues from the depths of our conscience and which shall resound ere long in the hearts of all the French: —

LONG LIVE THE EMPEROR!”

We shall refrain from investigating whether these two members of the Alliance who had become imperialists owing to the “normal progression of their ideas”, were mere “riff-raff”, as they were called by their old friend Guillaume at The Hague, or whether the pope of the Alliance had given them the special mission of joining the ranks of the Bonapartist agents. The documents of the Russian Alliance which, according to the secret statutes, will unveil the mystery of mysteries of this mysterious society and from which

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a The letter was addressed to Paul Lafargue.—Ed.
we shall be citing extracts further on, state expressly that the international brethren must infiltrate everywhere and may even receive orders to enrol in the police force. Incidentally, the veneration of these two brethren for their emperor of the peasants does not exceed that in which Bakunin held his own tsar of the peasants in 1862.a

After the fall of the Commune, the International grew rapidly in all the French cities which had not been infiltrated by the Alliance. At the Hague Congress, the Secretary for Franceb was able to announce that the International had its organisations in over thirty departments. The two principal Alliance correspondents for France, Benoît Malon and Jules Guesde (the latter was a signatory of the Sonvillier circular) who knew about this rapid development of our Association, tried to disorganise it in the Alliance’s favour. When their letters failed to have the desired effect, emissaries were sent, including a Russian named Mechnikov; but their efforts came to nothing. These same individuals who impudently accused the General Council of preventing the workers from

"organising themselves in each country freely, spontaneously, and according to their own spirit, and particular customs" (letter from Guesde, September 22, 1872)362
told the workers—as soon as they began to organise themselves freely, spontaneously, etc., but in complete harmony with the General Council—that the Germans in the Council were oppressed them and that there was no salvation outside their orthodox anti-authoritarian church. The French workers, who were aware only of the oppression from the Versailles, sent these letters to the General Council and asked them what it all signified.

This move by the Alliance in France is the best proof that, as soon as it began to lose hope of dominating the International, it began to fight it. Every section which was not brought under its domination was regarded as an enemy more hostile even than the bourgeoisie. *He who is not for us, is against us* is the rule which it openly avowed in its Russian manifestos.c For the Alliance, the success of the general movement was a misfortune if that movement did not bow under the yoke of its sectarianism. And at

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a An allusion to the estimation of Alexander II in Bakunin’s pamphlet *Народное Двело. Романовъ, Пугачевъ или Пестель?* (see this volume, pp. 562-63).—Ed.
b Auguste Serrailler.—Ed.
c «Кто не за насъ, тотъ противъ насъ», *Издания Общества «Народной Расправы»*, No. 2; М. Бакунинъ, Къ офицерамъ русской арміи. Geneva, 1870.—Ed.
the very time when the French working class needed above all some kind of organisation, the Alliance went to the aid of Thiers and the Rurals by declaring war on the International.

Now let us see who were the Alliance's agents during its campaign in favour of the Versailles.

At Montpellier, M. Guesde had for confidant a man named Paul Brousse, a medical student, who was attempting to carry out Alliance propaganda through the whole department of Hérault, where Guesde had formerly been editor of the Droits de l'Homme. Shortly before the Hague Congress, when members of the International for the South of France met to subscribe for a common delegate to the Congress, Brousse tried to persuade the Montpellier section not to pay its share and not to say anything until the Congress had settled matters under discussion. The Committee for the South—the Montpellier section, decided to ask the Congress to exclude Brousse from the International for having "acted disloyally in provoking a split in the heart of the section." His friend Guesde, in a communication sent in October from Rome to the Liberté of Brussels, denounced this authoritarian move against Brousse and cited Calas of Montpellier as the instigator, writing out his name in full, whereas he referred to Brousse by his initials. Alerted by this denunciation, the police kept watch on Calas, and immediately afterwards confiscated a letter in the post from Serraillier to Calas in which much was said about Dentraygues of Toulouse. On December 24, Dentraygues was arrested.

The Alliance's most active helpers at Narbonne were: Gondres, unmasked as a police informer; Bacave who, at Narbonne and Perpignan, was carrying out the duties of police agent; and de Saint-Martin, a lawyer and a correspondent of Malon's. In 1866, M. de Saint-Martin had applied for a post in the Ministry of the Imperial Court and the Fine Arts. When he was sentenced in 1869 to pay fine of 800 frs. for a press offence, republicans collected money to pay his fine; but Saint-Martin, instead of using the funds for this purpose, went on a little trip to Paris at the expense of the workers who, to avoid a scandal, had to contribute all over again. Shortly after the May days in 1871, the same Saint-Martin applied to the Versailles government for the post of sub-prefect.

Here is another Alliance agent: in November 1871, Calas wrote to Serraillier:

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* J. Guesde, "Rien ou presque rien...", *La Liberté*, No. 42, October 20, 1872.— *Ed.*
"You may count on Citizen Abel Bousquet's absolute devotion to the social cause, he is ... chairman of the Socialist Committee of Béziers."

Two days later, on November 13, Serraillier received the following statement:

"Convinced that our mutual friend, Citizen Calas, has been badly let down in that this citizen relied on M. Bousquet, Chairman of the Electoral Committee of Béziers, and the latter is most unworthy of this, since he is secretary to the Central Police Commissioner for Béziers ... in agreement with Citizen Calas, who has recognised the mistake of which he was the victim, we shall ask Citizen Serraillier to regard as cancelled the last letter sent to him by Citizen Calas and, moreover, we shall ask him, if it can be done, to have M. Bousquet expelled from the International. By authority of the socialist democracy of Béziers and Pézénas" (here follow the signatures).

Serraillier profited by this statement to denounce, in *L'Emancipation* of Toulouse (December 19, 1871), this M. Bousquet as a police agent. — A letter dated Narbonne, July 24, 1872, says that M. Bousquet

"is combining the functions of brigadier chief of police with those of travelling agent for the Genevan dissidents".  

It is therefore only natural that the *Bulletin jurassien* of November 10, 1872 should have come out in his defence.  

VII

THE ALLIANCE AFTER THE HAGUE CONGRESS

It is known that at the last sitting of the Hague Congress, the fourteen delegates of the minority tabled a declaration of protest against the resolutions adopted. This minority consisted of the following delegates: four Spanish, five Belgian, two Jurassian, two Dutch, and one American.

After having agreed at Brussels with the Belgians on the principles for common action against the new General Council, the Jurassians and the Spaniards left for Saint-Imier in Switzerland to hold the anti-authoritarian Congress which the Alliance had arranged to have convoked by its acolytes in Rimini.

This Congress was preceded by that of the Jura Federation,

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*a* A. Serraillier, "À la rédaction de *L'Emancipation* de Toulouse", *L'Emancipation*, No. 1243, December 19, 1871.— *Ed.*

*b* J. Montels, "Compagnons rédacteurs...", *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...*, No. 20/21, November 10, 1872 (see also this volume, p. 300).— *Ed.*

*c* "Déclaration de la minorité", *La Liberté*, No. 37, September 15, 1872.— *Ed.*
which rejected the resolutions of The Hague, notably the one expelling Bakunin and Guillaume. As a result, the Federation was suspended by the General Council.367

The Alliance was fully represented at the anti-authoritarian congress. Beside the Spaniards and the Jurassians, there were six Italian delegates, including Costa, Cafiero, Fanelli, and Bakunin in person; two delegates claimed to represent “several French sections”, and another delegate—two American ones. In all, fifteen “allies”. This Congress finally offered Bakunin “all the guarantees of an impartial and serious trial”; and here, too, complete unanimity prevailed. These men, of whom at least half did not belong to the International, appointed themselves members of a supreme tribunal called upon to pronounce the final sentence upon the acts of a General Congress of our Association. They announced their absolute rejection of all resolutions passed by the Hague Congress and refused to recognise in any way the powers of the new General Council elected by it. Finally, they formed, on behalf of their federations and without any form of mandate to that effect, an offensive and defensive alliance, a “pact of friendship, of solidarity, and of mutual defence”, against the General Council and all those who recognised the resolutions of the Hague Congress. They defined their abstentionist anarchism in the following resolution, which was a direct condemnation of the Paris Commune:

“The Congress declares 1) that the destruction of all political power is the first duty of the proletariat; 2) that any organisation of supposedly provisional and revolutionary political power aiming to bring about this destruction can only be yet another hoax and will be as dangerous to the proletariat as all governments in existence today.”

Finally, it was decided to invite the other autonomist federations to join the new pact and to hold a second anti-authoritarian Congress six months later.

The split within the International was thus proclaimed. From that moment, the Jura Committee openly took over the management of the dissidents’ affairs. The part of the International which followed it was no more than the old public Alliance reconstituted and serving as a cover and tool for the secret Alliance.

On returning to Spain, the four Aymon sons, members of the

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a See this volume, p. 485.—Ed.

b “Les deux congrès de Saint-Imier”, Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne..., No. 17/18, September 15-October 1, 1872, p. 12.—Ed.
Spanish Alliance, published a manifesto full of calumnies against the Congress at The Hague and flattery for the one at Saint-Imier. The Federal Council supported this libel and, on the orders of the Swiss centre, convoked at Cordoba for December 25, 1872 the regional Congress which was not to have taken place until April 1873. The Swiss centre, for its part, hastened to disclose to everybody the subordinate position which the Council had been occupying beside it. Over the head of the Spanish Council, the Jura Committee sent the Saint-Imier resolutions to all the local federations in Spain.

At the Congress of Cordoba, there were only 36 federations represented out of 101 (the official number given by the Federal Council); and so this was a minority Congress if ever there was one. The newly formed federations were represented by numerous delegates; Alcoy had six, and yet this federation had never been represented before in a regional Congress. Even during the time of the Hague Congress, it had not yet existed, since it had not provided one vote or one centime to the Spanish delegation. The important and active federations, such as Gracia (500 members), Badalona (500), Sabadell (125), Sans (1,061), were conspicuous by their absence. In a list of forty-eight delegates, there were fourteen notorious Alliance members, of whom ten represented federations of which they were not members and which probably did not even know them. Sure of the majority which it had engineered, the Alliance gave itself a free hand. The regional federation's statutes, drawn up at Valencia and sanctioned at Saragossa, were scrapped, the Spanish Federation decapitated, and its Federal Council replaced by a simple correspondence and statistical commission which did not even retain the function of sending in the Spanish subscriptions to the General Council. Finally, the Alliance broke with the International, rejecting the resolutions of the Hague Congress and adopting the Saint-Imier pact. It went so far in its anarchy as to repudiate in advance the next General Congress and to substitute for it a new anti-authoritarian Congress

"in case the first one does not restore the dignity and independence of the International by repudiating the Hague Congress".

At The Hague, the Alliance wanted to impose, by means of the Spanish imperative mandate, the manner of voting which best suited it at the time. At Cordoba, it went so far as to prescribe,
nine months in advance, the resolutions which must be adopted by the next General Congress. It must be admitted that the autonomy of sections and federations could not be pushed any further.

In expelling the Alliance and its leaders from the International, the Hague Congress gave fresh impetus to the anti-Alliance movement in Spain. The New Madrid Federation was supported in its newly launched campaign by the federations of Saragossa, Vitoria, Alcalá de Henares, Gracia, Lerida, Denia, Pont de Vilumara, Toledo, Valencia, the new federation of Cadiz, etc. The Federal Council's circular convoking the Congress of Cordoba asked it to set itself up in judgment on the resolutions passed at the Hague General Congress. This was in flagrant violation not only of the General Rules, but also of the Spanish regional statutes, which stated in Article 13:

"The Federal Council will implement, and will cause to be implemented, the resolutions of the regional and international Congresses."

The New Madrid Federation reacted with a circular to the other local federations in which it declared that by this act the Federal Council had put itself outside the International, and asked them to replace it with a new provisional council whose mission would be strict observance of the Rules and not passive obedience to the Alliance's orders. This proposal was accepted; a new Federal Council was appointed with its seat at Valencia. In its first circular (February 2, 1873), it declared itself to be "the faithful guardian of the International's Rules as drawn up and sanctioned at the international and regional Congresses", and protested vigorously against those who wished to sow

"anarchy within the International, anarchy before revolution, disarmament before triumph! What a joy to the bourgeoisie!"

The Belgians held their Congress at the same time as the Spaniards and likewise rejected the Hague resolutions. The General Council replied to them, as to the Spanish secessionists,

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b "La Nueva Federacion Madrileña. Á todas las federaciones... Madrid, 1º de noviembre de 1872", La Emancipacion, No. 73, November 9, 1872.— Ed.

c "Asociacion Internacional de los Trabajadores. Consejo Federal de la Region Española. Compañeros..., Valencia, 2 de febrero de 1873", La Emancipacion, No. 85, February 8, 1873.— Ed.
with the resolution of January 26, 1873, which declared that “all societies or individuals refusing to acknowledge the Congress resolutions, or wilfully neglecting to perform the duties imposed by the rules and administrative regulations—place themselves outside of, and cease to belong to the International Working Men's Association.” On May 30, it finalised this declaration with the following resolution:

"Whereas the Congress of the Belgian federation, held at Brussels on the 25th & 26th day of December 1872, resolved to declare null & void the resolutions of the 5th General Congress;

"Whereas the Congress of a part of the Spanish federation, held at Cordoba from December 25th [1872] to January 2nd 1873, resolved: to repudiate the resolutions of the 5th General Congress & to adopt the resolutions of an anti-international meeting;

"Whereas a meeting, held at London January 26th 1873, resolved: to repudiate the action taken by the 5th General Congress;

"The General Council of the International Workingmen's Association in obedience to the statutes & administrative regulations & in accordance with its resolution of January 26th 1873, hereby declares:

"All regional & local federations, sections & individuals having participated in & recognising the resolutions of the above mentioned meetings & Congresses at Brussels, Cordoba & London,—have placed themselves outside of & are no longer members of the International Workingmen's Association."

At the same time, it declared once more that no regional Italian federation of the International exists, since no organisation calling itself by this name has fulfilled the minimal conditions for admission and affiliation as imposed by the Rules and Administrative Regulations. In different parts of Italy, however, there are sections which are in order as far as the General Council is concerned and are in communication with it.

For their part, the Jurassians held another Congress on April 27 and 28 at Neuchâtel. There were nineteen delegates present from ten Swiss sections, and a so-called section from Alsace; two Swiss sections and one French section sent no delegates. The Jura Federation thus claimed to count twelve sections in Switzerland. But the delegate for Moutier\(^a\) declared that he had only come to speak in favour of reconciliation with the International, and had an imperative mandate not to take part in the work of the

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\(^a\) Henri Favre.—*Ed.*
Congress. Moutier had, in fact, broken away from the Jura Federation after the Congress of Saint-Imier. This left eleven sections. The fact that the report from the Committee\textsuperscript{a} scrupulously abstained from giving the slightest indication about their internal position and their strength gives us the right to assume that they had no more vitality than at the time of the Congress of Sonvillier. In compensation, the report draws up in battle order the external forces of the Jurassians, the allies whom the Alliance gained after the Hague Congress. According to this report, they were nearly all federations of the International:

“Italy”—But we have seen that there is no Italian federation.

“Spain”—Although the majority of the Spanish International members have moved across into the secessionist camp, we have just seen that the Spanish Federation still exists and is in regular communication with the General Council.

“France, in what is seriously organised there”, that is, the “section of France”, which apologised to the Congress of Neuchâtel for not having sent a delegate. We are taking good care not to disclose to the Jurassians what is still “seriously organised” in France, despite the latest persecutions, which have demonstrated well enough on whose side this serious organisation was and which, as always, have solicitously spared the few Alliance members in France.

“The whole of Belgium”—is the dupe of the Alliance, whose principles she is far from sharing.

“Holland, except for one section”—that is to say, two Dutch sections supported not the Saint-Imier pact, but the anti-separatist declaration of the minority at The Hague.

“England, except for a few dissidents”!—The “dissidents”, that is to say, the vast majority of the English sections of the International, held their Congress on June 1 and 2 at Manchester, where twenty-six delegates were present representing twenty-three sections\textsuperscript{368}; whereas the “England” of the Jurassians had no sections or Federal Council, much less a Congress.

“America, apart from a few dissidents”!—The American Federation of the International exists and functions regularly in complete harmony with the General Council. It has its Federal Council and its Congresses. The “America” of the Jura Committee consists purely of those bourgeois dealers in free love, paper money, public appointments and bribes, who were represented so

\textsuperscript{a} “Rapport du Comité Fédéral Jurassien…”, Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne..., No. 9, May 1, 1873.—Ed.
magnificently at the Hague Congress by Mr. West that even the Jura delegates dared not speak or vote in his favour.

"The Slavs"—that is to say, the "Slav section of Zurich", which, as always, figures as a whole race. The Poles, the Russians, and the Austrian and Hungarian Slavs of the International, as open enemies of the secessionists, do not count.

This is what the allies of the Alliance amounted to. If the eleven Jura sections were no more real than the majority of these allies, their committee had good reason to keep silent about them.

In this battle order of the Alliance, Switzerland was conspicuous by her absence. There were very good reasons for this. A month later, on June 1 and 2, a general Swiss Working Men's Congress was held in Olten to organise resistance and strikes. Five Jurassians there preached the gospel of absolute autonomy of the sections; they made the Congress waste over half its time. Finally, the matter had to be put to vote. The result was that of eighty delegates, seventy-five voted against the five Jurassians who had no alternative but to leave the hall.

At its secret gatherings, however, the Alliance apparently did not subscribe, where its real forces were concerned, to the illusions which it wanted to impose on the public. At that same Congress of Neuchâtel, it had the following resolution adopted:

"Considering that, in accordance with the General Rules, the General Congress of the International meets every year without need of convocation by the General Council, the Jura Federation proposes to all the federations of the International that they should meet for a General Congress on Monday, September 1, in a Swiss town."

And to prevent this congress from repeating the "fatal errors of The Hague", it was requested that the Alliance delegates and their allies should meet, on August 28, for an anti-authoritarian Congress. From the debate on this proposition, it emerges that

"for us, the only General Congress of the International will be the one convoked directly by the federations themselves, and not the one which the so-called General Council of New York might attempt to convoke".\(^b\)

Here, then, is the split carried to extremes with all the attendant consequences. The members of the International will go to the congress which the preceding Congress has instructed the General Council to convoke in a Swiss town of its own choosing. The

\(^a\) James Guillaume, J.-L. Pindy, Henri Wenker, Léon Schwitzguébel, Charles Gameter.— Ed.

\(^b\) "Le Congrès jurassien, des 27 et 28 avril 1873", \textit{L'Internationale}, No. 228, May 18, 1873.— Ed.
Alliance members and their suite of dupes will go to a congress convoked by themselves on the strength of their autonomy. We wish them a pleasant journey.

VIII

THE ALLIANCE IN RUSSIA

1. THE NECHAYEV TRIAL

The Alliance’s activities in Russia were revealed to us by the political trial known as “the Nechayev affair” which took place in July 1871 before the Court of Justice in St. Petersburg. For the first time in Russia, a political trial took place before a jury and in public. All the accused, numbering over eighty men and women, belonged, with a few exceptions, to the student youth. From November 1869 to July 1871, they were kept in detention in the dungeons of the fortress in St. Petersburg, with the result that two of them died and several others went insane. They were brought out of prison to be condemned to the Siberian mines, to penal servitude, and to imprisonment for fifteen, twelve, ten, seven and two years. And those acquitted by the public tribunal were then exiled as an “administrative measure”.

Their crime was that they had belonged to a secret society which had usurped the name of the International Working Men’s Association, to which they had been affiliated by an emissary of the international revolutionary committee who carried mandates stamped with a fake seal of the International; and this emissary had forced them to commit a series of frauds and had obliged several of them to help him in an assassination. It was this assassination which put the police on the trail of the secret society; but, as always, the emissary disappeared. The police showed such perspicacity in their investigations that it was possible to assume a detailed denunciation. Throughout the whole of this affair, the role of the emissary was highly ambiguous. This emissary was Nechayev, who carried a certificate-mandate to the following effect:

“The bearer of this certificate is one of the authorised representatives of the Russian branch of the World Revolutionary Alliance.—No. 2771.”

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a Peter and Paul Fortress.— Ed.
This certificate carried: 1) a stamp, in French: “European Revolutionary Alliance. General Committee”; 2) date—May 12, 1869; 3) signature—Mikhail Bakunin.*

In 1861, as a result of the fiscal measures intended to deprive poor young people of a higher education, and as a result of disciplinary steps aimed at subjecting them to arbitrary police control, the students made a vigorous and unanimous protest which they took from their meetings out into the streets to be expressed in impressive demonstrations. St. Petersburg University was then closed for a time and the students were imprisoned or exiled. This government move drove the young people into secret societies which inevitably resulted in large numbers of the members being imprisoned, banished, or sent to Siberia. Others, to provide the necessary means for the poor students to continue their studies, founded mutual aid funds. The more serious of them decided not to give the government any further pretext for suppressing these funds, which were organised so that business matters could be discussed at small meetings. These business meetings provided the opportunity to discuss political and social questions at the same time. Socialist ideas had penetrated so deeply among the Russian student youth, who were mainly the sons of peasants and other poor people, that they already dreamed of putting them immediately into practice. Every day, this movement spread further in the educational institutions and injected into Russian society poor young people of plebeian origin who were instructed in, and permeated with, socialist ideas. The heart and soul of this movement’s theoretical aspect was Chernyshevsky, now in Siberia. It was at this point that Nechayev, profiting by the International’s prestige and the enthusiasm of the young, tried to convince the students that the time had passed for concern with such trivialities, now that there existed a huge secret society affiliated to the International and occupied in fomenting world revolution and ready for immediate action in Russia. He managed to hoodwink a few young people and inveigle them into committing criminal acts, which gave the police the pretext for

* St. Petersburg Gazette, 1871, Nos. 180, 181, 187 and others.

a C.-Петербургскія В'єдомости.—Ed.
crushing the whole of this student movement, so dangerous to official Russia.

In March 1869, there arrived at Geneva a young Russian who tried to ingratiate himself with all the Russian emigrants by posing as a delegate from the St. Petersburg students. He introduced himself under various names. Some of the emigrants knew positively that no delegate had been sent from that city; others, after talking to the supposed delegate, took him for a spy. In the end, he let himself be known by his real name, which was Nechayev. He said that he had escaped from the St. Petersburg fortress, where he had been incarcerated as one of the chief instigators of the disorders which had broken out in January 1869 in the capital's educational institutions. Several of the emigrants, who had suffered long spells of detention in this fortress, knew from experience that all escape was impossible, and so they were aware that on this point Nechayev was lying; on the other hand, since the newspapers and letters which they received with the names of wanted students never mentioned Nechayev, they regarded his alleged revolutionary activity as mere legend. But Bakunin took up Nechayev's cause and made a tremendous fuss about it. He proclaimed to all and sundry that this was the "envoy extraordinary of the great secret organisation existing and active in Russia". Bakunin was beseeched not to disclose to this person the names of his acquaintances whom he could compromise. Bakunin gave his word; how he kept it will be shown by the documents of the trial.

During an interview that Nechayev requested of a refugee,\(^a\) he was forced to admit that he was not the delegate of any secret organisation, but he had, he said, comrades and acquaintances whom he wished to organise, adding that it was essential to gain control over the old emigrants in order to influence the young people with their prestige and to profit by their printing press and their money. Shortly afterwards, *Words* came out, addressed to the students by Nechayev and Bakunin.\(^b\) In it, Nechayev repeated the legend of his escape and appealed to the young people to devote themselves to the revolutionary struggle. In the student unrest Bakunin discovers "an all-destroying spirit opposed to the State ...

\(^a\) N. I. Utin.—*Ed.*

\(^b\) The reference is to Bakunin's leaflet *Несколько слов ко молодым братьям в России* and Nechayev's *Студентам университета, академий и тех[нологического] института в Санктпетербурге*, Geneva, 1869.—*Ed.*
which has emerged from the very depths of the people's life" *; he congratulates his "young brethren on their revolutionary tendencies.... This means that the end is in sight of this infamous Empire of all the Russians!" His anarchism served him as a pretext to take a swipe at the Poles, accusing them of only working

"for the restoration of their historic state" (!).—"They dream, therefore, of a new enslavement of their people", and should they succeed "they would become our enemies as much as the oppressors of their own people. We shall fight them in the name of the social revolution and liberty for the whole world".

Bakunin is clearly in agreement with the tsar on this issue: The Poles must be prevented at all costs from managing their internal affairs as they think fit. During all Polish insurrections, the official Russian press has always accused the Polish insurgents of being "the oppressors of their own people". A touching point of agreement between the organs of the Third Department ** and the archanarchist of Locarno!

The Russian people, Bakunin continues, are at present living in conditions similar to those that forced them to rise under Tsar Alexei, father of Peter the Great. Then it was Stenka Razin, the Cossack brigand chief, who placed himself at their head and showed them "the road" to "freedom". In order to rise today the people are waiting only for a new Stenka Razin; but this time he

"will be replaced by the legion of déclassé young men who already live the life of the people... Stenka Razin, no longer an individual hero but a collective one" (!) "consequently they have an invincible hero behind them. Such a hero are all the magnificent young people over whom his spirit already soars."

To perform this role of a collective Stenka Razin, the young people must prepare themselves through ignorance:

"Friends, abandon with all speed this world doomed to destruction. Leave its universities, its academies, its schools [...] and go among the people," to become "the mid-wife of the people's self-emancipation, the uniter and organiser of their forces and efforts. Do not bother at this moment with learning, in the name of which they would bind you, castrate you... Such is the belief of the finest people in the West... The world of the workers of Europe and America calls you to join them in a fraternal alliance."

* It shall be noted that these Words were published at the very moment of the persecutions and sentences, when the young people were doing their utmost to moderate their movement which the police themselves found it so advantageous to exaggerate.

** The Third Department of the Imperial Russian Chancellory is the Central Bureau of the secret political police in Russia.
In its secret statutes, the Alliance tells its third-grade members that

"the principles of this organisation ... shall be even more explicitly exposed in the programme of the Russian socialist democracy".\(^a\)

We have here the beginnings of this promise's fulfilment. In addition to the habitual anarchist phrases and the chauvinistic hatred of the Poles that Citizen B. has never been able to conceal, we see him here for the first time acclaiming the Russian brigand as the type of the true revolutionary and preaching to Russian young the cult of ignorance, under the pretext that modern science is merely official science (can one imagine an official mathematics, physics or chemistry?), and that this is the opinion of the finest people in the West. Finally he ends his leaflet by letting it be understood that through his mediation the International is proposing an alliance to these young people, whom he forbids even the learning of the Ignorantines.\(^{371}\)

This evangelical Word played a great part in the Nechayev conspiracy. It was read secretly to every neophyte before his initiation.

At the same time as this Word (1869), anonymous Russian publications came out: 1) *The Setting of the Revolutionary Question*\(^b\); 2) *The Principles of Revolution*; 3) *Publications of the “People's Judgment” Society* ("Narodnaya Rasprava") No. 1, summer 1869, Moscow.\(^d\)—All these writings were printed in Geneva, as is proved by the fact that the type was identical with that used for other Russian publications in Geneva—furthermore, this fact was a matter of public notoriety among all the Russian emigrants,—which did not prevent these publications from carrying on their first page the stamp: "Printed in Russia—Gedruckt in Russland", to mislead the Russian students into thinking that the secret society possessed considerable resources in Russia itself.

*The Setting of the Revolutionary Question* gives away its authors at once. The same phrases, the same expressions as those used by Bakunin and Nechayev in their *Words*:

"Not only the state must be destroyed, but also revolutionaries of the State and the cabinet. We are certainly for the people."

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\(^a\) See this volume, p. 573.—*Ed.*
\(^b\) [М. Бакунин.] Постановка революционного вопроса. Here and below the titles of Bakunin's and Nechayev's works, as well as those of some other authors, are given in the original in French.—*Ed.*
\(^c\) Начала Революции. (Written by М. Bakunin or S. Nechayev), Geneva, 1869.—*Ed.*
\(^d\) Издания Общества "Народной Расправы", No. 1.—*Ed.*
By the law of anarchist assimilation, Bakunin assimilates himself to the student youth:

"The government itself shows us the road we must follow to attain our goal, that is to say, the goal of the people. It drives us out of the universities, the academies, the schools. We are grateful to it for having thus put us on such glorious, such firm ground. Now we have ground under our feet, now we can do things. And what are we going to do? Teach the people? That would be stupid. The people know themselves, and better than we do, what they need" (compare the secret statutes which endow the masses with "popular instincts", and the initiates with "the revolutionary idea" a). "Our task is not to teach the people but to rouse them." Up to now "they have always rebelled in vain because they have rebelled separately... We can render them extremely valuable assistance, we can give them what they have lacked so far, what has been the principal cause of all their defeats. We can give them the unity of universal movement by rallying their own forces."

This is where the doctrine of the Alliance, anarchy at the bottom and discipline at the top, emerges in all its purity. First by rioting comes the "unleashing of what today are called the evil passions" but "in the midst of popular anarchy, which will constitute the very life and energy of the revolution, unity of revolutionary idea and action should find an organ". That organ will be the world Alliance, Russian section, the Society of the People's Judgment.

But Bakunin is not to be satisfied merely with youth. He calls all brigands to the banner of his Alliance, Russian section.

"Brigandage is one of the most honourable forms of the Russian people's life. The brigand is a hero, a protector, a people's avenger, the irreconcilable enemy of the state, and of all social and civil order established by the state, a fighter to the death against the whole civilisation of the civil servants, the nobles, the priests and the crown... He who fails to understand brigandage understands nothing of Russian popular history. He who is not in sympathy with it, cannot be in sympathy with Russian popular life, and has no heart for the measureless, age-long sufferings of the people; he belongs to the enemy camp, among the supporters of the state... Brigandage is the sole proof of the vitality, the passion and the strength of the people... The brigand in Russia is the true and only revolutionary—the revolutionary without phrases, without rhetoric culled from books, an indefatigable revolutionary, irreconcilable and irresistible in action, a popular and social revolutionary, not a political or class revolutionary... The brigands in the forests, in the towns and in the villages scattered all over Russia, and the brigands held in the countless gaols of the empire make up a single, indivisible, close-knit world—the world of the Russian revolution. It is here, and here alone, that the real revolutionary conspiracy has long existed. He who wants to undertake real conspiracy in Russia, who wants a people's revolution, must go into this world... Following the road pointed out to us now by the government, which drives us from the academies, the universities and schools, let us throw ourselves, brethren, among the people, into the people's movement, into the brigand and peasant rebellion

a See this volume, p. 576.—Ed.
and, maintaining a true and firm friendship among ourselves, let us rally into a single mass all the scattered outbursts of the muzhiks" (peasants). "Let us turn them into a people's revolution, meaningful but ruthless." *

In the second leaflet, *The Principles of Revolution*, we find a development of the order given in the secret statutes that "not a stone shall remain standing". All must be destroyed in order to produce "complete amorphism", for if even "one of the old forms" be preserved, it will become the "embryo" from which all the other old social forms will be regenerated. The leaflet accuses the political revolutionaries who do not take this amorphism seriously of deceiving the people. It accuses them of having erected

"new gallows and scaffolds where the surviving brother revolutionaries have been done to death... So it is that the people have not yet known a real revolution... A real revolution does not need individuals standing at the head of the crowd and commanding it, but men hidden invisibly among the crowd and forming an invisible link between one crowd and another, and thus invisibly giving one and the same direction, one spirit and character to the movement. This is the sole purpose of bringing in a secret preparatory organisation and only to this extent is it necessary."

Here, then, the existence of the *international brethren*, so carefully concealed in the West, is exposed to the Russian public and the Russian police. Further the leaflet goes on to preach systematic assassination and declares that for people engaged in practical revolutionary work all argument about the future is

"criminal because it hinders pure destruction and hampers the advent of the beginning of the revolution. We believe only in those who show their devotion to the cause of revolution by deeds, without fear of torture or imprisonment, and we renounce all words that are not immediately followed by deeds. We have no further use for aimless propaganda that does not set itself a definite time and place for realisation of the aims of revolution. What is more, it stands in our way and we shall make every effort to combat it... We shall silence by force the chatterers who refuse to understand this."

* To mystify his readers Bakunin confuses the leaders of the popular uprisings of the 17th and 18th centuries with the brigands and thieves of the Russia of today. As regards the latter, the reading of Flerovsky's book *The Condition of the Working Class in Russia* would disillusion the most romantic souls concerning these poor creatures from whom Bakunin proposes to form the sacred phalanx of the Russian revolution. The sole brigandage—apart from the governmental sphere, of course—still being carried out on a large scale in Russia is the stealing of horses, run as a commercial enterprise by the capitalists, of whom the "revolutionaries without phrases" are but the tools and victims.

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*a* Н. Флеровский, *Положение рабочего класса в России. Наблюдения и исследования*, St. Petersburg, 1869.—*Ed.*

*b* See this volume, p. 573.—*Ed.*
These threats were addressed to the Russian emigrants who had not bowed to Bakunin's papal authority and whom he called doctrinaires.

"We break all ties with the political emigrants who refuse to return to their country to join our ranks, and until these ranks become evident, with all those who refuse to work for their public emergence on the scene of Russian life. *We make exception for the emigrants who have already declared themselves workers of the European revolution.* From now on we shall make no further repetitions or appeals... He who has ears and eyes will hear and see the men of action, and if he does not join them his destruction will be no fault of ours, just as it will be no fault of ours if all who hide behind the scenes are cold-bloodedly and pitilessly destroyed, along with the scenery that hides them."

At this point we can see right through Bakunin. While enjoining the emigrants on pain of death to return to Russia as agents of his secret society—like the Russian police-spies who would offer them passports and money to go there and join in conspiracies—he grants himself a papal dispensation to remain peacefully in Switzerland as "a worker of the European revolution", and to occupy himself composing manifestos that compromise the unfortunate students whom the police hold in their prisons.

"While not recognising any other activity but that of destruction, we acknowledge that the forms in which it manifests itself may be extremely varied: poison, dagger, noose, etc. The revolution sanctifies all without distinction. The field is open!—Let all young and healthy minds undertake at once the sacred work of destroying evil, purging and enlightening the Russian land by fire and sword, uniting fraternally with those who will do the same thing throughout Europe."

Let us add that in this sublime proclamation the inevitable brigand figures in the melodramatic person of Karl Moor (from Schiller's *Robbers*), and that No. 2 of *The People's Judgment*, quoting a passage from this leaflet, calls it straight out "a proclamation of Bakunin's".

Number 1 of the *Publications of the "People's Judgment"* Society begins by proclaiming that the general uprising of the Russian people is imminent and close at hand.\(^b\)

*We, that is to say, that part of the popular youth which have reached a certain stage of development, we must clear the way for it; in other words, we must

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\(^a\) «Кто не за насъ, тотъ противъ насъ», Издания Общества «Народной Расправы», No. 2, St. Petersburg, 1870.—*Ed.*

\(^b\) «Всенародное возстаніе», Издания Общества «Народной Расправы», No. 1, Moscow, 1869.—*Ed.*
eliminate all the obstacles to its progress and prepare favourable conditions for it... In view of the imminence of the uprising, we deem it necessary to unite into a single indissoluble whole all revolutionary efforts scattered all over Russia. That is why we have decided to publish, on behalf of the revolutionary centre, leaflets in which every one of our coreligionaries scattered all over Russia, every one of the workers for the sacred cause of the Revolution, although unknown to us, will always see what we want and where we are going."

The leaflet then states:

"Thought has value for us only inasmuch as it serves the great cause of universal pan-destruction. The revolutionary who studies the revolution in books will never be good for anything... We have no more faith in words. The word has value for us only when it is followed by action; but not all is action which bears the name. For example, the modest and too circumspect organisation of secret societies which have no external manifestations is, in our view, nothing but ridiculous and disgusting child's play. By external manifestations, we mean only a series of acts positively destroying something, a person, a thing, an enchainment which hinders popular emancipation... Without sparing our lives, without stopping before any threat, any obstacle, any danger, etc., we must, by a series of audacious and, yes, arrogant attempts, burst into the life of the people and inspire them with faith [...] in their own powers, awaken them, rally them and urge them on to the triumph of their own cause."

But suddenly the revolutionary phrases of the Judgment turn into attacks on The People's Cause, a Russian newspaper published in Geneva which defended the programme and organisation of the International. It was, as we see, of the greatest importance for the Alliance propaganda that Bakunin was carrying out in Russia in the name of the International, that a newspaper unmasking his fraud should be silenced.

"If this newspaper continues in the same fashion, we shall not hesitate to express and demonstrate to it what our relations with it must be... We are convinced that all serious men will now lay aside all theory, and the more so all doctrinairism. We can prevent the publication of writings which, though sincere, are nevertheless contrary to our banner, by various practical means at our disposal."

After these threats to its dangerous rival, the People's Judgment continues:

"Among the leaflets lately published abroad, we recommend, almost without any reserve, Bakunin's appeal to the déclassé student youth... Bakunin is right when he advises to leave the academies, the universities, and the schools, and to go among the people."

Bakunin noticeably never lets slip the occasion to offer himself a swing of the censer.

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1 Народное Дело. La Cause du Peuple.—Ed.
The second article is entitled: "A glimpse at the past and present notions of the cause." We have just seen Bakunin and Nechayev threatening the Russian organ of the International abroad. In this article, we shall see them descend on Chernyshevsky, the man who, in Russia, had done most to draw into the socialist movement the student youth whom they claimed to represent.

“Certainly, the peasants have never engaged in imagining forms of the future social order; nevertheless, after the elimination of all obstructions (that is, after the pan-destructive revolution, which is the first thing to be accomplished and consequently the most important one for us), they will be able to arrange their lives with more sense than can be found in the theories and projects of the doctrinarian socialists who want to impose themselves on the people as teachers and, even worse, directors. In the eyes of people not corrupted by the spectacles of civilisation, the tendencies of these unwanted teachers are only too obvious. They seek, under the pretext of science and art, etc., to prepare *cosy little niches* for themselves and their kind. Even if these tendencies were disinterested and naive, even if they were but the inevitable fruit of all order imbued with modern civilisation, the people would gain nothing by them. The ideal goal of social equality was incomparably better achieved in the Cossack society organised by Vasily Us in Astrakhan after the departure of Stenka Razin, than in Fourier's phalansteries, the institutions of Cabet, Louis Blanc and other socialist savants" (!), "or in the associations of Chernyshevsky."

Here follows a page of invective against the latter and his comrades.

The *cosy little niche* that Chernyshevsky was preparing for himself was presented to him by the Russian government in the form of a prison cell in Siberia, whereas Bakunin, relieved of this danger in his capacity as worker for the European revolution, limited himself to demonstrations *from without*. And it was at the very time when the government severely forbade the mere mention of Chernyshevsky's name in the press, that Messrs Bakunin and Nechayev attacked him.

Our "amorphous" revolutionaries continue:

“We undertake to demolish this rotten social edifice... We come from the people with our skins rent by the teeth of the existing order; we come guided by hatred for all that is not of the people, having no notion of moral obligations or of any kind of honesty towards this world which we hate and of which we expect nothing but evil. We have but one single invariable and negative plan: that of merciless destruction. We categorically renounce the elaboration of future conditions of life, this task being incompatible with our activities, and for that reason we regard as futile all purely theoretical brain work... We undertake exclusively the destruction of the existing social order.”

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* "Взглядь на прежнее и нынешнее понимание дела", *Издания Общества "Народной Расправы)*, No. 1.—Ed.
These two demonstrators from without are insinuating that the attempted assassination of the tsar in 1866 was one of a "series of pan-destructive acts" committed by their own secret society:

"It was Karakozov who began our sacred work on April 4, 1866. Only since that time has the consciousness of their revolutionary powers been stirring to life among the young people... It was an example, a deed! No propaganda can be of such great significance."

They then draw up a long list of "creatures" condemned by the committee to immediate death. Several "will have their tongues torn out"... but

"we shall not touch the tsar... we shall save him for the judgment of the people, of the peasants; this right belongs to all the people... so let our executioner live until the moment of the popular storm..."

No one will venture to doubt that these Russian pamphlets, the secret statutes, and all the works published by Bakunin since 1869 in French," come from one and the same source. On the contrary, all these three categories complement one another. They correspond to some extent to the three degrees of initiation into the famous organisation of pan-destruction. The French brochures of Citizen B. are written for the rank and file of the Alliance, whose prejudices are taken into account. They are told of nothing but pure anarchy, of anti-authoritarianism, of a free federation of autonomous groups and other equally harmless things: a mere jumble of words. The secret statutes are intended for the international brethren of the West; there anarchy becomes "the complete unleashing of people's life... of evil passions", but underneath this anarchy there lies the secret directing element—the brothers themselves; they are given only a few vague indications on the morality of the Alliance, stolen from Loyola, and the necessity of leaving not a stone standing is mentioned only in passing, because these are Westerners brought up on philistine prejudices and some allowances have to be made for them. They are told that the truth, too blinding for eyes not yet accustomed to true anarchism, will be fully revealed in the programme of the Russian section. Only to the born anarchists, to the people elect, to his young people of Holy Russia does the prophet dare to speak out openly. There anarchy means universal pan-destruction;

\[a\] Alexander II.—Ed.
\[b\] The reference is to the following Bakunin's works: *Programme de la Section de l'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste; Quelques paroles—À mes jeunes frères en Russie; Lettres à un Français sur la crise actuelle. Septembre 1870; L'Empire knouto-germanique et la révolution sociale.—Ed.
the revolution, a series of assassinations, first individual and then _en masse_; the sole rule of action, the Jesuit morality intensified; the revolutionary type, the brigand. There, thought and learning are absolutely forbidden to the young as mundane occupations that could lead them to doubt the all-destructive orthodoxy. Those who persist in adhering to these theoretical heresies or who apply their vulgar criticism to the dogmas of universal amorphism are threatened with a holy inquisition. Before the youth of Russia the Pope need feel no restraint either in the form or substance of his utterances. He gives his tongue free play and the complete absence of ideas is expressed in such grandiloquent verbiage that it cannot be reproduced in French without weakening its comic effect. His language is not even real Russian. It is Tartar, so a native Russian has stated. These small men with atrophied minds puff themselves up with horrific phrases in order to appear in their own eyes as giants of revolution. It is the fable of the frog and the ox.

What terrible revolutionaries! They want to annihilate and amorphise everything, "absolutely everything". They draw up lists of proscribed persons, doomed to die by their daggers, their poison, their ropes, by the bullets from their revolvers; they "will tear out the tongues" of many, but they will bow before the majesty of the tsar. Indeed, the tsar, the officials, the nobility, the bourgeoisie may sleep in peace. The Alliance does not make war on the established states, but on the revolutionaries who do not stoop to the role of supernumeraries in this tragi-comedy. Peace to the palaces, war on the cottages! Chernyshevsky was libelled; the editors of _The People's Cause_ were warned that they would be silenced "by various practical means at our disposal"; the Alliance threatened to assassinate all revolutionaries who were not with it. This is the only part of their pan-destructive programme which they began to carry out. We shall now describe the first exploit of this nature.

After April 1869, Bakunin and Nechayev began preparing the ground for the revolution in Russia. They sent letters, proclama-tions and telegrams from Geneva to St. Petersburg, Kiev, and other cities. They knew, however, that they could not send letters and proclamations, much less telegrams, to Russia without the "Third Department" (the secret police) knowing about them. All

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a N. I. Utin.— _Ed._

b La Fontaine, "La grenouille qui se veut faire aussi grosse que le bœuf", Paris, 1779.— _Ed._
this could have no purpose other than that of compromising others. These cowardly tricks of men who risked nothing in their fine city of Geneva resulted in the arrest of a great many persons in Russia. However, they were warned of the danger that they were causing. We have in our hands proof that the following passage in a letter from Russia was communicated to Bakunin:

“For mercy’s sake, let Bakunin know that if he holds anything sacred in the revolution, he must stop sending his lunatic proclamations, which are leading to searches in several cities and to arrests, and are paralysing all serious work.”

Bakunin replied that it was all nonsense and that Nechayev had left for America. But, as will be seen later, Bakunin’s clandestine code makes it obligatory to

“compromise completely ... the ambitious men and liberals of different shades ... so that retreat becomes impossible for them, and make use of them”. (The Revolutionary Catechism, § 19.)

Here is one proof. On April 7, 1869, Nechayev wrote to Mme. Tomilova, wife of a colonel who later died of grief after the arrest of his wife, that “there is an enormous amount to be done in Geneva”, and he urged her to send a reliable man for talks with him.

“The cause on which we must take counsel does not concern only our trade, but that of all Europe. Things are in ferment here. There’s a soup boiling up that Europe will never manage to swallow. So make haste.”

Then comes the Geneva address. This letter did not reach its destination; it was confiscated in the post by the secret police, and resulted in the arrest of Mme. Tomilova, who only learned about it during the investigation. (Report of the Nechayev trial, St. Petersburg Gazette, No. 187, 1871.*

Here is another fact which demonstrates Bakunin’s circumspection in organising a conspiracy. Mavritsky, a student at the Kiev Academy, received proclamations which had been sent to him from Geneva. He immediately handed them over to the government, which hastened to send to Geneva a trustworthy man, that is, a spy. Bakunin and Nechayev formed a close association with this delegate from the south of Russia, supplied him with

* All the facts cited by us in connection with the Nechayev conspiracy are extracts from the reports of the trial as published in the St. Petersburg Gazette. We shall quote the number of the issue from which they have been taken.

a See this volume, p. 547.—Ed.
proclamations and the addresses of persons whom Nechayev claimed to know in Russia, and gave him what could only be taken as a letter of confidence and recommendation (St. Petersburg Gazette, No. 187).

On September 3 (September 15, new style), 1869, Nechayev introduced himself in Moscow to Uspensky, a young man he had known before going abroad, as emissary of the World Revolutionary Committee in Geneva, and showed him the mandate quoted above. He told Uspensky that emissaries from this European Committee would be coming to Moscow furnished with similar mandates, and that he, Nechayev, had been given the mission of

"organising a secret society among the student youth ... to provoke a popular uprising in Russia".

On Uspensky's recommendation, Nechayev, in order to find a safe refuge, went to the Agricultural Academy, which was some distance from the city, and contacted Ivanov, one of the students best known for their devotion to the interests of the young and the people. Henceforth, the Agricultural Academy was to be Nechayev's centre of activity. First, he introduced himself under a false name and told how he had travelled a great deal in Russia; that the people were ready to rise everywhere and would have done so long ago had not the revolutionaries advised them to wait patiently until the completion of their great and powerful organisation, which was going to combine all the revolutionary forces of Russia. He urged Ivanov and other students to join this secret society, headed by an all-powerful Committee in whose name everything was done, but whose composition and locale must remain unknown to its members. This Committee and this organisation constituted the Russian Branch of World Union, of the Revolutionary Alliance, of the International Working Men's Association!*

Nechayev began by distributing the above-mentioned Words among the students to show them that Bakunin, the celebrated revolutionary of 1848 who had escaped from Siberia, was playing an important role in Europe, that he was the chief plenipotentiary

* It should be noted that in Russian the words for association, union and alliance (obshchestvo, soyuiz, tovarishchestvo) are more or less synonymous and can often be used indiscriminately. Similarly, the word for international is mostly rendered by "world" (vsemirny). In the Russian press, "International Association" is thus often translated by words which could equally well be rendered into French as "Alliance universelle". It was by making use of this confusion in terms that Bakunin and Nechayev succeeded in exploiting our Association's name and in ruining about a hundred young people.
of the workers, that he signed the mandates issued by the General Committee of the World Association, and that this hero advised them to give up their studies, etc. To give them a striking example of devotion unto death, he read them a poem by Ogarev, Bakunin's friend and the editor of Herzen's *Kolokol*; entitled *The Student*, it was dedicated to his “young friend Nechayev”. In it, Nechayev was represented as the ideal student, as the “indefatigable fighter since childhood”. Ogarev sang of how Nechayev suffered in his early years for the sake of the living work of science; how his devotion to the people had grown; how, pursued by the vengeance of the tsar and by the fear of the Boyars, he took to a life of wandering (*skitanye*, or vagabondage); how he went on a pilgrimage to cry out to the peasants from east to west: “Assemble together, rise up courageously”, etc. etc.; how he ended his life in penal servitude amid the snows of Siberia; how, being no hypocrite, he remained faithful all his life to the struggle; and how, till his last breath, he repeated: “All the people must conquer their land and their liberty!” This Alliance poem was published in the spring of 1869, when Nechayev was amusing himself in Geneva. Batches of it were sent to Russia along with the other proclamations. It would seem that the mere act of copying out this poem had the effect of inspiring a feeling of self-sacrifice in the neophytes, for, on the Committee's instructions, Nechayev had it copied out and distributed by each new initiate (statements by several of the defendants).

Music seems to be the only thing which was to escape the amorphism to which universal pan-destruction reduced all the arts and sciences. On behalf of the Committee, Nechayev ordained that propaganda should be carried out by means of *revolutionary music*, and tried hard to find a tune to which this poetic masterpiece could be sung by the young people (*St. Petersburg Gazette, No. 190*).

The mystic legend of his death did not prevent him from hinting that Nechayev might well be still alive, or from telling, under oath of secrecy, that Nechayev was in the Urals as a worker and that he had founded workers' associations there. (*St. Petersburg Gazette, No. 202*). He disclosed this mainly to those who were “good for nothing”, that is, to those who dreamed of founding working men's associations, in order to inspire them with admiration for this fabulous hero. Finally, when the legends of his imaginary escape from the St. Petersburg Fortress* a* and of his

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*a Peter and Paul Fortress.— *Ed.*
poetic death in Siberia had sufficiently prepared their minds and he believed that the initiates were well enough versed in the catechism, he finally brought about his evangelical resurrection and announced that he was Nechayev in person! But it was no longer the Nechayev of old, ridiculed and despised by the students of St. Petersburg, as is affirmed by the witnesses and the defendants; this was the plenipotentiary of the World Revolutionary Committee. The miracle of his transformation had been engineered by Bakunin. Nechayev had complied with all the conditions demanded by the statutes of the organisation he preached; he had "distinguished himself by actions known and appreciated by the Committee"; he had, in Brussels, organised and directed an important strike by members of the International; the Belgian Committee had sent him as delegate to the Geneva International, where he had met Bakunin, and since, to use his own expression, "he disliked resting on his laurels", he had returned to Russia to begin "revolutionary activities". He gave an assurance that a whole general staff of sixteen Russian refugees had come with him.*

Uspensky, Ivanov, and four or six other young people appear to have been the only ones in Moscow who let themselves be taken in by this balderdash. Four of these initiates were ordered to recruit new adherents and to form circles or small sections. The plan of organisation is to be found in the documents of the trial; it conforms in almost every point to that of the secret Alliance. The "general rules of the organisation" were read out before the court, and not one of the principal initiates disputed their authenticity. Furthermore, issue No. 2 of The People's Judgment edited by Bakunin and Nechayev admitted the authenticity of the following articles:

"The organisation is based on trust in the individual.—No member knows to which grade he belongs, that is to say, whether he is far from or near the centre.—Obedience to the Committee's orders must be absolute, without any objections.—Renunciation of all property in favour of the Committee, which can dispose of it.—Any member who has recruited a certain number of proselytes to our cause and who has proved by his deeds the degree of his strength and abilities, may familiarise himself with these rules and, later, with the society's statutes to a greater or lesser extent. The degree of his strength and abilities is assessed by the Committee."* 

* None of the Russian refugees re-entered Russia, and in any case there are no sixteen Russian political refugees to be found in the whole of Europe.

a "Извещение и предостережение отъ Комитета", Издания Общества «Народной Расправы», No. 2, St. Petersburg, 1870.—Ed.
To hoodwink the Moscow members, Nechayev told them that the organisation in St. Petersburg was already an enormous one, whereas in reality not a single circle or section existed there. In a moment of forgetfulness, he exclaimed to an initiate\(^a\): "In St. Petersburg, they have been faithless to me like women and have betrayed me like slaves." When in St. Petersburg, however, he said that the organisation was making admirable progress in Moscow.

When, in this latter city, they asked to see a member of the Committee, he invited a young St. Petersburg officer,\(^b\) who was interested in the student movement, to come with him to Moscow and see the circles there. The young man agreed, and on the way Nechayev consecrated him "delegate extraordinary of the Committee of the International Association of Geneva".

"You could not," he said, "be admitted to our meetings if you were not a member, but here is a mandate certifying that you are a member of the International Association, and as such you will be admitted."

The mandate bore a French stamp and read: "The bearer of this mandate is the plenipotentiary representative of the International Association." The other defendants affirm that Nechayev assured them that this stranger was the "true agent of the Geneva Revolutionary Committee" (\textit{St. Petersburg Gazette}, Nos. 225 and 226).

Dolgov, a friend of Ivanov, testifies that

"when speaking of the secret society organised with the aim of supporting the people in the event of an uprising and of directing the insurrection so as to ensure its success, Nechayev also spoke of the International Association and said that Bakunin was serving as a contact with it" (No. 198).

Ripman confirms that

"to divert him from his ideas on cooperative associations, Nechayev told him that there was an International Working Men's Association in Europe, and that to attain the goal pursued by the International, it was enough to join this Association, a section of which already existed in Moscow" (No. 198).

Further on, we see from the statements of the defendants that Nechayev was misrepresenting the International as a secret society and his own society as a branch of the International. He also assured the initiates that their Moscow section was going to proceed by strikes and associations on a large scale, just like the International. When the accused Ripman asked him for the society's programme, Nechayev read him several passages from a

\(^a\) I. G. Pryzhov.— \textit{Ed.}\n\(^b\) Shimanovsky.— \textit{Ed.}\n
French leaflet on the aims of the society. The defendant understood that this leaflet was the International's programme and added:

"Since there had been a lot of talk about this society in the press, I did not see anything very criminal in Nechayev's proposition."

Kuznetsov, a one of the chief defendants, said that Nechayev had read the programme of the International Association (No. 181). His brother b stated that

"he had seen them at his brother's place copying out a French leaflet which must have been the society's programme" (No. 202).

The defendant Klimin declared that he had been read

"the programme of the International Association with a few lines written as a postscript by Bakunin ... but as far as I remember, this programme was couched in very vague terms and said nothing about the means of achieving the aim, but spoke only of equality in general" (No. 199).

The defendant Gavrishev explained that the

"French leaflet, in so far as it was possible to grasp its meaning, contained an exposition of the principles held by the representatives of socialism who had had their Congress at Geneva".

Finally, the deposition of the defendant Svyatsky completely clarifies for us the nature of this mysterious French leaflet: during the search, he was found in possession of a leaflet written in French and entitled: Programme de l'Alliance internationale de la democra tije socialiste.

"Much had been said about the International Association in the newspapers," he said, "and I was interested to know its programme for purely theoretical purposes" (St. Petersburg Gazette, No. 250.)

These depositions prove that the secret programme of the Alliance had been passed off in manuscript as the International's programme. That the World Revolutionary Committee, of which Nechayev said he was an emissary, and the Central Bureau of the Alliance (Citizen B.) were identical is proved by the deposition of the chief defendant, Uspensky, who declared that he had collected together all the minutes of the circle's meetings "in order to send an account to Bakunin in Geneva". Pryzhov, one of the principal defendants, testified that Nechayev had ordered him to go to Geneva with a report for Bakunin.

a Alexei Kuznetsov.— Ed. 
b Semyon Kuznetsov.— Ed.
Owing to lack of space, we are not going to mention here all the lies, stupidities, swindles, and acts of violence on the part of Bakunin's agent which were brought to light by the trial. We will only take note of the more striking examples.

Everything was a mystery in this organisation. Dolgov said that

"before joining this society, he would have liked to know its organisation and means. Nechayev had replied that that was a secret and he would get to know it later" (St. Petersburg Gazette, No. 198).

When the members ventured to ask questions, Nechayev shut them up, saying that in accordance with the statutes, no one had the right to know anything until he had distinguished himself by some act (No. 199).

"As soon as we had agreed to become members of the society," declared one of the accused. "Nechayev began to terrorise us with the power and might of the Committee which, according to him, existed and directed us. He said that the Committee had its own police, and that if anybody broke his word or acted contrary to the orders of individuals who were more highly placed than our circle, the Committee would have recourse to vengeance." The defendant confessed that "having noticed Nechayev's swindles, he informed him that he intended to withdraw completely from this business and go to the Caucasus to recover his health. Nechayev told him that this was not allowed, and that the Committee could punish him with death if he dared to leave the society. He also ordered him to go to a meeting and speak there of the secret society in order to recruit new members, and to read the poem on Nechayev's death. When the defendant refused, Nechayev threatened him. 'You're not here to discuss matters,' he shouted. 'You're obliged to obey the Committee's orders without objection'" (No. 198).

If this were only an isolated instance, there might be grounds for doubt; but several of the defendants, who could not possibly have come to an understanding with one another, testify to exactly the same thing.—Another declared that the circle's members, on realising that they had been tricked, wanted to leave the society but did not dare do so for fear of the Committee's revenge (No. 198).

One witness, speaking of one of his accused friends, said: The accused Florinsky did not know how to shake off Nechayev, who was preventing him from getting on with his work. The witness advised him to leave Moscow and go to St. Petersburg, but Florinsky replied that Nechayev would find him in St. Petersburg just as he did in Moscow; that Nechayev was outraging the convictions of a great many young people by terrorising them, and that what Florinsky seemed to fear was a denunciation on Nechayev's part.

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*a F. F. Ripman.— Ed.*
"It was said, and I heard it," testified Likhutin, "that Nechayev was sending very violent letters from abroad to his acquaintances to compromise them and get them arrested. This way of acting was one trait of his character" (No. 186).

Yenisherlov stated even that he was beginning to regard Nechayev as a government agent.

During the meeting of a small circle, one of the members, Klimin, in reply to a stranger who was present as emissary of the Committee and expressed his dissatisfaction with the conduct of the circle, said that

"they themselves were also dissatisfied; that at the beginning the recruits were told that each section could act more or less independently without passive obedience being demanded of its members; but subsequently things had been run quite differently and the Committee was reducing them to the state of slaves" (No. 199).

Nechayev used to issue his orders on pieces of paper stamped: "Russian Section of the World Revolutionary Alliance. Form for the public", and he formulated his instructions as follows: "The Committee orders you to..." carry out such-and-such, go to such-and-such a place, etc.

One young officer, who had become disillusioned, wanted to leave the society. Nechayev seemed to agree to this, but he demanded compensation. The officer had to obtain for him a bill for 6,000 rubles (nearly 20,000 frs.) signed by Kolachevsky. In 1866, Kolachevsky, after Karakozov's attempt to assassinate the tsar, had been detained with his two sisters A for a long period. At the time of the present incident, one of them was serving a second term in prison for a political offence. The whole family was under rigorous police surveillance and Kolachevsky could expect to be arrested at any moment. Nechayev made use of this situation. On his orders, the young officer mentioned above invited Kolachevsky to his own place under a false pretext, entered into conversation with him, and gave him some proclamations, which the other took out of curiosity. No sooner had Kolachevsky gone out into the street, than he was accosted by an officer who ordered the other to follow him, announcing that he was working for the Third Department (secret police), and that he knew that Kolachevsky had on his person proclamations of a seditious nature. Now the possession of these alone is enough to lead to years of detention and penal servitude for a man if he has had the misfortune already to have been compromised in a political matter. The self-styled agent of the Third Department invited Kolachevsky to

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a Alla Nikolayevna and Lyudmila Nikolayevna Kolachevkaya.— Ed.
get into a carriage, and, once they were inside, offered him the chance to buy himself off by signing on the spot a bill for 6,000 rubles. Forced to choose between this offer and the prospect of going to Siberia, Kolachevsky signed. The next day, another young man, Negreskul, on learning of this business, suspected Nechayev of being involved, immediately sought out the supposed agent of the Third Department, and demanded an explanation of his swindle. The latter denied everything; the bill had been hidden and was not retrieved until later during the search. The discovery of the conspiracy and Nechayev's flight made it impossible for him to cash the note.—Negreskul had known Nechayev for a long time and had been the victim of one of his swindles in Geneva. Bakunin had then tried to recruit him. Later, they had extorted a hundred rubles from him (No. 230). He had ended up by being compromised by Nechayev, although he detested him and thought him capable of any villainy. He was arrested and died in prison.

We have seen that Ivanov had been one of Nechayev's first recruits. He was one of the most beloved and most influential students at the Moscow Agricultural Academy. He devoted himself to bettering the lot of his comrades and organised aid societies and dining rooms where poor students could eat free of charge and which served as a cover for meetings at which they discussed social questions. He devoted all his spare time to teaching the children of peasants living near the Academy. His comrades testify that he threw himself passionately into all these activities, giving away his last kopek and quite often sacrificing his own hot meals.

Ivanov was struck by the stupidity of the terrorist proclamations issued by Nechayev and Bakunin. He could not understand why the Committee kept ordering the distribution of Words, Ogarev's Song of Death, The People's Judgment and, finally, Bakunin's Appeal to the Russian Nobility, a purely aristocratic proclamation.* He

* Here are some extracts from the Appeal to the Russian Nobility, a proclamation published by Bakunin: "What privileges have we received for having, during the first half of the 19th century, been the mainstay of the throne which has been shaken to its very foundations so many times; for having, in 1848, during the storms of popular madness unleashed over Europe, saved by our noble deeds the Russian empire from the socialist utopias that threatened to invade it?... What have we been accorded for having saved the Empire from dismemberment, for having extinguished in Poland the flames of the conflagration which threatened to set all Russia on fire, for having, to this very moment, worked with unsparing energy and with unparalleled courage to destroy the revolutionary elements in Russia?—Was it not from our midst that there came Mikhail Muravyov, that gallant man whom Alexander II himself, for all his feeble-mindedness, named the saviour of his country?—What have we gained from all this? For all these inestimable services,
began to lose patience and to ask where this Committee was, what it was doing, and what sort of a Committee it was that invariably put Nechayev in the right and the other members in the wrong. He expressed a desire to see someone from this Committee. He had acquired the right to this, since Nechayev himself had promoted him to a rank equivalent to that of member of a national committee of the secret Alliance. It was then that Nechayev extricated himself from this predicament by staging the comedy, as described above, of the emissary from the Geneva International.

One day, Nechayev ordered the transfer to the Committee of money intended for the students’ mutual aid society. Ivanov protested, and a quarrel ensued. Other comrades urged Ivanov to submit to the Committee’s decision, since they had accepted the statutes which demanded this submission. Ivanov gave way to their insistences and grudgingly complied. Nechayev then began thinking out a plan for getting rid of this man whom he probably regarded as a doctrinaire revolutionary deserving death. He engaged Uspekhsny in theoretical conversations on punishment, on the elimination of disloyal members who, by their rebellion, could compromise and ruin the whole vast secret organisation.

The manner in which Nechayev ran his secret society was such as to engender doubts concerning the serious nature of the organisation. The sections had to hold regular sittings to examine the academic registers of the names of all the students, to mark those who were considered likely recruits, and to investigate means of procuring money. One such means was subscription lists for “students who have suffered”, that is, who had been administratively banished. The proceeds from these lists went straight into the Committee’s pocket, that is to say, Nechayev’s. The sections had to obtain all kinds of clothes which were kept in a safe place and were used by Nechayev as disguise during his flight. But the principal occupation consisted in copying out the Song of Death and the proclamations cited above. The members of the conspiracy had to write down as accurately as possible everything that was we have been skinned of everything we possess... Our present appeal is a declaration by a vast majority of the Russian nobility which has long been ready and organised... We feel our strength in our right, we boldly throw down the gauntlet before the despot, the German prnceling Alexander II Saltkov-Romanov, and we challenge him to a noble and knightly combat which must be taken up in 1870 between the descendants of Rurik and the party of the Russian independent nobility.”

“Muravyov, that gallant man”, is nothing but the executioner of Poland.
said at their meetings, and Nechayev threatened them with the Committee, which had its spies everywhere, in the event of them daring to hide anything. Each had to bring to the circle written reports on everything that he had been doing in between meetings, and these reports had to be compiled into a summary for despatch to Bakunin.

All these puerile and inquisitorial practices made Ivanov doubt the very existence of the Committee and the much vaunted powers of this organisation. He began to suspect that it all boiled down to preposterous exploitation and a colossal hoax. He confided to his close friends that if things stayed as they were and if they were given nothing better to do than these silly tasks, he would break with Nechayev and would found a serious organisation himself.

It was then that Nechayev took a decisive step. He gave the order for his proclamations to be put up in the students' dining rooms. Ivanov realised that the posting up of these proclamations would lead to the closing of the dining rooms, the banning of meetings, and the dispersal of the best students. He therefore opposed the measure (this is, in fact, what happened: the students' dining room was closed down and all the delegates appointed to manage it were exiled). A quarrel flared up over this, during which Nechayev kept repeating his stereotyped statement: "It's the Committee's orders!"

Ivanov was in utter despair. On November 20, 1869, he approached a member of the section, Pryzhov, and informed him that he was quitting the society. Pryzhov communicated this statement to Uspensky who, in his turn, hastened to inform Nechayev and, a few hours later, these three met at Kuznetsov's place, where Nikolayev also had lodgings. Nechayev announced that Ivanov must be punished for rebelling against the Committee's orders, and that he must be eliminated to prevent him from doing them any more damage. Kuznetsov, Ivanov's close friend, apparently did not grasp Nechayev's intention, and so the latter declared that Ivanov must be killed. Pryzhov shouted to Kuznetsov: "Nechayev is mad, he wants to kill Ivanov, he must be prevented." Nechayev put a stop to their hesitation with his habitual statement: "Do you also want to rebel against the Committee's orders? If there's no other way of killing him, I'll go to his room tonight with Nikolayev and we'll strangle him." He then suggested luring Ivanov that night to a grotto in the Academy park under pretext of digging up a printing-press which had been hidden for a long time, and they would assassinate him there.
Thus, even at this supreme moment, Nechayev himself paid tribute to Ivanov's loyalty. He was sure that, in spite of his resignation, Ivanov would come and help to dig up the printing-press, and that he was incapable of betraying him since, if he had been harbouring any such intention, he would have carried it out before leaving the society or immediately afterwards. If Ivanov had wanted to denounce Nechayev to the police, he had the chance to get them caught in the act. Quite to the contrary, Ivanov was delighted to have positive proof at last that this organisation actually existed, a tangible sign that it possessed the means of action, even if it were only printer's type. Forgetting all the threats so often made by Nechayev to the unfaithful, he hastened to leave a friend with whom he was having tea and at whose place Nikolayev had called on Nechayev's orders, and off he went in obedience to the summons.

In the darkness of the night, Ivanov went unsuspectingly towards the grotto. Suddenly, a cry rang out. Someone had jumped on him from behind. A terrible struggle began, with nothing to be heard but the grunting of Nechayev and the groans of his victim, whom he was strangling with his bare hands. Then a shot rang out, and Ivanov fell down dead. Nechayev's revolver bullet had pierced Ivanov's skull. "Quick, rope and stones," shouted Nechayev, rummaging through the dead man's pockets for papers and money. They then threw him into a pond.

On returning to Kuznetsov's place, the assassins took measures to hide the traces of their crime. They burned Nechayev's blood-stained shirt. The accomplices were gloomy and uneasy. Suddenly, a second revolver shot rang out and a bullet whistled past Pryzhov's ear. Nechayev apologised for "having wanted to show Nikolayev how his revolver worked". The witnesses unanimously testified that this had been another assassination attempt. Nechayev had wanted to kill Pryzhov because the latter had dared in the morning to protest against the murder of Ivanov.

Immediately afterwards, Nechayev rushed from Moscow to Petersburg with Kuznetsov, leaving Uspensky to act in Moscow. At Petersburg, he made a pretence of always being busy with his organisation; but, to his great astonishment, Kuznetsov noted that there was even less of an organisation there than in Moscow. He dared to question Nechayev: "Where is the Committee, then? Would it be you, by any chance?" — Nechayev denied this again and assured him that the Committee existed. He returned to Moscow and admitted to Nikolayev that since Uspensky had already been arrested, the same would happen to all the others.
very soon, and that "he did not know what he ought to do any more". It was then that Nikolayev, his most faithful follower, decided to ask him if the famous Committee really existed, or if Nechayev himself was its sole embodiment.

"Without giving a positive reply to this question, he told me that all means were permissible for drawing people into such a cause, that this rule was also practised abroad, that this rule was followed by Bakunin just as by others, and that if such men submitted to this rule, it was entirely natural that he, Nechayev, should act in the same manner" (No. 181).

He then ordered Nikolayev to go with Pryzhov to Tula and fraudulently extort a passport from a worker who was an old friend of Nikolayev's. He later went to Tula himself, where he entreated a Mme. Alexandrovskaya to accompany him to Geneva; it was absolutely necessary for him.

Mme. Alexandrovskaya had been seriously compromised during the disturbances of 1861 and 1862. She even had been committed to prison, where her conduct had left much to be desired. In a fit of frankness, she had written a confession to her judges, and this confession had compromised many people. After all this, she was interned in a provincial town under police surveillance. As she was afraid of not being able to obtain a passport, Nechayev procured one for her, no one knows how. It might be asked why Nechayev had sought out for his travelling companion a woman whose company alone would be enough to get him arrested at the frontier. However, he arrived in Geneva safe and sound with Mme. Alexandrovskaya at his side and, while his wretched dupes were being thrown into prison cells, he and Bakunin set about preparing the second issue of *The People's Judgment*. Bakunin, unbelievably proud to see the *Journal de Genève* mention the Nechayev conspiracy with himself as having played the principal part, forgot that his *The People's Judgment* claimed to be published in Moscow, and he inserted in it a whole page of the article from the *Journal de Genève* in French. As soon as the journal was ready, Mme. Alexandrovskaya was given the task of taking it into Russia with other proclamations. At the frontier, an agent of the Third Department, who was waiting for Mme. Alexandrovskaya, confiscated the parcel. After her arrest, she gave him a list of names which could not have been known except to Bakunin alone.—One

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3 "On s'occupe...", *Journal de Genève*, No. 3, January 5, 1870. Reprinted from *Издания Общества «Народной Расправы»*, No. 2, the article "В последних числах..." — *Ed.*
of the accused in the Nechayev affair, and one of his closest friends, admitted to the tribunal that

"he had hitherto considered Bakunin an honest man, and he could not understand how he and others could have subjected this woman in such a craven fashion to the danger of arrest".

If Bakunin evaded the necessity of himself going to Russia in order to direct in person the great revolution whose imminent explosion he predicted, at least he worked in Europe as if he had "the devil in his flesh". *Le Progrès* of Locle, the organ of the Swiss Alliance, published long excerpts from *The People's Judgment*. In it, Guillaume praised the great successes of the great Russian socialists, and declared that his abstentionist programme was identical to that of the great Russian socialists.* At the Congress of La Chaux-de-Fonds, when Utin attempted to disclose Nechayev's nefarious deeds, Guillaume interrupted him by saying that to speak of these men was espionage. As for Bakunin, he was writing in *La Marseillaise* as if he had just returned from "a long journey through distant lands which are not reached by free newspapers" so as to create the impression that matters in Russia were taking such a revolutionary turn that he considered his presence there essential.

We now come to the dénouement of the tragi-comedy of the Russian Alliance. In 1859, Herzen had received a bequest of 25,000 frs. from a young Russian to carry on revolutionary propaganda in Russia.* Herzen, who had never wanted to release this sum to just anybody, nevertheless let himself be caught by Bakunin, who managed to relieve him of it by assuring him that Nechayev represented a vast and powerful secret organisation. Nechayev therefore thought himself entitled to demand his share. But the two international brethren, whom the assassination of

* In 1868, less than two years before the Congress of La Chaux-de-Fonds at which the Alliance members had their doctrine of political abstention sanctioned, Bakunin deploring, in *La Démocratie* de Chassin, the political abstention of the French workers, wrote: "Political abstention is a stupidity invented by scoundrels to deceive idiots."

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a Alexei Kuznetsov.— *Ed.

b "Événements de Russie", *Le Progrès*, No. 6, February 5, 1870.— *Ed.

c [J. Guillaume,] "Le congrès de la Chaux-de-Fonds", *Le Progrès*, No. 14, April 2, 1870.— *Ed.

d "Procès-verbaux du Congrès Romand", *L'Égalité*, No. 18, April 30, 1870.— *Ed.

e M. Bakounine, "Herzen", *La Marseillaise*, No. 72, March 2, 1870.— *Ed.*
Ivanov had failed to split, began quarrelling over a money matter. Bakunin refused. Nechayev left Geneva and published in London, in the spring of 1870, a Russian newspaper *The Commune (Obshchina)* in which he publicly claimed from Bakunin the rest of the capital which the latter had received from the then deceased Herzen. Here, indeed, is proof that the international brethren

“never attack one another, nor settle their differences in public”.

The leading article in the second issue of *The People’s Judgment* contains yet another funeral dirge in poetico-prose on Nechayev, that hero always dead and always living. This time, the hero had been strangled by the gendarmes who were taking him to Siberia. Disguised as a workman, he had been arrested at Tambov while drinking in a tavern. This arrest had led to extraordinary unrest in government circles. They could speak of nothing but “Nechayev in disguise ... denunciations ... secret societies ... Bakuninists ... revolution”. On the occasion of Nechayev’s death, the governor of Perm has sent a telegram to Petersburg. The text of this telegram is quoted in full. Another telegram, also quoted in full, was sent to the Third Department, and *The People’s Judgment* knew that “having received this telegram, the chief of police jumped in his chair and smiled an evil smile all that evening”. Thus it was that Nechayev died a second time.

Ivanov’s murder is admitted in the article, which describes it as

“an act of vengeance by the society on a member for any deviation from his duties. The stern logic of true workers for the cause must not stop at any act leading to the success of the cause, much less at acts which may save the cause and avert its ruin”.

For Bakunin, the “success of the cause” was the imprisonment of eighty young people.

The second article is entitled: “He who is not for us, is against us”, and contains an apologia for political assassination. The fate of Ivanov, who is not mentioned by name, is promised to all revolutionaries who do not adhere to the Alliance:

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a С. Нечаевъ, «Письмо къ Огареву и Бакунину», Община, No. 1, London, 1870.—*Ed.*

b See this volume, p. 568.—*Ed.*

c «Въ послѣднихъ числахъ...», Издания Общества «Народной Расправы», Ст. Петербурга, 1870.—*Ed.*

d «Кто не за насъ, тотъ противъ насъ», Издания Общества «Народной Расправы», No. 2.—*Ed.*
“The critical moment has come ... military operations between the two camps have commenced ... it is no longer possible to remain neutral: to abide by the golden mean is out of the question, for this would mean being caught in the cross-fire between two hostile armies which have begun shooting at one another; this would mean exposing oneself pointlessly to death, it would mean falling under fire from both sides without a chance of defending oneself. It would mean suffering the lashes and tortures of the Third Department, or falling under the bullets of our revolvers.”

Next come expressions of gratitude, apparently ironical, to the Russian government for its

“cooperation in the development and the rapid advance of our work, which is approaching its much-desired goal at a headlong speed”.

At the very time when the two heroes were thanking the government for speedily bringing closer “the much-desired goal”, all the members of the so-called secret organisation were under arrest.—Then the article makes a new appeal. It “welcomes with open arms all fresh and honest forces”, but warns them that once they have submitted to these embraces, they must yield to all the exigencies of the society:

“Any renunciation, any withdrawal from the society, made knowingly through lack of faith in the truth and justice of certain principles, leads to removal from the list of the living”.

And our two heroes ridicule those who have been arrested; they are nothing more than petty liberals; the true members of the organisation are protected by the secret society, which does not allow them to be apprehended.

The third article is entitled: The Fundamental Principles of the Social Order of the Future. This article shows that if the ordinary mortal is punished like a criminal for even thinking about the social organisation of the future, this is because the leaders have arranged everything in advance.

“The ending of the existing social order and the renewal of life with the aid of the new principles can be accomplished only by concentrating all the means of social existence in the hands of OUR COMMITTEE, and the proclamation of compulsory physical labour for everyone.

“The committee, as soon as the present institutions have been overthrown, proclaims that everything is common property, orders the setting up of workers' societies” (artels) “and at the same time publishes statistical tables compiled by experts and pointing out what branches of labour are most needed in a certain locality and what branches may run into difficulties there.

a «Главные основы будущего общественного строя», Издания Общества «Народной Рaspравы», No. 2.—Ed.
"For a certain number of days assigned for the revolutionary upheaval and the disorders that are bound to follow, each person must join one or another of these artels according to his own choice... All those who remain isolated and unattached to workers' groups without sufficient reason will have no right of access either to the communal eating places or to the communal dormitories, or to any other buildings assigned to meet the various needs of the brother-workers or that contain the goods and materials, the victuals or tools reserved for all members of the established workers' society; in a word, he who without sufficient reason has not joined an artel, will be left without means of subsistence. All the roads, all the means of communication will be closed to him; he will have no other alternative but work or death."

Each artel will elect from its members an assessor ("otsen-shchik"), who regulates the work, keeps the books on production and consumption and the productivity of every worker, and acts as a go-between with the general office of the given locality. The office, consisting of members elected from among the artels of the locality, conducts exchange between these artels, administers all the communal establishments (dormitories, canteens, schools, hospitals) and directs all public works:

"All general work is managed by the office, while all individual work requiring special skills and craftsmanship is performed by special artels."

Then comes a long set of rules on education, hours of work, feeding of children, freeing of inventors from work and so on.

"With full publicity, knowledge and activity on the part of everyone all ambition, as we now know it, all deception will disappear without a trace, will vanish forever... Everyone will endeavour to produce as much as possible for society and consume as little as possible; all the pride, all the ambition of the worker of those times will rest in the awareness of his usefulness to society."

What a beautiful model of barrack-room communism! Here you have it all: communal eating, communal sleeping, assessors and offices regulating education, production, consumption, in a word, all social activity, and to crown all, our committee, anonymous and unknown to anyone, as the supreme director. This is indeed the purest anti-authoritarianism.

To give this absurd plan of practical organisation the semblance of a theoretical basis, a small note is attached to the very title of this article:

"Those who wish to know the complete theoretical development of our principal theses, will find them in the writing published by us: Manifesto of the Communist Party."

In fact, the Russian translation of the Manifesto (German) of the Communist Party, 1847, was announced, price one franc, in
every issue of the *Kolokol* in 1870, alongside Bakunin’s *Appeal to the Officers of the Russian Army* and the two issues of *The People’s Judgment*. The very Bakunin who abused this Manifesto to lend weight to his Tartar fantasies in Russia, had it denounced by the Alliance in the West as an ultra-heretical writing preaching the baleful doctrines of German authoritarian communism (see the resolution of the Rimini Conference, Guillaume’s address at The Hague, *Bulletin jurassien* No. 10-11, the *Federacion* of Barcelona, etc.)

Now that the common herd knows the role “our committee” is destined to perform, it is easy to understand this competitive hatred of the state and of any centralisation of the workers’ forces. Assuredly, while the working class continues to have any representative bodies of its own, Messrs. Bakunin and Nechayev, revolutionising under the incognito of “our committee”, will not be able to put themselves in possession of the public wealth or reap the benefit of this sublime ambition which they so ardently desire to inspire in others—that of working much to consume little!

2. THE REVOLUTIONARY CATECHISM

Nechayev took great care of a booklet written in cypher and called *The Revolutionary Catechism*. He claimed that the possession of this book was the special privilege of any emissary or agent of the International Association. According to all the depositions and the strong evidence provided by the lawyers, this catechism had been written by Bakunin, who never dared to deny paternity. Furthermore, the form and the content of this work clearly show that it came from the same source as the secret statutes, the *Words*, the proclamations, and *The People’s Judgment*, which we have already mentioned. The revolutionary catechism was only a supplement to these. These pan-destructive anarchists, who want to reduce everything to amorphism in order to create anarchy in morality, push bourgeois immorality to the limit. We have already been able to assess, from a few examples, the worth of this Alliance morality whose dogmas, purely Christian in origin, were first drawn up

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* a М. Бакунинъ, Къ офицерамъ русской армии.— Ed.
* b See this volume, pp. 502-03.— Ed.
* c “Réponse à M. Lafargue”, *Bulletin de la Fédération jurasienne...*, No. 10/11, June 15, 1872.— Ed.
* d “El Congreso de La Haya”, *La Federacion*, No. 164, October 5, 1872.— Ed.
in meticulous detail by the Escobars of the 17th century. The only difference being that the Alliance exaggerated the terms to the ridiculous and replaced the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church of the Jesuits with its arch-anarchist and pan-destructive "holy revolutionary cause". The revolutionary catechism is the official code of this morality, formulated systematically and quite openly this time. We are publishing it in extenso, just as it was read before the tribunal during the sitting of July 8, 1871.

The revolutionary's duties to himself

§ 1. The revolutionary is a dedicated man. He has neither personal interests, nor affairs, nor feelings, nor attachments, nor property, nor even a name. Every part of him is absorbed by one sole interest, one sole thought, one sole passion: the revolution.

§ 2. In the depths of his being, not only in words, but in deeds, he has severed all ties with civil order and with the entire civilised world, with laws, decencies, morality, and the conventions generally accepted in that world. He is its implacable enemy, and if he continues to live in it, it is only to destroy it more surely.

§ 3. A revolutionary despises all doctrinairism and renounces worldly science, leaving it for future generations. He only knows one science: that of destruction. For that purpose and none other, he studies mechanics, physics, chemistry, and perhaps medicine. With the same goal, he studies living science day and night—men, characters, positions, and all conditions of the existing social order in all possible spheres. The goal remains the same: the destruction, as quickly as possible and as certainly as possible, of this foul (poganyi) order.

§ 4. He despises public opinion. He despises and hates the existing social morality with all its instincts and in all its manifestations. For him, everything is moral that favours the triumph of the revolution, and everything is immoral and criminal that impedes it.

§ 5. The revolutionary is a dedicated man. He has no mercy for the State in general or for the entire civilised class of society, and he should no more expect mercy for himself. Between him and society there is a struggle, open or concealed, but always incessant, irreconcilable, and to the death. He must accustom himself to withstand torture.

§ 6. Strict with himself, he must be the same with others. All feelings of affection, all the softening feelings of kinship, friendship, love and gratitude must be stifled in him by a unique and cold passion for the revolutionary cause. For him, there is only one joy, one consolation, one reward and one satisfaction: the success of the revolution. Night and day, he must have only one thought and one goal—implacable destruction. Pursuing this goal coldly and without respite, he must himself be ready to perish and to destroy with his own hands all that which obstructs the achievement of this goal.

§ 7. The nature of the true revolutionary excludes all romanticism, all sensibility, all enthusiasm, and all involvement; it even excludes personal hatred and vengeance. Revolutionary passion, having become with him a habit every day and every moment, must be combined with cold calculation. Everywhere and always he must obey not his personal impulses, but whatever is prescribed to him by the general interests of the revolution.
Duties of the revolutionary to his comrades in revolution

§ 8. The revolutionary can only have friendship and affection for the man who has proved by his deeds that he is, like him, a revolutionary agent. The degree of friendship, devotion, and other obligations towards such a comrade are only measured by the degree of his usefulness in the practical work of the pan-destructive (universal) revolution.

§ 9. It is superfluous to speak of solidarity among revolutionaries, for in it lies all the strength of the revolutionary cause. The revolutionary comrades who find themselves at the same level of revolutionary consciousness and passion must, as much as possible, deliberate in common on all important matters and make their decisions unanimously. In the execution of a matter thus decided, each must rely on himself as much as possible. In the execution of a series of destructive acts, each must act on his own and not have recourse to the assistance or advice of his comrades, unless it is indispensable for success.

§ 10. Each comrade should have at hand several revolutionaries from the second and third rank, that is, from those who have not been fully initiated. He must consider them as part of the general revolutionary capital placed at his disposal. He must expend his share of the capital economically and try to extract from it as much profit as possible. He regards himself as capital destined to be expended for the triumph of the revolutionary cause, but it is capital which he cannot dispose of alone and without the consent of all the fully initiated comrades.

§ 11. When a comrade finds himself in danger, then in order to decide whether or not he should be saved, the revolutionary must not consider any personal feeling, but solely the interest of the revolutionary cause. Consequently, he must calculate, on the one hand, the degree of usefulness furnished by his comrade and, on the other, the quantity of revolutionary forces necessary to rescue him; he must see which way the scales tip and he must act accordingly.

Duties of the revolutionary to society

§ 12. A new member, after having proved his worth, not by words, but by deeds, can only be accepted by the association unanimously.

§ 13. A revolutionary enters the world of the State, the world of the classes, the so-called civilised world, and lives in it solely because he has faith in its imminent and total destruction. He is not a revolutionary if he holds on to anything whatever in this world. **He must not hesitate before the destruction of any position, tie or man belonging to this world.** He must hate everything and everybody equally. So much the worse for him if he has in this world ties of kinship, friendship, or love; **he is not a revolutionary if these ties can stay his hand.**

§ 14. With the aim of implacable destruction, a revolutionary can, and often must, live in society, while pretending to be entirely different from what he really is. A revolutionary must penetrate everywhere, into the upper and the middle classes alike, into the merchant's shop, into the church, into the aristocratic palace, into the bureaucratic, military and literary world, into the Third Department (secret police), and even into the imperial palace.

§ 15. The whole of this foul society must be divided into several categories. The first consists of those who are condemned to death without delay. The comrades should draw up lists of these condemned men in the order of their relative harmfulness to the success of the revolutionary cause, so that the first numbers may be disposed of before the others.
§ 16. In drawing up these lists and in establishing these categories, no influence should be exerted by the personal villainy of a man, or even by the hatred which he inspires in the members of the organisation or in the people. This villainy and this hatred may even be useful to some extent in stirring up a popular revolt. The only consideration should be taken of the measure of profit for the revolutionary cause which may result from the death of a certain person. Consequently, the first to be destroyed must be those who are most dangerous to the revolutionary organisation and whose violent and sudden death can most frighten the government and break its strength by depriving it of energetic and intelligent agents.

§ 17. The second category should consist of people who are allowed to live provisionally (!) so that by a series of monstrous acts they will drive the people to the inevitable revolt.

§ 18. The third category covers a large number of highly placed brutes or individuals who are remarkable neither for their minds nor for their energy, but who, by virtue of their position, have wealth, connections, influence, and power. We must exploit them in every way possible, outwit them, confuse them, and, wherever possible, by possessing ourselves of their filthy secrets, make them our slaves. In this way, their power, connections, influence and wealth will become an inexhaustible treasure and an invaluable help in various enterprises.

§ 19. The fourth category is composed of various ambitious men in the State service, and liberals of different shades. We can conspire with these on their own programme, putting up an appearance of following them blindly. We must get them into our hands, seize their secrets, compromise them completely, so that retreat becomes impossible for them, and make use of them to cause trouble within the State.

§ 20. The fifth category consists of doctrinaires, conspirators, revolutionaries, all those who babble at meetings and on paper. They must be constantly encouraged and inveigled into practical and dangerous demonstra-tions which will have the effect of eliminating the majority, while making true revolutionaries out of some.

§ 21. The sixth category is very important—the women, who must be divided into three classes: first, useless women without spirit or heart, who must be exploited in the same way as the third and fourth categories of men; second, fervent, devoted and capable women, who are nevertheless not with us because they have not yet arrived at a practical and phraseless revolutionary awareness; they must be used like the fifth category of men; finally, women who are entirely with us, that is to say, who have been fully initiated and who have accepted our programme in its entirety. We must treat them as the most valuable of our treasures, for without their help we can do nothing.

Duties of the Association to the people

§ 22. The Association has no goal other than the total emancipation and the happiness of the people, that is to say, manual workers (chernorabochi lyud). But, convinced that this emancipation and this happiness cannot be achieved except by means of a people’s revolution which will destroy everything, the Association will employ all its means and all its forces to magnify and increase the ills and evils which must finally exhaust the patience of the people and stir them to a mass uprising.

§ 23. By a people’s revolution, the Society does not mean a movement directed after the classic model of the West, which, always hesitating before property and

a In the Russian text: “golovolomnye” (lit. “breakneck”).—Ed.
the traditional social system of so-called civilisation and morality, has hitherto restricted itself to the overthrow of one political form in order to replace it with another and to creating a so-called revolutionary State. The only revolution which can be beneficial to the people is that which will destroy from bottom to top the whole idea of the State and will turn upside-down all the traditions, state system, and classes in Russia.

§ 24. To this end, the Society has no intention of imposing on the people any kind of organisation from above. The future organisation will undoubtedly emerge from the movement and life of the people, but that is the concern of future generations. Our concern is terrifying, total, implacable and universal destruction.

§ 25. Consequently, in drawing closer to the people, we must above all join up with the elements of the people’s life which, since the foundation of the Muscovite State, have not ceased to protest, not only with words, but with their deeds, against everything which is directly or indirectly tied up with the State, against the nobility, against the bureaucracy, against the clergy, against the business world, and against petty tradesmen, the exploiters of the people. We must join the adventurist world of the brigands, who are the true and unique revolutionaries in Russia.

§ 26. To concentrate this world into a single pan-destructive and invincible force—that is the whole meaning of our organisation, our conspiracy, and our task.

To criticise this masterpiece would be to weaken its comic impact. It would also mean taking too seriously this amorphous pan-destroyer who succeeded only in making a single personage of Rodolphe, Monte-Christo, Karl Moor and Robert Macaire. We shall limit ourselves to stating, with the aid of a few comparisons, that the spirit and even the terms of the catechism, without counting the laborious exaggerations, are identical to those of the secret statutes and other Russian works of the Alliance.

The three grades of initiation defined in the Alliance’s secret statutes are reproduced in § 10 of the catechism, where mention is made of “revolutionaries from the second and third rank... who have not been fully initiated”.—The duties of the international brethren as defined in Article 6 of the rules are the same as those enjoined by §§ 1 and 13 of the catechism.—The conditions under which the brethren can accept governmental posts as defined in Article 8 of the rules “are even more explicitly defined” in § 14 of the catechism, where they are given to understand that they may join the police if so ordered.—The advice given to the brethren (Rules, Article 9) to consult one another, is reproduced in § 9 of the catechism.—Articles 2, 3 and 6 of the programme of the international brethren attribute to the revolution precisely the same character as §§ 22 and 23 of the catechism.—The Jacobins

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a In the Russian text: “gildeiskogo” (“pertaining to a merchant guild or order”).—Ed.
b In the Russian text: “kulaka-miroyeda” (“the bloodsucker kulak”).—Ed.
c See this volume, p. 568.—Ed.
of Article 4 of the programme become, in § 20 of the catechism, a subdivision of "the fifth category of men", condemned to death in both documents.—The ideas expressed in Articles 5 and 8 of the programme on the progress of a truly anarchist revolution are the same as those in § 24 of the catechism.

The condemnation of science in § 3 of the catechism recurs in all the Russian publications. The idealisation of the brigand as the type of the revolutionary, which does not exist in the Words except in embryo, is openly affirmed and preached in all the other writings: The “fifth category” of § 20 of the catechism is applied, in The Setting of the Revolutionary Question, to “Revolutionaries of the State and the Cabinet”. Here, as in §§ 25 and 26, it is stated that the first duty of the revolutionary is to throw himself into brigandage. It is only The Principles of Revolution and The People’s Judgment that begin to preach the pan-destruction ordained by §§ 6, 8 and 26 of the catechism, and systematic assassination in §§ 13, 15, 16 and 17.

3. BAKUNIN’S APPEAL
TO THE OFFICERS OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY

Bakunin, however, tried to leave no room for doubt over his complicity in the so-called Nechayev conspiracy. He published a proclamation: To the Officers of the Russian Army, dated “Geneva, January 1870” and signed Mikhail Bakunin. This proclamation, “price one franc”, was announced as Bakunin’s work in all the issues of the Kolokol for 1870. Here are some extracts.

It begins by declaring, as Nechayev had done in Russia, that

“the hour of the last struggle between the house of Romanov-Holstein-Gottorp and the Russian people is approaching, the struggle between the Tartar-German yoke and the broad liberty of the Slavs. Spring is on our threshold, and the battle will commence in the first days of spring ... the revolutionary force is ready and its triumph is assured in the presence of the profound and general mass discontent now reigning all over Russia”.

An organisation exists to direct this imminent revolution, for a secret organisation is like the general staff of an army, and this army is the entire people.\(^b\)

“In my appeal to the young Russian brothers, I said that Stenka Razin who will put himself at the head of the masses during the destruction, so clearly at hand, of the Russian Empire, will no longer be an individual hero, but a collective Stenka

\(^a\) М. Бакунинь, Къ офицерамъ русской армии.— Ed.
\(^b\) See this volume, p. 576.— Ed.
Razin. Every man who is not a fool will easily understand that I was speaking of a secret organisation existing and acting already at this moment, strong in the discipline, devotion, and passionate self-sacrifice of its members and in their passive obedience to all the instructions of an unique committee which knows everything and is known by no one.

"The members of this committee have achieved total self-renunciation. This is what gives them the right to demand absolute renunciation from all the other members of the organisation. They have to such an extent renounced everything most coveted by vain, ambitious, and the power-seeking men, that, having finally renounced personal property, public or official power, and, in general, all fame in society, they have condemned themselves to eternal oblivion, ceding to others glory, external appearances, and the renown of the cause, and only keeping for themselves, and even then always collectively, the very essence of this cause.

"Like the Jesuits, only not with the aim of enslaving, but with that of liberating the people, each of them has even renounced his own will. In the committee, as in the whole organisation, it is not the individual who thinks, wishes and acts, but the collective. Such a renunciation of his own life, his own thought and his own will may seem impossible, even revolting, to many. It is, in fact, difficult to achieve, but it is indispensable. It will seem particularly difficult to the novices, to those who have only just joined the organisation, to men who have not yet lost the habit of wordy and futile bragging, to men who play at honour, personal dignity and right, to those who in general let themselves be diverted by the wretched phantoms of a supposed humanity, behind which can be seen, in Russian society, a general servility towards the most vile and abject realities of life. This renunciation will seem painful to those who seek in a great cause the satisfaction of their vanity and an occasion for phrase-making, and who love the cause not for its own sake, but for the drama which it confers on them personally."

"Each new member joins our organisation voluntarily, knowing in advance that once he has become a part of it, he belongs to it entirely and not to himself any more. Entry into the organisation is voluntary, but to leave it is impossible, since every member who resigns will undoubtedly endanger the very existence of the organisation, which must not depend on the irresponsibility, the whims or discretion, however great or small it may be, or on the honesty and the strength of one or several individuals... Consequently, whoever wishes to join must know in advance that he is giving himself to it entirely, with all that he possesses by way of strength, means, knowledge and life, unreturnably... This is clearly and precisely expressed in its programme, which has been published and is obligatory for all members of the committee and for all those who do not belong to it... If a member is truly inspired by' (revolutionary) "passion, everything that the organisation demands of him will seem easy. It is a known fact that passion acknowledges no difficulties; it recognises nothing as impossible, and the greater the obstacles are, the greater is the screwing up of the will, strength, and knowledge of the man moved by passion. There is no room for minor personal passions in a man possessed by this passion; he does not even need to sacrifice them, because they do not exist in him any more. A serious member of the association has stifled in himself all feeling of curiosity, and he remorselessly persecutes this failing in all others. Although he recognises himself as worthy of all confidence, and precisely because he is worthy of it, that is to say, because he is a serious man, he does not seek, and does not even want to know, more than is necessary for him to fulfil as well as possible the mission entrusted to him. He only discusses business with

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a М. Бакунин, Несколько слов к молодым братьям в России, Geneva, 1869, (see this volume, p. 518).— Ed.
persons who have been allocated to him, and he says nothing which has been forbidden by the orders he has received, and in general he conforms strictly and unconditionally to the orders and instructions which come down to him from above, without ever asking, or even wanting to ask about the position of the organisation to which he belongs, since he naturally wishes to be entrusted with as many tasks as possible, but he nevertheless waits patiently for the moment when it will be entrusted to him.

"So rigid and so absolute a discipline may astonish and even shock the novice; but it will neither astonish nor offend a serious member, a man truly strong and sensible. On the contrary, it will afford him pleasure and guarantee his security, provided that he is under the influence of that absorbing passion, which I have already mentioned: for the people's triumph. A serious member will realise that such discipline is an indispensable pledge of the relative impersonality of each member, a sine qua non of the common triumph; that this discipline alone is capable of forming a true organisation and of creating a collective revolutionary force which, basing itself on the elemental power of the people, will be in a condition to conquer the formidable force of the State organisation.

"You may ask: how can you submit to the dictatorial control of a Committee unknown to you? But the Committee is known to you: first, by its published programme, which has been drawn up with such clarity and precision, and which is explained in even greater detail to every member who joins the organisation. Secondly, it recommends itself to you by the blind confidence placed in it by persons whom you know and respect—the confidence which makes you give preference to this organisation rather than to any other. It makes itself known even still more fully to the active members of the organisation by its indefatigable and determined activity, which extends everywhere and always conforms to the programme and goal of the organisation. And everybody submits voluntarily to its authority, becoming more and more convinced, through practical experience, on the one hand, of its truly astonishing foresight, of its vigilance, of its energy so full of wisdom and of its ability to match its instructions to the sought-after goal; and, on the other hand, of the necessity and salutary effect of such discipline.

"I could be asked: if the identity of the personnel constituting the Committee remains an impenetrable mystery to everyone, how were you able to find out about it and convince yourself of its real worth?—I will answer this question frankly. I do not know a single member of this Committee, nor the number of its members, nor its place of residence. I know one thing: it is not abroad, but is in Russia itself, as is only right; for a Russian revolutionary committee abroad would be an absurdity, the very idea of which could only occur to those empty-headed and stupidly ambitious phrasemongers who belong to the emigration and who hide their conceited and evilly intriguing inactivity behind the sonorous name of The People's Cause."

"After the Decembrist conspiracy of the nobility (1825), the first serious attempt at organisation was made by Ishutin and his comrades. The existing organisation is the first organisation of revolutionary forces in the whole of Russia which has truly succeeded. It has profited by all preparations and experience; no reaction will force it to dissolve; it will survive all governments, and it will not cease to act until its entire programme has become daily life in Russia and everywhere else in the world.

* The reader will remember that this was the title of a Russian newspaper of the International published in Geneva by a few young Russians who knew perfectly well the real worth of the so-called committee and Bakunin's organisation.
“About a year ago, the Committee thought it would be useful to inform me of its existence and it sent me its programme, together with an exposition of the general plan of revolutionary action in Russia. Completely in agreement with both of these, and having assured myself that the enterprise, like the men who had taken the initiative with it, was truly serious, I did what, in my opinion, every honest refugee ought to do: I submitted unconditionally to the authority of the Committee as the sole representative and controlling body of the revolution in Russia. If I am addressing you today, I am only obeying the Committee’s orders. I cannot say more to you about this. I will add one more word on this subject. I know the organisation’s plan sufficiently well to be convinced that no force is capable of destroying it. Even if, in the imminent struggle, the popular party has to suffer a new defeat—which none of us fears, since we all believe in the forthcoming triumph of the people—but even if our hopes should be dashed, in the midst of the most appalling reprisals, in the midst of the most savage reaction, the organisation will still remain safe and sound...

“The basis of the programme is the widest and most humanitarian possible: complete liberty and complete equality of all human beings, based on communal ownership and communal labour and equally obligatory to all except, of course, those who would rather die of hunger than work.

“This is the present programme of the working people in all countries, and it fully corresponds to the age-old demands and the instincts of our people... In submitting this programme to the lower orders⁴ of the people, the members of our organisation are astounded to notice how immediate and broad is their grasp of it, and with what eagerness they accept it. This means that the programme is ready. It is unvarying. He who is for this programme will come with us. He who is against us is the friend of the people’s enemies, the tsar’s gendarme, the tsar’s executioner, our own enemy...

“I have told you that our organisation is solidly built and now I add that it has taken root so strongly among the people that, even if we suffer a defeat, the reaction will be powerless to destroy it...

“The servile press, obedient to the orders of the Third Department, is trying to persuade the public that the government has managed to seize the conspiracy by its very roots. It has not seized anything whatever. The Committee and the organisation are intact and always will be, the government will soon be convinced of this, for the explosion of the people is near at hand. It is so near, that everyone must now decide if he wishes to be our friend, the friend of the people, or our enemy instead and that of the people. To all friends, to whatever place or position they belong, our ranks are open. But how are we to find you, you will ask? The organisation, which surrounds you on all sides, which counts among you its numerous adherents, will itself find him who seeks with sincere desire and strong will to serve the cause of the people. He who is not with us, is against us. Choose.”

In this pamphlet signed with his name, Bakunin pretends not to know the place and composition of the Committee on whose behalf he speaks and on whose behalf Nechayev acted in Russia. However, the only authority which the latter had to act on the Committee’s behalf was signed by Mikhail Bakunin, and the only man who received reports on the activity of the sections was, once again, Mikhail Bakunin. And so when Mikhail Bakunin vows

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⁴ The Russian text of Bakunin’s appeal has “chernorabochemu lyudu” (“to unskilled workers”) instead of “lower orders”. — Ed.
passive obedience to the committee, it is to Mikhail Bakunin himself that he swears obedience.

We consider it useless to insist that the trend and even the language of this work signed by Bakunin are entirely identical with the other anonymous Russian documents. What we want to point out is the manner in which Bakunin applied the morality of the catechism here. He commences, first, by preaching it to the Russian officers. He tells them that he and the other initiates have simultaneously carried out a duty and filled a gap in setting themselves up as the Jesuits of the revolution and that, as far as the Committee is concerned, they have no more personal will than the celebrated "corpse" of the Society of Jesus. In order that the officers should not be shocked by the murder of Ivanov, he tries to make them understand the necessity of assassinating every member who would like to leave the secret society. He then applies this same morality to his own readers by lying flagrantly to them. Bakunin knew that the government had arrested not only all the initiates in Russia, but ten times more that number of persons who had been compromised by Nechayev for belonging to the famous "fifth category" of the catechism; that there was no longer so much as the shadow of an organisation in Russia; that its Committee no longer existed there and never had existed apart from Nechayev, then with him in Geneva; furthermore, that this pamphlet would not bring in a single recruit in Russia; that it could only furnish the Government with a pretext for fresh persecutions. Yet he proclaimed that the Government had seized nothing whatever; that the Committee was still holding sessions in Russia and was displaying indefatigable and determined activity that extended everywhere, truly astounding foresight, vigilance, energy full of wisdom, and staggering ingenuity (the statements made at the trial testify to this); that his secret organisation, the only serious one that had existed in Russia since 1825, was intact; that it had penetrated down to the lower orders of the people, who were eagerly accepting its programme; that the officers were surrounded by it; that the revolution was imminent and would break out in a few months, in the spring of 1870. It was purely to give himself the pleasure of the drama which it conferred on him personally in front of his false international brethren and in front of his mirror that Bakunin, who pretended to have "renounced his own life, his own thought, and his own will", to be superior to the "wordy and futile bragging" of "men who play at honour, personal dignity, and right", that he, Mikhail Bakunin, addressed the Russians with these lies and this bragging.
This same man who in 1870 preaches to the Russians passive, blind obedience to orders coming from above and from an anonymous and unknown committee; who declares that Jesuitical discipline is the condition *sine qua non* of victory, the only thing capable of defeating the formidable centralisation of the State—not just the Russian state but any state; who proclaims a communism more authoritarian than the most primitive communism—this same man, in 1871, weaves a separatist and disorganising movement into the fabric of the International under the pretext of combating the authoritarianism and centralisation of the German Communists, of introducing autonomy of the sections, a free federation of autonomous groups, and of making the International what it should be: the image of the future society. If the society of the future were modelled on the Alliance, Russian section, it would far surpass the Paraguay of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, so dear to Bakunin's heart.

IX

CONCLUSION

While granting the fullest freedom to the movements and aspirations of the working class in various countries, the International had nevertheless succeeded in uniting it into a single whole and making the ruling classes and their governments feel for the first time the worldwide power of the proletariat. The ruling classes and the governments recognised this fact by concentrating their attacks on the executive body of our whole Association, the General Council. These attacks became increasingly intense after the fall of the Commune. And this was the moment that the Alliancists, on their part, chose to declare open war on the General Council! They claimed that its influence, a powerful weapon in the hands of the International, was but a weapon directed against the International itself. It had been won in a struggle not against the enemies of the proletariat but against the International. According to them, the General Council's domineering tendencies had prevailed over the autonomy of the sections and the national federations. The only way of saving autonomy was to decapitate the International.

Indeed the men of the Alliance realised that if they did not seize this decisive moment, it would be all up with their plans for the secret direction of the proletarian movement of which Bakunin's
hundred international brethren had dreamed. Their invective wakened approving echoes in the police press of all countries.

Their resounding phrases about autonomy and free federation, in a word, war-cries against the General Council, were thus nothing but a manoeuvre to conceal their true purpose—to disorganise the International and by doing so subordinate it to the secret, hierarchic and autocratic rule of the Alliance.

Autonomy of the sections, free federation of the autonomous groups, anti-authoritarianism, anarchy—these were convenient phrases for a society of the "declassed" "with no prospects and no way out", conspiring within the International to subject it to a secret dictatorship and impose upon it the programme of M. Bakunin!

Stripped of its melodramatic finery, this programme amounts to the following:

1. All the deprivities in which the life of declassed persons ejected from the upper strata of society must inevitably become involved are proclaimed to be so many ultra-revolutionary virtues.

2. It is regarded as a matter of principle and necessity to debauch a small minority of carefully selected workers, who are enticed away from the masses by a mysterious initiation, by making them take part in the game of intrigues and deceit of the secret government, and by preaching to them that through giving free rein to their "evil passions" they can shake the old society to its foundations.

3. The chief means of propaganda is to attract young people by fantastic lies about the extent and power of the secret society, prophecies of the imminent revolution it has prepared and so on, and to compromise in government eyes the most progressive people from among the well-to-do classes with a view to exploiting them financially.

4. The economic and political struggle of the workers for their emancipation is replaced by the universal pan-destructive acts of heroes of the underworld—this latest incarnation of revolution. In a word, one must let loose the street hooligans suppressed by the workers themselves in "the revolutions on the Western classical model", and thus place gratuitously at the disposal of the reactionaries a well-disciplined gang of agents provocateurs.

It is hard to say what predominates in the theoretical elucubrations and practical endeavours of the Alliance—clowning or infamy. Nevertheless, it has succeeded in provoking within the International a muffled conflict which for two years has hindered the actions of our Association and has culminated in the secession
of some of the sections and federations. The resolutions adopted by the Hague Congress against the Alliance were therefore merely a matter of duty: the Congress could not allow the International, that great creation of the proletariat, to fall into nets spread by the riff-raff of the exploiting classes. As for those who wish to deprive the General Council of the prerogatives without which the International would be nothing but a confused, disjointed and, to use the language of the Alliance, “amorphous” mass, we cannot regard them otherwise than as traitors or dupes.

London, July 21, 1873


X

APPENDIX

1. BAKUNIN'S HEGIRA

In 1857, Bakunin was sent to Siberia, not to forced labour, as his accounts would have us believe, but simply to live there in exile. At that period, the governor of Siberia was Count Muravyov-Amursky, Bakunin's cousin and a relative of the Muravyov who was the executioner of Poland. Thanks to this relationship and to the services which he had rendered to the government, Bakunin enjoyed exceptional position and favours in Siberia.

Petrashevsky, leader and organiser of the 1849 conspiracy, was in Siberia at that time. Bakunin adopted an openly hostile attitude to him and tried to harm him in every way possible, which was easy for him as a cousin of the governor-general. His persecution of Petrashevsky gave Bakunin further grounds for governmental favours. A shady affair, which had considerable repercussions in Siberia and in Russia, put an end to this struggle between the two exiles. As a result of criticism levelled against the conduct of a highly-placed official who was playing at liberalism, a storm broke out in the governor-general's entourage and ended in a duel to the death. Now this whole affair stank so much of personal intrigues and fraudulent dealings, that the whole population was disturbed and accused the chief officials of having

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a See this volume, pp. 454-57.—Ed.

b Between F. A. Beklemishev and M. S. Neklyudov, who was killed.—Ed.
assassinated the victim of the duel, a young friend of Petrashevsky's. Unrest took on such proportions that the government became fearful of a popular riot. Bakunin sided with the high officials, Muravyov included. He used his influence to have Petrashevsky exiled to a remoter place and he defended Petrashevsky's persecutors in a long letter signed by him as witness and sent to Herzen.\textsuperscript{386} The latter, when publishing it in the \textit{Kolokol},\textsuperscript{a} suppressed all the attacks against Petrashevsky; but the manuscript copy made of this letter while on its way to St. Petersburg was circulated there, and so the original text reached the public.

The merchants of Siberia, who are generally more liberal than those in Russia, wanted to found a university there in order not to have to send their children any more to distant schools in Russia, and to create an intellectual centre in those parts. For this, they needed imperial authorisation.\textsuperscript{b} Muravyov, advised and encouraged by Bakunin, opposed this project. Bakunin's hatred of science goes back a long way. This is perfectly well-known in Siberia. Challenged on this point several times by the Russians, Bakunin could not deny it, but always explained his conduct by saying that, \textit{while preparing for his escape}, he sought to win the good graces of his cousin the governor.

Not only did Bakunin use and abuse governmental favours, but for trifling sums of money he obtained them in abundance for the capitalists, contractors and tax-farmers. Bakunin's proclamations, confiscated from Nechayev's victims and published by the government in 1869 and 1870, contained lists of proscribed persons, including the notorious Katkov, editor-in-chief of the \textit{Moscow Gazette}.\textsuperscript{c} The latter took his revenge by publishing the following disclosure in his newspaper: he had in his possession letters sent to him by Bakunin from London on his arrival from Siberia, in which he begged Katkov, as an old friend, to advance him several thousand rubles.\textsuperscript{d} Bakunin admits that during his stay in Siberia he had been receiving an annuity from a vodka tax-farmer\textsuperscript{e} who paid him for ensuring, by his intercession, the good graces of the

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{\textit{[М. Бакунин.]} "Письмо в редакцию по поводу дуэли Беклемишева съ Неклюдовым", \textit{Kolokol}, приложение "Подъ судъ!", \textit{л.л.} 6, 7, July 1 and 15, 1860.—\textit{Ed.}}
\footnote{By Alexander II.—\textit{Ed.}}
\footnote{\textit{Московская ведомости}.—\textit{Ed.}}
\footnote{\textit{[М. Н. Катков.]} "Самое тяжелое впечатлінне...", \textit{Московская Ведомости}, No. 4, January 6, 1870. (Katkov referred to Bakunin's letter from Irkutsk of January 2, 1861.)—\textit{Ed.}}
\footnote{Dmitry Benardaki.—\textit{Ed.}}
\end{footnotes}
governor. This dishonourable fee (Bakunin ceased to collect it after his escape) weighed on his conscience; he wanted to send back to the tax-farmer the money received from him. He asked his friend Katkov for an advance to enable him to perform this good deed. Katkov refused.

At the time when Bakunin sent this request to his old friend Katkov, the latter had long since won his spurs in the service of the Third Department, devoting his newspaper to denunciations of the Russian revolutionaries and particularly of Chernyshevsky, as well as of the Polish revolution. And so, in 1862, Bakunin requested money of a man whom he knew to be a denouncer and a literary bandit in the pay of the Russian Government. Bakunin has never dared to deny this grave charge.

Supplied with money obtained by the methods already known to us, and enjoying the high protection of the governor, Bakunin was able to escape with the greatest of ease. Not only did he procure a passport in his own name to travel in Siberia, he obtained the official assignment of inspecting the region as far as its eastern frontiers. Once he arrived at the port of Nikolayevsk, he crossed without difficulty to Japan, from where he was able calmly to embark for America and arrive in London at the end of 1861. Thus did this new Mohammed accomplish his miraculous hegira.

2. BAKUNIN'S PAN-SLAV MANIFESTO

On March 3, 1861, Alexander II proclaimed, to the tumultuous plaudits of all liberal Europe, the emancipation of the serfs. The efforts of Chernyshevsky and the revolutionary party to obtain the preservation of communal landownership had produced results, but in a manner so unsatisfactory that, even before the proclamation of the manifesto emancipating the serfs, Chernyshevsky sadly admitted:

"Had I known that the question raised by me was to receive such a solution, I would have preferred to suffer a defeat rather than win such a victory. I would rather they had acted as they had intended, without any regard for our claims."

And, indeed, the act of emancipation was nothing but a swindle. A large part of the land was taken away from its real owners, and a system was proclaimed whereby the peasants could buy back their land. This act of bad faith by the tsar gave Chernyshevsky and his party a new and irresistible argument against imperial reforms. The liberals, ranging themselves under Herzen's banner, bayed at the top of their voices: "Thou hast conquered,
O Galilean!" a By Galilean, they meant Alexander II.—From that moment, the liberal party, whose chief organ was Herzen’s Kolokol, never ceased to sing the praises of the tsar-liberator and, to distract the public’s attention from the complaints and claims which were stirred up by this anti-popular act, they asked the tsar to continue his emancipatory work and to launch a crusade for the liberation of the oppressed Slav peoples and for the achievement of pan-Slavism.

In the summer of 1861, Chernyshevsky, in the journal Sovremennik, denounced the manoeuvres of the pan-Slavists and told the Slav peoples the truth about the state of affairs in Russia and about the selfish obscurantism of their false friends, the pan-Slavists. b It was then that Bakunin, on his return from Siberia, judged that the moment had arrived for him to step forward. He wrote the first part of a long manifesto published as a supplement by Kolokol on February 15, 1862, and entitled: To the Russian, Polish and All Slav Friends. c The second part never appeared.

The manifesto begins with the following declaration:

"I have retained the audacity of all-conquering thought, and in heart, will and passion I have remained true to my friends, to the great common cause, to myself... I now appear before you, my old and tested friends, and you, my young friends, who live by one thought and one will with us, and I ask you: admit me to your midst again and may I be permitted, with you and in your midst, to devote all my remaining life to the struggle for Russian freedom, for Polish freedom, for the freedom and independence of all Slavs.”

If Bakunin addresses this humble prayer to his old and young friends, it is because

"it is bad to be active in a foreign land. I experienced this in the revolutionary years: neither in France nor in Germany was I able to gain a foothold. And so, while preserving all my ardent sympathy of former years for the progressive movement of the whole world, in order not to waste the rest of my life I must henceforth limit my direct activity to Russia, Poland, and the Slavs. These three separate worlds are inseparable in my love and in my faith.”

In 1862, eleven years ago, at the age of forty-seven, d the great

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a A. I. Gerцен, "На канунѣ", Kolokol, London, No. 93, March 1, 1861.— Ed.
b Н. Г. Чернышевский, «Национальная безбаштность», Современник, No. 7, St. Petersburg, July 1861; idem, «Народная безцельность», Современник, No. 9/10, St. Petersburg, September-October 1861.— Ed.
c М. А. Бакунин, «Русскимъ, подъымъ и всѣмъ славянскимъ друзьямъ», Kolokol, No. 122/123, February 15, 1862, supplement.— Ed.
d The original mistakenly has: “51 years” (Bakunin was born in May 1814).— Ed.
anarchist Bakunin preached the cult of the state and pan-Slav patriotism.

"It might be said that the Great-Russian people has hitherto lived only the external life of the state. However burdensome its position may have been within, reduced to extreme ruin and slavery, it has nevertheless cherished the unity, strength and greatness of Russia, and has been ready to make any sacrifice for their sake. And so there has been a growing awareness among the Great-Russian people of the state and patriotism, not in words, but in deeds. And so it alone has survived as a people among the Slav tribes; it alone has held out in Europe and made itself felt by all as a force... Do not fear that it may lose its legitimate influence and the political force which it has acquired solely by struggles lasting three centuries and accomplished by martyr-like abnegation to safeguard its state integrity... Let us send the Tartars to Asia, the Germans to Germany, and let us be a free people, a purely Russian people..."

To lend more authority to this pan-Slav propaganda, which ends by calling for a crusade against the Tartars and the Germans, Bakunin refers the reader to the Emperor Nicholas:

"They say that Emperor Nicholas himself, not long before his death, when preparing to declare war on Austria, wanted to call all the Austrian and Turkish Slavs, Magyars and Italians to a general uprising. He had stirred up against himself an eastern storm and, to defend himself against it, he wanted to transform himself from a despotic emperor into a revolutionary emperor. They say that his proclamations to the Slavs as also an appeal to the Poles had already been signed by him. However much he hated Poland, he understood that, without it, a Slav uprising was impossible ... he overcame his aversion to such an extent that he was ready, it is said, to recognise the independent existence of Poland, but ... only beyond the Vistula."

The very man who, since 1868, has played the internationalist, preached, in 1862, a war of the races in the interests of the Russian Government. Pan-Slavism is an invention of the St. Petersburg cabinet and has no other goal but to extend Russia's European frontiers further west and south. But since one dare not announce to the Austrian, Prussian and Turkish Slavs that their destiny is to be absorbed into the great Russian Empire, one represents Russia to them as the power which will deliver them from the foreign yoke and which will reunite them in a great free federation. Thus, pan-Slavism is open to various shades of interpretation, from the pan-Slavism of Nicholas to that of Bakunin; but they all tend to the same end and all are, at bottom, in an entente cordiale, as is proved by the passage which we have just quoted. The manifesto" to which we now turn will leave us in no doubt on this score.

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"М. А. Бакунинъ, Народное Дѣло. Романовъ, Пугачевъ, или Пестель? London, 1862.—Ed."
3. BAKUNIN AND THE TSAR

We have seen that, consequent upon the emancipation of the serfs, war broke out between the liberal and the revolutionary parties in Russia. Round Chernyshevsky, leader of the revolutionary party, there gathered a whole phalanx of journalists, a large group of officers, and the student youth. The liberal party was represented by Herzen, a few pan-Slavists, and a large number of peaceful reformers and admirers of Alexander II. The government lent its support to the liberals. In March 1861, the university students in Russia declared themselves vigorously in favour of the affranchisement of Poland. In the autumn of 1861, they tried to resist the “coup d’état” which wanted, by disciplinary and fiscal measures, to deprive the poor students (over two-thirds of the total number) of the chance to receive a higher education. The government declared this protest to be a riot, and in Petersburg, Moscow and Kazan, hundreds of young people were thrown into gaols, expelled from the universities, or banned from them after three months’ detention. And for fear that these young people might aggravate the discontent of the peasants, a decree of the State Council forbade ex-students all access to public functions in the villages. But the persecutions did not stop there. Professors such as Pavlov were exiled; public courses organised by students who had been expelled from the universities, were shut down; fresh police hunts were undertaken on the most futile pretexts; the “student youth fund”, only just authorised, was abruptly suppressed; newspapers were banned. All this brought the indignation and agitation of the radical party to a head and compelled it to resort to the underground press. At this point, a manifesto entitled Young Russia was published with an epigraph by Robert Owen.388 This manifesto exposed clearly and in detail the internal situation of the country, the state of the various parties and of the press, and, in proclaiming communism, deduced the necessity for a social revolution. It called on all serious people to group round the radical banner.

Hardly had this manifesto issued from the underground press, when, by a fatal coincidence (unless the police had a hand in it), numerous fires broke out in St. Petersburg. The government and the reactionary press joyously seized on the occasion to accuse the young people and all the radical party of incendiarism. The prison cells filled up again, and the roads to exile were once more thronged with victims. Chernyshevsky was arrested and thrown into the St. Petersburg fortress, from where, after two
long years of intense suffering, he was sent to forced labour in Siberia.

Before this catastrophe, Herzen and Gromeka, who later contributed to the pacification of Poland as governor of one of its provinces, delivered a series of furious attacks, the former in London, the latter in Russia, on the radical party, and insinuated that Chernyshevsky would perhaps end up by receiving a decoration.a—In as moderate an article as possible, Chernyshevsky called on Herzen to consider carefully the consequences of the new role which the Kolokol was going to play in open hostility to the Russian revolutionary party.b Herzen pompously declared that he was ready to pronounce, in the presence of those he called international democrats—Mazzini, Victor Hugo, Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, etc.—the famous toast to the health of the great tsar-liberator c and, “whatever is said”, he added, “by the revolutionary Daniels of Petersburg, I know that despite all their protests, this toast will find a favourable echo in the Winter Palace” (the tsar’s residence).d The revolutionary Daniels were Chernyshevsky and his friends.389

Bakunin got the better of Herzen. It was when the revolutionary party was completely routed and Chernyshevsky was in prison, that Bakunin published, at the age of fifty-one, e his notorious pamphlet to the peasant tsar: Romanov, Pugachev or Pestel. The People’s Cause. By Mikhail Bakunin, 1862.

“Many are still wondering whether there will be a revolution in Russia. It is taking place gradually, it reigns everywhere, in everything, in all minds. It acts still more successfully through the hands of the government than through the efforts of its own adherents. It will not abate and will not cease until it has regenerated the Russian world, until it has created a new Slav world.

“The dynasty is working to bring about its own destruction. It seeks its salvation in wishing to stop the life of the people which is awakening instead of protecting it. This life, if it were understood, could have raised the imperial house to hitherto unknown heights of power and glory... It is a pity! Rarely has it fallen to the lot of the tsar’s house to play so majestic and so beneficient a role. Alexander II could so

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a [А. И. Герцен,] “Very Dangerous!!!”, Колоколь, No. 44, June 1, 1859.—Ed.

b [Н. Т. Чернышевский,] "Политика. Похвала миру.—Сражения при Мадженте и Сольферино.—Причины слабости австриской армии. Причины, по которой были заключены миръ", Современникъ, No. 7, July 1859.—Ed.

c [А. И. Герцен,] «10 апреля 1861 и убийства въ Варшавѣ», Колоколь, No. 96, April 15, 1861.—Ed.

d [А. И. Герцен,] «Лишние люди и желчевики», Колоколь, No. 83, October 15, 1860.—Ed.

e Bakunin’s age is given here according to Utin’s report; in fact, Bakunin was born on May 30, 1814.—Ed.
easily become the idol of the people, the first peasant tsar,* mighty not through fear, but through the love, liberty and prosperity of his people. Relying on that people, he could become the saviour and head of the entire Slav world...

"For that all that was necessary was a Russian heart, broad and strong in magnanimity and truth. All Russian and Slav living reality went to him with open arms, ready to serve as a pedestal for his historic greatness."

Bakunin then demands the abolition of the state of Peter the Great, of the German state, and the creation of the “new Russia”. The fulfilment of this task is entrusted to Alexander II.

"His beginning was magnificent. He proclaimed freedom for the people, freedom and a new life after a thousand years of slavery. It seemed as if he wanted to organise the Russia of the peasants” (zemskaya Rossiya), “because in Peter’s state a free people was unthinkable. On February 19, 1861, in spite of all the shortcomings and absurd contradictions in the Ukase on the Emancipation of the peasants, Alexander II was the greatest, most loved and most powerful tsar who ever existed in Russia.”—However, “liberty is contrary to all the instincts of Alexander II”, because he is German, and “a German will never understand and never love the Russia of the peasants ... he only dreamed of strengthening the edifice of Peter’s state ... having undertaken a thing that is fatal and impossible, he is working to his own ruin and that of his house, and he is on the point of plunging Russia into a bloody revolution”.

According to Bakunin, all the contradictions of the ukase on emancipation, all the shootings of peasants, the student disturbances, all the terror, in a word,

"is fully explained by the tsar’s lack of a Russian spirit and of a heart loving the people, by his insane striving to preserve Peter’s state at all costs ... and yet it is he, he alone who could accomplish in Russia the most serious and most beneficial revolution without shedding a drop of blood. He can still do so now. If we despair of the peaceful outcome, it is not because it would be too late, but because we have ended up by despairing of Alexander II and his ability to understand what is the only way of saving himself and Russia. To stop the movement of the people who are waking up after a thousand years of sleep is impossible. But if the tsar were to put himself firmly and boldly at the head of the movement, his power for the good and the glory of Russia would be unlimited."

For this, he would only have to give the peasants land, liberty, and SELF-GOVERNMENT.

"Do not fear that regional SELF-GOVERNMENT might break the ties between the provinces, that the unity of the Russian land might be shaken; the autonomy of the provinces will be only administrative, internally legislative, juridical, but not political. And in no country, with the exception, perhaps, of France, is the people endowed to the same extent as in Russia with a sense of unity, of harmony, of integrity of the state, and of national greatness.”

* The title of peasant tsar (Zemsky Tsar) conferred on Alexander II was invented by Bakunin and the Kolokol.
At that time, the convocation of a national assembly was being demanded in Russia. Some wanted it to resolve the financial difficulties, others to put an end to the monarchy. Bakunin wanted it to express the unity of Russia and to consolidate the power and greatness of the tsar.

"Since the unity of Russia has hitherto found its expression only in the person of the tsar, it needs another representation, that of a national assembly... The question is not to know whether or not there will be a revolution, but whether it will be peaceful or bloody. It will be peaceful and beneficial if the tsar, putting himself at the head of the popular movement, undertakes, with the national assembly, broadly and resolutely to transform Russia radically in the spirit of freedom; but if he wishes to retreat, or stops at half-measures, the revolution will be frightful. It will then take on the character of a pitiless massacre in consequence of the uprising of the entire people... Alexander II can still save Russia from total ruin and from bloodshed."

Thus, in 1862, the revolution, for Bakunin, meant the total ruin of Russia, and he beseeched the tsar to save the country from it. For many Russian revolutionaries, the convocation of a national assembly would be equivalent to the collapse of the imperial house; but Bakunin puts an end to their hopes and announces to them that

"a national assembly will be against them and for the tsar. And if the national assembly should be hostile to the tsar? It is not possible; it is the people who will send their delegates, the people whose faith in the tsar is without limits to this day and who respect everything about him. Whence, then, would the hostility come?. There is no doubt that if the tsar convoked the national assembly now" (February 1862), "he would, for the first time, find himself surrounded by men sincerely devoted to him. If the anarchy lasts a few years longer, the attitudes of the people may change. Life moves fast in our times. But, at present the people are for the tsar and against the nobility, against the officials, against everything that wears German dress" (that is to say, European-style dress). "In the official Russian camp, all are enemies of the people, all except the tsar. Who, then, will try to speak to the people against the tsar? And even if someone should try to do so, would the people believe him? Was it not the tsar who emancipated the peasants against the will of the nobility, against the general desire of the officials?"

"Through their delegates, the Russian people will meet their tsar face to face for the first time. It is a decisive moment, critical to the highest degree. Will they like one another? The whole future of the tsar and of Russia will depend on this meeting. The confidence and devotion of the delegates towards the tsar will be boundless. Relying on them, going to meet them with faith and love, he will elevate his throne to a height and a security which it has never attained before. But what if, instead of the tsar-emancipator, the people's tsar, the delegates find in him a

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\[a\] In the Russian text here and subsequently Bakunin uses the term "vserabotny Zemsy Sobot" ("elective council of the whole people").—Ed.

\[b\] The Russian text has: "bezuryadita" ("lack of order").—Ed.

\[c\] The Russian text has: "zemsky". "Zemsky tsar"—tsar elected by all the people of the land, or by the Zemstvo.—Ed.
Petersburg emperor in Prussian uniform, a narrow-hearted German? What if, instead of the expected liberty, the tsar gives them nothing, or next to nothing?.. Then, woe to tsarism! At least it will be the end of the Petersburg, German, Holstein-Gottorp empire.

"If, at this fatal moment, when the question of life or death, of peace or blood, is about to be decided for the whole of Russia, if the tsar of the people were to appear before the national assembly as a good and loyal tsar, loving Russia, ready to give the people an organisation according to its will, what could he not do with such a people! Who would dare to rise up against him? Peace and confidence would be re-established as if by a miracle, money would be found, and everything would be arranged simply, naturally, without prejudice to anybody, and to the general satisfaction. Guided by such a tsar, the national assembly would create a new Russia. No malevolent attempt, no hostile force, would be in a state to fight against the reunited might of the tsar and the people... May one hope that this alliance will become fact? We have every reason to say No.

Whatever he might say, Bakunin does not despair of dragging his tsar along, and in order to persuade him, he threatens him with the revolutionary youth who, if the tsar does not make haste, will be able to accomplish its mission and find its way to the people.

"And why is this youth not for you, but against you? That is a great misfortune for you ... they need, above all, liberty and truth. But why has it abandoned the tsar? Why has it declared itself against him who first gave liberty to the people?... Has it perhaps let itself be carried away by the abstract revolutionary ideal and the sonorous word 'republic'? That may be partly so, but it is only a secondary and superficial cause. The majority of our progressive youth understands well that Western abstractions, whether conservative, bourgeois, liberal, and democratic, are not applicable to the Russian movement... The Russian people is not moved according to abstract principles ... the Western ideal is alien to it, and all attempts by conservative, liberal or even revolutionary doctrinairism to subject it to its own tendencies will be futile ... it has its own ideal ... it will bring new principles into history, will create another civilisation, a new religion, a new right, a new life.

"Faced with this great, serious, and even terrible figure of the people one dare not commit stupidities. Youth will abandon the ridiculous and disgusting role of impostrous schoolteachers... What could we teach the people? If one leaves aside the natural sciences and mathematics, the last word of our science will be the negation of the so-called immutable truths of the Western doctrine, the complete negation of the West."

Bakunin then descends on the authors of Young Russia accusing them of doctrinairism, of wanting to set themselves up as the people's teachers, of having compromised the cause, of being children who do not understand anything and who have drawn their ideas from a few Western books which they have read.— The government, which at that time arrested these same young people as incendiaries, hurled the same reproaches at them. And so to reassure his tsar, Bakunin announces that
“the people do not support this revolutionary party ... the vast majority of our youth belongs to the people's party, to the party which has as its sole and single aim the triumph of the people's cause. This party has no prejudices either for or against the tsar, and if the tsar, having begun the great work, had not betrayed the people, it would never have abandoned him, and even now it is not too late for him; and even now that youth would follow him with joy provided he would march at the head of his people. It would not allow itself to be stopped by any of the Western revolutionary prejudices. It is time for the Germans to go to Germany. If the tsar had realised that henceforth he must be the head not of an enforced centralisation, but of a free federation of free peoples, then, relying on a solid and regenerated force, allying himself with Poland and the Ukraine, breaking all the detested German alliances, and boldly raising the pan-Slav banner, he would become the saviour of the Slav world.

“Yes, indeed, war on the Germans is a good and indispensable thing for the Slavs, at all events better than stifling the Poles to please the Germans. To rise and free the Slavs from the yoke of the Turks and the Germans will be a necessity and a sacred duty of the emancipated Russian people.”

In the same pamphlet, he calls on the revolutionary party to rally under the banner of the people's cause. Here are some articles of faith from the programme of this popular cause à la tsar:

“Article 1. We” (Bakunin and Co.) “want popular SELF-GOVERNMENT in the commune, in the province,a in the region and, finally, in the state, with or without the tsar—it doesn't matter, according as the people wish.—Article 2: ...We are ready, and duty commands us, to come to the aid of Lithuania, Poland, and the Ukraine so as to prevent all violence, and to protect them against all their external enemies, especially the Germans.—Article 4. With Poland, Lithuania, and the Ukraine, we wish to lend a hand to all our Slav brothers now groaning under the yoke of the kingdom of Prussia and of the Austrian and Turkish empires, and we undertake not to sheathe the sword as long as a single Slav remains in German, Turkish, or any other slavery.”

Article 6 prescribes an alliance with Italy, Hungary, Rumania and Greece. These were the very alliances then being sought by the Russian Government.

“Article 7. We shall strive, with all the other Slav tribes, to make the cherished dream of the Slavs come true, to establish a great and free pan-Slav federation, [...] so that there shall be but a sole indivisible pan-Slav power.

“This is the vast programme of the Slav cause, this is the last indispensable word of the Russian popular cause. To this cause we have devoted our whole life.

“And now, where shall we go, and with whom shall we march? We have said where we want to go; we have also said with whom we shall march—with none other than the people. It remains to be known whom we shall follow. Shall we

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a “Volost”, “uyezd” in the Russian text.—Ed
follow Romanov, Pugachev, or a new Pestel, if one can be found? *

"Let us tell the truth. We would prefer to follow Romanov, if Romanov could, and would, transform himself from a Petersburg emperor into a peasant tsar. We would willingly rally under his banner, because the Russian people still recognises him, and because his power is already created, ready to act, and could become an invincible force if he gave it the popular baptism. We would follow him, moreover, because he alone can accomplish the great peaceful revolution without shedding a drop of Russian or Slav blood. Bloody revolutions sometimes become necessary owing to human stupidity; nevertheless they are a great evil and a great misfortune, not only as regards their victims, but as regards the purity and the fullness of the goal for which they are accomplished. We saw this during the French revolution.

"Thus, our attitude to Romanov is clear. We are not his enemies, any more than we are his friends. We are the friends of the Russian popular cause, of the Slav cause. If the tsar is at the head of this cause, we shall follow him; but if he opposes it, we shall be his enemies. Therefore, the whole question is to know whether he wishes to be the Russian tsar, the peasant tsar, Romanov, or the Petersburg, the Holstein-Gottorp emperor. Does he wish to serve Russia, the Slavs, or the Germans? This question will soon be settled, and then we shall know what we must do."

Unfortunately, the tsar did not deem it appropriate to convocate the national assembly for which Bakunin, in this pamphlet, was already proposing his own candidature. He gained nothing out of his electoral manifesto and his genuflexions before Romanov. Humiliatingly deceived in his frank confidence, he had no alternative but to throw himself headlong into pan-destructive anarchy.

After this lucubration of a teacher who prostrated himself before his peasant tsar, his pupils and friends, Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc, had every right to cry at the top of their voices: "Long live Napoleon III, emperor of the peasants!"

XI

DOCUMENTS

1. THE SECRET STATUTES OF THE ALLIANCE

The copy of these statutes which is now in our possession is partly written in Bakunin's hand. He gave copies not only to his initiates, but to many more people whom he hoped to seduce with the disclosure of his splendid programme. The vanity of the author proved stronger than the sinister furtiveness of the mystifier.

* Romanov is the tsar's surname. Pugachev was the leader of a great Cossack uprising under Catherine II. Pestel was the leader of the 1825 conspiracy against Nicholas I. He was hanged.
ORGANISATION OF THE ALLIANCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL BRETHREN

THREE GRADES:

I. International brethren.
II. National brethren.
III. The half-secret, half-public organisation of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy.

I. RULES OF THE INTERNATIONAL BRETHREN

1. The International Brethren have no homeland other than the world Revolution, no foreign land and no enemy other than the Reaction.
2. They reject any policy of negotiation and concession, and regard as reactionary any political movement which does not have as its immediate and direct goal the triumph of their principles.
3. They are Brethren—they never attack one another, nor settle their differences in public or in front of the courts. Their only justice is a jury of arbitrators, elected from among the brethren by the two parties.
4. Each must be sacred to all the others, more sacred than a blood brother. Each brother shall be helped and protected by all the others to the limits of the possible.
5. Only he may become an international brother who has sincerely accepted all the programme in all its consequences, theoretical and practical, and who adds revolutionary passion to intelligence, energy, honesty and discretion, he who has the devil in his flesh. We impose neither duty nor sacrifice. But he who has this passion will do many things without even imagining that he is making sacrifices.
6. A brother must have neither business, interests, nor duties more serious and more sacred than the service of the revolution and of our secret Association, which must serve the revolution.
7. A brother always has the right to refuse to render the services demanded of him by the Central Committee or by his National Committee, but many successive refusals will lead to his being considered unconscientious or lazy, and he may be suspended by his National Committee and, on the representation of this latter, temporarily expelled by the Central Committee pending a final decision by the Constituent Committee.
8. No brother shall accept a public post except with the consent of the Committee to which he belongs. — None shall undertake public actions or appearances contrary or even foreign to the line of conduct determined by his Committee and without having consulted the latter. Every time that two or more brothers are together, they shall consult each other on all important public matters.
9. All the International Brethren know one another. No political secret must ever exist among them. None may take part in any secret society whatever without the positive consent of his Committee and, if necessary, should the latter so demand, without that of the Central Committee. — And he may take part only on condition that he reveals to them all the secrets that could interest them directly or indirectly.

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a [M. A. Bakunin,] Organisation de l'Alliance des Frères Internationaux, manuscript.— Ed.
10. The organisation of International Brethren is subdivided as follows: A. *The General, or Constituent, Committee.* B. *The Central Committee.* C. *The National Committees.*

A. *The General Committee*

This is an assembly of all or at least two-thirds of the International Brethren convoked regularly either at stipulated intervals, or in extraordinary assembly by a majority of the Central Committee. It is the supreme constituent and executive power of our entire organisation, whose programme, rules and organic statutes it can modify.

B. *The Central Committee*

Consists of: a) the *Central Bureau,* and b) the *Central Supervisory Committee.* The latter's members are all the international brethren who, not belonging to the Bureau, are sufficiently near to be convoked at two days' notice, and, naturally, all brethren who happen to be passing through. For the rest, they are guided in all their mutual relationships by the Rules of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy (see Articles 2-4).\(^a\)

C. *The National Committees*

Each National Committee shall consist of all the international brethren (irrespective of nationality) who are in or near the centre of the national organisation. Each National Committee is subdivided equally into: a) a *National Executive Bureau,* and b) a *National Supervisory Committee.* This latter will include all international brethren present who are not in the Bureau. The same relationships as in the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.

11. The admission of a new brother requires the *unanimity* of all members present (not less than three) of the National Committee and the *confirmation* by a two-thirds majority of the *Central Committee.* The *Central Committee* may admit a new member by the unanimous agreement of all its members.

12. Each National Committee is to meet at least once a week to control and activate the organisational, propaganda and administrative work of its Bureau.—It is the natural judge of the conduct of each member in everything affecting his revolutionary dignity or relations with society. Its verdicts must be presented to the Central Committee for confirmation. It will direct the activities and all the public appearances of all members. Either through its Bureau or through a brother designated by it, it must maintain regular correspondence with the *Central Bureau,* to which it must write at least once every fortnight.

13. The *National Committee* will organise a secret *Association* of the National Brethren in its country.

II. THE NATIONAL BRETHREN

14. The National Brethren must be organised in each country so that they can never deviate from the guidance of the general organisation of the International Brethren, and notably from that of the *General Committee* and of the *Central Committee.* Their programmes and their rules may only be finally put into operation after they have received the sanction of the *Central Committee.*

\(^a\) See this volume, pp. 570-71.—*Ed.*
15. Each National Committee may, if it finds it useful, establish among them two categories: a) that of National Brethren who know one another all over the country, and b) that of Brethren who do not know one another except in small groups.—In no case will the National Brethren even suspect the existence of an international organisation.

16. The provincial centres, consisting entirely or partly of international brethren or national brethren of the first category, shall be established at all the principal points in the country, with the mission of promoting as thoroughly and as far as possible the secret organisation and the propaganda of its principles—not contenting themselves with acting in the cities, but also trying to propagate them in the villages and among the peasants.

17. The National Committees shall attempt to raise the necessary financial means as soon as possible, not only for the success of their own organisation, but also for the general needs of the whole Association. They will therefore send a part—half?—to the Central Bureau.

18. The National Bureaux must be very active, remembering that the principles, programmes and rules are of no worth unless the persons who have to put them into execution have the devil in their flesh.

SECRET ORGANISATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

1. The Permanent Central Committee of the Alliance consists of all the members of the Permanent National Committees and of those of the Geneva Central Section. When together, all these members constitute the Secret General Assembly of the Alliance, which is the constituent and supreme power of the Alliance and which will meet at least once a year at the Working Men’s Congress as delegates of the Alliance’s different national groups; it may also be convoked at any time equally by the Central Bureau or by the Geneva Central Section.

2. The Geneva Central Section is the permanent delegation of the permanent Central Committee. It is composed of all the members of the Central Bureau and of all those of the Supervisory Committee, who must always be members of the permanent Central Committee.—The Central Section will be the Supreme Executive Council of the Alliance, within the limits of the Constitution and of the line of conduct which can only be laid down and modified by the General Assembly. It will decide on all questions of execution (not of constitution and general policy) by a simple majority of votes, and its resolutions thus adopted shall be binding on the Central Bureau, unless the Bureau, by a majority of its members, wishes to appeal to the General Assembly, which it must convene in this case at three weeks’ notice.—To be regular, the General Assembly, when thus convened, must be composed of two-thirds of all its members.

3. The Central Bureau, the executive power, will consist of 3 to 5 or even 7 members, who must always at the same time be members of the Permanent Central Committee. Like one of the two parts which make up the Secret Central Section, the Central Bureau shall be a secret organisation. As such, it will receive its guidance from the Central Section and will pass on its communications, not to say its secret orders, to all the National Committees, from which it will receive secret reports at least once a month. As the Executive Directorate of the public Alliance, it shall be a public organisation. As such, it shall be on more or less private or public terms, according to country and circumstances, with all the National Bureaux, from which it shall also receive reports once a month. Its ostensible form of government
will be that of a presidency in a federative republic. The *Central Bureau*, as the secret as well as public executive power of the Alliance, shall activate the society's secret and public propaganda and shall promote its development in all countries by all possible means. It shall administer the part of the finances which, in accordance with Article 6 of the public regulations,² are sent to it from all countries for general needs. It shall publish a newspaper and pamphlets, and shall send travelling agents to form Alliance groups in the countries where there are none. In all the measures which it adopts for the good of the Alliance, it shall moreover submit to the decisions of the majority of the *Secret Central Section*, to which, incidentally, all its members shall belong. As an organisation both secret and public, and since it must be composed entirely of members of the *Permanent Central Committee*, the *Central Bureau* must always be a direct representation of this Committee. The *Provisional Central Bureau* will now be presented to the *Geneva initiating group* as provisionally elected by all the founder members of the Alliance, of whom the majority, as former members of the Berne Congress,² have returned to their countries after having delegating their powers to Citizen B.³ This Bureau will function until the first public General Assembly which, in accordance with Article 7 of the public Regulations,⁴ must meet as a branch of the International Working Men's Association at the next Working Men's Congress. It follows that members of the *New Central Bureau* must be nominated by this Assembly. But as it is urgent that the *Central Bureau* should always consist solely of members of the *Permanent Central Committee*, this latter, through the organ of its national committees, will take care to organise and direct all the local groups in such a way that they will delegate to this Assembly only members of the Permanent Central Committee, or, failing them, men absolutely devoted to the leadership of their respective national committees, so that the Permanent Central Committee should always have the upper hand in the entire organisation of the Alliance.

4. The *Supervisory Committee* shall exercise control over all the actions of the Central Bureau.—It shall consist of all the members of the Permanent Central Committee resident either in the place itself, or near the residence of the *Central Bureau* and also all the members temporarily present or just passing through, with the exception of the members who make up the Bureau. At the request of two members of the Supervisory Committee, all the members of the latter must at three days' notice meet with the members of the Central Bureau to constitute the Assembly of the Central Section of the Supreme Executive Council, whose rights are defined in Article 2.

5. The *National Committees* will be formed of all the members of the Permanent Central Committee who belong to the same nation.—As soon as there are three members of the Permanent Central Committee who belong to the same nation, they will be invited by the Bureau and, if necessary, by the Central Section, to form the National Committee of their country. Each National Committee may create a new member of the Central Committee of its country, but not otherwise than by the unanimous agreement of all the members. As soon as a new member has been appointed by a National Committee, the latter shall immediately inform the Central Bureau, which shall register this new member and shall thereby confer on him all the rights of a member of the Permanent Central Committee.—The *Geneva Central Section* is likewise invested with the power to create new members by the unanimous agreement of its members.

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² See this volume, p. 578.—Ed.
³ The League of Peace and Freedom.—Ed.
⁴ Mikhail Bakunin.—Ed.
⁵ See this volume, p. 578.—Ed.
Each National Committee has, as its special mission, the foundation and organisation of the public as well as secret national group of the Alliance in its country. It shall be the group's supreme chief and administrator through its National Bureau, which it shall have the task of creating and forming entirely of Permanent Central Committee members. The national committees shall have the same relationship, rights and powers with regard to their respective Bureaux as the central section with regard to the Central Bureau.—The national committees, which shall be formed by combining their respective bureaux and supervisory committees, shall recognise no authority other than the Central Bureau, and shall serve as the sole intermediaries between this latter and all the local groups of their country for propaganda and administration, and likewise for the collecting and paying in of subscriptions. The national committees, through their respective bureaux, shall have the task of organising the Alliance in their countries so that it shall always be dominated and represented at the Congresses by members of the Permanent Central Committee.

As the national bureaux organise their local groups, they shall make it their concern to submit the regulations and programme to the central bureau for confirmation, without which the local groups cannot belong to the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy.

PROGRAMME OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

1. The International Alliance has been founded to promote the organisation and acceleration of the World Revolution on the basis of the principles proclaimed in our programme.

2. In conformity with these principles, the goal of the revolution cannot be other than: a) The destruction of all ruling powers and all religious, monarchical, aristocratic and bourgeois authority in Europe. Consequently, the destruction of all existing states with all their political, juridical, bureaucratic and financial institutions. b) The reconstitution of a new society on the sole basis of freely associated labour, taking collective ownership, equality and justice as the starting point.

3. The Revolution as we conceive it, or rather as the force of circumstances today inevitably presents it, is essentially international or universal in character. In view of the menacing coalition of all the privileged interests and all the reactionary powers in Europe, which have at their disposal all the formidable means given them by a cleverly organised organisation, and in view of the profound schism which reigns everywhere today between the bourgeoisie and the workers, no national revolution will succeed if it does not extend at once to all the other nations, and it will never cross the frontiers of a country and adopt this universal character unless it carries within itself all the elements of this universality—that is to say, unless it is an openly socialist revolution, destructive of the state, and creative of liberty through equality and justice; for nothing henceforth shall be able to reunite, electrify, and arouse the great and only true power of the century—the workers—except the total emancipation of labour on the ruins of all the institutions which protect hereditary landownership and capital.

4. Since the impending Revolution can only be universal, the Alliance, or, not to mince words, the conspiracy which must prepare, organise and accelerate it, must also be universal.
5. The Alliance will pursue a double aim: a) It will endeavour to disseminate among the masses of all countries the right ideas on politics, social economy, and all philosophical questions. It will carry out active propaganda by means of newspapers, pamphlets and books, and also by founding public associations. b) It will seek to affiliate to itself all intelligent, energetic, discreet and well-disposed men who are sincerely devoted to our ideas, in order to form all over Europe, and as far as possible in America, an invisible network of dedicated revolutionaries who have become more powerful through this very Alliance.

PROGRAMME AND OBJECTIVES
OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATION
OF THE INTERNATIONAL BRETHREN

1. The principles of this organisation are the same as those of the programme of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy. They are even more explicitly defined, as regards women, the family from the point of view of religion and law, and the state, in the programme of the Russian Socialist Democracy.

The Central Bureau moreover reserves the right to present shortly a more comprehensive theoretical and practical exposition of these principles.

2. The association of international brethren aims for a universal revolution, simultaneously social, philosophical, economic and political, so that of the present order of things—based on private property, exploitation, domination and the principle of authority, whether religious, metaphysical, bourgeois-doctrinaire, or even Jacobin-revolutionary—not a stone shall remain standing, first in all Europe and then throughout the rest of the world. With the cry of peace for the workers, liberty for all the oppressed, and death to the rulers, exploiters and guardians of all kinds, we seek to destroy all states and all churches along with all their institutions and laws, religious, political, juridical, financial, police, university, economic and social, so that all these millions of poor human beings, deceived, enslaved, tormented and exploited, delivered from all their directors and benefactors, official and officious, collective and individual, may breathe at last with complete freedom.

3. Convinced that individual and social evil resides far less in individuals than in the organisation of things and in social position, we shall be humane as much from a sense of justice as from considerations of utility, and we shall destroy positions and things without pity in order to be able to spare human beings without any danger to the Revolution. We deny to society free will and the supposed right to punish. Justice itself, taken in the most humane and broadest sense, is but a negative and transitional idea, as it were. It poses social problems, but it does not think them over, merely indicating the only possible way to human liberation, namely, the humanisation of society through liberty in equality; the positive solution can only be given through the increasingly rational organisation of society. This solution, which is so desirable and is the ideal that we all have in common ... is the liberty, morality, intelligence and well-being of each through the solidarity of all—human fraternity.

Every human individual is the involuntary product of the natural and social environment in which he is born and develops, and which continues to exert an influence upon him. The three great causes of all human immorality are: inequality, political, economic and social; the ignorance which is its natural result; and their inevitable consequence—slavery.

Since the organisation of society is always and everywhere the sole cause of the crimes committed by men, it is hypocritical or obviously absurd on society's part to punish criminals, when all punishment presumes culpability and the criminals are
never culpable. The theory of culpability and punishment is a theological issue, that is to say, it is a combination of religious hypocrisy and the absurd.

The only right which can be allowed to society in its present state of transition is the natural right to assassinate the criminals, which it has itself produced, in the interests of its own protection, and not the right to judge and condemn them. This right will not even be one in the strictly accepted sense of the word; it will be rather a natural fact, distressing but unavoidable, a sign and product of the impotence and stupidity of the existing society; and the more society is able to avoid using it, the nearer it will be to its own actual liberation. All revolutionaries, all oppressed, all suffering victims of the existing organisation of society, whose hearts are naturally full of vengeance and hatred, would do well to remember that the kings, oppressors and exploiters of all kinds are as much to blame as the criminals who have emerged from the masses: they are malefactors, but they are not to blame, since they too are, like ordinary criminals, the involuntary products of the existing order of society. One should not be surprised if, at the first moment, the insurgent people kill a great many of them—this will be an inevitable calamity, perhaps, as futile as the damage caused by a tempest.

But this natural fact will be neither moral nor even useful. In this respect, history is full of lessons: the terrible guillotine of 1793, which could not be accused of idleness or tardiness, did not succeed in destroying the nobility in France. The aristocracy there was, if not completely destroyed, at least profoundly shaken, not by the guillotine, but by the confiscation and sale of its estates. And, in general, it may be said that political massacres have never killed parties; they have shown themselves above all impotent against the privileged classes, since power is rooted much less in men than in the positions which are given to the privileged by the organisation of things, that is to say, by the institution of the state and by its consequence and also by its natural basis, private property.

To carry out a radical revolution, one must therefore attack positions and things, one must destroy property and the state; then there will be no need to destroy men and to condemn oneself to the unfailing and inevitable reaction which has never failed and never will fail to produce the massacre of human beings in any society.

But in order to have the right to be humane to human beings without endangering the revolution, one must be ruthless with positions and things; it will be necessary to destroy everything, and, above all and before everything else, property and its inevitable corollary—the State. This is the whole secret of the revolution.

One should not be surprised at the Jacobins and the Blanquists who became socialists by necessity rather than by conviction, and for whom socialism is a means, not an end of the Revolution, since they want the dictatorship, that is to say, the centralisation of the state, and the state will lead them by a logical and inevitable necessity to the reconstitution of property—it is quite natural, we say, that, not wishing to carry out a radical revolution against things, they dream of a bloody revolution against men.—But this bloody revolution, founded on the construction of a powerfully centralised revolutionary state, would inevitably result, as we shall prove more fully later, in a military dictatorship under a new master. Consequently, the triumph of the Jacobins or the Blanquists would mean the death of the Revolution.

4. We are the natural enemies of those revolutionaries—future dictators, regulators and tutors of the revolution—who, even before the existing monarchical, aristocratic and bourgeois states have been destroyed, already dream of creating new revolutionary states as centralised as, and even more despotic than the existing states, and who have acquired so great a habit of order created from above
and so great a horror of what seems to them like disorder, but is nothing other
than the frank and natural expression of the people's life, that even before a good
and salutary disorder has been produced by the revolution, they already dream of
putting an end to it and of muzzling it by the force of an authority which will have
nothing of revolution but the name, but which will, in effect, be no more than a
new reaction, since it will really be a new condemnation of the masses, governed by
decrees, to obedience, stagnation and death, that is, to slavery and exploitation by a
new quasi-revolutionary aristocracy.

5. We understand revolution to mean the unleashing of what today are called
the evil passions and the destruction of what, in the same language, is called
“public order”.

We do not fear anarchy, and we invoke it, convinced that from this anarchy,
that is to say, from the complete manifestation of the people's life unleashed, there
must emerge liberty, equality, justice, a new order, and the very force of
Revolution against Reaction. This new life—the people's revolution—will doubtless
not delay in organising itself, but will create its revolutionary organisation from
bottom to top and from the circumference to the centre—in conformity with the
principle of liberty, and not from top to bottom, nor from the centre to the
circumference after the manner of all authority—for it matters little to us that this
authority calls itself Church, Monarchy, constitutional State, bourgeois Republic, or
even revolutionary dictatorship. We detest them and we reject them all alike as
infallible sources of exploitation and despotism.

6. The revolution, as we understand it, must from the very first day destroy,
radically and totally, the state and all the state's institutions. The natural and
necessary consequences of this destruction will be: a) the bankruptcy of the state;
b) an end to the payment of private debts by the intervention of the state, leaving
each debtor the right to pay if he wants; c) an end to the payment of all taxes and
to the deduction of all contributions, direct or indirect; d) the dissolution of the
army, the magistrature, the bureaucracy, the police and the clergy; e) the abolition
of official justice, the withdrawal of everything which juridically called itself law,
together with the exercise of those laws. Consequently, the abolition and auto-da-fé
of all title-deeds, deeds of inheritance, purchase, gift, and all trials—in a word, of
all juridical and civil red tape. Everywhere and in everything, revolutionary acts
instead of the law created and guaranteed by the state; f) the confiscation of all
productive capital and instruments of labour for the benefit of working men's
associations, which should collectively use them for production; g) the confiscation
of all church and state property, and likewise of individually owned precious metals
for the benefit of the Federative Alliance of all the working men's associations, that
is, the Alliance which will form the Commune.

In return for the confiscated goods, the Commune will give what is strictly
necessary to all individuals thus deprived, who may later gain more by their own
work if they are able and willing.—h) For the organisation of the Commune—a
federation of permanently acting barricades and the functioning of a Council of
the Revolutionary Commune by the delegation of one or two deputies from each
barricade and one per street, or per block, these deputies being invested with
imperative mandates and always responsible and revocable at any time. The
Commune Council, thus organised, will be able to elect from its membership special
executive committees for each branch of the revolutionary administration of the
Commune. i) A declaration by the insurgent capital, once organised as a commune,
that, having destroyed the authoritarian and tutelary state, which it was entitled to
do since it had been the state's slave like all the other localities, it renounces its
right, or rather all claims, to direct or dictate to the provinces. k) An appeal to all
provinces, communes, and associations, while allowing them all to follow the
example set by the capital, first to reorganise themselves in a revolutionary way, and then to delegate to an agreed place of assembly their deputies, all likewise empowered with imperative mandates and responsible and revocable, to constitute a federation of associations, communes and provinces which have risen in the name of the same principles, and to organise a revolutionary force capable of triumphing over the reaction. The sending, not of official revolutionary commissars with shoulder sashes, but of revolutionary propagandists into all the provinces and communes—above all among the peasants, who can be turned into revolutionaries neither by principles nor by the decrees of some dictatorship, but only by revolutionary action itself, that is to say, by the consequences which will infallibly be produced in all the communes by the complete cessation of the official juridical life of the state. Abolition of the national state also in the sense that any foreign country, province, commune, association, or even isolated individual that rises in the name of the same principles, shall be received into the revolutionary federation without regard for existing state frontiers, although they belong to different political or national systems; and in the sense that any of one's own provinces, communes, associations and individuals that side with the Reaction, shall be excluded from it. It is, then, by the very fact of the spreading and organisation of the revolution with a view to the mutual defence of the insurgent countries, that the universality of the revolution shall triumph, based on the abolition of frontiers and on the destruction of the states.

7. There can be no victorious political or national revolution henceforth unless the political revolution becomes a social revolution, and unless the national revolution, precisely because of its character, radically socialist and destructive of the state, becomes the universal revolution.

8. Since the revolution must be carried out everywhere by the people, and since the supreme direction of it must always remain with the people organised into a free federation of agricultural and industrial associations, the new and revolutionary state, organising itself from bottom to top by way of revolutionary delegation, and embracing all the countries that have risen in the name of the same principles without regard for the old frontiers and for differences in nationality, will have as its goal the administration of the public services and not the government of the peoples. It will constitute the new homeland, the Alliance of the Universal Revolution against the Alliance of all the reactionary forces.

9. This organisation excludes any idea of dictatorship and of tutelary ruling power. But for the very establishment of this revolutionary alliance and for the triumph of the revolution against the reaction, it is necessary that in the midst of popular anarchy which will constitute the very life and energy of the revolution, unity of revolutionary idea and action should find an organ. This organ must be the secret and world Association of the international brethren.

10. This association proceeds from the conviction that revolutions are never made either by individuals, or even by secret societies. They come about, as it were, of their own accord, produced by the force of things, by the course of events and facts. They are prepared over a long time deep in the instinctive consciousness of the popular masses, and then they flare up, often induced, apparently, by insignificant causes. All that a well-organised secret society can do is, first, to assist in the birth of the revolution by spreading among the masses ideas corresponding to their instincts, and to organise, not the army of the revolution—the army must always be the people—but a sort of revolutionary general staff composed of devoted, energetic, intelligent and above all sincere friends of the people, who are not ambitious or vain, and who are capable of serving as intermediaries between the revolutionary idea and the popular instincts.

11. The number of these individuals should not, therefore, be too large. For the
international organisation in the whole of Europe, a hundred firmly and seriously united revolutionaries would be sufficient. Two or three hundred revolutionaries would be enough for the organisation of the biggest country.

2. PROGRAMME AND REGULATIONS OF THE PUBLIC ALLIANCE

The socialist minority of the League of Peace and Freedom having broken away from this league owing to the majority vote at the Berne Congress, which made a formal declaration opposing the fundamental principle of all the working men's associations, namely, the economic and social equality of classes and individuals, has thereby adhered to the principles proclaimed by the Working Men's Congresses held at Geneva, Lausanne and Brussels. Several members of this minority, who belong to different nations, have suggested to us that we organise a new International Alliance of Socialist Democracy wholly merged with the great International Working Men's Association, but adopting as its special mission the study of political and philosophical questions on the same basis of this great principle of the universal and real equality of all human beings on earth.

Convinced, for our part, of the usefulness of such an enterprise, which will give the sincere socialist democrats of Europe and America a means of understanding one another and of affirming their ideas without any pressure from the false socialism which bourgeois democracy now finds it useful to flaunt, we have thought it our duty to take the joint initiative with these friends in forming this new organisation.

Consequently, we have set ourselves up as the central section of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy, and we are today publishing its Programme and Regulations.

PROGRAMME
OF THE INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE
OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

1) The Alliance declares itself to be atheist; it strives for the abolition of cults, the substitution of science for faith and of human justice for divine justice.

2) It seeks, above all, the political, economic and social equalisation of classes and of individuals of both sexes, commencing with the abolition of the right of inheritance, so that in future the enjoyment of the benefits should be equal to the production of each, and so that, in conformity with the decision taken by the last Congress of workers at Brussels, the land and instruments of labour, like all other capital, by becoming the collective property of society as a whole, may not be used except by the workers, that is to say, by agricultural and industrial associations.

3) It requires all children of both sexes, from the day of their birth, to have equality of the means of development, that is to say, maintenance, education and training at all levels in science, industry and the arts, being convinced that this equality, at first purely economic and social, will eventually lead to the increasing natural equality of individuals by eliminating all the artificial inequalities which are historical products of social organisation as false as it is iniquitous.

a [M. Bakounine,] Programme et règlement de l'Alliance Internationale de la Démocratie Socialiste, Geneva, 1868.—Ed.
4) As the enemy of all despotism, recognizing no political form other than the republican, and rejecting outright all reactionary alliance, the Alliance also rejects all political action which does not have for its immediate and direct goal the triumph of the cause of the workers against Capital.

5) It recognises that all the political and authoritarian states now existing, as they are reduced more and more to the simple administrative functions of the public services in their respective countries, must disappear in the universal union of free Associations, agricultural and industrial alike.

6) Since the social question cannot find a definitive and practicable solution except on the basis of the international or universal solidarity of the workers of all countries, the Alliance rejects any policy founded on so-called patriotism and the rivalry of nations.

7) It wants the universal Association of all the local Associations through liberty.

REGULATIONS

1) The International Alliance of Socialist Democracy is constituted as a branch of the International Working Men's Association, all of whose General Rules it accepts.

2) The founder-members of the Alliance provisionally organise a Central Bureau at Geneva.

3) The founder-members belonging to the same country constitute the National Bureau of that country.

4) The National Bureaux have the mission of establishing, in all localities, local groups of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy which, through the intermediary of their respective National Bureaux, will apply to the Central Bureau of the Alliance for admission to the International Working Men's Association.

5) All the local groups will form their bureaux in accordance with the custom adopted by the local sections of the International Working Men's Association.

6) All members of the Alliance undertake to pay a subscription of ten centimes per month, of which half shall be retained for its own needs by each national group, and the other half shall be remitted to the funds of the Central Bureau for its general needs.

In countries where this sum is considered too high, the National Bureaux, in agreement with the Central Bureau, may reduce it.

7) During the annual Congress of Workers, the Delegation of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, as a branch of the International Working Men's Association, shall hold its public sessions in a separate place.

3. LETTER FROM BAKUNIN TO FRANCISCO MORA IN MADRID
(Written in French)

"April 5, 1872, Locarno,

"Dear Ally and Comrade,

"As our friends at Barcelona have invited me to write to you, I do so with all the more pleasure since I have learned that I also, like my friends, our allies of the Jura Federation, have become, in Spain as much as in other countries, the target for the calumnies of the London General Council. It is indeed a sad thing that in this time of terrible crisis, when the fate of the proletariat of all Europe is being
decided for many decades to come, and when all the friends of the proletariat, of humanity and justice, should unite fraternally to make a front against the common enemy, the world of the privileged which has been organised into a state—it is very sad, I say, that men who have, moreover, rendered great services to the International in the past, should be impelled today by evil authoritarian passions, should lower themselves to falsification and the sowing of discord, instead of creating everywhere the free union which alone can create strength.

"To give you a fair idea of the line which we are taking, I have only one thing to tell you. Our programme is yours; it is the very one which you proclaimed at your Congress last year, and if you stay faithful to it, you are with us for the simple reason that we are with you. We detest the principle of dictatorship, governmentalism and authority, just as you detest them; we are convinced that all political power is an infallible source of depravity for those who govern, and a cause of servitude for those who are governed.—The state signifies domination, and human nature is so made that all domination becomes exploitation. As enemies of the state in all its manifestations anyway, we certainly do not wish to tolerate it within the International. We regard the London Conference and the resolutions which it passed as an ambitious intrigue and a coup d'état, and that is why we have protested, and shall continue protesting to the end. I am not touching on personal questions, alas! they will take up too much time at the next world Congress, if this Congress takes place, which I strongly doubt myself; for if things continue to proceed as they are doing, there will soon no longer be a single point on the continent of Europe where the delegates of the proletariat will be able to assemble in order to debate in freedom. All eyes are now fixed on Spain, and on the outcome of your Congress. What will come of it? This letter will reach you, if it reaches you at all, after this Congress. Will it find you at the height of revolution or at the height of reaction? All our friends in Italy, France and Switzerland are waiting for news from your country with unbearable anxiety.

"You doubtless know that the International and our dear Alliance have progressed enormously in Italy of late. The people, in the country as much as in the towns, are now in an entirely revolutionary situation, that is to say, they are economically desperate; the masses are beginning to organise themselves in a most serious manner and their interests are beginning to become ideas.—Up to now, what was lacking in Italy was not instincts, but organisation and an idea. Both are coming into being, so that Italy, after Spain and with Spain, is perhaps the most revolutionary country at this moment. Italy has what other countries lack: a youth which is passionate, energetic, completely at a loss, with no prospects, with no way out, and which, despite its bourgeois origins, is not morally and intellectually exhausted like the bourgeois youth of other countries. Today, it is throwing itself headlong into revolutionary socialism accepting our entire programme, the programme of the Alliance. Mazzini, our mighty antagonist of genius, is dead, the Mazzinist party is completely disorganised, and Garibaldi is letting himself be carried away more and more by that youth which bears his name, but is going, or rather running, infinitely further ahead of him. I have sent to our friends in Barcelona an Italian address; I shall soon send them others. It is good and it is necessary that the Alliancists in Spain should enter into direct relations with those in Italy. Are you receiving the Italian socialist newspapers? I recommend above all: the Eguaglianza of Girgenti, Sicily; the

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\[a\] The reference is apparently to the Spanish Federation Congress in Barcelona (June 1870).—Ed.

\[b\] Bakunin refers to the Spanish Federation Congress in Saragossa (April 4-11, 1872).—Ed.
Campana of Naples; the Fascio Operaio of Bologna; Il Gazzettino Rosa, and, above all, Il Martello of Milan—unfortunately the latter has been banned and all the editors imprisoned.

"In Switzerland, I recommend to you two Alliancists: James Guillaume (Switzerland, Neuchâtel, 5, rue de la Place d'Armes) and Adhémar Schwitzguébel, engraver (member and corresponding secretary of the Committee of the Jura Federation), Switzerland, Jura Berinois, Sonvillier, Mr. Adhémar Schwitzguébel, engraver." (Bakunin's address follows.)

"Alliance and fraternity.
M. Bakunin

"Please convey my greetings to brother Morago, and ask him to send me his newspaper.
"Are you receiving the Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne?
"Please burn this letter, as it contains names."

The Hague Congress has expelled Bakunin from the International, not only as a founder of the Alliance, but also for a personal deed.\textsuperscript{390} The authentic document in support of this deed is still in our hands, but political considerations oblige us to refrain from publishing it.

\textit{The End}

Written between April and July 1873
First published as a pamphlet in London and Hamburg in August-September 1873
Printed according to the pamphlet
Translated from the French
Frederick Engels

THE BAKUNINISTS AT WORK

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SPANISH REVOLT
IN THE SUMMER OF 1873

I

The report just published by the Hague Commission on Mikhail Bakunin's secret Alliance* 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^ presented to the Geneva Congress.393

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

* L'Alliance de la Démocratie socialiste, London, 1873. The German edition was published under the title: *Ein Komplott gegen die Internationale* (Bookshop of the Vorwärts).392

a La Nueva Federación Madrileña á los delegados al sexto Congreso general. Madrid 24 de agosto de 1873.—Ed.
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. 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”. 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" (nota bene: by their own International). “It was therefore decided that the International, as an association, should not engage in any political activity whatever, but that its members, as

\(^a\) On May 10, 1873.— Ed.
\(^b\) J. W. Goethe, Zueignung.— Ed.
individuals, could act on their own as they thought fit and join the party 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.³

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 monarchists⁹⁴ from power and deprived them of the possibility of recovering it in the near future; the Alfonsists⁹⁵ stood still less chance at the time; as for the Carlists, they, as usual, preferred civil war to an election campaign.⁹⁶ 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;

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³ See this volume, pp. 486-97.—Ed.
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.

II

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. 234a) 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, although it was universally admitted that this required a well-formed organisation of the

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a See present edition, Vol. 4, p. 520; Der Volksstaat refers to the first German edition: Die Lage der Arbeitenden Klasse in England, Leipzig, 1845, p. 279.—Ed.
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-tried 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 reigns of government to Pi y Margall, 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

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a On June 11, 1873.—Ed.
feel on seeing the government using the army fight our brother workers, while neglecting the struggle against the Carlists", etc.\(^a\)

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 Bousse, members of the Alliance (the report on the Alliance contained further details about them\(^b\)), 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!"\(^c\)

\(^a\) Engels probably quotes from *La Solidarité Révolutionnaire*, No. 6, July 16, 1873.—*Ed*.

\(^b\) See this volume, pp. 488, 495, 507-10.—*Ed*.

\(^c\) "Le mouvement révolutionnaire...", *La Solidarité Révolutionnaire*, No. 6, July 16, 1873. Quotations below are taken from the same article.—*Ed*.
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 suddenly gains a large temporary following. Alcoy was therefore chosen as the seat of the Bakuninist Federal Commission for Spain, 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—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

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a "Á los Trabajadores", La Federation, No. 206, July 26, 1873.—Ed
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 Albor 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".b

Needless to say, all the horror stories carried by the bourgeois
papers about factories senselessly burnt down, numerous gend-
darmes 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, number-
ing 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,
at their Congress at Saint-Imier 400 (Switzerland), on September 15,
1872, the members of the Alliance decided that

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*a Der Volksstaat does not give the number of people.—Ed.

b W. Shakespeare, The First Part of King Henry IV, Act V, Scene 4.—Ed.
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.\textsuperscript{a}

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."\textsuperscript{b}

\textsuperscript{a} "Les deux Congrès de Saint-Imier", \textit{Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne...}, No. 17-18, September 15-October 1, 1872, p. 13.—Ed.

\textsuperscript{b} "À los Trabajadores", \textit{La Federacion}, No. 206, July 26, 1873.—Ed.
“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 Bakunists 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 Bakunists 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, Málaga, 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.

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a *Der Volksstaat* (No. 106) printed the following three paragraphs, apparently by mistake, at the end of Article III. Engels replaced them when preparing the article for the 1894 collection *Internationales aus dem Volksstaat (1871-1875).* — Ed.
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, was here proclaimed a principle of supreme revolutionary wisdom. Bakunin had that satisfaction. As early as September 1870 (in his Lettres à un français) 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

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a [M. Bakounine.] Lettres à un français sur la crise actuelle [Neuchâtel, 1870].— Ed.
resign,\(^a\) 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 Pavia 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 Pavia took the field round about July 20. A detachment of gendarmes and line troops under Ripoll occupied Cordoba on the 24th. On the 29th Pavia 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 Cadiz, 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, Pavia 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 Málaga, 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.\(^402\) 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

\(^a\) On July 18, 1873.—Ed.
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\(^a\) 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 Málaga, 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

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\(^a\) The German mile is equal to 7,420,438 metres.—*Ed.*
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

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a See this volume, pp. 520-21.—Ed.
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, ac-
The Bakunists at Work.—IV

The Bakunists at Work. 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 Bakunists 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.
5. In short, the Bakuninists in Spain have given us an unparalleled example of how a revolution should not be made.

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Printed according to F. Engels, Internationales aus dem Volksstaat (1871-1875), Berlin, 1894, checked with the newspaper
I. INTRODUCTION 1500-1789

1. Germany more and more fragmented and the centre weakened end of 15th century, with France and England already more or less centralised and the nation in the process of formation. This impossible in Germany because 1. feudalism developed later than in the countries that had suffered conquest; 2. Germany had French and Slavonic constituents and saw Italy as belonging to it and Rome as its centre—thus no national complex; 3. because, and this is the main thing, the individual provinces and groups of provinces were still utterly isolated from one another, no traffic, etc. (vid. Peasant War). The Hansa, the Rhenish League of Cities and Swabian League of Cities represented natural, but separate groups.

Ad I, 1. Spain, France, England end 15th century grown together into constituted national states. This consolidation epoch-making for 15th century (Spain—unification of the Catalan and Castilian nationalities; Portugal, the Iberian Holland, had established its right to a separate existence through its navigation; France—through the dynasty-allodium, which gradually absorbed the nation.—England (England only reached this stage after being forced to renounce its Quixotic plans for conquest of France—similar to Germany’s Roman campaigns—which would have bled it white, as the Roman campaigns had bled white Germany)—by the Wars of the Roses, which destroyed the nobility.—Germany

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a The allusion is to the conquest of Western Europe by the Germanic tribes in the 5th-6th centuries.—Ed
b See F. Engels, The Peasant War in Germany (present edition, Vol. 10, p. 401).—Ed
would still have been centralised despite its economic desultoriness, indeed earlier (e.g., under the Ottos), had it not been for the fact 1) that the Roman emperorship, with its claim to world domination, ruled out the establishment of a national state and dissipated its energies on the Italian campaigns of conquest (after-effects in Austria until 1866!), in which German interests were continually betrayed, and 2) that the system of elective monarchy never permitted a merging of the nation with the imperial allodium but always—and particularly in the 15th, decisive, century—changed dynasties as soon as their allodium grew too great for the princes.—In France and Spain, too, there was economic fragmentation, overcome by force.

The “Kulturkampf”406 between the Emperor and the Pope in the Middle Ages split Germany and Italy (where the Pope was an obstacle to national unity and, at the same time, often apparently its champion, but in such a way that, e.g., Dante saw the saviour of Italy in the foreign Emperora) and, by 1500, the Pope had positioned himself right across Italy as the prince possessing the middle of the country, and made unity physically impossible.

2. Nevertheless, Germany would have grown into a single entity through the natural development of trade, the Germanisation of the Slavs and the loss of the French provinces407 and of Italy since the world trade route passed through Germany, had two decisive events not occurred to prevent this:

—1) The German burghers made their revolution—which, in accordance with the spirit of the age, appeared in a religious form—the Reformation. But how lousy! Impossible without the imperial knights and the peasants; but all 3 estates prevented by conflicting interests: knights often the robbers of the towns (vid. Mangold von Eberstein) and oppressors of the peasants, and towns also peasant-bashers (Council of Ulm and peasants!408); imperial knights rise up first, are left in the lurch by the burghers, perish; peasants rise up, are directly opposed by the burghers. At the same time, the bourgeois religious revolution so castrated that it appeals to the princes, and the latter are given the leadership. Ad 2, 1: Specifically theological-theoretical character of the German revolution of the 16th century. Predominant interest in things not of this world, abstraction from wretched reality—basis of subsequent theoretical superiority of the Germans from Leibniz to Hegel.

—2) The world trade route removed from Germany, and

a Dante Alighieri, De Monarchia.— Ed.
Germany pushed into an isolated corner, whereby the power of the burghers broken, the Reformation *ditto*.

—3) Result that *cuius regio, eius religio*, and that Germany actually disintegrated into a predominantly Protestant North, predominantly Catholic but very mixed Southwest, and exclusively Catholic Southeast. This already predetermined developments of 1740-1870 (Prussia, split between North and South, finally Little Germany\(^409\) and Austria). Opposite of France. Suppression of the Huguenots (vid. "Varia" p. 2\(^b\)).

3. Germany, once condemned industrially to passivity and setbacks, was bound to be more exposed to the influences of changing political factors than industrially active and progressive countries. (Develop this in general terms.) The split into 2 parties placed civil war on the agenda; enumeration of the wars up to 1648—civil war. French exploitation of the opportunity and the alliance with and *payment of the Protestant princes and German mercenaries*. Culminates in the Thirty Years War.\(^410\) Thirty Years War—Irishmen in Germany, Germans in Ireland, 1693 and 1806.\(^411\) Description of the devastation. Result: economically, socially, politically—losses to France; settlement by Sweden and Denmark in Germany; the guarantee-powers' right of intervention; total collapse of the central power; right of rebellion against the Emperor, civil war and treason *guaranteed by Europe* to the German princes.

4. 1648-1789

a. Political condition. The German princes exploit the Peace of Westphalia by trying to outdo one another in selling themselves to foreign countries, and these—France, and also the princes—exploit Germany's weakness in order gradually to appropriate all Germany's French possessions and encircle Alsace. Historical right of France, and Teutons' outcry about "robbery".\(^412\) Unchanging nature of linguistic boundaries (vid. Menke\(^c\)) since circa A.D. 1000, except for the districts left of the Vosges. This the general situation. In particular: Rise of a rival power to Austria and the empire in the North: Prussia. Beginning of the realisation of the division into North and South. Critique of Prussian history.

\(^a\) The ruler of a country determines its religion (the underlying principle of the Augsburg Religious Peace of 1555; it ended a series of Catholic-Protestant wars in Germany by leaving it to the respective princes to lay down the religion for their subjects).—*Ed.*

\(^b\) See this volume, pp. 607-08.—*Ed.*

Frederick II.—Rise of Russia and Frederick II’s subjection to Russian policy.—Because of Prussia the civil wars now wars of rivalry between Austria and Prussia.

b. Economic matters. For all that, slow recovery from the consequences of the Thirty Years War and renewed crawling up of the burghers. Only the possession of infamous virtues made this revival possible in such circumstances. For all that, economic progress only made possible through political intervention—by the infamy of the princes and the money paid to them from abroad. This proves how deeply humiliated Germany was economically. This period the source of the patriarchal régime. After 1648, the state really called on to perform social functions and forced to assume them by financial embarrassment; where it failed to exercise them—stagnation (the Westphalian bishoprics). What a state of humiliation! And how lousy the state aid! In relation to the world market, purely passive; only as neutrals in great world wars (American and Revolutionary Wars until 1801) was anything to be earned. On the other hand, powerless against the robber states. (Thanks to the French Revolution this European disgrace eliminated.)

c. Literature and language utterly degenerate; theology wooden dogmatism; in other sciences Germany also in a state of degradation, yet rays of hope: J. Böhme (again, a sign of the philosophers to come), Kepler, Leibniz—again abstraction from the existing, the real. Bach.

d. State of Germany in 1789. a) Agriculture—peasant conditions. Serfdom, corporal punishment, dues. b) Industry—a sheer starvation affair, essentially manual labour, but in England already the beginnings of large-scale industry, and German industry, before it was even fully developed, doomed to die. c) Trade—passive. d) Social status of the burghers vis-à-vis nobility and government.—e) Political obstacle to development: fragmentation. Description as in Menke. Tolls, prevention of river traffic. Free trade along internal borders forced through by dismemberment. Tolls chiefly urban consumption dues.

These princes, powerless to do good, even when enlightened—as Schubart’s patrons and Karl August—all were happy to join the Confederation of the Rhine, rather than fight a war. Invasion of 1806 the test, when it was a matter of life or death for them. Moreover, all of these 1,000 princes absolute monarchs, coarse, uneducated scoundrels, from whom no cooperation could

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\(^{a}\) Napoleon’s army invaded Germany in the course of France’s war against Prussia.—Ed.
be expected, moods always en masse (Schlözer\textsuperscript{a}). Trade in soldiers during American War.—Yet their worst atrocity was their \textit{mere existence}. And alongside them, on the eastern frontier, Prussia in the North, Austria in the South, both greedily stretching out their hands for the territories—the only two that could have saved the situation, if only one of them was there, but whose inevitable rivalry made any such solution impossible. A sheer blind-alley, only from outside could help come—the French Revolution brought it. Only 2 signs of life: military skill, and also literature and philosophy and conscientious, objective scientific investigation, whereas in France, as early as 18th century, mainly partisan writings, albeit first-class ones—in Germany all this was a flight from reality into ideal regions. \textit{“Man”} and the development of the language; 1700 barbarism, 1750 Lessing and Kant, soon Goethe, Schiller, Wieland, Herder; Gluck, Händel, Mozart.

1789-1815

1. The German enclaves in Alsace-Lorraine, etc.—already half under French sovereignty—joined the French Revolution; thus an excuse for war.\textsuperscript{416} Prussia and Austria \textit{now suddenly united}. Valmy.\textsuperscript{417} Defeat of linear tactics by massed artillery. Fleurus and Jemappes.\textsuperscript{418} Defeat of the Austrian cordon tactics? Capture of the left bank of the Rhine. Rejoicing of the peasants and the liberal towns could not be dispelled even by odd cases of extortion, or Napoleon's bloodtaxes.—Peace of Amiens and the most important act of the Imperial Deputation—the dissolution of the Empire.\textsuperscript{419} Confederation of the Rhine. The abolition of small states by Napoleon unfortunately failed to go far enough. He, always revolutionary vis-à-vis the princes, would have gone further if the petty princes had not humbled themselves so abjectly before him. 1806, Napoleon's error was not to have destroyed Prussia altogether.—Economic facts on Germany under the Continental Blockade.\textsuperscript{420}—This period of the utmost humiliation from abroad coincides with the heyday of literature and philosophy and the culmination of music in Beethoven.

VARIA ON GERMANY 1789-1873

Prussia: und sint Weletabi so wir Wilzi heizzent etc.\textsuperscript{a}

\textbf{Prussian Army}: hungry of old. Höpfner 1788-1806.\textsuperscript{b}—Scarcity of funds under Frederick William III. Embezzlement (1st and 9th Guard Artillery Comp. coats, 1842). Old harness in the armoury.—Frederick William III also peaceful, owing to need to summon the \textit{estates} in the event of war.—1st turning-point 1848.—Waldarsee and needle (gun). 2nd turning-point the mobilisation 1850 and finally the Italian War,\textsuperscript{421} army reorganisation, rejection of the old ways. Since 1864 much self-criticism and purely businesslike procedure. Nevertheless, total misunderstanding of the character of Prussian army organisation.—Tragi-comic conflict: the state \textit{must} wage political wars, for distant interests that never arouse national enthusiasm, and to this end requires an army that is only any good for national defence and the offensives resulting immediately therefrom (1814 and 1870).—This conflict will be the downfall of the Prussian state and the Prussian army—probably in a war with Russia, which might last 4 years and would yield nothing but disease and shattered bones.

\textit{Jewish element} absolutely vital to Germany; the Jews a class that stood even lower than the serfs, no homeland, no rights (cf. Gülich on Frederick William II\textsuperscript{c}), but free and because dependent on trade, an element of the future in themselves; therefore able to react while the mass unable to react to the pressure; also livelier and more active by nature than the Germans, rise under Napoleonic rule (Rothschild and the Elector of Hesse\textsuperscript{422}); soon after 1815 strong enough in North and West Germany to break the ghetto law where it had been imposed (Frankfurt); Börne and Heine; penetration into literature, especially the daily press; character of the Jewish man of letters to aim at immediate practical gain; character of the Jewish merchant, Polish and German tradition of petty swindling, only disappearing in the 2nd

\textsuperscript{a} And there are the Weletabi, whom we call Wilzi. Engels gives a free rendering of a passage from Notker Laber's 11th-century translation of Martinus Capella's \textit{De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae}. In: J. Grimm, \textit{Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer}, Göttingen, 1828, p. 488.—\textit{Ed.}


Page of the manuscript Varia on Germany
or 3rd generation—finally merging more and more, the Germans become Jewish and the Jews German.

*German trading colonies abroad* even before 1789, but only significant after 1814. Only since 1848 real lever for Germany's entry into world trade, but then tremendously effective. Gradual growth. Character of the trading colonies until 1848—generally uneducated and ashamed of their country. (Mchr.\(^a\) English in 10 German dialects.) Inadequate protection (Weerth's Mexican story and his experience with German diplomats in South America in general\(^423\)); German world trade language through the colonies and the Jews in Eastern Europe (details of these) and through Hamburg posts in Scandinavia. The fact that in trade, outside Romance Europe and at most the Levant, German goes further than French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, in short all languages except English. Now rapid expansion of German colonies—cf. the fear of the English in London itself.

*Epigonic literature*—starting as early as Heine—its mission the polishing of the language, much needed. This achieved in poetry; prose worse than ever.

*General feeling* 1859-63 on the left bank of the Rhine they were becoming French again—not wished for, not opposed, but they submitted and would also have voted for the inevitable. How much better, then, the Alsatians!—Utter lack of trust in Prussia on account of its attitude and powerlessness [18]59. In addition, reaction among German chauvinists against Bonapartist Rhenish cravings, Alsace and Lorraine German!

Schleswig Holstein—England's eastern Ireland on account of cattle and butter imports, ruin of agriculture at the expense of cattle-raising, emigration, now still in its beginnings, the rest of North German marshlands facing the same fate.

*Gold and silverware, jewellery* considerable export from Hanau, Pforzheim, Gmünden, Berlin, etc. (K.Z.\(^b\)).

*Prussian Rules concerning servants*\(^424\)—not to be forgotten! And one-year volunteers in France.

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\(^a\) Thus in the manuscript. Presumably: Manchester.—*Ed.*

\(^b\) *Kölische Zeitung* (?).—*Ed.*
During the Huguenot wars\textsuperscript{425} respect for the monarchy, as representing the nation, already so great that only the King was permitted, both legally and by public opinion, to make foreign alliances and engage foreign auxiliaries. The others always rebels and traitors. This never more evident than at the death of Henry III—when Henry IV, merely by virtue of the royal name, is able to achieve final victory.

The eventual suppression of Protestantism in France was no misfortune for France—\textit{teste} Bayle, Voltaire and Diderot. Similarly, its suppression in Germany would not have been a disaster for Germany, but certainly \textit{for the world}. It would have imposed the Catholic form of development of the Romance countries on Germany, and as the English form of development was also semi-Catholic and medieval (universities, etc., colleges, \textit{public schools} are all Protestant monasteries), the entire Protestant German form of education (education at home or in private houses, students living out and choosing [courses of lectures]) would have been swept away and European intellectual development would have become infinitely uniform. France and England exploded prejudices of \textit{fact}, Germany those of \textit{form}, \textit{pattern}. Hence, also, partly, the amorphous nature of everything German, till now still bound up with great drawbacks, such as the fragmentation into small states, but a tremendous gain for the nation's capacity for development, one that will bear its full fruits only in the future, when this one-sided stage has been passed.

Then: German Protestantism the only modern form of Christianity worth criticising. Catholicism, even in the 18th century, \textit{beneath criticism}, object of \textit{polemics} (what asses, therefore, are the Old Catholics!\textsuperscript{426}). The English having disintegrated into $\times$ sects, with no theological development, or one every step of which became fixed as a sect. The German alone has a theology and thus an object of criticism—historical, philological and philosophical. \textit{This supplied by Germany}, impossible without German Protestantism and yet absolutely necessary. A religion such as Christianity is not destroyed by ridicule and invective \textit{alone}; it also needs \textit{to be overcome scientifically}, i.e., \textit{explained historically}, which is beyond even the natural sciences.

Holland and Belgium, separated from Germany by the moors between the Rhine and North Sea, by the Ardennes and Venn in the South, play vis-à-vis Germany the role of Phoenicia vis-à-vis Palestine, and also the same lamentation as in the old prophets, customary in Germany.

Flanders from the partition of Verdun\textsuperscript{427} until after 1500 a part
of France—hence the establishment of the French language—promoted by Flemish trade in the Middle Ages, when the merchants certainly spoke no Flemish with the Italian, etc., merchants. Now the Teutomaniacs are demanding the restoration of the Flemish language, which even the Dutch do not recognise as full-fledged; the Flemish movement of the priests! **IT IS TIME** the Flemish finally had *one* language instead of 2, and that can only be French.

After the discovery of America, Germany's agriculture, industry and trade a perpetual patient experimentation—agriculture vid. the many unsuccessful attempts in Langethal—a—industry everywhere and always things which, scarcely instituted, were forced off the world market—most striking example linen; on a small scale, e.g., the Wuppertal industry 1820-60—trade ditto. This only now placed on a normal footing.

Even in 1848 Germany's main export still—*human beings.*

1) ordinary emigration. 2) prostitution: in East Prussia regular establishments of higher and lower status for training girls to be whores of every variety and **FIT FOR ANYTHING**—from the sailors' brothel to the "educated" cavalier's mistress and, on all sorts of false pretext, sent abroad where most of them first met their fate. Many of those in a better position accepted their lot, even sending their *maquerelle* tender letters of thanks, in which they always concealed their prostituted position, figuring as governesses, companions or as brilliantly married. Bergenroth was of the opinion that all this was impossible without the authorities—**FOR A CONSIDERATION?**—turning a blind eye; he says it was always very difficult to get hold of any tangible evidence in judicial inquiries. From Petersburg and Stockholm to Antwerp the entire Baltic and North Sea coast was supplied with East Prussian women.—3) the vagabond girls from the Vogelsberg area of Hesse and Nassau, who travelled around the fairs in England as *broomgirls* (the older ones also with barrel organs), but particularly those shipped to America as *hurdy-gurdy* and making up the lowest stratum of prostitution there. 4) the young merchants of the Hansa and the Rhenish factory towns, later from Saxony and Berlin, too, and 5) then just beginning, later developing strongly, the chemists (the Liebig school in Giessen), with whores the chief export of the Grand Duchy of Hesse.—Emigrants to Holland from Westphalia—now common for Dutch to seek work in the Westphalian industrial areas.

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The stinginess of the German governments, especially that of Prussia of 1815-70, apparent in everything: poor-quality dirty coinage; *ditto* banknotes; coarse office paper; writing-sand (all official documents a frightful sight); fat, clumsily carved stamps; everything coarse, not least the officials themselves. French, English, Belgian money, post-marks, banknotes, everything gave an impression of superiority from the outset.

The awkwardness of German for everyday use, together with its enormous facility in dealing with the most difficult topics is partly the cause—or a symptom?—of the fact that, in most disciplines, the Germans have the greatest men, whereas their mass production is unusually awful rubbish. Literature: the numerous solid second-rate poets in England, the brilliant mediocrity that fills almost all French literature, are almost entirely absent in Germany. Our second-rate writers hardly bear reading a generation later. *Ditto* philosophy: alongside Kant and Hegel—Herbart, Krug, Fries and finally Schopenhauer and Hartmann. The genius of the great ones finds its complement in the unthinking nature of the Educated Mass, thus no name is more spurious than that of the "*nation* of thinkers". *Ditto* military literature. Only in things that are more or less independent of language is it any different, and second-rate people, too, important in Germany: natural sciences and particularly music. Our historical works unreadable.

The present so-called German Empire: The setting of the Nibelungs is Germany's 2 greatest rivers, the Rhine and the Danube. It would seem unnatural to us if Worms, the home of Kriemhild and scene of Siegfried's deeds, were French. But is it any less unnatural for the Danube region to lie outside the German Empire, for Rüdiger of Bechelaren once again to be, as it were, a vassal of the Magyar Etzel? And how did Walther von der Vogelweide describe Germany: "Von der Elbe unz an den Rin und hinwider unz an Ungerlant"—the Old German Austria is outside Germany, and the then non-German East Elbe region is the centre and focal point! And that calls itself a German Empire!

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a "From the Elbe to the Rhine and in the other direction as far as Hungary", *Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide*, 4th edition, Berlin, 1864, pp. 56-57.— *Ed.*
The English parliamentary elections are now over. The brilliant Gladstone, who could not govern with a majority of sixty-six, suddenly dissolved Parliament, ordered elections within eight to fourteen days, and the result was—a majority of more than fifty against him. The second Parliament elected under the Reform Bill of 1867 and the first by secret ballot has yielded a strong conservative majority. And it is particularly the big industrial cities and factory districts, where the workers are now absolutely in the majority, that send Conservatives to Parliament. How is this?

This is primarily the result of Gladstone's attempt to effect a coup d'état by means of the elections. The election writs were issued so soon after the dissolution that many towns had hardly five days, most of them hardly eight, and the Irish, Scotch and rural electoral districts at most fourteen days for reflection. Gladstone wanted to stampede the voters, but coup d'état simply won't work in England and attempts to stampede rebound upon those who engineer them. In consequence, the entire mass of apathetic and wavering voters voted solidly against Gladstone.

Moreover, Gladstone had ruled in a way that directly flouted John Bull's traditional usage. There is no denying that John Bull is dull-witted enough to consider his government to be not his lord and master, but his servant, and at that the only one of his servants whom he can discharge forthwith without giving any notice. Now, if the party in office time and again allows its ministry, for very practical reasons, to spring a big surprise with theatrical effect on occasions when taxes are reduced or other financial measures instituted, it permits this sort of thing only by
way of exception in case of important legislative measures. But Gladstone had made these legislative stage tricks the rule. His major measures were mostly as much of a surprise to his own party as to his opponents. These measures were practically foisted upon the Liberals, because if they did not vote for them they would immediately put the opposition party in power. And if the contents of many of these measures, e.g., the Irish Church Bill and the Irish Land Bill, were for all their wretchedness an abomination to many old liberal-conservative Whigs, so to the whole of the party was the manner in which these bills were forced upon it. But this was not enough for Gladstone. He had secured the abolition of the purchase of army commissions by appealing without the slightest need to the authority of the Crown instead of Parliament, thereby offending his own party. In addition he had surrounded himself with a number of importunate mediocrities who possessed no other talent than the ability to make themselves needlessly obnoxious. Particular mention must be made here of Bruce, Home Secretary, and Ayrton, the real head of the London local government. The former was distinguished for his rudeness and arrogance towards workers' deputations; the latter ruled London in a wholly Prussian manner, for instance, in the case of the attempt to suppress the right to hold public meetings in the parks. But since such things simply can't be done here, as is shown by the fact that the Irish immediately held a huge mass meeting in Hyde Park right under Mr. Ayrton's nose in spite of the parks regulations, the Government suffered a number of minor defeats and increasing unpopularity in consequence.

Finally, the secret ballot has enabled a large number of workers who usually were politically passive to vote with impunity against their exploiters and against the party in which they rightly see that of the big barons of industry, namely, the Liberal Party. This is true even where most of these barons, following the prevailing fashion, have gone over to the Conservatives. If the Liberal Party in England does not represent large-scale industry as opposed to big landed property and high finance, it represents nothing at all.

Already the previous Parliament ranked below the average in its general intellectual level. It consisted mainly of the rural gentry and the sons of big landed proprietors, on the one hand, and of bankers, railway directors, brewers, manufacturers and sundry other rich upstarts, on the other; in between, a few statesmen,

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a On November 3, 1872 (see this volume, pp. 294-96).—Ed.
jurists and professors. Quite a number of the last-named representatives of the "intellect" failed to get elected this time, so that the new Parliament represents big landed property and the money-bags even more exclusively than the preceding one. It differs, however, from the preceding one in comprising two new elements: two workers* and about fifty Irish Home Rulers. As regards the workers it must be stated, to begin with, that no separate political working-class party has existed in England since the downfall of the Chartist Party in the fifties. This is understandable in a country in which the working class has shared more than anywhere else in the advantages of the immense expansion of its large-scale industry. Nor could it have been otherwise in an England that ruled the world market; and certainly not in a country where the ruling classes have set themselves the task of carrying out, parallel with other concessions, one point of the Chartists' programme, the People's Charter, after another. Of the six points of the Charter two have already become law: the secret ballot and the abolition of property qualifications for the candidates. The third, universal suffrage, has been introduced, at least approximately; the last three points are still entirely unfulfilled: annual re-elections, payment of members, and, most important, equal electoral areas.

Whenever the workers lately took part in general politics in particular organisations they did so almost exclusively as the extreme left wing of the "great Liberal Party" and in this role they were duped at each election according to all the rules of the game by the great Liberal Party. Then all of a sudden came the Reform Bill which at one blow changed the political status of the workers. In all the big cities they now form the majority of the voters and in England the Government as well as the candidates for Parliament are accustomed to court the electorate. The chairmen and secretaries of Trades Unions and political working men's societies, as well as other well-known labour spokesmen who might be expected to be influential in their class, had overnight become important people. They were visited by Members of Parliament, by lords and other well-born rabble, and sympathetic enquiry was suddenly made into the wishes and needs of the working class. Questions were discussed with these "labour leaders" which formerly evoked a supercilious smile or the mere posture of which used to be condemned; and one contributed to collections for working-class purposes. It thereupon quite naturally occurred to

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* A. Macdonald and T. Burt.—Ed.
the "labour leaders" that they should get themselves elected to Parliament, to which their high-class friends gladly agreed in general, but of course only for the purpose of frustrating as far as possible the election of workers in each particular case. Thus the matter got no further.

Nobody holds it against the "labour leaders" that they would have liked to get into Parliament. The shortest way would have been to proceed at once to form anew a strong workers' party with a definite programme, and the best political programme they could wish for was the People's Charter. But the Chartists' name was in bad odour with the bourgeoisie precisely because theirs had been an outspokenly proletarian party, and so, rather than continue the glorious tradition of the Chartists, the "labour leaders" preferred to deal with their aristocratic friends and be "respectable", which in England means acting like a bourgeois. Whereas under the old franchise the workers had to a certain extent been compelled to figure as the tail of the radical bourgeoisie, it was inexcusable to make them go on playing that part after the Reform Bill had opened the door of Parliament to at least sixty working-class candidates.

This was the turning point. In order to get into Parliament the "labour leaders" had recourse, in the first place, to the votes and money of the bourgeoisie and only in the second place to the votes of the workers themselves. But by doing so they ceased to be workers' candidates and turned themselves into bourgeois candidates. They did not appeal to a working-class party that still had to be formed but to the bourgeois "great Liberal Party". Among themselves they organised a mutual election assurance society, the Labour Representation League, whose very slender means were derived in the main from bourgeois sources. But this was not all. The radical bourgeoisie has sense enough to realise that the election of workers to Parliament is becoming more and more inevitable; it is therefore in their interest to keep the prospective working-class candidates under their control and thus postpone their actual election as long as possible. For that purpose they have their Mr. Samuel Morley, a London millionaire, who does not mind spending a couple of thousand pounds in order, on the one hand, to be able to act as the commanding general of this sham labour general staff and, on the other, with its assistance to let himself be hailed by the masses as a friend of labour, out of gratitude for his duping the workers. And then, about a year ago, when it became ever more likely that Parliament would be dissolved, Morley called his faithful together in the London Tavern. They all appeared, the
Potters, Howells, Odgers, Halese, Mottersheads, Cremers, Eccariuses and the rest of them—a conclave of people every one of whom had served, or at least had offered to serve, during the previous parliamentary elections, in the pay of the bourgeoisie, as an agitator for the "great Liberal Party". Under Morley's chairmanship this conclave drew up a "labour programme" to which any bourgeois could subscribe and which was to form the foundation of a mighty movement to chain the workers politically still more firmly to the bourgeoisie and, as these gentlemen thought, to get the "founders" into Parliament. Besides, dangling before their lustful eyes these founders already saw a goodly number of Morley's five-pound notes with which they expected to line their pockets before the election campaign was over. But the whole movement fell through before it had fairly started. Mr. Morley locked his safe and the founders once more disappeared from the scene.

Four weeks ago Gladstone suddenly dissolved Parliament. The inevitable "labour leaders" began to breathe again: either they would get themselves elected or they would again become well-paid itinerant preachers of the cause of the "great Liberal Party". But alas! the day appointed for the elections was so close that they were cheated out of both chances. True enough, a few did stand for Parliament; but since in England every candidate, before he can be voted upon, must contribute two hundred pounds (1,240 thalers) towards the election expenses and the workers had almost nowhere been organised for this purpose, only such of them could stand as candidates seriously as obtained this sum from the bourgeoisie, i.e., as acted with its gracious permission. With this the bourgeoisie had done its duty and in the elections themselves allowed them all to suffer a complete fiasco.

Only two workers got in, both miners from coal pits. This trade is very strongly organised in three big TRADES UNIONS, has considerable means at its disposal, controls an indisputable majority of the voters in some constituencies and has worked systematically for direct representation in Parliament ever since the Reform Acts were passed. The candidates put up were the secretaries of the three TRADES UNIONS. The one, Halliday, lost out in Wales; the other two came out on top: MacDonald in Stafford and Burt in Morpeth. Burt is little known outside of his constituency. MacDonald, however, betrayed the workers of his trade when, during the negotiations on the last mining law, a which he attended as the

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a This refers to "An Act to consolidate and amend the Act relating to the Regulation of Coal Mines and certain Miners" of August 10, 1872.—Ed.
representative of his trade, he sanctioned an amendment which
was so grossly in the interests of the capitalists that even the
Government had not dared to include it in the draft.

At any rate, the ice has been broken and two workers now have
seats in the most fashionable debating club of Europe, among
those who have declared themselves the first gentlemen of Europe.

Alongside of them sit at least fifty Irish Home Rulers. When the
Fenian (Irish-republican) rebellion of 1867 had been quelled
and the military leaders of the Fenians had either gradually been
captured or driven to emigrate to America, the remnants of the
Fenian conspiracy soon lost all importance. Violent insurrection
had no prospect of success for many years, at least until such time
as England would again be involved in serious difficulties abroad.
Hence a legal movement remained the only possibility, and such a
movement was undertaken under the banner of the Home Rulers,
who wanted the Irish to be "masters in their own house". They
made the definite demand that the Imperial Parliament in London
should cede to a special Irish Parliament in Dublin the right to
legislate on all purely Irish questions; very wisely nothing was said
meanwhile about what was to be understood as a purely Irish
question. This movement, at first scoffed at by the English press,
has become so powerful that Irish M.P.s of the most diverse party
complexions—Conservatives and Liberals, Protestants and
Catholics (Butt, who leads the movement, is himself a Protestant)
and even a native-born Englishman sitting for Galway—have had
to join it. For the first time since the days of O'Connell, whose
Repeal movement collapsed in the general reaction about the
same time as the Chartist movement, as a result of the events of
1848—he had died in 1847—a well-knit Irish party once again
has entered Parliament, but under circumstances that hardly
permit it constantly to compromise à la O'Connell with the
Liberals or to have individual members of it sell themselves retail
to Liberal governments, as after him has become the fashion.

Thus both motive forces of English political development have
now entered Parliament: on the one side the workers, on the other
the Irish as a well-knit national party. And even if they may hardly
be expected to play a big role in this Parliament—the workers will
certainly not—the elections of 1874 have indisputably ushered in
a new phase in English political development.

Written on February 22, 1874

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March 4, 1874
Frederick Engels
THE IMPERIAL MILITARY LAW

I

[Der Volksstaat, No. 28, March 8, 1874]

It is truly comical the way the National Liberals and the men of Progress are acting in the Imperial Diet with respect to §1 of the Military Law:

"The effective strength of the army in peacetime in non-commissioned officers and soldiers shall, until the issue of further legal regulations, amount to 401,659 men."\textsuperscript{a}

This paragraph, they cry, is unacceptable; it cancels out the Imperial Diet's budgetary rights and turns the approval of military estimates into a mere farce!

Quite right, gentlemen! And precisely because this is so, because the article is unacceptable, you will accept it in its essentials. Why make so much fuss because you are expected to bend your knees once again, as you have so often done before with such grace?

The root of the whole wretched business is the re-organisation of the Prussian army. It engendered the glorious conflict. During the whole period of the conflict, the liberal opposition put into practice Manteuffel's principle: "He who is strong gives way bravely."\textsuperscript{441} After the Danish War their bravery in giving way increased considerably. Yet when Bismarck returned in triumph from Sadowa in 1866 and went so far as to apply for an indemnity for his previous unauthorised expenditure—then their giving way no longer knew any bounds.\textsuperscript{442} The military estimate was immediately approved, and in Prussia what has once been

approved is, according to the Prussian constitution, approved forever, for "the current" (once approved) "taxes shall continue to be raised"!\(^3\)

Then came the North German Imperial Diet, which debated the constitution of the Confederation.\(^4\)\(^4\) There was much talk of budgetary rights, the government proposal was declared unacceptable on the grounds of inadequate control over finances; there was much twisting and turning this way and that, and finally they swallowed the bitter pill and transferred the regulations of the Prussian constitution on the military estimate to the North German Confederation on all major points. By this measure, the strength of the army in peacetime was already raised from 200,000 to 300,000 men.

Then came the glorious war of 1870, and with it the "German Empire". Another constituent (!) Imperial Diet and a new imperial constitution.\(^4\)\(^4\)\(^4\) More high-minded speeches and countless reservations on account of the budgetary rights. And what did the gentlemen decide?

The Imperial Constitution §60:

"The strength of the German army in peacetime is set until December 31, 1871, at one per cent of the population of 1867 and shall be provided \textit{pro rata} in respect of the same by the individual federal states. After this date, the strength of the army in peacetime shall be laid down by means of imperial legislation."\(^b\)

One per cent of the population of 1867 means 401,000 men. This effective strength has since been prolonged by decision of the Imperial Diet until December 31, 1874.

§62: "To meet the expenditure for the whole of the German army and the institutions appertaining to the same, the Emperor shall have 225 thalers multiplied by the number of men constituting the peacetime strength of the army according to §60 placed annually at his disposal until December 31, 1871. After December 31, 1871, these amounts shall continue to be paid to the Imperial Exchequer by the individual states of the Confederation. For the purpose of calculating the same, the peacetime effective strength provisionally laid down in §60 shall be retained until changed by imperial law."

That was the third time our Nationals had knelt down before the inviolable military estimate. And when Bismarck now comes and demands that the happy \textit{provisorium} be turned into an even happier \textit{definitivum}, these gentlemen cry out at the infringement of the budgetary rights, which they themselves have sacrificed three times in a row!

\(^a\) Engels quotes §109 of the 1850 Prussian constitution.—\textit{Ed.}

\(^b\) Here and below cf. "Verfassung des Deutschen Reichs", \textit{Reichs-Gesetzblatt}, No. 628, Berlin, 1871.—\textit{Ed.}
My dear Sirs, the Nationals! Go in for “practical politics”! Make allowances for “current circumstances”! Cast your “unattainable ideals” overboard and carry on bravely “on the basis of the realities”! You have not only said A, you have already said B and C, so do not hesitate to say D! Dithering and dathering is no use here. Now is the time for another of your glorious “compromises” whereby the government gets its own way entirely and you may be pleased to get off without being kicked. Leave budgetary rights to the English, bogged down in their materialism, to the decadent French and the backward Austrians and Italians; do not cling to “foreign models”, do a “genuinely German job”! Yet if you absolutely insist on having budgetary rights, then there’s only one thing to do: next time elect only Social-Democrats!

II

[Der Volksstaat, No. 29, March 11, 1874]

That the Nationals are stupid—despite all their smart little Laskers—we have known for a long time, and they know it themselves. Yet we would not have believed that they were as stupid as Moltke thinks they are. The Master of Silence spoke for a whole hour in the Imperial Diet and yet remained the Master of Silence; for he withheld from his audience virtually all of what he himself thinks. Only on two issues did he frankly speak his mind: first, that the fatal §1 is absolutely necessary, and second, with the splendid words:

“What we have conquered with arms in half a year, we must guard with arms for half a century, lest it be snatched away from us again. Since our successful wars we have gained respect everywhere, love nowhere.”

Habemus confitentem reum. Here we have the guilty party brought to confession. When Prussia came out with its annexation demands after Sedan, it claimed: the new border is determined solely by strategic necessity; we are only taking what we absolutely need to safeguard ourselves; within this new border and after the completion of our fortifications we shall be able to look forward to any attack with equanimity.—And this is certainly true, from a purely strategic point of view.

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a Here and below Engels quotes Moltke’s speech in the German Imperial Diet on February 16, 1874.—Ed.

b Engels quotes from Cicero’s Oratio pro Q. Ligario.—Ed.
The fortified line along the Rhine, with its three major bases, Cologne, Coblenz and Mainz, had only two faults. First, it could be circumvented by way of Strasbourg; second, it lacked an advance line of fortified points giving depth to the whole position. The annexation of Alsace-Lorraine eliminated both of these drawbacks. Strasbourg and Metz now form the first line; Cologne, Coblenz and Mainz, the second; all of them are first-class strongholds, with well advanced forts and capable of resisting modern rifled artillery; moreover, they are situated at such distances from one another as best to afford the colossal armies of today freedom of movement, on terrain extremely well-suited to defence. As long as the neutrality of Belgium is respected, a French attack may be easily confined to the narrow strip of land between Metz and the Vosges; it is also possible, if deemed desirable, to retreat behind the Rhine at the outset, thus forcing the French to weaken themselves before the first major battle by despatching troops to Metz, Strasbourg, Coblenz and Mainz. It is a position unequalled in strength throughout Europe; the Venetian Quadrilateral was child's play in comparison with this almost impregnable position.

Yet precisely the capture of this almost impregnable position forces Germany, according to Moltke, to defend its conquests by arms for half a century! The strongest position does not defend itself, it needs defending; defence requires soldiers; and so the stronger the positions the more soldiers are needed, and so on, in an eternal vicious circle. In addition, the newly recovered "lost brother-tribe" in Alsace-Lorraine simply does not want anything to do with Mother Germania and the French are obliged, come what may, to attempt to liberate the Alsatians and Lorrainians from the Germanic embrace at the first opportunity. The strong position is thus outweighed by the fact that Germany has forced the French to side with anyone who wishes to attack her. In other words, this strong position contains within it the seed of a European coalition against the German Empire. No amount of three-Emperor or two-Emperor meetings and toasts alters this in the slightest, and nobody knows this better than Moltke and Bismarck; as Moltke, in fact, discreetly puts it in this melancholy sentence:

"Since our successful wars we have gained respect everywhere, love nowhere!"

So much for the truth according to Moltke. Now for his fictions.\footnote{a} This may be an allusion to a passage in A. Wagner's pamphlet Elsass und Lothringen und ihre Wiedergewinnung für Deutschland, Leipzig, 1870, p. 36.—\textit{Ed.}

\footnote{b} In the original: "Dichtung" (poetry, fiction)—an allusion to Goethe's autobiographical work \textit{Dichtung und Wahrheit Aus meinem Leben}. (Truth and Poetry. From My Life).—\textit{Ed.}
We shall waste no time discussing the sentimental sigh with which the great strategist announces his sorrow that the army is unfortunately obliged to consume such colossal sums for the good of the people, posing, as it were, as a Prussian Cincinnatus who desires nothing more ardently than to be promoted from General Field-Marshal to cabbage-farmer. Still less shall we dwell on the hackneyed theory that, on account of the poor education given to the nation by the school-master, every German must be sent to spend three years at the high-school where the sergeant-major is the professor. We are not speaking to Nationals here, as poor Moltke was obliged to do. We shall pass on at once to the staggering military tall stories that, to the universal amusement of the great General Staff, he told his astonished audience.

It is again a matter of justifying the large German armaments by the allegedly even larger ones of the French. And so Moltke discloses to the Imperial Diet that the French Government already has the right to call 1,200,000 men to arms for the regular army and over a million for the territorial army. In order to place these men, “indeed only a part of them”, the French had increased their cadres. They now had 152 infantry regiments (as against 116 before the war), 9 new battalions of fusiliers, 14 new cavalry regiments, 323 batteries instead of the former 164. And “these reinforcements have not yet stopped”. The peacetime effective strength of the army amounts to 40,000 men more than in 1871, now being set at 471,170. Instead of the eight army corps with which the French faced us at the outbreak of the war, France will, in future, have 18, and a nineteenth for Algiers; the national assembly is virtually imposing money for armaments on the government, the local authorities provide free training grounds and officers’ messes, and build barracks at their own expense, displaying an almost violent patriotism such as could only be wished for in Germany—in short, everyone is preparing for a great war of revenge.

Now, if the French government had done everything with which Moltke credits it, it would have been doing no more than its duty. After defeats such as those of 1870, it is the first duty of the government to build up the defences of the nation sufficiently to guard against a recurrence of such disasters. Precisely the same thing happened to the Prussians in 1806; their entire obsolete army was transported free of charge to France as prisoners of war. After the war, the Prussian government did its utmost to make the whole nation capable of bearing arms; the men were only given six months' training, and despite Moltke’s aversion to the militia, we
have Blücher's word for it that, after the first few engagements, these "militia patteljohns",\(^4\) as he expressed himself, were every bit as good as the battalions of the line. If the French government did likewise, if it devoted all its energies to making the whole nation capable of bearing arms in five or six years—it would only be doing its duty. But the opposite is the case. With the exception of the newly-formed battalions, squadrons and batteries, which, up to now, have only reached the level of the German organisation of the line, everything else exists solely on paper, and France is militarily weaker than ever.

"France," says Moltke, "has faithfully copied all our military institutions... Above all, they have introduced universal compulsory military service, basing it on a 20-year commitment, whereas ours is for only 12 years."

If this were really so, what does the difference between 20 years and 12 years amount to? Where is the German who would really be relieved of his militia commitment after 12 years? Is it not generally said: the 12 years only come into effect when we have enough men; until then you will have to remain in the militia for 14, 15, 16 years? And why have we exhumed the extinct Landsturm,\(^4\) if not to render every German who was ever in uniform liable to military service for the rest of his earthly life?

In fact, however, universal compulsory military service in France is of a rather special character. France lacks precisely the semi-feudal eastern provinces of Prussia that form the real basis of the Prussian state and the new German Empire; provinces providing recruits who obey without question, and never become much wiser afterwards, as militiamen, either. The extension of universal compulsory military service to the western provinces already showed in 1849 that one man's meat is another man's poison;\(^4\) the extension now made to the whole of Germany will create men trained in arms who will put the Moltkes and Bismarcks out of business, at the very latest by the time the twelve years so dear to Moltke are up—should the whole little scheme last that long.

In France, then, not even the basis exists for universal compulsory military service to create soldiers obedient to reaction. In France the Prussian non-commissioned officer was an obsolete concept even before the Great Revolution. Minister of War Saint-Germain introduced Prussian flogging in 1776; but the flogged soldiers shot themselves, and flogging had to be abolished the very same year. Really introduce universal compulsory military service in France, train the mass of the population in the use of
arms, and where would Thiers and Mac-Mahon be? But Thiers and Mac-Mahon, although far from geniuses, are not the schoolboys Moltke makes them out to be. On paper they have set up universal compulsory military service, certainly; in reality they have been insisting with the greatest obstinacy on five-year service under the colours.\(^{451}\) Now, everyone knows that universal compulsory military service is quite incompatible even with the Prussian three-year term of service; either one must accept a peacetime effective strength for Germany of at least 600,000 men, or one must allow men to draw lots for exemption, as does happen. What peacetime effective strength would a five-year term of service yield in France under universal compulsory military service? Almost a million; but even Moltke cannot manage to impute even half this figure to the French.

The same day Moltke impressed his audience so astonishingly, the Kölnische Zeitung published a “military announcement” about the French army.\(^{a}\) These military announcements come to the Kölnische Zeitung from a very good semi-official source, and the military “swineherd” concerned will have received a first-class ticking-off for dropping this clanger at such an eminently unsuitable juncture. For the man actually tells the truth. He states that the latest official French statistics prove

“that France would scarcely be able to carry out the military goal that she has set herself in the new defence law, even by stretching her powers to the utmost”.

According to him, “the strength of the army for this year has been set at 442,014 men”. First, however, the Republican Gendarmerie Guard of 27,500 must be deducted from this figure; “yet according to the budget figures given for the individual services the actual strength of the army, in fact, amounts to only 389,965 men”. From this must be subtracted

“recruited troops (the Foreign Legion and native Algerian units), administrative troop bodies and cadres of non-commissioned officers and re-enlisted soldiers, which were fixed at 120,000 men, according to the earlier authentic French figures. However, even estimating the real effective strength of the same at only 80,000 men, there only remains—with regard to recruitment—an actual army strength of 309,000 men, consisting of five annual intakes of the first contingent and one of the second (reserve) contingent. The one annual intake of the second contingent consists of 30,000 men, and thus the annual enlisted intake of the first contingent and annual recruit intake of the same may be calculated as 55,800 men each. If we then add to this the 30,000 men of the second contingent, the largest annual recruitment to the French army would still be only 99,714 men”.

\(^a\) “Die französische Heer- und Flottenstärke für 1874”, Kölnische Zeitung, No. 48, February 17, 1874, 1st supplement, p. 3.—*Ed.*
Thus: the French call up about 60,000 men annually for five years' service, making 1,200,000 men in 20 years, and if we deduct such wastage as actually occurs in the Prussian militia, a maximum of 800,000 men. Further, 30,000 men for one year's service—worthless militiamen, according to Moltke—makes 600,000 men in 20 years, after deductions for wastage 400,000 men at the most. Thus, when the French have, undisturbed for 20 years, indulged the patriotism so praised by Moltke, they will eventually be able to confront the Germans, not with Moltke's 2,200,000 men, but at the most with 800,000 trained soldiers and 400,000 militiamen, whereas Moltke can already easily mobilise one and a half million fully trained German soldiers at any time. It is against these facts that one should weigh the amusement that Moltke's speech—greeted with astonishment by the Imperial Diet—produced among the General Staff.

One must allow this to Moltke: As long as he was dealing with naive adversaries like Benedek and Louis Napoleon, he engaged in thoroughly honest warfare. He followed the strategic rules discovered by Napoleon I to the letter, meticulously and scrupulously. No enemy could reproach him with ever having employed surprise, secrecy, or any other vulgar ruse of war. Consequently it could be doubted whether Moltke really was a genius. This doubt has been removed since Moltke has had to fight opponents who are his equals—the geniuses of the Imperial Diet. In confrontation with the latter he has demonstrated that he can outfool his opponents if necessary. There is no longer any doubt of it: Moltke is a genius.

But what may we suppose Moltke really thinks of the French armaments? Here, too, we have a number of indications to help us.—Moltke and Bismarck were under no illusions about the fact that, just as the victories of 1866 could not fail to elicit a cry for revenge for Sadowa from official circles in France, neither could the successes of 1870 fail to impose "revenge for Sedan" on official Russia. Hitherto the obedient servant of Russia, Prussia had suddenly revealed itself as the foremost military power of Europe; such an immense shift in the European situation to the detriment of Russia was tantamount to a defeat for Russian policy; the cry for revenge rang out loud enough in Russia. Under the circumstances, Berlin thought it better to settle the matter as soon and as rapidly as possible, without leaving the Russians any time to arm. The measures taken at the time by the Prussians to prepare for war against Russia we shall perhaps discuss on another occasion; suffice it to say that, in the summer of 1872, they were
more or less ready, particularly with the plan of campaign, which this time did not aim to be a "blow to the heart". Then Tsar Alexander of Russia came uninvited on an imperial visit to Berlin, presenting "in an authoritative place" certain documents that brought the little plan to nothing. The renewed Holy Alliance, directed, to begin with, against Turkey, replaced for the time being the ultimately inevitable war against Russia.

This little plan naturally also provided for the eventuality of France's allying herself with Russia against Prussia. In this event, it was decided to remain on the defensive against France. And how many men were then considered sufficient to repel all French attacks?

An army of two hundred and fifty thousand men!

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a This expression ("Stoss ins Herz") was used by the Prussian Ambassador to Italy Charles George Usedom in his despatch of June 17, 1866 concerning joint actions by Prussia and Italy in the war against Austria.—Ed.
The preceding passage was written over four years ago. It is still valid today. What was true after Sadowa and the partition of Germany is being reconfirmed after Sedan and the establishment of the Holy German Empire of the Prussian nation. So little do "world-shaking" grand performances of state in the realm of so-called high politics change the direction of the historical movement.

What these grand performances of state are able to do, however, is to accelerate this movement. And in this respect, the authors of the above-mentioned "world-shaking events" have had involuntary successes, which they themselves surely find most undesirable but which, all the same, for better or for worse, they have to accept.

The war of 1866 shook the old Prussia to its foundations. After 1848 it had a hard time bringing the rebellious industrial element—bourgeois as well as proletarian—of the Western provinces, under the old discipline again; still, this had been accomplished, and the interests of the Junkers of the Eastern provinces again became, next to those of the army, the dominant interests in the state. In 1866 almost all Northwest Germany became Prussian. Apart from the irreparable moral injury the Prussian crown by the grace of God suffered owing to its having swallowed three other crowns by the grace of God, the centre of

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*b Rhine Province and Westphalia.—*Ed.

c Prussia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Poznan, Silesia and Saxony.—*Ed.*
gravity in the monarchy now shifted considerably to the west. The
five million Rhinelanders and Westphalians were reinforced, first,
by the four million Germans annexed directly, and then by the six
million annexed indirectly, through the North German Confedera-
tion.\textsuperscript{456} And in 1870 there were further added the eight million
Southwest Germans,\textsuperscript{457} so that in the "New Empire", the fourteen
and a half million old Prussians (from the six East Elbian
provinces, including, besides, two million Poles) were confronted
by some twenty-five million who had long outgrown the old
Prussian Junker-feudalism. In this way the very victories of the
Prussian army shifted the entire basis of the Prussian state
structure; the Junker domination was becoming increasingly
intolerable even for the government. At the same time, however,
the extremely rapid industrial development caused the struggle
between bourgeois and worker to supersede the struggle between
Junker and bourgeois, so that internally also the social foundations
of the old state underwent a complete transformation. The basic
condition for the monarchy, which had been slowly rotting since
1840, was the struggle between nobility and bourgeoisie, in which
the monarchy held the balance. From the moment when it became
necessary instead of protecting the nobility against the onrush of
the bourgeoisie to protect all the propertied classes against the
onrush of the working class, the old, absolute monarchy had to go
over completely to the form of state expressly devised for this
purpose: the Bonapartist monarchy. This transition of Prussia to
Bonapartism I have already discussed elsewhere (\textit{The Housing
Question}, Part 2, pp. 26 et seq.). What I did not have to stress
there, but what is very essential here, is that this transition was the
greatest progress made by Prussia since 1848, so much had Prussia
lagged behind in modern development. It was, to be sure, still a
semi-feudal state, whereas Bonapartism is, at any rate, a modern
form of state which presupposes the abolition of feudalism.
Hence, Prussia has had to begin to get rid of its numerous
survivals of feudalism, to sacrifice Junkerdom as such. This,
naturally, is being done in the mildest possible form and to the
favourite tune of: \textit{Immer langsam voran}!\textsuperscript{b} Take the notorious
district regulations.\textsuperscript{458} It abolishes the feudal privileges of the
individual Junker in relation to his estate only to restore them as
privileges of the totality of big landowners in relation to the entire

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{a}{See this volume, pp. 363-64.—\textit{Ed.}}
\footnotetext{b}{""Always slowly forward"—the refrain of the folk song \textit{Die Krähwinkler Landwehr} ("Landwehr from the sleepy village") which appeared in 1813.—\textit{Ed.}}
\end{footnotes}
district. The substance remains, being merely translated from the feudal into the bourgeois dialect. The old Prussian Junker is being forcibly transformed into something resembling an English squire, and need not have offered so much resistance because the one is as stupid as the other.

Thus it has been the peculiar fate of Prussia to complete its bourgeois revolution—began in 1808 to 1813 and advanced to some extent in 1848—in the pleasant form of Bonapartism at the end of this century. If all goes well and the world remains nice and quiet, and all of us live long enough, we may see—perhaps in 1900—that the government of Prussia will actually have abolished all feudal institutions and that Prussia will finally have arrived at the point where France stood in 1792.

The abolition of feudalism, expressed positively, means the establishment of bourgeois conditions. As the privileges of the nobility fall, legislation becomes more and more bourgeois. And here we come to the crux of the relation of the German bourgeoisie to the government. We have seen that the government is compelled to introduce these slow and petty reforms. However, in its dealings with the bourgeoisie it portrays each of these small concessions as a sacrifice made to the bourgeoisie, as a concession wrung from the crown with the greatest difficulty, for which they, the bourgeoisie, ought in return to concede something to the government. And the bourgeoisie, though the true state of affairs is fairly clear to them, allow themselves to be fooled. This is the origin of the tacit agreement that forms the mute basis of all Reichstag and Prussian Chamber debates in Berlin. On the one hand, the government reforms the laws at a snail’s pace in the interest of the bourgeoisie, removes the feudal obstacles to industry as well as those which arose from the multiplicity of small states, establishes uniform coinage, weights and measures, freedom of occupation, etc., puts Germany’s labour power at the unrestricted disposal of capital by granting freedom of movement, and favours trade and swindling. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie leaves all actual political power in the hands of the government, votes taxes, loans and soldiers, and helps to frame all new reform laws in a way as to sustain the full force and effect of the old police power over undesirable elements. The bourgeoisie buys gradual social emancipation at the price of the immediate renunciation of political power. Naturally, the chief reason why such an agreement is acceptable to the bourgeoisie is not fear of the government but fear of the proletariat.

However wretched a figure our bourgeoisie may cut in the
political field, it cannot be denied that as far as industry and commerce are concerned it is at last doing its duty. The impetuous growth of industry and commerce referred to in the preface to the second edition\(^a\) has since proceeded with still greater vigour. What has taken place in this respect since 1869 in the Rhine-Westphalian industrial region is quite unprecedented for Germany and reminds one of the upsurge in the English manufacturing districts at the beginning of this century. The same thing holds true for Saxony and Upper Silesia, Berlin, Hanover and the seaports. At last we have world trade, a really big industry, a really modern bourgeoisie. But in return we have also had a real crash,\(^{459}\) and have likewise got a real, powerful proletariat.

The future historian will attach much less importance in the history of Germany from 1869 to 1874 to the roar of battle at Spichern, Mars-la-Tour\(^{460}\) and Sedan, and everything connected therewith, than to the unpretentious, quiet but constantly progressing development of the German proletariat. As early as 1870, the German workers were subjected to a severe test: the Bonapartist war provocation and its natural effect, the general national enthusiasm in Germany. The German socialist workers did not allow themselves to be confused for a single moment. They did not show any hint of national chauvinism. They kept their heads in the midst of the wildest jubilation over the victory, demanding "an equitable peace with the French republic and no annexations". Not even the state of siege could silence them. No battle glory, no talk of German "imperial magnificence", produced any effect on them; liberation of the entire European proletariat was still their sole aim. One may say with assurance that in no other country have the workers hitherto been put to so hard a test and acquitted themselves so splendidly.

The state of siege during the war was followed by trials for high treason, for \textit{lèse majesté}, for insulting officials, and by the ever increasing police chicanery of peacetime. The \textit{Volksstaat} usually had three or four editors in prison at one time and the other papers too. Every party speaker of any distinction had to stand trial at least once a year and was almost always convicted. Deportations, confiscations and the breaking-up of meetings proceeded in rapid succession, thick as hail. All in vain. The place of every man arrested or deported was at once filled by another; for every broken-up meeting two new ones were called, and thus the arbitrary power of the police was worn down in one place

\(^a\) See present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 96-97.—\textit{Ed.}
after the other by endurance and strict conformity to the law. All this persecution had the opposite effect to that intended. Far from breaking the workers' party or even bending it, it served only to enlist new recruits and consolidated the organisation. In their struggle with the authorities and also individual bourgeois, the workers showed themselves intellectually and morally superior, and proved, particularly in their conflicts with the so-called "providers of work", the employers, that they, the workers, were now the educated class and the capitalists were the ignoramuses. Moreover, they conduct the fight for the most part with a sense of humour, which is the best proof of how sure they are of their cause and how conscious of their superiority. A struggle thus conducted on historically prepared soil must yield good results. The successes of the January elections stand unique in the history of the modern workers' movement and the astonishment they caused throughout Europe was fully justified.

The German workers have two important advantages over those of the rest of Europe. First, they belong to the most theoretical people of Europe, and have retained the sense of theory which the so-called "educated" classes of Germany have almost completely lost. Without German philosophy, particularly that of Hegel, German scientific socialism—the only scientific socialism that has ever existed—would never have come into being. Without the workers' sense of theory this scientific socialism would never have entered their flesh and blood as much as is the case. What an incalculable advantage this is may be seen, on the one hand, from the indifference to theory which is one of the main reasons why the English working-class movement crawls along so slowly in spite of the splendid organisation of the individual trades, and on the other hand, from the mischief and confusion wrought by Proudhonism in its original form among the French and Belgians, and in the form further caricatured by Bakunin among the Spaniards and Italians.

The second advantage is that, chronologically speaking, the Germans were about the last to come into the workers' movement. Just as German theoretical socialism will never forget that it rests on the shoulders of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen—three men who, in spite of all their fantastic notions and all their utopianism, stand among the most eminent thinkers of all time and whose genius anticipated innumerable things the correctness of which is now being scientifically proved by us—so the practical workers' movement in Germany ought never to forget that it developed on the shoulders of the English and French movements, that it was
able simply to utilise their dearly paid experience and could now avoid their mistakes, which were then mostly unavoidable. Where would we be now without the precedent of the English trade unions and French workers' political struggles, and especially without the gigantic impulse of the Paris Commune?

It must be said to the credit of the German workers that they have exploited the advantages of their situation with rare understanding. For the first time since a workers' movement has existed, the struggle is being waged pursuant to its three sides—the theoretical, the political and the economico-practical (resistance to the capitalists)—in harmony and in its interconnections, and in a systematic way. It is precisely in this, as it were concentric, attack that the strength and invincibility of the German movement lies.

Due to this advantageous situation, on the one hand, and to the insular peculiarities of the English and the forcible suppression of the French movement, on the other, the German workers stand for the moment in the vanguard of the proletarian struggle. How long events will allow them to occupy this place of honour, cannot be foretold. But let us hope that as long as they occupy it they will fill it fittingly. This demands redoubled efforts in every field of struggle and agitation. In particular, it will be the duty of the leaders to gain an ever clearer insight into all theoretical questions, to free themselves more and more from the influence of traditional phrases inherited from the old world outlook, and constantly to keep in mind that socialism, since it has become a science, demands that it be pursued as a science, that is, that it be studied. The task will be to spread with increased zeal among the masses of workers the ever more lucid understanding thus acquired and to knit together ever more strongly the organisation both of the party and of the trade unions. Even if the votes cast for the Socialists in January have formed quite a decent army, they are still far from constituting the majority of the German working class; encouraging as are the successes of propaganda among the rural population, infinitely more remains to be done in this field. Hence, we must make it a point not to slacken the struggle, and to wrest from the enemy one town, one constituency after the other; the main point, however, is to safeguard the true international spirit, which allows no patriotic chauvinism to arise and which readily welcomes every new advance of the proletarian movement, no matter from which nation it comes. If the German workers progress in this way, they will not be marching exactly at the head of the movement—it is not at all in the interest of this movement
that the workers of any particular country should march at its head—but will occupy an honourable place in the battle line; they will stand armed for battle when either unexpectedly grave trials or momentous events demand of them added courage, added determination and energy.

Frederick Engels

London, July 1, 1874

First published in: Friedrich Engels, Der Deutsche Bauernkrieg, Leipzig, 1875

Printed according to the book
FROM THE PREPARATORY MATERIALS
460 (foreigners) arrested on the fall of the Commune. 5 months on the pontoons. Order of nonsuit.

Disembarked at Newhaven; had not received any food on the boat. They were released scarcely clothed, without money, told to apply to their respective consuls for help in getting out of their plight.

Made their way, partly on foot, from Newhaven to London.

Written in early November 1871

First published, in Russian, in *Kommunist*, No. 2, Moscow, 1971

Printed according to the manuscript

Translated from the French

Published in English for the first time
*15 October 1871 was published in the journal of Woodhull (a banker’s woman, free-lover, and general humbug) and Claflin (her sister in the same line) an Appeal of Section No. 12 (founded by Woodhull, and almost exclusively consisting of middle-class humbugs and worn-out Yankee swindlers in the Reform business; Section IX is founded by Miss Claflin).

An Appeal of Section XII (to the English-speaking citizens of the United States) (d.d. August 30, 1871, signed by W. West, Secretary of Section 12).*

The following are extracts from this Appeal:

* “The object of the International is simply to emancipate the labourer, male and female, by the conquest of political power.” “It involves, first, the Political Equality and Social Freedom of men and women alike.” “Political Equality means the personal participation of each in the preparation, administration and execution of the laws by which all are governed.” “Social Freedom means absolute immunity from impertinent intrusion in all affairs of exclusively personal concernment, such as religious belief, the sexual relation, habits of dress, etc.”

“The proposition involves, secondly, the establishment of a Universal Government... Of course, the abolition of ... even differences of language are embraced in the programme.” *

*“Section No. 12” invites the formation of “English-speaking sections” in the United States upon this programme.*

That the whole organisation for PLACE-HUNTING and ELECTORAL PURPOSES:

* “If practicable, for the convenience of political action, there should be a section formed in every primary election district.”

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a The heading was given by Engels on a separate sheet of paper.— Ed
b Woodhull & Claflin’s Weekly, No. 19 (71), September 23, 1871.— Ed.
“There must ultimately be instituted in every town a Municipal Committee or Council, corresponding with the Common Councils; in every State a State Committee or Council, corresponding with the State legislature, and in the Nation a National Committee or Council, corresponding with the United States National Congress.”

“The work of the International includes nothing less than the institution, within existing forms, of another form of Government, which shall supersede them all.”* 

This Appeal—and the formation thereupon of all sorts of middle-class humbug sections, free-lovers, spiritists, spiritist Shakers, etc.—gave rise to a split in which Section I (German) of the Old Council demanded the expulsion of Section 12, the non-admittance of sections in which at least two-thirds of the membership are not workers.

First, 5 dissidents set up, on November 19, 1871, a separate Council consisting of Yankees, Frenchmen, Germans, etc.

In “Woodhull’s, etc., Journal” of 18 November 1871, Section 12 (West as Secretary) protests against Section I, and states there, among other things:

* “The simple truth is that Political Equality and Social Freedom for all alike, of all races, both sexes, and every condition, are necessary precursors of the more radical reforms demanded by the International.”

“The extension of equal citizenship to women, the world over, must precede any general change in the subsisting relations of capital and labour.” “Section 12 would also remonstrate against the vain assumption, running all through the Protest (of Section I) under review, that the International Working Men’s Association is an organisation of the working classes...”*

Previously, already in “Woodhull’s Journal” of October 21, 1871, Section 12 asserts

* “the independent right of each section to have, hold and give expression to its own constructions of said proceedings of the several Congresses, and the Rules and Regulations (!) of said General Council, each section being alone responsible for its own action”.*

“Woodhull’s, etc., Journal”, 25 November 1871. Protest of Section 12 against “ADDRESS OF SECTION I” (the same address that you* have reprinted in Italian etc. papers).

* “It is not true that the ‘common understanding or agreement’ of the working men of all countries, of itself, standing alone, constitutes the Association... The statement that the emancipation of the working classes can only be conquered by themselves, cannot be denied, yet it is true so far as it describes the fact that the working classes cannot be emancipated against their will.”


* Engels.—Ed.
4 December. The Old Council (10 Ward Hotel) denounces the swindlers in a Circular to all the Sections of the International in the United States. It says, among other things:

"In the Committee (the old Central Committee), which is supposed to be a defence against all reformist swindles, the majority finally consisted of reformists and benefactors of the nation who had already almost sunk into oblivion... Thus it came about that the people who preached the gospel of free love sat most fraternally beside those who wanted to bless the whole world with one common language—supporters of land cooperatives, spiritualists, atheists and deists—each trying to ride his own particular hobby-horse. Particularly Section 12 Woodhull... The first step that has to be taken here, in order to advance the movement, is to organise and, at the same time, to stimulate the revolutionary element, which lies in the conflict of interests of capitalist and worker...

"The delegates of sections 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 16, 21, 23, 24, 25 and other sections, having seen that all efforts to direct this nonsense were in vain, therefore decided, after the old Central Committee had been adjourned sine die (3 December 1871) to found a new one, which consists of actual workers and from which all those who can only confuse matters must be excluded" ("New-Yorker Demokrat", 9 December 1871).

West elected as delegate for the new Council.

It should be noted that the new Council very quickly filled with delegates, mostly from new sections, founded by Section 9 (Claflin) and Section 12 (Woodhull), riff-raff, besides mostly so weak that they were too few in numbers to nominate the necessary officers.

In the meantime the Woodhull Journal (West, etc.) lied shamelessly asserting that they were certain of the support of the General Council.

Both councils appealed to the General Council. Various sections, such as the French Section 10 (New York) and all the Irish sections recalled their delegates from both councils pending a decision of the General Council. About the lies of the Woodhull Journal, Article in the issue of December 2 under the title "Section 12 Sustained—The Decision of the General Council". (That was the decision of the General Council of November 5, 1871, in which the Central Committee, on the contrary, makes a stand against the ambition of Section 12, as Yankees, to replace it.)

Resolutions of the General Council of March 5 and 12, 1872.

The fate of the Internationals in the United States depended on that. (Incidentally, note the humbug cult of myself which the Woodhull Journal has boosted to date.)

As soon as the resolutions came to New York, the people of the
Counter Committee took up their old policy. Previously they had discussed the original split in the most disreputable bourgeois papers of New York. Now they did the same against the General Council (presenting the whole thing as a struggle between the French and the Germans, between socialism and communism) amid jubilant cries of all organs hostile to the workers.


Before that, "Woodhull's Journal", 16 December 1871:

* "No new test of membership, as that two-thirds or any part of a section shall be wages-slaves, as if it were a crime to be free, was required."*

(That is to say, in the composition of the Counter Council.)

"Woodhull's Journal", 4 May 1872.

* "...In this decree of the General Council its authors presume to recommend that in future no American section be admitted, of which two-thirds at least are not wages-slaves. Must they be politically slaves also? As well one thing as the other..."  "The intrusion into the International Working Men's Association of bogus reformers, middle-class quacks and trading politicians is mostly to be feared from that class of citizens who have nothing better to depend upon than the proceeds of wages-slavery."*

Meanwhile, as the presidential elections approached, the cloven foot came into the open—namely that the International should assist in the election of—Madame Woodhull!

A propos. Before that: "Woodhull's etc. Journal", 2 March 1872 in an article signed W. West one reads:

* "The issue of the 'Appeal' of Section 12 to the English-speaking citizens of the United States in August last, was a new departure in the history of the International, and has resulted in the recognition by the General Council of Political Equality and Social Freedom of both sexes alike, and of the essential political character of the work before us."*

"Woodhull's etc. Journal", 2 March 1872. Under the title "The Coming Combination Convention" it says:

* "There is a proposition under consideration by the representatives of the various reformatory elements of the country looking to a grand consolidated convention to be held in this city in May next, during Anniversary week... Indeed, if this convention in May acts wisely, who can say that the fragments of the defunct [...] Democratic Party [may not come to it ... that every individual who loves equality and justice, and who prices truth and principle more than the Republican or the Democratic party] will come out from them and take part in the proposed convention... Everybody of Radicals everywhere in the United States should, as soon as the call is made public, take immediate steps to be represented in it."*

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a W. West, To the Members of Section Twelve of the I.W.A.—Ed.
b Omission in the text. The text in square brackets restored from the newspaper.—Ed.
(A propos. The Woodhull Journal—I cannot find the date—comforts the Spiritist Sections by arguing that they can tell the General Council to go to the devil.)

"Woodhull etc. Journal", April 6, 1872:

* "Every day the evidence, that the convention called for the 9 and 10 May, by representatives of the various reforms ... is to be a spontaneous uprising of the people, increases in volume."*

In addition, the National Women Suffrage Association demands:

* "This Convention will ... consider the nominations for President and Vice-President of the United States."*

Ditto under the title:

* "The Party of the People to secure and maintain human rights, to be inaugurated in the United States, in May, 1872."*

The appeal signed, first, by Victoria C. Woodhull, then Theodore H. Banks, R. W. Hume (Fellows, and Banks one of the founders, of the Counter Council). In this appeal: The Convention will consider "nominations for President and Vice-President of the United States". Especially invited

* "Labor, Land, Peace and Temperance reformers, and Internationals and Women Suffragists—including all the various Suffrage Associations—as well as all others, who believe the time has come when the principles of eternal justice and human equality should be carried into our halls of legislation."*

"Woodhull etc. Weekly", 13 April 1872. The presidency Dodge is becoming more and more obvious. This time for a change

* "Internationals, and other Labor Reformers—the friends of peace, temperance and education, and by all those who believe that the time has come to carry the principles of true morality and religion into the State House, the Court and the Market Place".*

Under the title: "The Party of the People etc." a new appeal, as ever with Victoria C. Woodhull at the head; in the retinue, the chief scoundrels of the Counter Council, Th. H. Banks, R. W. Hume, G. R. Allen, William West, G. W. Maddox (later chairman of the Apollo meeting), J. T. Elliott (the English secretary of the Counter Council), T. Millot (delegate of the French Section II).

"Woodhull etc. Weekly" (it is not called a journal), 20 April, 1872. Continuation of the same Dodge.

The lists grow, the duce, as always, V. C. Woodhull (there are "Honorables" among them).

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a Members of the US Congress.—Ed.
“Woodhull etc. Weekly”, 27 April, 1872. Continuation of the same advertising. (Begins to publish lists of delegates.)

“Woodhull etc. Weekly”, May 4, 1872. Continuation of the dodge. (Continual printing of the same and larger lists.)

“Woodhull etc. Weekly”, 25 May, 1872. At last (9, 10, 11 May APOLLO HALL SCANDAL) Woodhull for President of United States, F. Douglass for Vice-president. (Maddox of COUNTER COUNCIL, chairman of the Convention, first day.) Laughing-stock of New York and United States.

Other officials of the COUNTER COUNCIL: John T. Elliott, Vice-president, G. R. Allen, Secretary (and Member of Committee on Resolutions and Platform). In the latter Committee: Th. H. Banks (one of the 5 founders of the COUNTER COUNCIL of November 19, 1871). Mrs. Maria Huleck also on a Committee. In Central National Committee at New York for the United States figured G. R. Allen, Th. H. Banks (next to Colonel Blood, member of Section 12, and junior husband of Victoria), I. B. Davis.

Break-up of the COUNTER COUNCIL.

Section 2 (French) removes Laugrand as delegate (previously French Secretary of the COUNTER COUNCIL). Accuse the fellows

* "of using the organisation for political purposes, and as a sort of adjunct to the free-love branch of the women’s rights’ party... Citizen Millot stated* (he proposed the withdrawal of Section 2 from the COUNTER COUNCIL, [the proposal] was accepted) *upon the introduction of the Resolution that only 3 sections—9 (Claffin), 12 (Woodhull) and 35—were represented in the Apollo Hall ‘odds and ends’ Convention, by scheming men for political purposes, and that the delegation in the said convention pretending to act for the Federal Council was a spurious one and self-appointed.”*

(But the Federal COUNTER COUNCIL did not repudiate them.) (“The World”, May 13, 1872).

Section 6 (German) recalls its delegate E. Grosse (ex-private secretary of H. von Schweitzer) and declares that it will withdraw unless the COUNTER COUNCIL accepts all the resolutions of the General Council.

Le Socialiste (New York), May 18, 1872.

Section 2, of New York, at a sitting on Sunday, May 12, passed the following resolutions:

“Considering, etc., etc.,

“That Section 2 has reason to believe that the Jewellers’ Union refuses to affiliate with the International, and that in the meantime a delegate continues to represent it at the Federal Council;

“That Section 2 has reasons to believe that other delegates represent fictitious sections or sections consisting of 6 or 8 members;

“Section 2 declares: An enquiry is necessary etc...”
"Considering that, rightly or wrongly, Section 12 has been suspended by the General Council acting in virtue of the power vested in it by the Basle Congress; Section 2 protests against keeping at the Federal Council of a delegate from Section 12 with a deciding vote.

"Finally, considering that the International is an Association of workers having for its goal the liberation of workers by the workers themselves:

"Section 2 protests against the admission of sections composed mostly of non-workers.\(^a\)

**Another resolution of Section 2.**

"Section 2,

"Fully recognising in principle the electoral rights for women, in the face of insinuations of citizen Woodhull, at a meeting in the Apollo Hall, leading the public to believe that the International supports the candidates of that Assembly,

"Declares:

"That, for the present, the International neither can nor has any right to be taken in tow by any political party in America; for not one of them represents the aspirations of workers, and not one of them has the economic emancipation of workers as its programme and goal.

"Section 2 thinks:

"That our sole object must be, for the present, the organisation and greater solidarity of the working class in America."

Under the title "Internationaux, prenez garde à vous!", the same issue of the *Socialiste* has this to say, among other things:

"The International is not and cannot be persecuted in America; the politicians, far from aiming at its destruction, only think of using it as a lever or point of support for the triumph of their personal views. Once the International lets itself be drawn to that path, it will cease to be an Association of Workers and become a ring of politicians.

"The signal of alarm was given a long time ago; but the convention at Apollo Hall, nominating, in the name of the International, Madame Woodhull as candidate for the presidency, must henceforth open the eyes of even the least clairvoyant. Internationals of America, take care!"


**Sitting of Counter Council, 19 May 1872.** Maddox (of Apollo Hall) in the Chair. **Withdrawal of 8 delegates (for 8 sections) (French and German).**

* "Herald", May 20, 1872*

brings the same session **under the heading:**


**Resolution of General Council of 28 May 1872,** by which—in reply to the questions put by the German Section of St. Louis and the

\(^{a}\) This and the following extracts in the manuscript are in French.—Ed
French Section of* New Orleans—*the old Council (*Provisional Federal Council for the United States*) is alone recognised.*

Written after May 28, 1872
First published, in Russian, in *Generalny Soviet Pervogo Internatsionala. 1871-1872*, Moscow, 1965

Reproduced from the manuscript Translated from the German and French
Published in English in full for the first time
COUNCIL SITTINGS

Sitting of Council June 28, 1870
Marx proposes Brussels for next General Council etc. Resolution to be sent to all sections.
Carried.
Hales announces reconsideration.

July 5. Continuation of debate. Debate adjourned.

July 12. Marx: "to write to the sections to ask them to consider the advisability of removing the Council from London. If they were favourable to a removal then Brussels should be proposed" (with mandates should the delegates come) (instruction to delegates). Only 3 vote for Hales amendment.

Mayence Congress Programme.

Sitting of Aug. 2.
Serraillier read letter from Belgium in which Amsterdam was proposed as the seat of the Congress. It would be near to all except Italy and Spain. Belgium wants the Council to remain at London, declines its transference to Brussels.

Debate on Congress.
Marx against the Brussels proposal for Amsterdam. All the sections ought to be written to and asked whether they would consent to a postponement. Instead of a Congress a Conference might perhaps be held as in 1865.

Jung against Congress. Swiss called to arms (60,000 men).
Hales (seconded by Eccarius) proposed that the sections should be appealed to to state whether they were in favour of postponement and if so to give the Council power to fix the date of convocation. (Carried.)
Marx: if the sections agreed, a conference might be held here, but he was for an appeal.

Aug. 9. Spaniards propose Barcelona as seat of the Congress.
Aug. 16. Jung communicated letter from the German Swiss
Committee agreeing to the postponement of Congress and leaving it to the Council to appoint time and place; to the same effect letter of the German Social Democratic Party. Both against removal of the Council from London.

Aug. 23. Serraillier read letter from the Belgian Council in which the postponement of the Congress agreed to. Ditto from Romance Geneva Committee, Council to remain at London.

Postponement of Congress resolved.

Sitting of Nov. 22 (documents found on the Bonaparte gvt).

"On the eve of the Plebiscite Ollivier had written to all the towns of France that the leaders of the International must be arrested else the voting could not be satisfactorily proceeded with."

Sitting of Nov. 29. Marx communicated that our Brunswick friends had been brought back from Loetzen in chains, to be tried for high treason. To frighten the middle class the police organs published long articles to tell the people these men were allies of the International Association—subvert everything, establish Universal Republic.

1871

March 14. Robin moves to convoke conference of delegates. (Rejected.)


In this month Archbishop of Malines established a Catholic Workingmen's International Association with a view to counteract the I.W.A.

[1872]

Feb. 20. Art. Utin.⁠[a]
12 March. Resolutions on United States.⁠[b]
16 April. Cochrane. Fawcett.⁠[c]

Drawn up after August 27, 1872 Reproduced from the manuscript

First published, in Russian, in Gaagsky kongress Pervogo Internatsionala, 2-7 sentyabrya 1872 g. Protokoly i documenty, Moscow, 1970

[a] K. Marx and F. Engels, Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association (see this volume, pp. 77-78).—Ed.
[b] K. Marx, Resolutions on the Split in the United States' Federation Passed by the General Council of the I.W.A. in Its Sittings of 5th and 12th March, 1872 (see this volume, pp. 124-26).—Ed.
[c] K. Marx, Declaration of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association Concerning Cochrane's Speech in the House of Commons (see this volume, pp. 140-45).—Ed.
Mandate issued to Marx by New York Section No. 1 for him to take part in the Hague Congress
Vollmacht


Breslau den 19. August 1872.

Heinrich Oehring
Paul Borch
Hermann Kestner

Mandate issued to Engels by the Breslau Section for him to take part in the Hague Congress
This is to certify that Mr. Fred. Engels of London is duly elected to represent section six of the S.W. of New York North America in the General Congress which is to be held at Hague from the 1st of September, 1872.

New York August 5th 1872.

S. Bertrand
Chairman pro temp.

To certify the genuineness of the above endorsement I affix hereunto the seal of the Federal Council for North America and my signature.

New York, August 9th, 1872.

J. Bolte, Sec'y.

Mandate issued to Engels by New York Section No. 6 for him to take part in the Hague Congress
NOTES
AND
INDEXES
NOTES

1 The original text of the *Rules of the International Working Men's Association* was written by Marx in English in October 1864 and approved by the Central Council (see present edition, Vol. 20, pp. 14-16). In 1867, an English text of the *Rules* and *Administrative Regulations* was printed in London, with the changes introduced at the Geneva and Lausanne congresses (ibid., pp. 441-46). The next congresses—in Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869)—adopted a number of resolutions which were additions to the Rules. However, the texts of the Rules then in circulation did not contain these additions and amendments and this led to inaccurate translations in a number of countries. The London Conference adopted the resolution, moved by Marx, on a new and authentic edition of the Rules and Administrative Regulations in English, German and French, and decided that in future all translations into other languages should be approved by the General Council. On Engels' proposition, a special meeting of the General Council of October 7, 1871 appointed a commission to prepare the new edition of the General Rules and resolutions of the conference. It included Karl Marx, Hermann Jung and Auguste Serrailleur. On October 24, the General Council approved the work done on the new edition of the Rules.

The text of the Rules and Administrative Regulations was revised in accordance with the resolutions of all congresses and the London (1871) Conference of the International, the clauses which had become invalid being excluded. An "Appendix", which substantiated in detail all amendments and additions, was written anew. At the General Council meeting of October 31 Engels reported that the Rules and Administrative Regulations were almost ready for the press but that it was impossible to print them in three languages simultaneously as was decided at the conference. In view of that he proposed to publish them in each language separately. Marx and Engels directly supervised the translation of the Rules and Regulations into German and French.

The *London Conference* of the International was held from September 17 to 23, 1871. The Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 and reaction in Europe, which intensified after the fall of the Paris Commune, frustrated the convocation of the regular congress in 1871. But the need to define the tasks of the working-class movement, to draw general conclusions from the experience of the Commune and the struggle against the sectarian elements, especially the Bakuninists, demanded collective decisions. Under those conditions, the General Council, headed by Marx and Engels, considered it
expedient, having received the agreement of the majority of federations to hold a closed conference of the International's delegates.

The most important decision of the London Conference was formulated in Resolution IX, “Political Action of the Working Class”, which declared the need to found, in each country, an independent proletarian party whose aim would be the conquest of political power by the working class. Other Conference decisions covered a wide range of tactical and organisational issues: the combination of various forms of proletarian struggle, legal and illegal, peaceful and non-peaceful; the alliance of the working class and the peasantry; the organisation of trade unions under the leadership of the International; the struggle against sectarianism and conspiracies, etc.  

2 The Geneva Congress resolution, cited below, on the statistical inquiry into the situation of the working classes reproduced almost word for word the relevant passages in the “Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions” written by Marx on the eve of the Congress (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 186).

3 Jules Gottraux, a Swiss-born subject of Great Britain and a member of the International, was detained by the French police on the French-Swiss frontier on September 30, 1866, when he was returning to London from Switzerland. The police confiscated letters, printed matter, and other material entrusted to him by the International’s leaders in Geneva for delivery to the General Council. The seized documents included the preliminary report on the work of the Geneva Congress which had been drawn up by Council member Joseph Card and published in French in Geneva as a pamphlet. (Later, this gave rise to rumours that the French authorities had confiscated the Congress minutes, which in fact had by that time been brought to London by Hermann Jung.) The General Council decided to lodge a complaint about this wanton act and to use the fact publicly to expose the regime of the Second Empire. At the beginning of December, the Council addressed the British Foreign Secretary, requesting him to make a corresponding démarche to the French government, which forced the French authorities to return, on December 21, the materials taken from Gottraux.

4 The French edition of the Provisional Rules, issued by the Administration of the Paris Section (Henri Louis Tolain, Ernest Edouard Fribourg, Charles Mathieu Limousin) at the end of 1864-beginning of 1865, interpreted some principles of the Rules in a Proudhonist spirit and distorted them in translation.

5 When Marx edited the General Rules of 1871 he deleted the following sentence: “They hold it the duty of a man to claim the rights of a man and a citizen, not only for himself, but for every man, who does his duty”, previously included on the insistence of the other members of the Sub-Committee (see Marx’s letter to Engels of November 4, 1864, present edition, Vol. 42, pp. 16-18).

6 Marx has in mind the resolution of the Basle Congress of 1869 which approved the decision of the General Council of September 24, 1867 to abolish the post of President of the General Council.

7 The question of Gustave Durand was considered at a special meeting of the General Council on October 7, 1871, at which Durand’s correspondence with the French police officers was produced. Durand was instructed to participate in the London Conference of the International with espionage as an ulterior
motive and also to become a member of the General Council. The resolution on Durand’s expulsion was drawn up and submitted to the meeting by Engels. He also translated it into French and Italian.

8 The *Federal Chamber of Working Men’s Societies*—an association of trade unions and other workers' societies in Paris—was formed on the International’s initiative in 1869. The Chamber organised aid for workers on strike and maintained close ties with the International.

9 This letter was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1870-1871. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967.

10 On October 7, 1871, the General Council, in accordance with the London Conference decision, instructed Marx to draw up a declaration to the effect that the International Working Men's Association had nothing to do with the so-called Nechayev conspiracy. The text of the declaration was approved at the General Council meeting on October 16, 1871. The declaration is written on the form of the General Council together with Marx's letter to John Hales of October 14, 1871.

In 1869 Nechayev established contacts with Bakunin and developed activities for the purpose of founding in Russia a secret society, Narodnaya Rasprava (People’s Judgment). The study circles organised by Nechayev advocated anarchist ideas of “absolute destruction”. Sharp criticism of the Tsarist regime and the call to wage resolute struggle against it attracted revolutionary-minded students and middle-class intellectuals (*raznochintsy*) to the Nechayev organisation. Nechayev received from Bakunin the credentials of the European Revolutionary Union and used them to pass himself off as a representative of the International, thereby misleading the members of the organisation.

When Nechayev’s organisation was broken up and its members tried in St. Petersburg in the summer of 1871, his adventurist methods were made public—blackmail, intimidation, deception and the like. The bourgeois press made use of the trial to denigrate the International, which was, in fact, not associated with Nechayev in any way.

The General Council’s declaration was translated into French and Italian by Engels. It was published in German in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 88, November 1, 1871 (signed by Marx as Corresponding Secretary for Germany and Russia); in French, in *Qui vive!* No. 14, October 18, and in *L’Égalité*, No. 21, November 5; in Italian, in *Gazzettino Rosa*, No. 306, November 3, *L’Eguaglianza*, No. 18, November 12 and in *La Plebe*, No. 122, October 19, 1871; in Russian, in *Неделя*, No. 16, October 19 (31), *С.-Петербургские ведомости*, No. 292, October 23 (November 4), *Биржевые ведомости*, No. 290, October 25 (November 4), *Донб.,* No. 83, November 4(16), 1871; in English, in *The Daily News* (between October 16 and 30, 1871) (the Institute of Marxism-Leninism does not have the issue at its disposal; the fact of publication is known from the Russian newspaper *Неделя*, No. 16, October 19 (31), 1871).

11 The *Resolution on the Rules of the French Section of 1871* was written by Marx and adopted unanimously at the General Council meeting of October 17, 1871.

The French Section of 1871 was formed in London in September 1871 by French refugees, mostly petty-bourgeois intellectuals. It also included proletarians, among them former Communards Albert Félix Theisz, Augustin Avrial and Zéphyrin Camélinat. The spy Durand insinuated himself into the Section but was soon exposed by the General Council. The leaders of the
Section established close contacts with Bakunin's followers in Switzerland and joined them in attacking the organisational principles of the International. The Rules of the French Section of 1871 were submitted to the General Council at its special meeting on October 16 and referred to the Council's commission for examination. At the General Council meeting of October 17 Marx made a report on the Rules and submitted this Resolution, which is extant as a manuscript in the hand of Auguste Serrailier, Secretary for France.


12 The resolution adopted on the recommendation of the London Conference on September 22, 1871 provided for the establishment of a Federal Committee (Council) for England (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 428). Until then Marx was of the opinion that the General Council, better than any other body, could function as the leading organ of the International Working Men's Association in Britain, since it promoted the education of the British workers in an internationalist spirit and helped them to overcome the influence of bourgeois ideology. However, the General Council's vastly extended activities in 1871 made Marx consider it advisable to set up a special Federal Council for England.

13 The minutes of the General Council meeting of October 17, 1871 have only a brief entry on Engels' speech: "Citizen Engels reported the progress of the Association in Italy and Spain." Engels handed his own record of the speech, as in other cases, to Secretary of the General Council John Hales for publication in *The Eastern Post*. The manuscript is not extant.

14 A secret conference of the delegates from the local Spanish federations of the International Working Men's Association took place in Valencia on September 10-18, 1871. It adopted the Rules of the Spanish branch of the International and model rules for local federations and sections. The conference decisions bore the stamp of anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist ideas (it adopted the Bakuninist thesis of abstention from the political struggle, formation of the International's organisations according to the trade principle and others). However, the Spanish Federal Council elected at the conference included several General Council supporters (Francisco Mora, Pablo Iglesias, José Mesa).

15 Engels wrote this statement in connection with a letter from Alexander Baillie Cochrane, a British Conservative M. P., published in *The Times*, No. 27208, October 31, 1871. Cochrane reproduced allegations by the bourgeois French and British papers and libelled the International by ascribing to it the documents of Bakunin's Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Engels read out the statement at the General Council meeting of October 31, and it was approved. Since the *Times* editors refused to publish it, the statement appeared in *The Eastern Post*.

16 See Note 6.

17 A reference to the excerpt from the General Council's confidential circular letter to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland published by Oscar Testut in the police collection of the International's documents early in 1871. Written by Marx, the circular letter (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 84-91) was sent to all sections. The excerpt published by Testut had been taken from the copy seized by the French police; this copy was signed by Eugène Dupont.

18 The Customs Union (Zollverein) of German states (it initially included 18 states) was founded in 1834 to establish a common customs frontier, and was headed by Prussia. By the 1840s, the Union embraced all the German states except Austria, the Hanseatic towns (Bremen, Lübeck, Hamburg) and some small states. Formed under the pressure for an all-German market, the Customs Union subsequently promoted Germany's political unification, completed in 1871.

19 A reference to the consequences of the Anglo-Chinese war of 1840-42, known as the First Opium War. The British imposed the Nanking Treaty on China in 1842, the first of a series of treaties concluded by the Western powers with China, which reduced it to the level of a semi-colony. The Nanking Treaty made China open five of its ports to British commerce—Canton, Shanghai, Amoy, Ningpo and Foochow.

20 The French Section rejected the General Council's Resolution on the Rules of the French Section of 1871 (see Note 11). It attacked the General Council and demanded that all the principles of the General Rules concerning the Council's rights and functions should be completely revised. The Section's reply signed by Augustin Avrial was discussed by the General Council on November 7, 1871. Auguste Serraillier, Corresponding Secretary for France, made a report on this matter and also submitted a resolution written by Marx which was adopted unanimously. The stand taken by the General Council prompted such working-class leaders as Albert Félix Theisz, Avrial, Zéphyrin Camélinaat and other former Communards to dissociate themselves from the Section. By the beginning of 1872 the French Section split up into several hostile groups. A new section of French émigrés supporting the General Council was set up in London.

This resolution is extant in two manuscripts, one in Marx's hand, the other in Pierre Louis Delahaye's and signed by Serraillier (this being presumably the final version of the resolution). The second manuscript has a note pencilled on it by Engels: "Conseil Général 7 nov. 71. Section française de Londres."

It was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968.

21 A reference to the Sixth half-yearly congress of the Belgian Federation of the International Working Men's Association which took place in Brussels on December 25 and 26, 1870. Alfred Herman was coopted into the General Council on Engels' proposal at the meeting of July 18, 1871. He was recommended for the post of Corresponding Secretary for Belgium by the Belgian Federal Council.

22 The minutes of the General Council meeting of November 7, 1871 have the following record of Engels' report: "Citizen Engels reported that he had a great deal of information from the sections in Italy, which he would hand over to the Secretary for the weekly report in the *Eastern Post*. Garibaldi's letter, in which he had finally broken with Mazzini, had exercised great influence in Italy and as (soon as) it (had) been received, it would be included in the report." Engels' manuscript is not extant.

23 The regular (twelfth) congress of the Italian workers' societies (mainly mutual aid societies), most of which were under Mazzini's influence, was held in Rome
from November 1 to 6, 1871. A split followed when the delegates from the International's sections in Naples and Girgenti (Cafiero, G. de Montel and A. Tucci) opposed the Mazzinists' principles. For details about the congress see this volume, pp. 46-48.

24 A reference to the main stages in the revolutionary activity of Garibaldi and his comrades-in-arms: the independence struggle of the republics of Rio Grande and Uruguay (South America) in the 1830s-40s; the 1848-49 revolution in Italy, in particular, the heroic defence of the Roman Republic in 1849; the military operations against the Austrians in Northern Italy in 1859 and the “expedition of the Thousand” to Sicily in 1860, which led to the unification of Italy. In 1870-71 Garibaldi headed the Italian and international volunteers who fought in the Franco-Prussian war on the side of the French Republic.

25 The minutes of the General Council meeting of November 14, 1871 have the following entry on Engels' report: "Citizen Engels gave a full report of the Working Men's Congress which was held in Rome. The whole affair was a sham organised by Mazzini to revive his waning influence, and had been a complete failure." Engels' manuscript is not extant.

26 The Declaration was intended for the defence of Wilhelm Bracke and other members of the Committee (administrative board) of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenach) at the trial which took place in Brunswick on November 23-25, 1871. The Committee members were arrested in September 1870 as a result of the internationalist position taken by the Party during the Franco-Prussian war; they were accused of “infringement upon public order”. The main accusation was their involvement with the International Working Men's Association. But the Social-Democratic Workers' Party at its inaugural congress in Eisenach in 1869 took into account the German legislation on the workers' unions and, while supporting the International's programme, did not join it officially; the legislation, however, did not prohibit German citizens' individual membership of foreign societies. The accused were sentenced to a few months' imprisonment.

27 In accordance with the organisational structure of the Eisenach Party, the seat of the Committee was named at its annual meeting, it being in turn one of the main German cities; the Council was elected from the members of the local organisation. Brunswick was the first seat of the Committee. At the time the Declaration was written the newly elected Council had been based in Hamburg (since August 1871).


29 The Universal Republican League—an international organisation founded in London in April 1871. Its leaders included bourgeois radical Charles Bradlaugh, trade-unionist George Odger, petty-bourgeois journalists Victor Le Lubez, Pierre Vésinier and others. The League put forward a mixed programme in which democratic demands (the nationalisation of the land, universal suffrage) were placed side by side with a call for the establishment of a world federative republic. The League's activists claimed leadership in the international working-class movement and, together with other anti-Marxist elements, waged a struggle against the General Council of the International.
Engels is referring to the Bakuninists who, within the International, set up branches of their secret Alliance of Socialist Democracy in a number of Spanish cities in 1870-71 and tried to seize the leadership in the Spanish Federal Council.

The letters, sent by Engels to the Spanish Federal Council, after the London Conference, in particular that of November 8, 1871, are not extant. p. 53

Engels wrote this letter in reply to the publication by *Il Proletario Italiano*, on November 23, 1871, of the Bakuninists' charges against the General Council of the International and the London Conference decisions, allegedly made by the Turin workers.


A reference to the congress of the Bakuninist Jura Federation in Sonvillier on November 12, 1871 which adopted the "Circulaire à toutes les fédérations de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs".

The Sonvillier circular countered the decisions of the London Conference of the International with the anarchist dogmas on political indifferentism and complete autonomy of sections; it also calumniated the General Council of the International. The Bakuninists suggested that all federations should demand an immediate congress to revise the General Rules of the International and to condemn the General Council's actions. p. 55

This document was drawn up by Engels in reply to a letter from Enrico Bignami, a leader of the International's section in Lodi, dated November 14, 1871. The latter informed the Council that sections of the International had been formed in Ferrara and other Italian towns and asked it to send the documents authorising certain citizens of Romagna, Giuseppe Boriani among them, to form new sections.

This document was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968.

This report, made by Engels at the General Council meeting of December 5, 1871 and submitted in written form for insertion in the newspaper report on the meeting, was not recorded in the Minutes. Engels' manuscript is not extant. p. 57

On September 10, 1869, the Basle Congress of the International (September 6-11) adopted the resolution, confirming the one already adopted by the Brussels Congress (1868), in favour of the collective ownership of the land. p. 57

This item was published in *La Plebe* in the section "The Latest News" and began with the words: "A member of the International writes us from London". The item, apparently, is part of Engels' letter to the editor of the paper, Enrico Bignami, which is not extant. p. 59

This Declaration of the General Council, written by Engels on December 5, 1871 was sent to *La Roma del Popolo* with the covering letter of December 6 and, according to Engels' note in the rough manuscript, between December 5 and 7 also to a number of other Italian newspapers.
The Declaration was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968.

The Brussels Congress of the International (September 5-13, 1868) refused to accept the invitation of the League of Peace and Freedom to participate officially in its forthcoming congress in Berne. The resolution of the Brussels Congress recommended members of the International to attend it only in an individual capacity.

The *League of Peace and Freedom* was a pacifist organisation set up in 1867 with the active participation of Victor Hugo, Giuseppe Garibaldi and other democrats. Voicing the anti-militarist sentiments of the masses, the League's leaders did not reveal the social sources of wars. In 1867-68 Bakunin took an active part in the work of the League; under his influence it tried to use the working-class movement and the International Working Men's Association for its own purposes. At the League's second congress which took place in Berne between September 21 and 25, 1868, Bakunin moved a resolution on the necessity for the economic and social "equalisation of classes". Having failed to win support at the congress, Bakunin and his followers withdrew from the League and that same year set up the Alliance of Socialist Democracy.

This letter was occasioned by the slanderous attacks the publisher of *The National Reformer*, radical Charles Bradlaugh made against Marx in his public lecture in London on December 11, 1871, and also in his letter to *The Eastern Post* (published on December 16). At the General Council meeting of December 19, Marx drew attention to the close connection of Bradlaugh's attacks with the campaign of persecution the bourgeois politicians and the press waged against the International, which especially intensified after the Paris Commune and the publication of the General Council's address *The Civil War in France*; he pointed out Bradlaugh's affinity with the venal journalists in France.

Engels wrote this article for *Der Volksstaat*, in reply to the circular to all sections of the International (see Note 32) adopted at the Sonvillier Congress and directed against the decisions of the London Conference. In his letters to Wilhelm Liebknecht of January 3 and 18, 1872, Engels wrote that he intended to have that article distributed (in translation and as copies of *Der Volksstaat* carrying it) in the countries which had become centres of Bakuninist propaganda, namely, Belgium, Italy and Spain.

This article was published in English for the first time in Marx, Engels, Lenin, *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972.

*Versailles* was the seat of the Thiers Government which in the spring of 1871 fought and defeated the Paris Commune, killing many thousands of Communards.

*Brunswick criminal court*—a district court where the members of the Committee (administrative board) of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, arrested by the Prussian authorities, were tried in November 1871 (see Note 26).

*Black Cabinet* (Cabinet noir), or *Black Bureau*—a secret institution, established at the postal departments in France, Prussia, Austria and several other states to inspect private correspondence. It existed since the time of the absolute monarchies in Europe.
Engels wrote this letter after a campaign of slander against the International in the newspaper *Il Libero Pensiero*, edited by Luigi Stefanoni.

To undermine the influence of the International Working Men's Association, Stefanoni presented himself in November 1871 as the initiator of the "Universal Society of Rationalists", allegedly destined to put into practice the principles of the International but without "its negative features". He put forward a utopian idea of redeeming land from landowners and setting up agricultural colonies as a universal means to solve the social question. His programme was rejected by the Italian workers and his scheme for founding the Society of Rationalists was never implemented.

Engels nicknamed the rationalists "prebendaries" (from the Latin word "praebenda"—possessions of the Catholic Church accumulated through gifts and legacies), alluding to their plan of solving the social problem by creating a land fund out of donations.

This letter was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968, p. 74

A reference to the Communist League, the first international communist organisation of the proletariat, formed under the leadership of Marx and Engels in London early in June 1847, as a result of the reorganisation of the League of the Just (a secret association of workers and artisans that appeared in the 1830s and had communities in Germany, France, Switzerland and England). The programme and organisational principles of the Communist League were drawn up with the direct participation of Marx and Engels. The League's members took an active part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany in 1848-49. In the summer of 1850, disagreements arose in the League between the supporters of Marx and Engels and the Willich-Schapper sectarian group which tried to impose on the League the adventurist tactic of embarking on revolution immediately, irrespective of the actual situation. The discord resulted in a split within the League. Owing to police persecution and arrests of League members in May 1851, the activities of the Communist League as an organisation in Germany practically ceased. On November 17, 1852, on a motion by Marx, the London District announced the dissolution of the League.

The *Cologne Communist trial* (October 4-November 12, 1852) was organised and stage-managed by the Prussian government. The defendants were members of the Communist League, arrested in the spring of 1851 on charges of "treasonable plotting". The forged documents and false evidence presented by the police authorities were not only designed to secure the conviction of the defendants but also to compromise the proletarian organisation as a whole. Seven of the defendants were sentenced to imprisonment in a fortress for terms ranging from three to six years. The dishonest tactics of the Prussian police state to combat the international working-class movement were exposed by Engels in his article "The Late Trial in Cologne" and, in greater detail, by Marx in his pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne* (see present edition, Vol. 11).

The rough draft of this document was written by Engels on the letter from Arturo Guardiola of January 23, 1872, in which he reported that the Barcelona commercial employees had formed a section of the International and asked for addresses of similar sections in other countries. Engels communicated this news at the General Council meeting of January 30.
47 This Declaration was approved at the General Council meeting of February 20, 1872. A copy of the Declaration in Hermann Jung's hand is extant. p. 77

48 At the General Council meeting of March 5, Marx set forth the main points of the circular and stated that the great value of the document consisted in the "historical development of the principles and policy of the Association".

Fictitious Splits in the International exposed to the international proletariat the genuine aims of the anarchists and their ties with the circles alien to the working class cause; it described Bakunin's Alliance as a sect hostile to the workers' movement.

Fictitious Splits in the International was published late in May 1872 as a pamphlet in French under the signature of all the General Council members and sent to all the federations of the International. It was published in English for the first time in The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 79

49 In reply to the slanders heaped on the International by the bourgeois press after the publication of the General Council's address The Civil War in France, Marx and Engels sent to The Times, The Standard, The Daily News and other English newspapers a number of statements and letters on behalf of the General Council in defence of the Paris Commune, explaining the stand taken by the International (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 364-68, 370-71). p. 80

50 In June 1871, on Marx's initiative, the General Council began to raise funds and distributed them among the Communards who had fled from France to England to escape persecution by the Versailles government; it also helped to find jobs for many of them. In July, the General Council formed a special Relief Committee which included Marx, Engels, Jung and others. In September 1871 the Communards themselves formed a Committee to provide direct aid for the refugees, but the General Council and its individual members (Marx, Engels, Dupont, Jung and Stepney among them) continued to collect money and find jobs for them. p. 80

51 Since the late 1850s, the nine-hour working day had become a major demand of the English workers. In May 1871, a big strike of the building and engineering workers headed by the Nine Hours' League, started in Newcastle. Burnett, the Chairman of the League, requested the General Council of the International to help resist the importation of strike breakers. The General Council sent its two members, Georg Eccarius and James Cohn, to the Continent to explain the importance of the struggle in Newcastle. Thus the importation was checked. In October the strike in Newcastle ended with victory for the workers; a 54-hour working week was introduced. p. 80

52 After the defeat of the Paris Commune, a number of its leaders who had emigrated to England were coopted into the General Council of the International: Antoine Arnaud, André Bastelica, Frédéric Gournet, Pierre Louis Delahaye, Leo Frankel, Margueritte, Constant Martin, Benjamin Le Moussu, Gabriel Ranvier, Vitale Regis, Charles Rochat, Joséf Rozwadowski, Albert Félix Theisz, Edouard Vaillant, Walery Wróblewski. p. 80

53 On Engels' motion, the General Council resolved to convene a closed conference of the International in London. Since that time Marx and Engels had done a great deal of organisational and theoretical work to prepare it: they outlined its programme and drafted resolutions, which had been previously discussed at the General Council meetings. p. 80
The General Council's decision to hold the next congress in Mainz instead of Paris was taken on May 17, 1870. On July 12, acting on Marx's proposal, the General Council approved the draft programme of the Mainz Congress (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 143-44). p. 83

At the General Council meeting of June 28, 1870 Marx proposed that all sections of the Association should discuss the question of moving the seat of the General Council so as to avoid creating privileged conditions for workers of one particular country. The proposition had been discussed at several meetings of the Council and then adopted; on July 14, 1870 Marx wrote "Confidential Communication to All Sections" (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 142). The sections, however, opposed the transfer of the Council's seat, considering London the most suitable place for the leading body of the International Working Men's Association. p. 83

On September 25-29, 1865, a preliminary conference was held in London in lieu of a scheduled congress in Brussels. The General Council's decision to postpone the congress and convene the conference was taken at Marx's insistence, who held that local organisations of the International were yet not strong enough either ideologically or organisationally. p. 83

On May 26, 1871, Jules Favre, Foreign Minister of France, sent a circular dispatch to French diplomatic representatives abroad, which ordered them to press European governments for arrest and extradition of the Commune refugees as common criminals.

Minister of Justice Dufaure tabled a law, drafted by a specially appointed commission of the National Assembly, under which affiliation with the International was punishable by imprisonment. The law was passed on March 14, 1872. p. 83

On June 7, 1871, Bismarck sent a message to Schweinitz, German Ambassador to Vienna, recommending that he and the Austrian government co-ordinate action against the workers' organisations. On June 17, Bismarck sent Beust, the Chancellor of Austria-Hungary, a memorandum on the measures taken in Germany and France against the International. Emperor of Germany William I and Emperor of Austria Francis Joseph met in Gastein in August 1871 and in September in Salzburg for a special discussion of measures to be taken against the International.

The Italian government joined the general anti-International campaign: in August 1871, it banned the Naples section and began persecuting members of the International, Theodor Cuno in particular (see this volume, pp. 151-52).

The Spanish government, too, adopted repressive measures against the workers' organisations and the sections of the International in the spring and summer of 1871; this forced Francisco Mora, Tomás Morago and Anselmo Lorenzo, members of the Spanish Federal Council, to emigrate temporarily to Lisbon. p. 83

In Austria-Hungary Oberwinder, Andreas Scheu, Most and Papst, active members of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party, were arrested and brought to trial for high treason in July 1870; some workers' societies were likewise persecuted.

On September 9, 1870, Wilhelm Brcke, Leonhard Bornhorst, Samuel Spier and other members of the Brunswick Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party were arrested and brought to trial for the
publication, on September 5, of a manifesto against the militarist plans of the Prussian government (see Note 26).

In the latter half of December 1870, Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel were arrested for their opposition to the predatory war; they were charged with conspiring to commit treason and, in March 1872, sentenced to a two-year term of imprisonment in the fortress.

On August 12, 1871, the Central Committee of the North American Federation of the International Working Men's Association decided against sending its delegates to the London Conference and to spend the money at its disposal on the assistance to the Commune refugees. A special commission was appointed to draw up the report for the Conference. A memorandum describing the conditions of the workers in the USA and difficulties in the work of the Committee itself was unanimously adopted by the Central Committee on August 20; it was then sent to the General Council. Marx briefly reported on it at the sitting of the Conference on September 22, 1871.

The London Conference, on Marx's proposal, instructed the General Council to form a Federal Council (Committee) for England (see Note 12). The London Federal Council was founded on October 25, 1871. It consisted of representatives of the London sections and trade unions affiliated with the International. After a number of local sections joined the Federation in March 1872, it began to function as the British Federal Council. From the very beginning, a group of reformists, headed by John Hales, were among its leaders. The reformists sought to oppose the British Council to the General Council and did not recognise its internationalist stand; they also refused to recognise the decisions of the Hague Congress. Some members of the British Council (Samuel Vickery, William Harrison Riley, George Milner, Friedrich Lessner among them) came out against the reformists and actively supported Marx and Engels. In early December 1872, a split occurred in the Federal Council; the part of it that still supported the decisions of the Hague Congress constituted the British Federal Council. Marx and Engels actively assisted it in its organisational work. The reformists failed in their attempts to lead the British Federation of the International.

This refers to Resolution IX of the London Conference of 1871—"Political Action of the Working Class"—which stressed the necessity to organise a workers' political party as an indispensable condition for the victory of the socialist revolution and the attainment of its ultimate aim: a classless society (see this volume, pp. 105-06).

This refers to Resolution II of the London Conference of 1871—"Designations of National Councils, etc."—which barred various sectarian, conspiratorial and such like groups from the International (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 423-24).

On the League of Peace and Freedom and the resolution moved by Bakunin at its congress in Berne in September 1868 see Note 38.

Johann Philipp Becker, a member of the Provisional Committee of the Alliance, sent the Alliance's Programme and the Rules to the General Council on November 29, 1868. Both these documents were read out at its meeting on December 15. On that day Marx forwarded them to Engels asking for his comments. On December 18 Engels complied with this request and on December 22 Marx's draft reply with Engels' remarks taken into account, was read out by Hermann Jung at the General Council meeting and adopted, with
slight changes, as a circular letter. The circular letter was sent out as a confidential communication; it was first published by Marx and Engels in the *Fictitious Splits in the International.*

66 This circular was written in reply to the second application of the Alliance's Central Bureau (of February 27, 1869) to the General Council with the statement that it was ready to dissolve the international Alliance, provided the General Council approved its programme and admitted its local sections into the International. The circular was written by Marx who obtained Engels' approval; it was accepted unanimously by the General Council on March 9, 1869 (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 45-46). The document was first published by Marx and Engels in the *Fictitious Splits in the International.*

67 On the *Nechayev trial* see Note 10.

68 The *League of Public Welfare* (Ligue (universelle) du bien public)—an association of bourgeois pacifists of various social strata and political convictions. It was founded in 1863 by the French journalist Edmond Potonié and later merged with the League of Peace and Freedom (see Note 38).

69 "*Factory workers*", i.e. those who worked for La Fabrique, the production of watches and jewellery in Geneva and its environs carried on in large and small manufactory-type workshops; also home-workers in these trades.

70 This refers to the *Manifeste aux Sections de l'Internationale* written by the Bakuninists James Guillaume and Gaspard Blanc and published in Neuchâtel as a supplement to the newspaper *La Solidarité*, No. 22, September 5, 1870.

71 The capitulation of the French army at Sedan, on September 2, 1870 (see Note 293) and the fall of the French Empire that followed sparked off revolutionary workers' uprisings in a number of French cities. In Lyons, Marseilles and Toulouse, people formed their own government bodies, communes, which, despite the short terms of their existence, carried out important revolutionary measures. On September 15 Bakunin arrived at Lyons and tried to take over the leadership of the movement and implement his anarchistic programme. On September 28 the anarchists attempted a coup d'état, which failed.

72 In a letter of August 10, 1871 to Hermann Jung, Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland, Nikolai Zhukovsky, Secretary of the Bakuninist section in Geneva named "The Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Central Section", sent the resolution of August 6 on the voluntary dissolution of the section.

73 In April 1870, Paul Robin, a follower of Bakunin, proposed to the Paris Federal Council that it should recognise the Federal Committee formed by the anarchists at a congress in La Chaux-de-Fonds as the Romance Federal Committee and announce in *La Marseillaise* that its supporters were only *bona fide* members of the International. The Paris Council refused to examine the matter as coming within the competence of the General Council.

The Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Socialist Action was founded in Geneva on September 6, 1871 in place of the Geneva section, Alliance of Socialist Democracy, dissolved in August. It was organised by its former members, Nikolai Zhukovsky, Charles Perron and others and some French refugees, Jules Guesde and Benoît Malon in particular. On September 8, October 4 and 20, 1871, the section applied to the General Council with the request to be admitted into the International; the General Council refused to comply because it had received a negative opinion on the matter from the Romance Federal Committee in Geneva.

On June 28, 1870, the General Council adopted the resolution moved by Marx to let the Romance Federal Council keep its name and suggested that the Chaux-de-Fonds Council should adopt another name. The London Conference confirmed the resolution of June 28, 1870, and recommended that the Jura sections should join the Romance Federation and, in case this was impossible, should be called the Jura Federation.

The conflict between the members of the old Lyons Section (Adrien Schettel among them), close to the French Republicans, and the group headed by the Bakuninist Albert Richard was discussed by the General Council on March 8, 1870. The Council adopted Marx's report on this question which declared all the accusations of the parties in the conflict to be without the least foundation and based on a mode of procedure aimed at exciting personal animosities and producing divisions in the ranks of the International Working Men's Association (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 108-09). The General Council decision, signed by the Corresponding Secretary for France, Eugène Dupont, was published in L'Internationale, No. 63, March 27, 1870.

The public meeting to celebrate the anniversary of the June 1848 insurrection of the Paris workers was held on June 29, 1868 in London. Félix Pyat, described in certain newspapers as a leader of the International, made a speech in which he called for terrorist acts against Napoleon III. At its meeting of July 7 the General Council resolved, on Marx's proposal, to disavow Pyat's behaviour (see present edition, Vol. 21, p. 7). When the resolution appeared in the press, a split took place in the London French Section, of which Pyat was a member. Eugène Dupont, Hermann Jung, Paul Lafargue and other proletarian members withdrew from it. A group of petty-bourgeois French refugees, headed by Pyat, lost ties with the International but retained its name and repeatedly supported anti-proletarian elements in opposition to Marx's line in the General Council.

The question of official dissociation from this group was raised in the General Council more than once. In the spring of 1870 when a third trial against members of the International, charged with a conspiracy to assassinate Napoleon III, was in preparation in France, this dissociation became all the more necessary since the incriminatory material included documents of the so-called French Section in London, in which the International was identified with a secret republican society, headed by Pyat. This prompted Marx to draw up a resolution to the effect that the International had nothing to do with that group, and it was adopted by the General Council on May 10, 1870.

The reference is to Resolution 2 in the section "Special Votes of the Conference" which declared that the German working men had done their internationalist duty during the Franco-German war of 1870-71 (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 428).
At a meeting of the Geneva sections of December 2, 1871, Benoît Malon, Gustave Lefrançais and François Charles Ostyn proposed a resolution directed against the General Council and the London Conference decisions and based on the French translation of the International's Rules that had been distorted in a Proudhonian spirit. The meeting, however, rejected the proposal and adopted a resolution approving the decisions of the London Conference and expressing solidarity with the General Council. The draft of Malon's anarchist resolution was published in *La Révolution Sociale*, No. 7, December 7, 1871.

The Icarians were the followers of Etienne Cabet, champion of peaceful utopian communism and the author of *Voyage en Icarie*, which gave a fantastic picture of a future communist society.

In a circular letter of June 6, 1871 to the diplomatic representatives of France, Foreign Minister Jules Favre called upon all the governments to join forces in the struggle against the International. Marx and Engels wrote “Statement by the General Council on Jules Favre's Circular” (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 361-63).

Sacase made his report in the National Assembly on February 5, 1872, on behalf of the commission appointed to consider the Dufaure law (see Note 57).

The *Working Men's Federation* was founded in Turin in the autumn of 1871 and was influenced by the Mazzinists. In December 1871, the proletarian elements split away from the Federation and formed the *Emancipation of the Proletarian Society*, later admitted to the International as a section; up to February 1872, it was headed by a secret police agent, Carlo Terzaghi.

This refers to the *International Foundrymen's Union* which, as its leader William Sylvis wrote in a letter read out at the General Council meeting of July 9, 1867, had spent a lot of money in 1866-67 in support of the strikers.

The Union was founded in 1859 and took final shape in 1863 under the leadership of Sylvis, who became its president. The Union amalgamated the local foundrymen's associations on a national scale, had its organisations in British Columbia and Canada and led strikes. It did much to strengthen other US trade unions.

The quotations below are taken from the Programme of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy drawn up by Bakunin and published as a leaflet in Geneva in 1868 in French and German. The full text of the Programme is given by Marx and Engels in “The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association” (see this volume, pp. 577-78).

On Luigi Stefanoni's attempts to undermine the International's influence on the Italian workers by establishing the “Universal Society of Rationalists” see Note 43. Marx's and Engels' articles in the Italian press (see this volume, pp. 74-75 and 160-63) helped to frustrate his attempts to subject the Italian working-class movement to bourgeois influence.

By the Bismarck 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 *Neuer 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 provocative demonstrations and disturbances, thus providing the authorities with pretexts for persecuting genuine workers' organisations.

88 The Congress of the Belgian Federation of the International Working Men's Association, held in Brussels on December 24 and 25, 1871, when discussing the Sonvillier circular, did not support the Swiss anarchists' demand for the immediate convocation of a general congress of the International, though it did instruct the Belgian Federal Council to draft new General Rules for the Association. True to its anarchist spirit, this draft abolished the General Council.

At the Hague Congress of the International (September 1872) the Belgian delegates together with the anarchist minority voted against the decisions of the General Council on the changes in the Rules and Administrative Regulations, aimed at strengthening the Association organisationally and widening the powers of its leading body.

89 The workers' insurrection in Lyons on April 30, 1871, in support of the Paris Commune, was suppressed by the army and police on May 1. It was preceded by the unsuccessful attempt by the workers of Lyons on March 22-25 to overthrow the local administration of the Versailles government and establish a local Commune. Both insurrections failed largely because the anarchists, who claimed leadership, fell victim to spontaneity, denied the role of the revolutionary leaders and adopted wrong tactics.

90 In December 1870 in New York representatives of several sections formed a Central Committee as the leading body of the International in the United States. In July 1871, Sections No. 9 and No. 12, headed by the bourgeois feminists Victoria Woodhull and Tennessee Claflin, joined these sections and began campaigning, in the name of the International, for bourgeois reforms. On September 27, 1871, without the knowledge of the New York Central Committee, Section No. 12 demanded that the General Council recognise it as the leading section in the United States. At the same time it conducted a campaign in the newspapers against those sections which maintained the proletarian character of the organisation. In its resolution of November 5 the General Council rejected the claims of Section No. 12 and confirmed the powers of the New York Central Committee. Nevertheless Section No. 12 continued to attack the Central Committee which led to a split in December 1871 between the proletarian and petty-bourgeois sections. Two councils were formed in New York: the Provisional Federal Council (committe No. 1) which included Friedrich Sorge, Friedrich Bolte and others, and committee No. 2 headed by Woodhull and other bourgeois reformers from Section No. 12. The General Council resolutely supported the proletarian wing of the North American Federation, and Section No. 12 was suspended from the International pending the next congress. On May 28, 1872, the General Council announced the Provisional Federal Council the only leader of the International in the USA. The North American Federation Congress in July 1872 elected the standing Federal Council, its members being almost all those of the Provisional Council. For causes of the split in the North American Federation, see Engels' "The International in America" and Marx's draft manuscript "American Split" (this volume, pp. 177-83 and 636-43).

The resolutions have survived in two manuscripts: Marx's rough manu-
script in English and the French translation of these resolutions in Charles Rochat's hand with Marx's corrections on a form with the stamp "International Working Men's Association".  

91 Under the direct influence of anarchists, Serbian and Bulgarian students in Zurich organised a small group "Slavenski Savez" within the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. After several attempts in the spring of 1872 to constitute itself as a section of the International and the General Council's refusal to recognise it, the group (whose programme was drawn up by Bakunin) affiliated to the Jura Federation in June-July 1872 and ceased to exist in the summer of 1873.  

92 On March 14, 1871, the French reactionary Paris-Journal stated in its article "Le Grand Chef de l'International" that it had at its disposal Marx's letter to Auguste Serraillier which testified to the contradictions between the French and German members of the International; on March 19, the forged letter was published in the newspaper. The libel of the French press was taken up by the London newspapers, The Times included. It was refuted at the General Council meeting of March 21, 1871, and also in a special letter to the editor of The Times drafted by Marx and Engels (see present edition, Vol. 22, p. 285) and Marx's statement to the editor of Der Volksstaat (ibid., pp. 288-90). Moreover, the Paris-Journal provocative fiction was exposed in the Courrier de l'Europe on March 18 by Serraillier.  

93 At its meeting of February 20, 1872, the General Council adopted Hermann Jung's proposal to celebrate the anniversaries of the Paris Commune by mass meetings in London. To prepare the first meeting, a special committee was appointed which included Jung, J. Patrick MacDonnell, George Milner, Alfred Taylor and Martin James Boon. Marx was to be one of the chief organisers and Engels, on Jung's request, was to draft resolutions. The meeting, however, did not take place because at the last moment the owner of the hall refused to let it. Nevertheless, the members of the International and the former Communards held a ceremonial meeting on March 18, 1872 to mark the first anniversary of the Paris Commune. The meeting, on the proposal of the Communards Albert Félix Theisz and Zéphyrin Camélinat and the General Council member Milner, adopted three resolutions which coincide word for word with the French manuscript in Jenny's (Marx's daughter) hand with Marx's corrections.  

On the occasion of the second anniversary of the Paris Commune in March 1873, the British Federal Council of the International adopted a special declaration consisting of a collection of extracts from Marx's The Civil War in France.  

94 Engels communicated the contents of the letter from the Spanish Federal Council at the General Council meeting of March 26, 1872.  

95 On the Dufaure law see Note 57.  

96 The Ferré Section, named after the Communist Theophil Ferré who was shot by the Versaillists, was one of the first French sections of the International set up in Paris after the defeat of the Commune. The section took its final form in April 1872; its foundation was confirmed by the Sub-Committee of the General Council, on Marx's proposal, on July 27, 1872, after its Rules had been examined by the General Council standing committee for revising rules.  

97 For the persecution of the members of the German workers' movement see notes 26 and 59.
Marx was prompted to write this work by the discussion of the nationalisation of the land question in the Manchester Section of the International. In his letter to Engels of March 3, the organiser of the section Eugène Dupont wrote about the confusion among the members over the agrarian question. He also formulated five points of his future speech and asked Marx and Engels to comment on them so that he could take them into account before the meeting of the section. Marx substantiated his views in detail. Dupont made his report (which coincided almost word for word with Marx's rough manuscript) at a meeting of the section on May 8, 1872; it was published in *The International Herald* on June 15, 1872, under the heading "The Nationalisation of the Land. A Paper read at the Manchester Section of the International Working Men's Association"; neither the author nor the speaker were named.

This letter was written by Engels on the instruction of the General Council and read out at the congress of the Spanish Federation of the International on April 7, 1872.

The congress was held at Saragossa from April 4 to 11, 1872. It was attended by 45 delegates representing 31 local federations. The police, on government instructions, wrecked its public sittings.

A sharp struggle developed at the congress between the followers of the General Council of the International, whose mouthpiece was the newspaper *La Emancipacion*, and the adherents of the Bakuninist Alliance. The latter managed to have some of their anarchist resolutions adopted and secured seats for the Alliance members in a newly elected Spanish Federal Council which, after having moved from Madrid to Valencia, became wholly Bakuninist. Further sharpening of the contradictions among the Spanish organisations of the International resulted in a break of the *Emancipacion* group with the Bakuninists.

Apart from publications in *La Emancipacion*, No. 44, April 13, *La Liberté*, No. 17, April 28 and *Der Volksstaat*, No. 36, May 4, 1872 and also in the pamphlet *Estracto Internacional de las actas del Segundo Congreso Obrero de la Federacion Regional Española, celebrado en Zaragoza en los días 4 al 11 de Abril de 1872, segun las actas y las notas tomadas por la comision nombrada al efecto en el mismo*, Engels' rough manuscript in French has also survived.


This declaration occasioned by Alexander Cochrane-Baillie's slanderous speech in the House of Commons, was read out by Marx at the General Council meeting on April 16, 1872. By the Council's decision, it was published in the name of the International Working Men's Association as a leaflet and also in the newspapers *The Eastern Post*, No. 186, April 20, *The International Herald*, No. 5, April 27 (the beginning was omitted), *La Emancipacion*, No. 49, May 18, *O Pensamento Social*, No. 14, May 1872. In the leaflet the text was preceded by the words: "At a full meeting of the General Council of the above Association, held at the Council-room, 33, Rathbone-place, on Tuesday evening, citizen Longuet in the chair, the following declaration was unanimously adopted, in reply to the strictures in the late debate in the House of Commons."
The preamble to the Provisional Rules of the Association, containing the basic programmatic principles of the first international organisation of the working class, was incorporated unchanged in the General Rules approved by the Geneva Congress of 1866. The tasks of the proletariat's political struggle were formulated in Paragraph 3, reading, in part, as follows: "...The economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means" (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 14). The Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association, drawn up simultaneously with the Provisional Rules, demonstrated the proposition that "to conquer political power has ... become the great duty of the working classes" (ibid., p. 12). The International called upon the working class "to master themselves the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective Governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power" (ibid., p. 13).

On Sacase's report see Note 82.

The act for the establishment of a federal Labour Statistics Office was adopted by the House of Representatives of the US Congress but afterwards turned down by the Senate.

At the General Council meeting of March 19, 1872, Engels announced that he had received a letter from Ferrara of March 3 which stated that the Ferrara workers' society was going to join the International, provided it retained its own autonomy. Engels explained in his reply that the recognition of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations was an indispensable condition for the admission of a new section to the International. Engels' letter, as well as the International's documents forwarded by him to the Ferrara society, helped its members to overcome the anarchist influence. On May 7, acting on Engels' proposal, the General Council recognised the Ferrara society as a section of the International.

This article marked the beginning of Engels' regular contributions to the Italian newspaper La Plebe which continued until the end of 1872. Before this, in 1871, the newspaper published extracts from Engels' letters and some documents of the General Council of the International which he had sent to Italy. At the request of the editor Enrico Bignami, Engels wrote several articles. The first article was supplied with the note: "Under this heading we shall henceforth print letters which one respected citizen has pledged to write to us from London." Engels discontinued his contributions at the beginning of 1873 because government persecution made the regular publication of the newspaper impossible, and resumed them in 1877. In this volume the editorial subtitles of this and most of the other articles of the series correspond to their titles in Gianni Bosio's collection Karl Marx. Friedrich Engels. Scritti italiani, Milan-Rome, 1955. This article was published in English for the first time in Marx and Engels, Articles on Britain, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971.

In 1830-31, extremely hard conditions caused spontaneous rebellions of agricultural workers in the south and east of England. The new agricultural machines led to mass unemployment among the farm-hands who, in protest, burned hay ricks and damaged machines. The rebels were severely dealt with by the army.

In late March 1872, the agricultural workers of Warwickshire formed a union which headed a strike that soon spread to the neighbouring counties. The strike was supported by the trade unions of industrial workers. Their financial
aid and the need for extra workers promoted the struggle of the agricultural workers. A national union of agricultural workers headed by Joseph Arch was founded in May 1872 and by the end of 1873, it numbered about 100,000 members. The struggle for a shorter working day and higher wages went on till 1874 and was victorious in a number of counties.

At the General Council meeting of April 23, 1872, Engels communicated details concerning the police persecution of Theodor Cuno, the German socialist and a leader of the Milan Section of the International. Engels drew on the Italian newspapers and Cuno's letter of April 22. Engels regarded this persecution as a concrete expression of the conspiracy of the European reactionary governments against the International and thought it very important to expose it.

Engels wrote this draft after the General Council recognised the Ferrara workers’ society as a section of the International (see Note 105). Engels put it down on the clean third page of the letter from the Ferrara society of April 27, in which its members, in reply to Engels' letter of April 16 (see this volume, pp. 146-47), agreed to interpret their autonomy in accordance with the Rules of the International. There is a note by Engels on the fourth page: “Ferrara 27 aprile 72. Sezione di Ferrara. Btw. 10 Mai” (Ferrara, April 27, 72. Section of Ferrara. Answered May 10). The full text of Engels' letter to the Ferrara society has not been found.


At its meeting of May 14, 1872, the General Council discussed the relations between the Irish sections emerging in England and Ireland and the British Federal Council. Engels exposed the chauvinism of John Hales and some other English members of the General Council and British Council who opposed an independent Irish organisation and its struggle for Ireland's independence. During the discussion the majority of the General Council supported Engels.

Engels' speech is extant in the form of his own record made for the newspaper and, in part, as the entry in the Minute Book of the General Council. It was not published because the General Council decided not to include the discussion of the Irish question in the report for the press. The General Council feared that the publication of certain speeches, that of Hales, in particular, would damage the International's reputation.


On March 8, 1842, a clash between the Chartists and the Irish was provoked in Manchester by the bourgeois nationalist leaders of the Irish National Association of Repealers who advocated abrogation of the Union of 1801 and were hostile to the working-class movement in England, Chartism in particular. The Repealers drove out a group of Chartists and Fergus O'Connor from the Hall of Science where O'Connor was to deliver a lecture.

This declaration was read out by Marx at the General Council meeting of May 21, 1872, and adopted by the Council. It was occasioned by the pamphlet Conseil fédéraliste universel de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs et des
sociétés républicaines socialistes adhérentes, which was published in London in April 1872 in French, English and German and contained libels against the leaders of the International.

The Universal Federalist Council was set up early in 1872 and included the remaining members of the French Section of 1871 (see notes 11 and 20), members of various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois organisations, a few Lassalleans expelled from the German Workers' Educational Society in London and other people who strove to worm their way into the leadership of the International. They concentrated their attacks on the London Conference resolutions relating to the political action of the working class and to the struggle against sectarianism. The Hague Congress of the International decided to include the resolution on political action of the working class in the General Rules and so inflicted a decisive blow on the elements hostile to the International. The Universal Federalist Council summoned its congress in London in late September 1872 and tried to pass it off as a congress of the International Working Men's Association. Further activity of the Federalist Council developed into a struggle between various groups for the leadership of the "movement".

Apart from The Eastern Post, the declaration was published in nearly all the press organs of the International, including The International Herald, No. 9, June 1, Der Volksstaat, No. 44, June 1, La Liberté, No. 22, June 22, La Emancipacion, No. 52, June 8, O Pensamento Social, No. 16, June, L'Egalité, No. 13, June 23, 1872.

In La Emancipacion it ended with the following editorial comment: "This important document, exposing as it does the intrigues of the bourgeois parties, reveals their desire to split the ranks of the International and paralyse its activities. In all countries, in Britain and Germany, in Belgium and Switzerland, in America and Italy, the bourgeoisie strives to distort the principles of workers' solidarity so as to wreak havoc in our Association. Let it serve us as a lesson."

See Note 29. p. 157

114 The Land and Labour League was founded, with the participation of General Council members, in London in October 1869. Along with general democratic demands, its programme included those for the nationalisation of land, a shorter working day, and Chartist demands for universal suffrage and home colonisation. By the autumn of 1870, however, the influence of the reformists had increased in the League and by 1872 it had lost contact with the International.

115 In late 1871, a group of Lassalleans who slandered the General Council were expelled from the German Workers' Educational Society in London.

This Society was founded in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other leaders of the League of the Just. After the Communist League came into existence in 1847, members of the League's local communes played the leading role in the Society. In 1847 and 1849-50 Marx and Engels took an active part in its work, but they, as well as a number of their supporters, abandoned the Society on September 17, 1850, since most of its members sided with the sectarian Willich-Schapper group. Marx and Engels resumed their work in the Society in the late 1850s. When the International was founded, the Society became the German Section of the International Association in London and, since the end of 1871, a section of the British Federation. The Educational Society existed till 1918, when it was closed down by the British government.
117 Drawing on the protests against Pierre Vésinier's slanders against the French members of the International, the Brussels Congress of 1868 instructed the Brussels Section to demand proofs of his accusations from Vésinier and, should they be insufficient, expel him from the International.

On October 26, 1868, the Brussels Section resolved to expel Vésinier from the International.

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118 Marx wrote this article in reply to Luigi Stefanoni's libellous item "Marx-Vogt-Herzen" printed in the Libero Pensiero on April 18, 1872, and directed against the International and Marx. Engels exposed Stefanoni in the press earlier (see this volume, pp. 74-75). Stefanoni's continuous attacks and his direct contacts with the Bakuninist Alliance and the Lassalleans compelled Marx to follow suit. Exposures made by Marx, Engels and the Italian members of the International frustrated Stefanoni's attempts to subjugate the Italian workers' movement to bourgeois influence.

p. 160

119 Planning to organise the Universal Society of Rationalists (see Note 43), Luigi Stefanoni tried to secure support of prominent members of the republican and workers' movement. With this aim in view he applied to Wilhelm Liebknecht. Liebknecht, unaware of Stefanoni's plans and being in the dark about his contacts with the Bakuninist Alliance and the Lassalleans, replied with a letter of greetings which was published in Libero Pensiero on January 18, 1872, of which fact he informed Engels. In his reply of February 15, Engels explained the state of affairs to Liebknecht; the latter wrote a sharp letter to Stefanoni on February 29 to say that he refused to have anything to do with Stefanoni and, in the name of the German Social-Democracy, to declare full solidarity with the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. Engels translated this letter into Italian and had it published, through Carlo Caffiero, in the Gazzettino Rosa of April 20, 1872.

p. 160

120 A reference to those accused in the Cologne Communist trial of 1852 (see Note 45).

p. 161

121 After the fall of the Second Empire, the collection of documents Papiers et correspondance de la Famille impériale, was published in Paris in 1871. It had a note (Vol. II, p. 161) which confirmed the payment of 40,000 francs to Karl Vogt in 1859.

p. 161


p. 162

123 A collection of Herzen's posthumous articles contained excerpts from his memoirs Byloje i Dumy (My Past and Thoughts), in particular the chapter "The Germans in Emigration".

p. 162

124 This letter was prompted by a libellous article published anonymously in the Concordia, No. 10, March 7, 1872. The author was the German bourgeois economist Luigi Brentano, who sought to discredit Marx as a scientist by accusing him of misquoting the sources. On March 30, Liebknecht sent Engels the relevant copy of the Concordia and insisted on a reply to it in Der Volksstaat. Marx's reply appeared in Der Volksstaat on June 1, and the Concordia responded with another article by Brentano, again published anonymously, to which Marx answered with an article in Der Volksstaat, No. 63, August 7, 1872.
(see this volume, pp. 190-97). After Marx’s death, the accusation was repeated by the English bourgeois economist Sedley Taylor. The allegation that Marx had misquoted the sources was completely refuted by his daughter Eleanor in two letters to the *To-Day* journal in February and March 1884 and by Engels in the Preface to the fourth German edition of *Capital* in June 1890 and in the pamphlet *Brentano contra Marx*, published in 1891. p. 164

125 The phrase from Gladstone’s speech of April 16, 1863, quoted by Marx, was printed in almost all the reports of parliamentary debates published by the London newspapers (*The Times*, *The Morning Star*, *The Daily Telegraph* and others of April 17, 1863); it was omitted in the semi-official *Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates* (Vol. 170, London, 1863) where the texts were corrected by the speakers themselves. p. 164

126 Marx refers to the pages of the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital* (1867) that correspond to pp. 667 and 668 of the 1887 English edition of *Capital* edited by Engels. p. 166

127 In a polemic with August Bebel in the German Reichstag on November 8, 1871, the National-Liberal Lasker said that should the German Social-Democratic workers dare to follow the example of Paris Communards, the “respectable and propertied citizens would club them to death”. In the stenographic report, however, he replaced the last few words with the milder “would keep them in hand”. Bebel brought this substitution to light, and Lasker became a laughing-stock among the workers. He was nicknamed “little Lasker” because of his diminutive stature. p. 167

128 On the Emancipation of the Proletarian Society see Note 83.


129 This apparently refers to Engels’ letters to Carlo Cafiero which the latter passed to one of the leaders of the Bakuninist Alliance, James Guillaume. The *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 6, May 10, 1872, stated that it had at its disposal some letters written by Engels “to his Italian friends” in the autumn of 1871. p. 168


Engels’ rough manuscript in French and English is extant. p. 170

131 The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was written by Marx and Engels as the programme of the Communist League (see present edition, Vol. 6, pp. 477-519) and first published in German in February 1848 in London as a pamphlet.
March-July 1848, the Manifesto was published in the Deutsche Londoner Zeitung, the democratic press organ of the German refugees. That same year it was reprinted in pamphlet form in London; certain misprints of the first edition were corrected and this text was used by Marx and Engels for subsequent authorised editions.

The 1872 German edition of the Manifesto with Marx's and Engels' preface and slight corrections in the text was brought out on the initiative of the editors of Der Volksstaat.

This preface was included into many editions in other languages.

This preface was published in English for the first time in K. Marx and F. Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, Glasgow, 1909. p. 174

132 See Note 44. p. 174

133 Besides German editions of the Manifesto of the Communist Party mentioned in Note 131, between 1848 and 1872 the work was also published in German, in full and in part, in Germany, Austria, Britain and the USA in the periodicals: Die Hornisse, Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Politisch-ökonomische Revue, Republik der Arbeiter, Die Revolution, Arbeit-Blatt; in the collections: Wermuth-Stieber. Die Kommunisten-Verschwörungen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. Leipziger Hochverrathprozeß and in pamphlet form: Das Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei, London and Berlin, 1860 and Chicago, 1871. p. 174


In England, besides the translation by Helen Macfarlane mentioned in the text, fragments from the introduction and chapters I and II were translated by William Stepney and published in The Social Economist, August 1 and September 1, 1869. p. 174

135 The reference is to the heroic insurrection of the Paris workers in June 1848 (see present edition, Vol. 7, pp. 124-28, 130-64).

The French translation of the Manifesto of 1848 has not been found.

In New York, the French Section of the International published the translation of chapters I and II: “Manifest de Karl Marx”, Le Socialiste, Nos. 16-17, 19-24 and 26, January 27, February 10, 17 and 24, March 2, 9, 16 and 30, 1872. p. 174

136 The Russian translation of the Manifesto of the Communist Party was published in Geneva in 1869 in Chernetsky's printshop. Recently doubts have arisen whether the Russian translation was done by Bakunin; some scholars believe it might have been done by N. N. Lyubavin.

This translation contained certain mistakes, distorting the meaning. The shortcomings of the first publication were eliminated in the translation by Georgi Plekhanov, which appeared in Geneva in 1882.

The Polish and Danish translations of 1848 have not been found. p. 174

137 This is the record of Engels' proposals tabled at the meeting of the Sub-Committee of the General Council on July 5, 1872. Marx and Engels were instructed to give the General Council their opinion of the Alliance's secret activity. In line with this resolution, Engels drew up the draft address to all the members of the International Association, and this was discussed at a General Council meeting in August 1872 (see this volume, pp. 205-10).
The **Sub-Committee** (Standing Committee) or the **Executive Committee** was formed out of the Committee appointed simultaneously with the foundation of the International Association to draw up its programme and the Rules. It included the General Secretary of the Association, the Treasurer and the corresponding secretaries for different countries. The Sub-Committee had a wide range of duties: it carried on the routine management of the Association and drew up documents which were later considered by the General Council.

This document was published in English for the first time in *The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968.

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138 The reference is to Bakunin's letter in response to the private circular *Fictitious Splits in the International* which was full of spiteful attacks on the General Council.

139 Engels wrote this article for *Der Volksstaat*; he drew on Marx's extracts from the newspapers and letters of the members of the International concerning the split in the North American Federation (see this volume, pp. 636-43). One of his sources was an article in the Madrid newspaper *La Emancipacion*, No. 54, June 22, 1872: "La burguesia y la Internacional en los Estados-Unidos" (The bourgeoisie and the International in the United States) which exposed the attempts of bourgeois reformers to use that American organisation in their own interests.


140 The **Shakers**—members of a religious sect in the USA.

141 A reference to the resolution of the General Council of May 28, 1872, which was not recorded in the Minute Book. It is reproduced in Marx's extracts on the split in the North American Federation (see this volume, pp. 642-43).

142 Engels drafted this rough letter (first published, in Russian, in 1935) on the margins of the letter from the Committee for the Emancipation of the Working Classes in Parma of July 7, 1872, addressed to the General Council; the document bears a note in Engels' hand: "Received 16 Juli. Beantwortet 18 Juli." (Received July 16. Answered July 18.) The fair copy of the letter was found in Parma and first published, in the language of the original, in *La corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani, 1848-1895*, Milan, 1964.

143 About 20,000 miners of the Ruhr Valley went on strike on June 18, 1872. They demanded a 25 per cent increase in wages and an eight-hour working day. After five weeks of struggle, the workers were defeated.

144 This document was written by Marx who communicated its contents at the General Council Sub-Committee meeting of July 27, 1872.


145 Marx wrote this letter because the *Concordia*, No. 27, July 4, published anonymously a second article by Luigi Brentano, entitled "Wie Karl Marx sich verteidigt" (How Karl Marx defends himself). (See Note 124.) Adolf Hepner, an editor of *Der Volksstaat*, sent this new article to Marx c/o Engels and asked for a prompt reply stressing the importance of the struggle against the pseudo-socialist bourgeois trend (Kathedersocialism) to which the author of the article belonged.
Here and below Marx quotes and refers to the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital*, Hamburg, 1867. In the 1887 English edition, published in London and edited by Engels, the relevant passages are to be found on p. 668.

This note in the first German edition of Volume One of *Capital* refers to Molière; the poetical quotation is from Boileau, *Satirae*, VIII.

*Blue Books*—a series of British parliamentary and foreign policy documents published in blue covers since the seventeenth century.

This refers to the words of the Prussian Minister of the Interior von Rochow. In an address of January 15, 1838, to the citizens of Elbin, dissatisfied with the expulsion of seven oppositional professors from the Hanover Diet, Rochow wrote: “Loyal subjects are expected to exhibit due obedience to their King and sovereign, but their limited thinking should keep them from interfering in the affairs of heads of state.”

The draft General Rules and Administrative Regulations, revised, on Marx's proposal, by the General Council in June-August 1872, were supposed to be confirmed by the Hague Congress of the International (September 2-7, 1872). Lack of time and the general situation at the Congress, compelled Marx, Engels and their associates to propose only a few major amendments and additions to the Rules.

The original document is a copy of the official 1871 French edition of the General Rules and Administrative Regulations with the amendments and additions approved by the General Council, inserted by Marx himself. Only articles with Marx's amendments are published in this volume. Changes approved by the General Council are set in italics.

The former General Rules had: “to afford a central medium of communication and co-operation between Working Men's Societies existing in different countries” (see this volume, p. 4). Marx proved the expediency of the alteration at the General Council meeting on July 16, 1872, and this was recorded in the Minute Book: “Upon Rule I Citizen Marx proposes to strike out the words relative 'to a central medium' upon the ground that the development of the Association has changed the conditions and he moves the insertion of the following words instead: ‘To organise common action between the working classes of different countries.’ He says the alteration was rendered necessary to prevent misinterpretations.”

Article 8 of the former Rules read: “Every section has the right to appoint its own secretary corresponding with the General Council.” The new draft of the article was a version of Resolution IX “Political Action of the Working Class” adopted by the London Conference of 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 426-27). The draft was approved by the Hague Congress that included it in the Rules as Article 7a (see this volume, p. 243). According to the Minutes of the General Council meeting on July 23, 1872, Marx and Engels substantiated the inclusion of the article in the Rules as follows: “Citizen Engels seconds it—the same reasons that made us adopt it at the Conference still exist and we shall have to fight it out at the Congress.

“Citizen Marx says there is another view; we have two classes of enemies: the abstentionists, and they have attacked the resolution more than any other; the working class of England and America let the middle classes use them for political purposes; we must put an end to it by exposing it.”
Marx proposed this addition to Article 9 of the Rules at the General Council meeting of July 23, 1872, drawing on the experience of the North American sections which successfully employed this principle in the struggle against bourgeois reformists. 

Article 12 on the terms for the revision of the Rules and Article 13 on the additions to the Administrative Regulations remained unchanged (cf. this volume, p. 8).

A separate sheet of paper has survived in the Minute Book of the General Council with the text of this article written in English by Engels:

“6. The General Council has also the right of suspending, till the meeting of next Congress, any branch, section, Federal Council, or Federation of the International.

“Nevertheless, with regard to branches belonging to a federation, it will exercise this right only after having consulted the respective Federal Council.

“In case of the dissolution of a Federal Council, the General Council shall, at the same time, call upon the branches composing such federation to elect a new Federal Council within thirty days.

“In the case of the suspension of a whole federation, the General Council is bound to inform thereof immediately all the remaining federations. If the majority of the federations should demand it, the General Council shall convene an extraordinary Conference composed of the delegate for each federation, which Conference shall meet within a month and decide finally on the matter. It is well understood that the countries where the International may be prohibited, shall have the same rights as the regular federations.”

In the summer of 1872, after the circular *Fictitious Splits in the International* had been published, Marx and Engels received from Paul Lafargue, José Mesa, Nikolai Utin and others a large number of documents proving the existence of the secret Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy within the International Working Men's Association. The preparations for the Hague Congress made the exposure of the Alliance's subversive activities all the more important. At a meeting on July 5, 1872, the Sub-Committee decided to request the General Council to propose the expulsion of Bakunin and other members of the Alliance at the coming congress of the International (see this volume, p. 176 and Note 137). On August 6, Engels submitted to the Council a draft address to all members of the Association, written on behalf of the Sub-Committee. A heated discussion ensued and by a majority vote Engels' draft was adopted.

The document has survived in the form of Engels' two manuscripts in French, one of them with insertions in Charles Longuet's hand, and also in the form of Engels' manuscript in English which is reproduced in this volume.


The *New Madrid Federation* was formed on July 8, 1872, by the editors of *La Emancipacion* expelled from the Madrid Federation by the anarchist majority for having exposed the secret Alliance's activities in Spain. Paul Lafargue was very active in organising the New Madrid Federation and in its work. When the Spanish Federal Council refused to admit the New Madrid Federation, the latter appealed to the General Council, on behalf of which the Executive Committee (the Sub-Committee) recognised it as a Federation of the International on August 15, 1872 (see this volume, p. 215). The New Madrid Federation campaigned determinedly against anarchist influences, propagated...
the ideas of scientific socialism and fought for an independent workers’ party in Spain.

158 This document was adopted at the meeting of the Sub-Committee of the General Council on August 8, 1872. As is seen from the rough manuscript in French, the first paragraph was written by Marx (in the manuscript it is supplied with the subtitle “Introduction”) and the rest by Engels.

It was published, besides La Emancipacion, in La Federacion, No. 157, August 18, Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne de l’Association Internationale des Travailleurs, Nos. 15-16, August 15-September 1 and, in excerpts, in The Times, No. 27476, September 7, 1872 (in Eccarius’ report).

The document was first published in English in full in The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. The Sub-Committee—see Note 137.

159 Marx wrote this letter because The Times, No. 27456, August 15, 1872, reprinted from the Paris newspapers a forged circular of the General Council of the International on the coming Congress at The Hague.

160 The New Madrid Federation (see Note 157) published this letter together with the information that it had been recognised by the General Council of the International.


161 The conference of the Italian anarchist groups (Bakunin helped to prepare it) took place in Rimini on August 4-6, 1872. It resolved to set up an Italian national anarchist organisation, the selfstyled Italian Federation of the International, and to sever all relations with the General Council. No section in other countries, not even Bakuninist organisations, supported the attempt of the conference to counter the coming Hague Congress of the International with an “anti-authoritarian” congress in Neuchâtel.

162 Engels sent this address of the General Council to the Italian sections of the International in Milan, Turin, Ferrara and Rome, which were officially recognised by the General Council and were in constant contact with it.

The editors of Il Popolino, the Turin Section’s weekly, published in April-October 1872, prefaced it with the following note: “In printing this letter, we inform the reader that we could not do so earlier since the editorial board of the Emancipazione del proletario, to whom it was addressed, had been imprisoned because of a strike; the interrupted contacts with them were only resumed recently.”

Engels’ rough copy of the letter in Italian bears the inscription: “Rome, Ferrara, Milan, Turin.”

The address was published in English for the first time in The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968.

163 The Resolution was published in English for the first time in The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968.

The task of the Hague Congress was to adopt the resolutions of the 1871 London Conference on the political activity of the working class and against the sectarian sections. Marx and Engels devoted much effort to preparing the
Congress. With their active participation the General Council discussed and adopted the proposals to the Congress on the changes in the Rules and Regulations of the International, first of all, on the inclusion in the Rules of the resolution on the political activity of the working class and on the extension of the General Council's powers.

The Hague Congress was the most representative. Sixty-five delegates from 15 national organisations were present. The Congress summed up the many years' struggle waged by Marx, Engels and their associates against all kinds of petty-bourgeois sectarianism in the workers' movement, Bakuninism above all. The anarchist leaders were expelled from the International. The Hague Congress decisions laid the foundation for future independent political parties of the working class in various countries.

At its meeting of July 19, 1872, the Sub-Committee instructed Marx to write the General Council's report and to deliver it at the Hague Congress. The report was confirmed by the General Council at the end of August. Before reading it in German at the open session of the Congress on September 5, Marx warned those present that he would only outline the work of the International since the report was intended for the press. The report was then read by the Congress secretaries in French, English and Dutch and adopted by all delegates except those from Spain.

On April 23, 1870, the French government published a decree on holding a plebiscite, the purpose of which was to bolster up the shaky position of the government of Napoleon III. The questions were so worded that it was impossible to express disapproval of the Second Empire's policy without also opposing all democratic reforms. The plebiscite took place on May 8, 1870 and demonstrated a considerable growth of opposition to the Bonapartist regime.

This refers to the third trial of the members of the Paris organisation of the International, held from June 22 to July 8, 1870. Thirty-eight people, active in the workers' movement, were put on trial, including Eugène Varlin (he managed to flee), Leo Frankel, Jules Johannard, Augustin Avrial, Louis Chalain. The accused were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment—from two months to a year—and were fined.

An ironical allusion to the outward semblance of historical events preceding the establishment and the fall of the two empires in France, i.e. of Napoleon I and of Napoleon III. In both cases the empires were established after coup d'états (on November 9, 1799 and on December 2, 1851) and fell after military defeats and the capture of the emperors (Napoleon I was defeated at Waterloo on July 18, 1815 and Napoleon III together with the French Army capitulated at Sedan on September 2, 1870, during the Franco-Prussian war).

On September 5, 1870, the Brunswick Committee of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party issued a manifesto "An alle deutschen Arbeiter". It was published as a leaflet and also in Der Volksstaat, No. 73, September 11, 1870. All the members of the Committee were arrested on September 9 (see notes 26 and 59).

Wilhelmshöhe (near Kassel)—a castle of the Prussian Kings where Napoleon III, former Emperor of France, was held prisoner by the Prussians from September 5, 1870 to March 19, 1871.

On November 26, 1870, when the German Reichstag discussed the question of new loans for the war with France, August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht
refused to vote for them and demanded that a peace treaty without
annexations should be concluded with the French Republic as soon as possible.
Bebel was arrested on December 17 and Liebknecht somewhat later (see Note 59).

Despite this, Bebel was again elected deputy to the Reichstag during the
ceneral elections in March 1871.

The Franco-Prussian war ended with the preliminary peace treaty of Versailles
(February 26, 1871), and the final peace was signed in Frankfurt on May 10,
1871. Under its terms, France lost Alsace and Eastern Lorraine; part of France
remained occupied by German troops until the war indemnity of 5,000 million
francs was paid out.

On Jules Favre's circular of June 6, 1871 see Note 82; for his circular dispatch
of May 26, 1871 on the extradition of the Commune refugees see Note 57.

The General Working Men's Union, the first socialist organisation in Hungary set
up in Pesth in February 1868, conducted the socialist propaganda in major
industrial towns and directed workers' strikes. Its leaders (Károly Farkas, Antal
Ihringer) were also members of the Hungarian Section of the International
Association and had contacts with Austrian and German Social-Democrats and
directly with Marx. On June 11, 1871, the Union organised a demonstration of
solidarity with the Paris Commune. The government dissolved the Union, and
its leaders and representatives of the Austrian working class who had come
from Vienna were arrested on charge of treason. They were acquitted,
however, for lack of evidence and under pressure of public opinion.

On the Dufaure law see Note 57.

On the persecution of the leaders of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party in
the summer of 1870 see Note 59.

The Fenians were Irish revolutionaries who named themselves after the
"Fenii" —the name of the ancient inhabitants of Ireland. Their first organisations
appeared in the 1850s in the USA among the Irish immigrants and later in
Ireland itself. The secret Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, as the organisation
was known in the 1860s, aimed at establishing an independent Irish republic by
means of an armed uprising. The Fenians, who objectively expressed the
interests of the Irish peasantry, came chiefly from the urban petty bourgeoisie
and intelligentsia and believed in conspiracy tactics. The British government
attempted to suppress the Fenian movement by severe police reprisals. The
Fenians in British prisons were brutally treated, the cruelties becoming even
worse after the abortive uprising of Fenians in February-March 1867. The
General Council of the International more than once came out in defence of
the Fenians and condemned the punitive measures taken against them by the
British government (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 339 and Vol. 21, pp. 3-4,
407-10).

Louis Pio, Paul Johansen Geleff and Harold Brix, the leaders of the Danish
Federation of the International, were arrested as early as May 1872, and
sentenced in March 1873 to various terms of imprisonment (from four to six
years) for an attempt "to organise a coup d'état and establish a socialist state".
In August the authorities banned the sections of the International in Denmark.
178 For the meeting of William I and Francis Joseph in Salzburg see Note 58. p. 225

179 In his circular of August 14, 1871, Giovanni Lanza, Italian Minister of the Interior, ordered the dissolution of the International's sections. On August 20, the Naples Section was disbanded.

In January 1872, Práxedes Mateo Sagasta, Spanish Minister of the Interior, issued a similar circular. Lanza's and Sagasta's circulars were a reply by the Italian and Spanish governments to Jules Favre's call for a joint struggle against the International. p. 225

180 Between January 26 and 28, 1872, the house of Nikolai Utin was searched and his private papers and the documents of the International Association were inspected. On February 20, the General Council expressed its resolute protest against this act of arbitrariness in a special declaration written by Marx and Engels (see this volume, pp. 77-78). p. 225

181 The Emperors of Germany (William I), Austria-Hungary (Francis Joseph) and Russia (Alexander II) met in Berlin in September 1872 to resurrect the reactionary alliance of these countries. An important point in the discussion was a joint struggle against the revolutionary movement. p. 227

182 At the very first sittings of the Hague Congress when the mandates were discussed, a question was raised on the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy as a secret sectarian organisation the existence of which within the International contradicted the Rules. Marx and other delegates proposed to appoint a special committee to inquire into the secret activities of the Alliance. The committee included Theodor Cuno, Roch Slingard, Walter, Lucaín (Frédéric Potel) and Paul Vichard. Engels' report and the documents mentioned in it were submitted to the committee on September 5, 1872. It also heard reports on the Alliance by other delegates but could not bring its work up to the end in view of the abundance of documents and testimonies; however, drawing on the material examined, it came to the conclusion that the Alliance was incompatible with the International and proposed on September 7, to expel Bakunin, James Guillaume and other Alliance members from the International Association.

On the whole, the Congress adopted the motion and also resolved to make public the documents on the Alliance which were in the possession of the committee (see this volume, p. 250).

Engels' report has survived as a rough manuscript in French. It was published in English for the first time in The General Council of the First International, 1871-1872. Minutes, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 228

183 A reference to the circular, written by Victor Pagés in the name of the New Madrid Federation (see Note 157), to members of the Spanish Federation of the International. The circular was published in La Emancipacion, No. 61, August 10, 1872. A clipping from this issue is extant with Engels' note in red pencil: “No. 4.” p. 229

184 The circular of June 2, 1872, was drawn up by José Mesa, Victor Pagés, Francisco Mora, Pablo Iglesias and other editors of La Emancipacion who were at that time also members of the Alliance. It was published in issue No. 59, July 27, 1872. p. 230

185 On the conference of the Spanish Federation in Valencia see Note 14. p. 235
In March 1872, editors of *La Emancipacion* Francisco Mora, José Mesa, Pablo Iglesias, Victor Pagés, Inocente Calleja and Hipolito Pauly, then members of the Spanish Federal Council, elected by the Valencia Conference, were expelled from the local Madrid Federation by its anarchist majority. The cause was the editors’ open letter of February 25, 1872, to the representatives of the Republican Federalist Party who gathered in Madrid. The letter showed that its authors had abandoned the anarchist principle of abstention from politics, and this was considered by the Bakuninists as “a violation of the principles” of the International Association.

On the Saragossa Congress see Note 99.

The Spanish sections of the International held their first congress at Barcelona on June 19, 1870; it was attended by 90 delegates representing 150 workers’ societies. The Congress founded the Spanish Federation of the International Working Men’s Association and elected the Federal Council. It adopted an address to the General Council in which it declared its recognition of the General Rules of the International; it drafted the Rules of the Spanish Federation, as well as of local federations and sections (the final version of the Rules was adopted by the 1871 conference in Valencia). However, influenced by its anarchist participants, the Congress adopted a resolution recommending abstention from political struggle.

There has been preserved a copy of the pamphlet with extracts from the Saragossa Congress papers, which Engels submitted to the committee of the Hague Congress. The copy bears Engels’ notes.

By sending delegates from small, and very often non-existent, sections the anarchists tried to secure an artificial majority and take over the leadership of the International (at the Basle Congress in 1869) and of the Romance Federation (at its congress in La Chaux-de-Fonds on April 4-6, 1870) (see this volume, pp. 89, 91).

Engels submitted this motion on September 6, 1872, so as to concentrate the delegates’ attention on those changes in the General Rules and Administrative Regulations which were to strengthen discipline and centralisation of the International and to extend the powers of its leading body, the General Council. Marx also spoke at the same sitting in favour of the extension of the General Council’s powers. During the discussion of the organisational question on September 5-6, the majority of the delegates supported Marx and Engels and rebuffed the Bakuninists’ attempts to deprive the General Council of its function and to transform it into a mere statistical and correspondence bureau.


The European reaction prevented the General Council from having its seat anywhere but London. However, the growing activity of sectarian and reformist elements had led to a sharp struggle within the International, and a danger arose that the General Council might be seized either by the French Blanquist refugees, who sought to turn the International into the tool of their adventurist and voluntarist policy of immediate “arrangement of a revolution”, or by the English reformists. Under these circumstances, it was expedient to temporarily transfer the seat of the General Council to the USA. Engels substantiated this motion in his speech on September 6, 1872. The Blanquist delegates, who voted on other points with Marx and Engels against the Bakuninists and
reformists, tried to turn down this motion and, having failed to do so, walked out.

A copy of this proposal, certified by Theodor Cuno, is extant in the Congress documents. A facsimile of Marx's manuscript in French was first published in H. Schlüter, *Die Internationale in Amerika*, Chicago, 1918. It was published in English for the first time in *The Hague Congress of the First International. September 2-7, 1872. Minutes and Documents*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.

The official text of the resolutions adopted by the Hague Congress was compiled in French and edited by Marx and Engels, members of the committee appointed to prepare the minutes and resolutions of the Congress for publication. It also included Eugène Dupont, Leo Frankel, Auguste Serraillier and Benjamin Le Moussu.

Most of the resolutions were based on the proposals by Marx and Engels which were adopted by the General Council during the preliminary discussion of the Congress agenda in the summer of 1872.

Engels' manuscript of the full French text of the resolutions prepared for the press is extant. The present volume reproduces the resolutions from *The International Herald*. The differences in reading between the newspaper publication, the French pamphlet (which, in contrast to the English text, gives almost all the voting lists) and Engels' manuscript are given in footnotes.

On the invitation of the Dutch Federal Council most delegates to the Hague Congress went to Amsterdam when the Congress was over to meet the local section of the International. The meeting took place on September 8, 1872. Speeches were made by Marx, Friedrich Sorge, Paul Lafargue and other delegates. Marx delivered his speech in German and French; it was published in the Dutch, Belgian, French, German, Spanish and English press, in particular, in *The Times*, No. 27479, September 11, 1872, in Eccarius' record. The Belgian and French newspapers gave the most accurate records of Marx's speech, which tally. *Der Volkstaat* published it, with certain changes, according to the Belgian *Liberté*. Adolf Hepner wrote to Marx on September 26 that they could not print his speech verbatim, for in the conditions prevailing in Germany mention of the need for a violent revolution would immediately provide a pretext for a case against the newspaper. The Dutch *Algemeen Handelsblad* gave a résumé of Marx's speech. Its correspondent wrote: "After Citizen Sorge, there was a speech by Citizen Marx... The speaker said that formerly The Hague had been a centre of European diplomacy. Here, hardly had peace treaties been signed when plans of all sorts of war had been made. In sharp contrast to that was the congress of workers, whose purpose was to make war impossible. The International had been told that The Hague was the most reactionary city in Holland and that its ignorant population would 'tear to pieces' the 'scum of the Paris Commune'. But that was all the more reason for choosing precisely that 'blood-thirsty' city to show that the International did not fear any reactionary excesses. Moreover, it hoped to find here, too, people who sympathised with it, such as were to be found wherever there were working people.

"Citizen Marx went on to consider the results of the Congress, which had just finished work. He qualified them as important. A strong concentration of power in the hands of the General Council was an imperative necessity in the face of the conference in Berlin, which, in the speaker's opinion, presaged a general attack on the proletariat, persecution and repression of the working class. Until the International came forward as a closely united organisation, it
would not be able to make the movement universal, to succeed in making it arise everywhere simultaneously, and its efforts would produce no significant results. The speaker cited the example of the Paris Commune. Why had it been defeated? Because it had remained isolated. If, simultaneously with the uprising in Paris, revolutions had flared up in Berlin, Vienna and other capitals, there would have been a greater chance of success.

"The speaker defended the use of force when other means produce no result. Barricades were not necessary in North America because there the proletarians would, if they wanted, achieve victory through elections. The same applied to England and some other countries where the working class enjoyed freedom of speech. But in the enormous majority of states revolution must replace legality because otherwise—by false magnanimity, a wrongly directed sense of justice—it would not be possible to achieve the necessary goal. Vigorous, energetic propaganda must prepare and support this revolution. For these reasons it was also extremely necessary to have an enormous centralisation of power in the hands of the General Council.

"Citizen Marx said that the Congress decided yesterday (Saturday) to transfer the General Council from London to New York. He approved this decision. America was a country of working men. Every year hundreds of thousands of people went there, driven out of Europe or forced to go by privation. What a new and beneficial field of activity for the efforts of the International. The speaker hoped that this step would produce good results.

"As for himself, he was giving up the title of member of the General Council, but—contrary to rumours—not the title of member of the International! Quite the contrary. Having freed himself of the burden of administrative activity, he would devote himself with new energy to the task to which he had given 25 years of his life and to which he would devote himself to his very last breath: the emancipation of labour. (Stormy applause.)"

Marx's speech, as reported by La Liberté, was published in English for the first time in K. Marx and F. Engels, On Britain, Second Edition, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1962.

195 For the meeting of the three emperors see Note 181.


197 After the Hague Congress Marx and Engels, as members of the commission appointed to edit the minutes and resolutions of the Congress, prepared these documents for publication. In October-December 1872 the resolutions of the Congress were published in French and English (see Note 193). The work on preparing the minutes for publication remained unfinished.

198 A series of articles on the Hague Congress of the International for Der Volkstaat was to be written by one of its editors, Adolf Hepner, who was a delegate to the Congress. The first article was published on September 25, 1872. Soon Hepner was arrested and the editors asked two other delegates, Engels and Fritz Milke, a printer, to write reports on the Congress for them. Both complied with the request. Engels' report was published in the newspaper as the second article of the series with the following editorial note: "Article II is not written by the author of Article I. When, owing to the arrest of our correspondent, we were unable to receive some of his papers—which was also the reason for our reports appearing so late—we
asked two other participants in the Congress for reports. When the two reports arrived, Hepner's papers relating to the Congress were also found and so we are in a position to present our readers with a choice of three different reports.” Der Volksstaat published Milke's article and the beginning of Engels' article in the same issue on September 28 and Hepner's material, as the continuation of the series, i.e. as articles III and IV, on October 19, November 6, 13 and 27, 1872. Engels' article was published in the newspaper on September 28 and October 9; at the end of the first instalment the editors noted: “The end of Article II in the next issue”, and the concluding part had the editorial heading: “The Hague Congress (End of Article II)”.

The minor differences between the resolutions quoted by Engels and their official version are due to the fact that when Engels wrote the article there was no official text of the resolutions, adopted by the editorial committee on October 21.


199 The data given by Engels here and in his article on the Hague Congress published in La Plebe (see this volume, p. 271.), differ somewhat from the list of delegates and from Friedrich Sorge's record which says that the Congress was attended by 65 delegates, among them 18 Frenchmen, 15 Germans, 7 Belgians, 5 Englishmen, 5 Spaniards, 4 Dutchmen, 4 Swiss, 2 Austrians, 1 Dane, 1 Hungarian, 1 Australian, 1 Irishman and 1 Pole.

p. 260

200 The original has Kriegs-, Haupt- und Staatsaktion. The term has a double meaning. First, in the 17th and the first half of the 18th century, it denoted plays performed by German touring companies. The plays were rather formless historical tragedies, bombastic and at the same time coarse and farcical.

Second, the term can denote major political events. It was used in this sense by a trend in German historical science known as “objective historiography”.

p. 262

201 By the time the Hague Congress was convened in September 1872, the General Council comprised 50 members; 18 of them took part in the work of the Congress: six as the delegates from the General Council and 12 had mandates of different sections. Twelve voted for the motion by Marx and Engels to transfer the seat of the General Council to New York.

p. 265

202 Here and below the original has Sonderbund. Engels ironically gives this name to the anarchists and their allies by analogy with the separate union of reactionary Catholic cantons in Switzerland in the 1840s. Marx and Engels often applied this name to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group which split from the Communist League in 1850 (see Note 44).

p. 269

203 After La Plebe published Engels' articles “The Congress at The Hague” and “Letters from London.—II” (see this volume, pp. 283-84), Enrico Bignami, the editor of the newspaper, wrote to Engels on October 17, 1872: “As you see from the Plebe, I published your reports, which aroused great interest. Costa speaks of them in the Favilla, others in other newspapers.”

This article was published in English for the first time in The Hague Congress of the First International. September 2-7, 1872. Reports and Letters, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978.
José Mesa, an editor of *La Emancipacion*, informed Engels in his letter of October 5, 1872, that he had received Engels' article on October 4 and found it "very good and very opportune". The editors tried to make it look like an article written in Spain and published it unsigned. It was published in English for the first time in *The Hague Congress of the First International. September 2-7, 1872. Reports and Letters*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978. p. 277

This article was published in English for the first time in *The Hague Congress of the First International. September 2-7, 1872. Reports and Letters*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978. p. 283

The Portuguese Federal Council sent a letter to the British Federal Council c/o Engels, with the request to take urgent measures to prevent the importation of strike-breakers from Britain. The threat of importation arose because all the foundry workers of Lisbon went on strike on September 19, 1872. The strikers were joined by the workers of other trades and they demanded shorter working hours. The Portuguese Federation of the International supported the strike in Lisbon. Its letter was read out at the meeting of the British Federal Council on September 26 and published in *The International Herald* on October 5, 1872.


When publishing Marx's letter, the editors of *Der Volksstaat* gave the following footnote here: "Unfortunately the words 'of the Alliance' have been omitted by negligence here. Because of this misprint one could really think that Marx tabled the motion to expel Schwitzguébel, which was not the case." Marx quoted from one of the articles on the Hague Congress written by Adolf Hepner (see Note 198). p. 286

The article "On the Hague Congress. III" criticised Karl Biedermann's article in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* saying that Paul Lafargue was the Barcelona delegate to the Hague Congress. p. 287

Engels' letter of October 5, 1872, to Friedrich Sorge (on October 11 Sorge was co-opted into the General Council in New York and elected its General Secretary), shows that he wanted to send to America his report on the position of the International in Spain, Portugal and Italy. On November 2, however, Engels wrote that he enclosed only the report on Spain. That Engels intended to send reports on Italy and Portugal later is seen from the extant manuscript in which the material on Spain is marked "1". There is no information whether the reports were sent or not. p. 288

For the *Congress at Barcelona* see Note 188.
For the *Conference of Valencia* see Note 14. p. 288

For the *London Conference of the International* see Note 1. p. 289

For *Sagasta's circular* see Note 179. p. 289

For the *Saragossa Congress* see Note 99. p. 289

For the *circular of June 2, 1872* see Note 184. p. 290

Engels wrote about the formation of the Lodi Section in October 1872, the Rules of which corresponded to the General Rules of the International, to the General Secretary Friedrich Sorge in his letter of November 2, 1872. On
December 22, the General Council accepted the section into the International on Engels' proposal. In early 1873, the section ceased its activity because of police persecution.  

217 This article was published in English for the first time in Marx and Engels, Ireland and the Irish Question, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, and in Marx and Engels, Articles on Britain, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971. p. 294

218 In his letter to Engels of December 6, 1872, Auguste Serraillier wrote that E. Larroque, a leader of the International's section in Bordeaux, had requested a provisional mandate in the name of the New York Council for the Midi. Engels drafted the mandate on the blank fourth page of Serraillier's letter. The fair copy of the mandate, probably sent by Engels to Serraillier for signature, is not extant.

Larroque's mandate was confirmed by the General Council at its meeting of December 22, 1872. p. 297

219 Engels is referring to the congress of representatives of several Dutch sections of the International convened in Amsterdam on November 24, 1872, by the Dutch Federal Council in connection with the anarchists' opposition to the decisions of the Hague Congress. The congress resolved to support the General Council. p. 299

220 The congress of Spanish anarchists in Cordova was held between December 25, 1872 and January 2, 1873. The congress turned down the decisions of the Hague Congress and the General Rules of the International Working Men's Association and supported the resolutions of the international congress of anarchists in Saint-Imier, Switzerland (September 1872).

On the Saragossa Congress see Note 99. p. 299

221 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 special 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. p. 299

222 The Gracia Federation meeting took place on November 4-6, 1872. On hearing the report on the Hague Congress delivered by an Alliance leader Charles Alerini it rejected the anarchists' proposal to support the Saint-Imier Congress decisions and approved the Hague Congress resolutions by a majority vote.

The Valencia Federation meeting was held on November 9, 1872. It rejected the Alliance members' proposal to include the demand to support the decisions of the Saint-Imier Congress in the imperative mandate of the delegate to the Cordova Congress. p. 300

223 After the Hague Congress English reformists and Swiss anarchists attacked all the Congress decisions, in particular, the resolutions on the political action of the working class and on the extension of the General Council's powers. When the Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne, No. 23 of December 1, 1872, published John Hales' letter of November 6 and the reply to it by Alliance member Schwitzguébel, Marx and Engels decided to rebuff Hales and his supporters in the press. When publishing their letter, the editors of La Emancipacion prefaced it with the note:
"Below we give the letter which Citizens Marx and Engels, our comrades and friends, forwarded to *The International Herald*, a newspaper published in London, in protest against Mr. John Hales' false assertions, the assertions which the Alliance organs here, always ready to support lies, reproduce with great pleasure."

224 See Note 137.

225 That John Hales abused his powers as General Secretary of the General Council was more than once discussed at the Council meetings. Since the spring of 1872, Hales had been opposing the Council majority that supported Marx. At the Nottingham congress of the British Federation held on July 21-22, 1872, he urged the adoption of the resolution on the "autonomy" of the British Federal Council. Taking this fact into consideration and the support he gave to bourgeois reformists expelled from the International in the USA, the General Council unanimously decided, on July 23, 1872, to suspend Hales as Council Secretary until the final investigation of his case. The correspondence with the British sections and trade unions which had been neglected by Hales was temporarily entrusted to George Milner as the Corresponding Secretary.

226 See Note 206.

227 The *Manchester Foreign Section* of the International Association was formed in August 1872 mostly from the refugee workers. It waged a vigorous struggle against the reformist wing of the British Federal Council that rejected the decisions of the Hague Congress, and supported efforts made by Marx and Engels to strengthen the British Federation and rid it of the disorganising elements. Engels wrote the present address at the Section's request in response to the circular of December 10, 1872, issued by the reformists who had split from the British Federal Council. The circular called upon the British sections of the International to defy the Hague Congress resolutions and to convene the Federation's extraordinary congress in London in January 1873. Approved by the Manchester Foreign Section, Engels' address was published as a leaflet and forwarded to all members of the International in Britain. The address was also published in *La Emancipacion*, No. 82, January 11, 1873, and in *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, Nos. 5 and 6, March 8 and 15, 1873.

228 A reference to the British Federal Council meeting of December 5, 1872, which was to abolish the post of Council General Secretary, held by Hales, and to appoint a Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, a secretary responsible for the minutes and other officials. The intention of the British Federal Council to prevent abuse of power on the part of its reformist leaders was a direct pretext for the split in the Council that followed.

229 On the congress of the Dutch Federation see Note 219.

230 The congress, convoked in London on January 26, 1873 (instead of January 5 as originally planned) by the reformists who had seceded from the British Federation, showed that they had failed to take with them the majority of the English sections of the International Working Men's Association. The congress, attended by 12 men only, refused to recognise the Hague Congress resolutions and thus actually placed itself outside the International. A Federal Council formed by the secessionists discontinued its meetings in the spring of 1873, and the sections which supported it either disintegrated or returned to the British Federation.
This address, like the address of the Manchester Foreign Section written by Engels (see Note 227), was a reply to the reformists' splitting activities in the British Federation. The address, read out by Council member John Mitchell at the meeting of the British Federal Council on December 23, 1872, was unanimously approved by that body, published as a leaflet and sent to the sections.

The regular congress of the Belgian Federation of the International took place in Brussels on December 25 and 26, 1872. Influenced by the anarchists, the congress rejected the resolutions of the Hague Congress and supported those of the anarchist congress at Saint-Imier.

On the congress of Spanish anarchists in Cordoba held from December 25, 1872 to January 2, 1873 see Note 220.

On the General Council's preparation of a draft of the revised General Rules and Administrative Regulations for submission to the Hague Congress and the proposal (made by Edouard Vaillant) to include into the Rules the resolution of the 1871 London Conference on the political action of the working class see notes 150 and 152.

On the suspension of Hales from the post of General Secretary see Note 225.

The first congress of the British sections of the International Working Men's Association was held in Nottingham on July 21 and 22, 1872. The congress approved the resolutions of the London Conference of the International and the activities of the General Council. The congress adopted a resolution "On Political Action" which considered it necessary for the working class to wage political struggle for its social emancipation and with this in view to create an independent workers' party. The reformist delegates tried to impose on the congress their narrow interpretation of political action of the working class in the spirit of liberal labour policy, and to distract the general attention from formulating the socialist aims of the working-class movement. They succeeded in having a number of their representatives elected to the British Federal Council.

This resolution was proposed by Leo Frankel and supported by Engels; it was discussed as an amendment to Article 2, Section II of the Administrative Regulations and adopted at a meeting of the General Council on June 25, 1872.

On the congress of the Dutch Federation see Note 219.

The second congress of the British Federation of the International Working Men's Association was held in Manchester on June 1 and 2, 1873. Marx and Engels took an active part in the preparation for the congress and in the working out of its political platform. The congress was attended by 26 delegates from 23 sections, who—in contrast to the reformist secessionists of the British Federation—recognised the resolutions of the 1872 Hague Congress. It adopted resolutions which stressed the necessity to create an independent political party of the proletariat, demanded socialisation of the land and all the means of production, and corroborated adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism. Engels highly appreciated the results of the Manchester congress in his article "From the International" (see this volume, p. 449).
In his work *The Housing Question* Engels substantiated the basic tenets of scientific socialism and criticised the utopian views of petty-bourgeois socialists and bourgeois social reformers. The work consisted of three parts, each of which appeared in the course of Engels’ acute polemics with advocates of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois projects for solving the housing question.

Part I was an immediate answer to anonymous articles under the general heading “Die Wohnungsfrage”, reprinted by *Der Volksstaat* (Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13, 15 and 19 of February 3, 7, 10, 14, 21 and March 6, 1872) from the Austrian *Volkswille*. It became known later that the author was doctor of medicine, Proudhonist Arthur Mülberger. On May 7, 1872, Engels wrote to Liebknecht: “As soon as I have time, I shall write you an article on the housing shortage and against the absurd Proudhonist stories that have appeared in a series of articles on the subject in the *Volksstaat*.” By May 22, 1872, Part I was finished and published in *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 51-53, June 26 and 29 and July 3, 1872. A fragment of the manuscript of Part I is extant.

In October 1872 Engels wrote Part II in which he criticised the philanthropic views of social problems presented in the spirit of bourgeois socialism by E. Sax in *Die Wohnungszustände der arbeitenden Classen und ihre Reform*. Part II was published in *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 103 and 104, December 25 and 28, 1872, and Nos. 2 and 3, January 4 and 8, 1873.

Part III appeared as a new reply to Mülberger to whom the editors of *Der Volksstaat* granted space for objections to Engels. Engels had been working over this part in January 1873 and it was published in *Der Volksstaat*, Nos. 12, 13, 15 and 16, February 8, 12, 19 and 22, 1873.

Following the publication in *Der Volksstaat*, all the three parts of Engels’ work were successively brought out by the *Volksstaat* Publishers in Leipzig in three separate prints; two of them—*Zur Wohnungsfrage* and *Zur Wohnungsffrage. Zweites Heft: Wie die Bourgeoisie die Wohnungsfrage löst*—appeared in 1872, and the last—*Zur Wohnungsfrage. Drittes Heft: Nachtrag über Proudhon und die Wohnungsfrage*—in 1873. Part II was also printed by the *Volkwille*, Nos. 3-9, January 1873.

In 1887, a second edition of Engels’ work came out in Hottingen and Zurich under the title *Zur Wohnungsfrage*. Engels made a number of changes and additions in the text and wrote a Preface for it (see present edition, Vol. 26).

The work was published in English for the first time as a pamphlet: F. Engels, *The Housing Question*, Lawrence, London, 1935.

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240 *See* Note 135.

241 According to the biblical legend (Exodus 16:3), during the Israelites’ flight from Egypt the most faint-hearted among them were driven by the hardships of the journey and by hunger to recall the flesh pots of Egypt, longing for the days of captivity when at least they had enough to eat.

242 *Labour Exchange Bazaars*, or *Equitable Labour Exchange Bazaars or Offices*, were organised by cooperative workers’ societies in various cities of England. The
first such bazaar was arranged by Robert Owen in London in September 1832 and existed till mid-1834. Products of labour were exchanged there for labour paper money, its unit of value being a working hour. Such enterprises were a utopian attempt to organise a non-monetary exchange under the conditions of capitalist commodity economy, and they soon went bankrupt. p. 329

243 Proudhon proposed such a solution of the housing question in his *Idée générale de la révolution au XIXe siècle* (the first edition appeared in Paris in 1851; in the Paris edition of 1868, see pp. 199-204). As early as 1851 Engels, at Marx’s request, made a detailed critical analysis of the book. Having shown the infeasibility of Proudhon’s general reformist idea and his anarchist views, Engels also noted the utopian character of his project for turning a house tenant into an owner, which Proudhon proposed as a measure to implement the so-called “social liquidation”—a peaceful transformation of society in the spirit of petty-bourgeois ideals (see present edition, Vol. 11, pp. 560-61). Engels had in his library a copy of the 1868 edition of Proudhon’s book. The notes in the margins of that volume were probably made by Engels when he worked on *The Housing Question*. p. 329

244 The reference is to the decree signed by Louis Bonaparte on January 22, 1852. By this decree, the state issued a loan of 10,000,000 francs (one-third of the necessary capital) for building dwellings for the workers. In Mulhouse (Alsace) the manufacturer Jean Dolffus founded the Société des cités ouvrières for this purpose. The workers became the owners of the houses built by this society after they paid an increased monthly rent for about 15 years.

Below, in Part II, Engels elaborated on the true aims of this enterprise and its results (see p. 354). p. 330


p. 338

246 In 1859, a French manufacturer, Jean Baptiste André Godin, founded a socialist colony in Guise (Aisne Department in the north of France) on a model of Fourier's phalanstery, with production and everyday life organised on a cooperative basis. By the 1880s the colony, named Familistère, turned into a capitalist joint-stock enterprise.

p. 348

247 *Harmony Hall* was a communist colony established in Hampshire (South England) at the end of 1839 by English utopian socialists headed by Robert Owen. It existed until 1845. Engels characterised it in one of his earlier articles, “Description of Recently Founded Communist Colonies Still in Existence” (see present edition, Vol. 4, pp. 223-27).

p. 348

248 In June 1869, the Reichstag of the North German Confederation, established after Prussia’s victory in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, adopted the new Trades Rules which came into force on October 1, 1869. These Rules eliminated all the limitations of free enterprise previously in existence in Prussia and other German states. The bourgeoisie had long been pressing for this concession on the part of Bismarck’s government. At the same time the Reichstag had to abolish the articles of the former Trades Rules which prohibited the creation of workers’ coalitions (trades unions).

p. 352

249 Engels is referring to an idea spread by Schulze-Delitzsch, a German economist, that the creation of workers’ cooperative societies would peacefully solve the social question within the framework of a capitalist society. Schulze-Delitzsch and his supporters used this idea and tried to put it into practice as a means of distracting the workers from the proletarian revolutionary movement.

p. 357

250 A reference to the 5,000-million francs indemnity which France had to pay to Germany under the terms of the Frankfurt Peace Treaty of May 10, 1871 (see Note 171).

p. 365

251 Engels is referring to the statements made by Adolf Wagner in a number of his books and speeches (see, for example, his *Rede über die sociale Frage*, Berlin, 1872, pp. 55-58) to the effect that the revival of economic activity in Germany after the 5,000-million francs indemnity had been received would considerably improve the condition of the working people.

On the talks between Bismarck and Beust, Chancellor of Austria-Hungary, and also between the Emperors William I and Francis Joseph in Gastein and Salzburg in August-September 1871 see Note 58. Calling them Stieber's conferences after a senior police official of that name, Engels emphasised their anti-worker and police character.

p. 365

252 Among Engels' manuscripts the excerpts have survived which he made early in 1873 from Proudhon's *La guerre et la paix* (published in 1869) when he was preoccupied with Part III of *The Housing Question*. Engels supplied these excerpts with his own comments in which he stressed Proudhon's idealistic views, his misunderstanding of the laws of social development, and his
pretentious unsubstantiated judgments. "Everywhere there is nothing but pretentiousness and sheer assertion instead of proof and development of thought," Engels stated. As regards Proudhon's explanation of the origin of social inequality, he noted, "It is not deduced from the laws of economic and historical development, but, as everything else, wars included, from psychological reasons..." Engels also pointed out that Proudhon's theory of population was close to Malthus' false doctrine which stated that population tends to increase faster than the means of subsistence for natural reasons, and, therefore, alleged that the distress of the working people cannot be explained by social conditions.

The District Regulations for the provinces of Prussia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Posen, Silesia and Saxony, adopted in December 1872, were part of an administrative reform in Prussia. It abolished patrimonial power of the Junkers and introduced certain elements of local self-government (community elders were to be elected and district councils under government officials were introduced). The reform aimed at greater centralisation of the Junker bourgeois state in the interests of the Junkers in general and preserved, in fact, all the privileges of individual representatives of this class. They were given an opportunity to be elected or nominated to most of the offices in local government or have their protégés there. Nevertheless the reform met with strong resistance of conservative nobility and landed aristocracy, especially in the Prussian Upper House. For details see Engels' article "The 'Crisis' in Prussia" (this volume, pp. 400-05).

As the editorial board of La Plebe intended to start a yearbook Almanacco Repubblicano in 1873, the newspaper editor Enrico Bignami requested Engels on July 31, 1872 and Marx on October 10, 1872 to write articles for this collection. Engels wrote an article "On Authority" (see Note 295), and Marx wrote the present article, "Political Indifferentism". Marx's original, which was probably written in French, is not extant. Translated by Bignami, the article was published in the Almanacco Repubblicano per l'anno 1874 only in December 1873. The publication could not be started earlier because of the police persecution. In Engels' lifetime Marx's article was reprinted by the Milanese La Battaglia (Vol. 1, No. 15, July 14) in the summer of 1894.

The article was published in English for the first time in The Plebs, Vol. XIV, No. 11, London, 1922.

In May 1864, the Corps législatif repealed the so-called Le Chapelier Law of 1791 on the prohibition of workers' associations and adopted, on May 24, another one after the project of a moderate republican Emile Ollivier. It granted workers the right of combination but prohibited assemblies.

The strike of stone-masons and miners in Rive-de-Gier (a town south of Lyons) broke out in the spring of 1844. The strike, caused by hard labour conditions and low wages, was suppressed by the troops.

The reference is to the act of the British Parliament which in 1824 cancelled the prohibition of workers' coalitions and provided the basis for the legalisation of trades unions.

Engels is alluding to the growing desire of the French reactionaries to restore the monarchy after the fall of the Paris Commune. Monarchist elements prevailed in the National Assembly (nicknamed the Rural Assembly) which was elected in February 1871 and had its seat in Versailles. However, the attempts at restoration were hampered by the quarrels continuing between various
monarchist factions and, above all, by the fear felt by the greater part of the bourgeoisie of a new revolutionary action by the republican-minded masses. Therefore many bourgeois politicians, Thiers, President of the Republic, among them, preferred to leave the republican form of government intact, preserving at the same time the monarchist institutions (“a republic without republicans”).

Engels is referring to the restoration of patrimonial jurisdiction (that is, the landlord’s right to exercise police and legal functions with respect to peasants dependent on him), which was abolished in 1848-49 but actually sanctioned by the law of April 14, 1856, for the six provinces of the Kingdom of Prussia lying east of the Elbe (Prussia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Posen, Silesia and Saxony).

On February 9, 1849, the Prussian government issued two decrees prescribing changes in the Trades Rules, which introduced Trades Councils (Gewerberäte) and Trades Courts (Gewerbegerichte), thus virtually restoring medieval trade legislation. These decrees nullified attempts to eliminate the medieval barriers to industrial and commercial activities which were made in the period of liberal reforms in Prussia after its defeat in the war against Napoleonic France. In particular, they actually annulled the decree of October 24, 1808 on the elimination of guild restrictions and monopolies, and also the order of December 26, 1808 which declared, in general terms, the freedom of industry and commerce.

Engels is referring to the June insurrection of the Paris proletariat, see Note 135.

In 1856, the head of the Prussian police department Hinckeldey was killed in a duel by Baron Rochow, a representative of an ultra-conservative grouping interested in the business of a gambling-house closed down by the police. A number of bourgeois newspapers, the Berlin National Zeitung (No. 119/120, March 11, 1856) in particular, responded to this event with laudatory articles about Hinckeldey, describing him as a champion of liberty and progress.

The reference is to the “liberal” course announced by Prince William of Prussia (King of Prussia since 1861) when he became regent in October 1858. He made the Manteuffel ministry resign and called the moderate liberals to power. The bourgeois press dubbed this the policy of the “New Era”. It was, in fact, solely intended to strengthen the position of the Prussian monarchy and the Junkers. This soon became clear to the representatives of the liberal opposition whose hopes had been deceived and who refused to approve the government project of a military reform.

A reference to the war waged by France and the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont), on the one side, and Austria, on the other, from April 29 to July 8, 1859. Austria suffered a defeat and was compelled to cede Lombardy to Piedmont, while Piedmont, in its turn, ceded Savoy and Nice to Bonapartist France. During the war, the Prussian government, pursuing the “policy of having a free hand”, declared neutrality.

Engels is referring to the so-called constitutional conflict in Prussia which started in February 1860 when the liberal majority of the Provincial Diet refused to approve the projected army reorganisation moved by von Roon, Minister of War. The government, however, soon succeeded in obtaining allocations for the maintenance of the army in fighting trim, and this helped it to begin the planned reorganisation. In March 1862, the liberal majority
refused to approve the military expenditure and demanded that the ministry should be answerable to the Provincial Diet. The government dissolved the Diet and fixed a new election. In late September the Bismarck ministry was formed which, in October of the same year, dissolved the Diet again and began to effect a military reform without the Diet's sanction. The conflict was settled only in 1866, when after Prussia's victory over Austria the Prussian bourgeoisie gave in to Bismarck. For details see Engels' "The Prussian Military Question and the German Workers' Party" (present edition, Vol. 20). p. 402

266 This refers to the war of Prussia and Austria against Denmark in 1864 over Schleswig and Holstein, duchies subject to Denmark but inhabited mainly by Germans. Austria joined the war in the fear that if its rival, Prussia, fought on its own, it would enjoy all the fruits of victory. Denmark was defeated. Schleswig and Holstein were declared joint possessions of Austria and Prussia, which aggravated the conflict between the two countries. After its defeat in the war against Prussia in 1866, Austria had to renounce its right to the duchies in Prussia's favour. p. 402

267 On July 3, 1866, a decisive battle of the Austro-Prussian war took place near the village of Sadowa at Königgrätz (Hradec Králové), Bohemia. The Austrian troops suffered a major defeat. p. 402

268 Engels, apparently, refers to the idea of the recurrence of historical events which Hegel expressed in his work Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte, the first edition of which was published in Berlin in 1837 (see Part 3, Section 2, entitled "Rom vom zweiten punischen Krieg bis zum Kaiserthum"). Hegel also repeatedly expressed the idea that in the process of dialectical development there is bound to be a transition from the stage of formation and efflorescence to that of disintegration and ruin (see, in particular, G.W.F. Hegel, Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts (Part 3, Section 3, § 347).

Hegel's idea was developed by Marx in The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (see present edition, Vol. 11, p. 103), Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction (Vol. 3, p. 179), The Deeds of the Hohenzollern Dynasty (Vol. 9, p. 421), and by Engels in his letter to Marx of December 3, 1851 (Vol. 38, p. 505). p. 403

269 As a result of Prussia's victory in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, Prussia annexed the Kingdom of Hanover, the Electorate of Hesse-Kassel, the Grand Duchy of Nassau, the free city of Frankfort on the Main, and the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig. p. 403

270 The Stahl-Gerlach party, or party of the Kreuz-Zeitung (as the Neue Preußische Zeitung was called), was formed during the revolution of 1848-49 and consisted of representatives of the counter-revolutionary court clique and feudal Junkers. Striving to restore limited absolutism, the party defended privileges of the aristocracy and nobility. It opposed Bismarck's policy of Germany's unification from above seeing it as a threat to feudal privileges. p. 403

271 The North German Confederation was a federative state formed in 1867 under Prussia's supremacy after its victory in the Austro-Prussian war. It replaced the German Confederation which was established in 1815. The North German Confederation incorporated 19 German states and three free cities. The King of Prussia was declared president of the Confederation and commander-in-chief of the confederate armed forces; he was also in charge of foreign policy. The creation of the North German Confederation was an important stage in
implementing the so-called Little Germany plan for the unification of Germany (without Austria) which was carried out by Bismarck. In 1870 the Confederation was joined by Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg and Hesse-Darmstadt. In January 1871 upon the formation of the German Empire the Confederation ceased to exist.

272 As a rule, the British Parliament created new peers when the government sought to form a majority in the House of Lords which would support its measures. The ruling circles in several other countries also used this device to influence the upper chambers (the Prussian Upper House, in particular).

273 The Prussian bourgeoisie was pressing its demands with increased force in 1845-46, its hopes for liberal reform having failed to materialise at Frederick William IV's ascension to the throne in 1840. In 1845, almost all the provincial diets demanded a constitution. In his memorandum of 1846 David Hansemann, a wealthy bourgeois of the Rhine Province, suggested that an all-Prussian parliament should be summoned, the Customs Union strengthened and enlarged, patrimonial jurisdiction and a number of other privileges of the nobility abolished, freedom of the press and the jury system introduced, etc.

274 This reply was published together with the official communication of the British Federal Council which read as follows: "A circular having appeared, signed by a former Corresponding Secretary of the British Federal Council, and others, convening a so-called Congress for the 26th inst., we hereby declare that the time of assemblage and purpose of the said proposed Congress are illegal, and that members of the Association taking part in the said so-called Congress, as well as Sections authorising members to take part in it will render themselves liable to expulsion from our Association."

On the secessionist congress of the reformist elements of the British Federation see Note 230.

275 The First Congress of the North American Federation of the International Working Men's Association which took place in New York between July 6 and 8, 1872, elected the Federal Council consisting of: C. Carl, F. Bertrand, F. Bolte, E. David, E. Levièle, S. Cavanagh, Saint-Clair, Laurell and Cetti. When the seat of the General Council was transferred to New York by decision of the Hague Congress, all these persons, except Cetti, became Council members; David, however, soon left it and Saint-Clair and Levièle actually did not take part in its activities. The co-optation into the Council of Friedrich Sorge, Marx's and Engels, associate, and his election as General Secretary on October 11, 1872, were conducive to unity among the efficient and stable proletarian elements in the Council.

276 See Note 221.

277 In December 1872, after the split in the British Federation of the International Working Men's Association, The International Herald became an official newspaper of the new British Federal Council. Wishing to support the paper, Engels considered it necessary to keep it as well informed as possible about the development of the international working-class movement, and especially about the activities of the International on the Continent. The paper published his communications on the subject in the reports on the meetings of the British Federal Council written by Samuel Vickery. Some of Engels' communications
were published, apparently, in abridged form. In a letter to Engels of February 15, 1873, which is extant, William Riley, the newspaper's editor, apologised for the incomplete publication of the material received.  

278 See Note 220.

279 On the meeting of the Gracia Federation see Note 222.

Mariano Rodríguez, delegate of the Federation of Granada to the Congress at Cordova, had an imperative mandate which required full approval of the Hague Congress resolutions. Engels obtained this information from José Mesa's letter of December 29, 1872.

280 Apparently, Engels is referring to one of the letters he received from Nobre Franca, Secretary of the Lisbon Section.

281 Obviously, Engels means the participation of members of the International's federations of Gracia and Cadiz in the armed insurrection of republican federalists in Andalusia in November 1872 and of members of the New Madrid Federation in the armed insurrection in Madrid in late November-early December 1872.

282 In his letter to Engels of January 18, 1873, José Mesa asked Engels to inform the workers in England and Belgium, through the International's periodicals, about the railwaymen's strike in Spain in order to prevent the importation of strike-breakers.

The strike by the engine-drivers and stokers on the railway lines Almansa-Valencia and Tarragona-Almansa began on December 23, 1872, and successfully ended in early April 1873. The strikers demanded shorter working hours and higher wages.

A committee appointed by the British Federal Council to prevent the importation of strike-breakers, reported at the Council meeting of January 30, 1873, that it had sent notices on the strike to a number of English newspapers, in particular, to The Standard, Reynolds's Newspaper and Railway Servant's Gazette. One of these notices was published in Reynolds's Newspaper, No. 1173 on February 2, 1873.

283 On July 6, 1872, August Bebel was sentenced by the Leipzig circuit court to the nine months imprisonment (in addition to two years in the fortress to which he and Liebknecht had been sentenced earlier) and was deprived of his powers as deputy to the Reichstag on the charge of lèse majesté. Bebel's speeches at the meetings on February 19 and 26, 1872, served as grounds for the sentence. Bebel won a victory at the additional elections to the Reichstag in the district of Glauchau-Meerane, where he had been elected before. Engels most likely drew this information from Der Volksstaat, Nos. 9 and 10, January 29 and February 1, 1873.

284 By decision of the Committee of the Jura Federation, the Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne, No. 20/21, November 10, 1872, published Jules Montels' letter with a protest against the expulsion from the International, by the Beziers section, of an anarchist Abel Bousquet, Secretary of Police.  

285 The Notes for the General Council, and Engels' letters to the General Council of the International Working Men's Association of April 15 and June 14, 1873 (see this volume, pp. 437-38 and 447), show that Engels as well as Marx rendered immediate support to the leading body of the International in New
York, supplied it with the necessary information and assisted in taking the correct decisions. The Notes have survived as a manuscript by Engels. This text does not fully coincide with the one first published in part in *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere*, Stuttgart, 1906. p. 414

286 The first part of the report on the secessionist London Congress of the British Federation—"Congress of the International Working Men’s Association"—was published in *The Eastern Post*, No. 227, February 1, 1873. The second and concluding part of the report appeared in the second edition of No. 228 of February 9, 1873, on the next day after the Notes were written. p. 414

287 The Second Congress of the Italian anarchists who had formed their federation at the Rimini Conference (see Note 161) was set for March 15 in Mirandola; later, however, it was transferred to Bologna. It took place on March 15-17, 1873. p. 414

288 By its decision of January 5, 1873, the International General Council in New York suspended the anarchist Jura Federation from the Association until the next Congress.

The critical remarks made by Marx and Engels in their letters to Sorge and Engels’ statement here concerning the unsatisfactory character of this decision, made the General Council in New York revise it. On January 26, 1873, the Council adopted a resolution which stated that all the societies and individuals refusing to recognise the Hague Congress decisions and comply with the demands of the International’s Rules and Administrative Regulations, thereby put themselves outside its ranks. Another resolution of the Council of May 30, 1873 confirmed and elaborated on this decision.

On Sonderbund see Note 202. p. 415

289 After the Hague Congress Theodor Cuno emigrated to America. He signed an appeal of Section 29 of the International Working Men’s Association to the New Madrid Federation of January 10, 1873 with the assumed name of Capestro. The Brussels *Internationale*, No. 212, February 2, 1873 reported on this fact, stating that Cuno and Capestro were one and the same person. p. 415

290 Membership stamps were issued by decision of the London Conference of 1871 and were affixed to the membership card to indicate payment of the annual subscription. By decision of the General Council of December 22, 1872 these stamps continued to be issued in London. The French émigré Le Moussu, an engraver, undertook to manufacture a cliché and print them. p. 416

291 This article was published as a leader in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 18, March 1, 1873. The term “Caesarism” which is not to be found in any other work by Engels shows the interference—though slight—of an editor. In the Spanish translation the last paragraph was omitted. José Mesa, editor of *La Emancipacion*, wrote in this connection to Engels on March 11, 1873: “You must have seen that I allowed myself to omit the last paragraph in your article from the Volksstaat which I thought somewhat discouraging. I apologise a thousand times to you.”

While working on the article, Engels apparently discussed with Marx the problems that arose in it. Consequently, a number of the conclusions and points it contains—on the essence of Bonapartism, on the republic as a form of the bourgeois state, on the attitude of the working class to it—may have been the result of their cooperation. p. 417
In September 1868, the fifth bourgeois revolution began in Spain and continued till 1874. This struck a blow at the absolutist reactionary forces which supported the survivals of feudalism in the country. Queen Isabella II fled and the liberals came to power, advocating a constitutional monarchy. In 1870, Amadeo, representative of the Savoy dynasty, was elected to the throne. His position, however, proved very unstable in the situation of a deepening domestic crisis, growth of pro-republican moods among the masses and, at the same time, constant attacks from the right, i.e. of the reactionary monarchist elements. On February 9, 1873, Amadeo abdicated, and on February 11 a republic was proclaimed in Spain. This opened up a new stage in the development of the revolution and led to the further exacerbation of the class struggle and to deeper contradictions in the republican camp itself. p. 418

The surrender of the French army under MacMahon and the capture of Emperor Napoleon III by the Prussians during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, took place on September 2, 1870 at Sedan.

The Sedan disaster hastened the collapse of the Second Empire and led to a republic in France being proclaimed on September 4, 1870. p. 418

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 1st 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 (2nd Carlist war) which did not end until 1876.

Engels wrote this article after repeated requests by Enrico Bignami to Marx and Engels to send him articles for the collection Almanacco Repubblicano (see Note 254). Bignami addressed Engels for the first time on July 31, 1872. On November 3, 1872, Bignami informed Engels that he had received his article written, apparently, in October. However, Bignami was arrested and the manuscript was lost. Bignami wrote to Engels about this loss on March 2, 1873, and asked him to send, if possible, either a copy of that article or something else for the collection planned. In March 1873 Engels sent Bignami the second version of the article “On Authority” which was published in December of that year in the Almanacco Repubblicano per l'anno 1874.

The article was published in English for the first time in The New Review, No. 4, New York, 1914. p. 422

Engels' notes on the labour movement in Europe and America are thematically linked with his “News on the Activities of the International on the Continent” which was published in the same newspaper, The International Herald, in January-February 1873 (see this volume, pp. 409-13). As distinct from the “News on the Activities of the International on the Continent”, published in the reports on the meetings of the British Federal Council of the International, the “News on the International Labour Movement” was published separately under the headings “Continental Trade News” and “Foreign Trade News”. The labour press of different countries, notably the Leipzig Volkstaat and the Madrid Emancipacion, as well as the information Engels drew from the extensive correspondence with his friends and associates, served as a source for the “News on the International Labour Movement”. p. 426
297 The first strike won through the assistance of the International was the strike of Geneva builders; it took place in March-April 1869. The campaign of support organized by the International forced the employers to meet the workers' demands: introduce a common pay by the hour and raise wages from 15 to 25 centimes per hour. p. 427

298 The congress of Swiss Working Men took place in Olten between June 1 and 3, 1873. Apart from the Swiss sections of the International Working Men's Association, it was attended by representatives of trades unions, cooperatives, educational and other workers' societies. The congress founded the Swiss Workers' Union, which existed until 1880 and amalgamated various workers' organisations on the principles of the International. p. 428

299 The reference is to the Hungarian General Working Men's Union (see Note 173).
   On March 23, 1873, the meeting at Budapest proclaimed the foundation of the Hungarian Workers' Party whose aim was to unite representatives of all trends in the Hungarian workers' movement. The Workers' Party was dissolved by a governmental decree of May 10, 1873. p. 432

300 See Note 290. p. 437

301 See Note 1. p. 437

302 On the preparing the Hague Congress minutes for publication see Note 197. p. 438

303 The last issue of *La Emancipation* came out on April 12, 1873. p. 438

304 This refers to the Second Congress of the British Federation of the International fixed for June 1 and 2, 1873 in Manchester (see Note 237). p. 438

305 This article is part of Engels' letter to Adolf Hepner, editor of *Der Volksstaat*, written in late April 1873 in connection with the libellous article about the International Working Men's Association in the *Neuer Social-Demokrat*, No. 49, April 27, 1873. The letter was not meant for the press, but the newspaper editors published a part of it without mentioning the author in *Der Volksstaat*, No. 37, May 7, 1873. On May 2, Engels wrote "The International and the Neuer", specially for the *Volksstaat*, which appeared in No. 38 on May 10, 1873 (see this volume, pp. 442-45). p. 439

306 See Note 57. p. 439

307 In many French cities at the end of 1872 and the beginning of 1873, the police, who had obtained information from their informers and spies (in particular, from Van-Heddeghem), made numerous arrests of members of the International's sections. Trials were organised in a number of cities. The first took place in Paris in February-early March 1873. The four accused were sentenced to imprisonment from one to three years. A major trial of members of the International was held in Toulouse from March 10 to 26. The organisers of the trial widely used the testimony of Dentraygues, a member of the Toulouse section, who had divulged, during the preliminary investigation and at the trial itself, information about the composition and activities of nearly all the sections of the International in the Midi. Twenty-two out of the 38 accused were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Police and court reprisals inflicted a heavy blow on the French organisations of the International Working Men's Association. p. 440
308 See Note 307.

309 The *reptile press fund*—a special money fund at Bismarck’s disposal for bribing the press. It got this name after Bismarck’s speech in the Prussian Provincial Diet in January 1869 when he applied the word “reptiles” to mercenary agents. After this, the left press began to use the expression to denote the government-bribed semi-official press.

310 *The International Herald* included this communication in its report on the regular meeting of the British Federal Council, which took place on May 8, 1873.

311 This is an allusion to the attempts made by John Hales, former General Secretary of the General Council of the International, after the transfer of the General Council from London to New York, to turn the breakaway reformist wing of the British Federal Council into a sort of centre for all the federations opposing the decisions of the Hague Congress. Hales’ claims to leadership in the international working-class movement did not find support on the Continent.

312 A reference to the General Council decision of January 26, 1873, published in *La Plebe*, No. 14, June 1, 1873.

The address of the General Council of the International Working Men’s Association to Spanish workers of February 23, 1873 was occasioned by the proclamation of a republic in Spain. It was published in *La Plebe*, No. 13, May 26, 1873.

After a temporary suspension from March 23, 1873, caused by police persecution, *La Plebe* resumed publication after May 15, 1873.

313 Engels is referring to the draft General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International, revised by the General Council in the summer of 1872 for the Hague Congress (see Note 150).


315 On the split in the British Federation of the International and the London Congress of its breakaway reformist wing in January 1873 see notes 228 and 230.

316 See Note 237.

317 See Note 176.

318 On the application of the words “Sonderbund”, “Sonderbündler”, etc., to the anarchist secessionists in Engels’ works of the period see Note 202.

319 A reference to the draft of the new Rules of the International Working Men’s Association, worked out by the Belgian Federal Council in the anarchist spirit before the Hague Congress of the International (see Note 88).

320 Renan’s book *L’Antéchrist* (Paris, 1873) was the fourth volume of his comprehensive *Histoire des origines du christianisme*, Vols I-VIII, Paris, 1863–1883. A review of this book was included in an anonymous report marked “Paris, June 26” and published in *Kölische Zeitung*, No. 181, Supplement 3, July 2, 1873. Engels’ note on the review was freely translated into Serbo-Croat by an anonymous author in the Belgrade Church journal *Православие* (Orthodoxy),
Engels mentions Prof. Ferdinand Benary's lectures, which he attended at Berlin University as an external student when he did military service as a volunteer in Berlin from September 1841 to October 1842.

Engels examined in detail the problem of the dating and composition of the last book in the New Testament, the Revelation of St. John the Divine or the Apocalypse (from Greek apokalypsis, revelation), in his articles “The Book of Revelation” and “On the History of Early Christianity”, written in 1883 and 1894.

Engels attached great importance to Giuseppe Garibaldi’s criticism of anarchist doctrines and did his best to make known the ideas Garibaldi had expressed on that score in his letter to Prospero Crescio. Engels quoted from his letter in the German translation in his article “From the International”, published in Der Volksstaat in early July 1873. He inserted it as a footnote in the pamphlet The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association written in French (see this volume, pp. 451, 504). To familiarise the members of the British Federation of the International with the letter, Engels translated it into English for the meeting of the British Federal Council on July 8, 1873. It was included in the report on the meeting, published in The Eastern Post on July 13, 1873. Engels supplied the translation with a short comment which he may have written after the meeting of the Council, when the report on it was being prepared for the press.

Marx and Engels wrote this work, with the assistance of Paul Lafargue, between April and July 1873, drawing on a large number of documents presented to the commission of inquiry into the activities of the secret Alliance, appointed by the Hague Congress. Among them was the material sent by Lafargue, José Mesa and others from Spain, J. Ph. Becker from Switzerland, N. F. Danielson and N. N. Lyubavin from Russia, and a large report written by N. I. Utin on the instructions of the London Conference of 1871. Some of the documents reached Marx and Engels only after the Hague Congress.

A number of preparatory materials are extant, including a list of documents used in the process of work. This list, drawn up by Engels, shows that the authors had at their disposal French translations of a few Russian editions sent in by Utin. That is why a number of Bakunin's documents are quoted according to their French translation.

The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association was published as a pamphlet in French in late August-early September 1873; in the summer of 1874 it came out in Brunswick in German (in S. Kokosky's translation) under the title "Ein Complot gegen die Internationale Arbeiter-Association" (A Conspiracy Against the International Working Men's Association). Engels took a direct part in the editing of the German translation. In October 1873-January 1874, the Introduction and the first four chapters of this work were published in the New York Arbeiter-Zeitung. The work was published in English for the first time in The Hague Congress of the First International, September 2-7, 1872. Minutes and Documents, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.

A reference to the commission which was to prepare the minutes and resolutions of the Hague Congress of the International for publication. It was elected at the Congress sitting on September 7, 1872, and consisted of Karl
Marx, Frederick Engels, Eugène Dupont, Leo Frankel, Benjamin Le Moussu and Auguste Serraillier (see Note 197). p. 457

324 A reference to the second congress of the bourgeois pacifist League of Peace and Freedom held in Berne in September 1868. The congress rejected a resolution moved by Bakunin on September 23 and supported by an insignificant minority, after which Bakunin and his followers withdrew from the League (see Note 38). p. 458

325 A reference to the confidential circular of the Bureau of the Permanent Committee of the League of Peace and Freedom, written by Bakunin in August 1868 and signed by Gustav Vogt, President of the Bureau. Marx and Engels had a copy of the circular sent to Mikhail Elpidin. This copy with notes by Bakunin and Utin is inscribed “No. 1” in Engels’ hand. p. 460

326 The decision of the Brussels Congress (September 6-13, 1867) to reject the offer from the League of Peace and Freedom to merge with the International Working Men's Association derived from the position of the General Council towards the League worked out by Marx as early as August 1867 (see present edition, Vol. 20, p. 204). p. 461

327 Gustav Vogt's letter to Bakunin and a fragment from Bakunin's reply (below) are quoted according to the report on the Alliance written by Nikolai Utin for the Hague Congress on the instructions of the London Conference (see Note 322). Utin's report was published in English for the first time in The Hague Congress of the First International, September 2-7, 1872. Minutes and Documents, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976. p. 461

328 On the Lyons events of September 1870 and Bakunin's role in them see Note 71. p. 467

329 The Basle Congress of the International (September 6-11, 1869) became the scene of the first clash between the adherents of Marx's scientific socialism and the followers of Bakunin's anarchism over the abolition of the right of inheritance. With the discussion on this point Bakunin sought to distract the workers from solving urgent problems of the programme and tactics. Preparing for the Congress, Marx drew up a report of the General Council on the right of inheritance (see present edition, Vol. 21). It was read at the Congress by Johann Eccarius. The report branded as erroneous the attempts, originally made by the followers of Saint-Simon, to regard the right of inheritance not as a juridical consequence but as a cause of the existing economic organisation of society. The Congress took no decision on this point, since not a single proposal gained the necessary absolute majority of votes. However, Bakunin's well-prepared attempt to impose his ideas on the International failed. p. 472

330 This refers to the struggle between the Lassalleans and the Eisenachers in Germany which intensified after the Basle Congress of the International. The Bakuninist press organs used this to accuse the General Council of allegedly holding aloof from settling the conflict. In October 1869, in a series of anonymous articles in Der Social-Demokrat, Johann Baptist Schweitzer, a Lassallean leader, heaped libels upon the leaders of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party (Eisenachers), in particular, upon Wilhelm Liebknecht. He alleged that they had rejected the socialist programme and the resolutions of the Basle Congress on the social property in land, for the benefit of the petty-bourgeois People's Party which opposed these decisions. Leonhard
Bonhorst, member of the Brunswick Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party, used the columns of *Der Volksstaat* to refute Schweitzer (Nos. 8 and 9, October 27 and 30, 1869). The position of the General Council of the International in the conflict between the Eisenachers and the Lassalleans, Liebknecht and Schweitzer, was explained by Marx in the circular letter "The General Council to the Federal Council of Romance Switzerland" (see present edition, Vol. 21, pp. 90-91).

The declaration of Duplaix, Weyhermann, Perret and Utin, Geneva delegates, to the congress of the Federation in La Chaux-de-Fonds, is quoted according to the report on the Alliance written by Utin for the Hague Congress on the instructions of the London Conference.

See Note 69.

On the Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Socialist Action see Note 75.

The resolution of the Basle Congress of 1869 on the order of admittance of new sections to the International Working Men's Association empowered the General Council to admit or refuse to admit new sections. Where federal councils existed, their opinion had to be taken into account when this question arose.

In early April 1871, trying to prevent the execution of captured Communards by the Versailles counter-revolutionaries, the Paris Commune proclaimed persons guilty of dealings with Versailles to be hostages. On May 23 and 24, 1871, in reply to the atrocities committed by the Versailles troops after they had entered Paris, several hostages were shot by the Communards.

On Jules Favre's circular and Sacase's report see Note 82.

In October 1871, the Chamber of Deputies of the Spanish Cortes debated the intention of the bourgeois government legislatively to dissolve the Spanish organisations of the International. Right-wing deputies taking part in the discussion used the Alliance documents and police-forged material to calumniate the International. Although the Republican representatives (Castelar, Garrido and others) resisted and proved that the proposed measures contradicted the Constitution, the government was given support. In January 1872, Sagasta, Minister of the Interior, published a circular which ordered a dissolution of the International in Spain (see Note 179).

On the *Toulouse trial* of members of the International see Note 307. The reference is to the report on a court session of March 17, published in *La Réforme*, No. 669, March 18, 1873.

A reference to the letter from the Alliance member Charles Alerini to André Bastelica of November 14, 1871, sent by the Barcelona Section to all the sections of the International in Spain (see below, pp. 488-89). The Pope here means Bakunin. A copy of the letter was presented by Engels to the Hague Congress among other documents on the Alliance.

The draft General Rules of the International drawn up in the anarchist spirit by representatives of the Belgian Federal Council (see Note 88), were discussed at the regular congress of the Belgian Federation on May 19 and 20, 1872, and at its extraordinary congress on July 14 of the same year in Brussels. At both congresses part of the delegates opposed the abolition of the General Council proposed in the draft. The extraordinary congress decided by a majority vote to retain the General Council, but with very limited powers. The draft Rules, adopted with this amendment, reflected on the whole the growing influence of
anarchism within the Belgian Federation. In accordance with the draft, the Belgian delegates to the Hague Congress supported the Bakuninists and sided with them against the revolutionary proletarian wing of the International.

339 The meeting of the International’s sections held in Geneva on December 2, 1871, adopted a resolution censuring the decisions of the anarchist congress at Sonvillier. On December 20, 1871, the Federal Committee of Romance Switzerland adopted a special address, “Réponse du Comité fédéral romand à la circulaire des 16 signataires, membres du Congrès de Sonvilliers”, which was published in *L’Égalité*, No. 24 of December 24, 1871. The editors of *L’Égalité* also published their own protest.

340 See Note 43.

341 See Note 87.

342 This is a quotation from the letter written on August 2, 1872 by Józef Tokarzewicz, member of the Polish Section of the International in Zurich, to Walery Wróblewski, the General Council’s Corresponding Secretary for Poland. The translation of the letter into French made by Engels is extant.

The *Programme of the Socialist-Revolutionary Polish Society in Zurich* was written by Bakunin and published on July 27, 1872 in the supplement to the *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*, No. 13. The Polish Social-Democratic Association, which appeared under the influence of the anarchist elements, first adopted this programme but later rejected it on the initiative of Tokarzewicz.

The newspaper *Wolnoś* (Freedom) was not published.

343 See Note 188.

344 See Note 14.

345 This statement addressed to the delegates of the international Congress at The Hague and containing facts which revealed the existence of the secret Alliance in Spain, José Mesa sent to Engels who handed it over to the commission of inquiry into the Alliance activities. The statement was published in English for the first time in *The Hague Congress of the First International, September 2-7, 1872. Minutes and Documents*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.

346 A reference to the handwritten confidential circular of the Valencia section (“Seccion internacional de Valencia. Circular”) to the Spanish sections of the International, which proposed a fight for total decentralisation and an “anarchist commune” in the event of a revolution.

347 The circular of the Seville section of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy, written by Nicola Marselau, was sent to the Madrid Section of the International on October 25, 1871. It formulated decisions adopted by the section in view of the government repressions.

348 A reference to the open letter of *La Emancipacion*’s editors “A los representantes del Partido Republicano Federal reunidos en Madrid”. The letter was dated February 25, 1872, and published in *La Emancipacion*, No. 38 of March 3, 1872. The anarchist members of the Council of the Madrid Federation of the International demanded that the editors should withdraw the letter, but Mesa, who was *La Emancipacion*’s editor and also acting Secretary of the Spanish Federal Council, flatly refused to comply with this demand. On March 9, 1872, after consultation with other members of the Council, he sent the Republicans a similar letter in the name of the Federal Council.
On March 7, 1872, the anarchist Council of the Madrid Federation addressed a letter to the meeting of representatives of the Republican Federalist Party, in which it dissociated itself from the letter of La Emancipacion's editors (see Note 348) and stated that it contradicted the principles of the International. The Madrid Council's letter was published in the radical Republican newspaper La Igualdad, No. 1059, March 9, 1872, and in La Emancipacion, No. 40, March 16, 1872.

See Note 99.

See Note 184.

The government of Napoleon III held a plebiscite on May 8, 1870 (see Note 165).

See Note 221.

The Unión de las tres clases de vapor (Union of the Three Categories of Factory Workers) was one of the first trades unions in Catalonia and amalgamated weavers, spinners and day-labourers employed at textile mills. The Union was a collective member of the International.

This letter was addressed to Engels and described the state of affairs in the Naples Section of the International (see La Corrispondenza di Marx e Engels con italiani. 1848-1895, Milan, 1964). It is also quoted in the text below.

Quoted from Stefano Caporusso's letter to George Odger, dated January 21, 1872.

The Milan section of the International was formed by Theodor Cuno who acted on Engels' advice. In December 1871, under Cuno's influence, some members of the local Mazzinian Society of Moral and Mutual Assistance and Education of the Workers withdrew from this organisation and formed an Emancipation of the Proletarian Society which declared itself a section of the International on January 7, 1872. On January 30, 1872, Engels reported to the General Council on the formation of the Milan Section stating that its Rules conformed to the International's principles; thereupon the section was admitted to the Association. Under Engels' guidance, Cuno persistently opposed the anarchist members of the section, and as a result, prior to and at the Hague Congress, the section did not support the anarchists in their struggle against the General Council.

See Note 83.

Here and above the quotations are from Carlo Terzaghi's letter to Engels of October 10, 1871. Terzaghi's messages to the General Council of December 4, 1871 and March 10, 1872 were also written in the form of letters to Engels.

On Engels' proposal, Vitale Regis, member of the General Council and former Communard, was sent to Italy in February 1872 to establish contacts between the Italian sections and the Council and counteract the Bakuninist influence. In the latter half of February, Regis spent ten days in Milan and Turin where he studied the situation in the local sections and popularised the decisions of the International Working Men's Association. Drawing on Engels' instructions, Regis
explained to the members of the Milan and Turin sections the radical difference between the anarchist views and the principles and tasks of the International. Regis' report on his trip to Italy was written in the form of the letter to Engels of March 1, 1872.

361 On the Conference of Rimini see Note 161. Its resolution against the decisions of the London Conference and the General Council is given below (see pp. 502-03).

362 Jules Guesde's letter to the members of the Montpellier section of the International was addressed to Gironis, one of the section's leaders. On November 20, 1872, Gironis sent this letter to the General Council.

363 The original has "Ruraux"—a contemptuous nickname for members of the Versailles National Assembly of 1871, which consisted mainly of monarchist conservatives: provincial landlords, officials, rentiers and tradesmen elected in rural electoral districts.

364 A reference to a letter addressed by André Calas and other leaders of the Montpellier section on August 18, 1872 to the General Council of the International c/o Louis Monnèsau. Engels refers to it in his article "The International and the Neuer" (see this volume, p. 443).

365 A reference to the slaughter of Communards in the last week of May 1871 by the Versailles troops after their invasion of Paris.

366 This letter was written by J. Martin to Auguste Serraillier.

367 On September 15, 1872, a short extraordinary congress of the Jura Federation was held in Saint-Imier, where a secessionist congress of the anarchists (see Note 221) opened on the same day. All delegates of the extraordinary congress also took part in the secessionist congress. For that reason, the New York General Council resolved on January 5, 1873 to suspend the Jura Federation from the International Working Men's Association until the next congress. Marx and Engels regarded this resolution as rather inconsistent in the struggle against anarchist disorganisers, since the Jura Federation actually placed itself outside the International by its refusal to comply with the resolutions of the Hague Congress (see F. Engels, "Notes for the General Council", this volume, p. 415). Acting on advice from London, the New York General Council adopted new, more radical resolutions of January 26 and May 30, 1873, against the dissidents.

368 See Note 237.

369 See Note 298.

370 Nikolai Chernyshevsky was arrested on July 7, 1862. Until 1864 he was kept in the Peter and Paul Fortress in St. Petersburg and then sentenced to deportation for life to Siberia with seven years' hard labour.

371 Frères ignorantins—the name of a religious order founded in Reims in 1680; its members undertook to dedicate their lives to teaching the children of the poor; in the schools organised by this order the pupils received mainly religious instruction and acquired but meagre knowledge of other subjects.

372 An excerpt from this letter was quoted in Nikolai Utin's report to the Hague Congress of the International. Utin did not name the author but noted that his devotion to the people's cause must have been known to Bakunin, to whom the letter was communicated.
The Revolutionary Catechism—a document which was written in Geneva in the summer of 1869, enciphered and printed in several copies. A copy was discovered in 1869, during the search of the apartment of P. G. Uspensky, a member of the Nechayev organisation. The text was deciphered by the police and reproduced in Pravitelstvenny Vestnik (The Government Bulletin), No. 162, July 9 (21), 1871. Marx and Engels had this issue at their disposal. The French translation of this document is extant; it was made by Utin and enclosed with his report to the Hague Congress of the International under the title “'The Catechism' written by Bakunin in Russian”. It was this translation that was used here and in more detail below, in section 2 of this chapter. Some researchers attribute the authorship of the document to Bakunin, others to Nechayev (in the latter case, probably written with Bakunin’s help or drawing on his works and ideas). Utin was convinced that it had been written by Bakunin. p. 527

Originally Nikolai Ogarev dedicated his poem The Student to his and Herzen’s friend S. I. Astrakov, who died in 1866. When Bakunin received the manuscript, he wrote back to Ogarev that it would be “more useful for the cause” if the poem were dedicated to Nechayev. With this dedication, the poem was published as a leaflet (Geneva, 1869), and Nechayev used it as a sort of credentials from Ogarev. p. 529

The proclamation Благородное российское дворянство! (Appeal to Russian Nobility) was published anonymously in Geneva in 1870. Its authors were Sergei Nechayev and Nikolai Ogarev. The French translation of the excerpts from this proclamation is extant; it was made by Utin and enclosed with his report to the Hague Congress of the International. This translation was used by Marx and Engels. Utin thought that Bakunin had participated in writing the proclamation. It was probably based on the appeal Русское дворянство (The Russian Nobility), drawn up by Bakunin in 1869. p. 535

Bakunin’s letter (given here in a free rendering) to Charles Louis Chassin, editor of La Démocratie, was written in April 1868 for the sample off-prints published from March 1868. The proposed newspaper contributors were to expound their views in them. Bakunin’s letter was published in late April 1868 in several off-prints and then reprinted in a number of other newspapers, in particular, in the Berlin Die Zukunft, No. 230, June 19, 1868 (under the title “Zum Programm der Demokratie”). Engels had this German reprint at his disposal. p. 540

The reference is to the money which was handed over to Alexander Herzen in 1858 by the Russian landlord Pavel Bakhmeteyev for revolutionary propaganda (the so-called Bakhmeteyev Fund). In May 1869, under pressure from Bakunin and Ogarev, Herzen agreed to divide the fund into two parts, one of which Ogarev gave to Nechayev. In March 1870, after Herzen’s death, Nechayev received the second half from Ogarev, too. p. 540

See Note 136. p. 543

James Guillaume spoke at the sitting of the Hague Congress on September 6, 1872, when the inclusion of Resolution IX of the London Conference “On the Political Action of the Working Class” into the General Rules of the International was discussed. In opposition to it, Guillaume advocated the Bakuninist principles of abstention from politics and of the abolition of state and declared that an erroneous, from his point of view, authoritarian idea of
replacing bourgeois power with workers' power, had been moved as early as in
the *Communist Manifesto*. (Guillaumé's speech was summarised in the Belgian
*La Liberté*, No. 31, September 15, 1872, in the report "Le Congrès de la
Haye".)

380 The *Escobars*—followers of the Spanish Jesuit Escobar y Mendoza (1589-1669)
who preached that pious intentions justify actions condemned by ethics and
laws (the end justifies the means).

381 On December 14 (26), 1825, members of secret societies of Russian
revolutionary nobles opposed to the autocracy and the feudal-serf system
headed the insurrection of the St. Petersburg garrison units. They are known
in history as the *Decembrists*. The Decembrists sought to prevent the oath of
allegiance being taken to the new Emperor, Nicholas I, and to secure the
introduction of civic liberties and the convocation of a Constituent Assembly to
decide the question of a Constitution. The insurrection was suppressed by Tsarist
troops. The same fate befell an uprising in the Ukraine in late December 1825.
The Decembrists were subjected to severe reprisals. Five of their leaders
were hanged and 121 men sentenced to hard labour and exile in
Siberia.

382 A reference to members of the secret revolutionary society organised in
Moscow in September 1863 by Nikolai Ishutin. Originally, it was a circle
affiliated with the underground revolutionary-democratic organisation Zemlya i
Volya (Land and Freedom) (1862-64), but when the latter ceased to exist it
acted on its own. The society had contacts with underground circles in St.
Petersburg and a number of provincial towns, and kept in touch with Polish
revolutionaries. The society's aim was to work for a peasants' revolution which, in
the opinion of its members, would lead to the establishment of socialism. The idea
of seizing power by a revolutionary organisation with the purpose of handing
the government of the state over to the people, was very popular among them.
Individual terror was proposed as one of the means of struggle. Dmitry
Karazkov was a member of the society; after his abortive attempt on the life of
Alexander II in April 1866, the organisation was partly discovered by the police
and some of its leaders were subjected to repression.

383 A reference to the Jesuit theocratic state which was formed in 1610 in South
America, mainly on the territory of what is now Paraguay, and existed until
1768. The domination of the Jesuit Order assumed a form of cruel colonial
exploitation of the local Indians who were driven by Jesuit missionaries by
force or deceit to special settlements.

384 *Hegira*—the flight of Muhammad, founder of Islam, and his followers from
Mecca to Medina to escape persecution which took place in September 622.
This year is regarded as the beginning of the Muslim era.

385 This refers to a group of young people, mainly intellectuals, who rallied round
Mikhail Butashevich-Petrashevsky in St. Petersburg in 1844. From 1845 their
meetings became regular ("Petrashevsky's Fridays"). They held democratic
views and condemned the autocracy and serfdom. The most radical among
them regarded a popular revolution as the main means for changing the
existing order. The young people vigorously championed utopian socialism,
and discussed social and political problems as well as—particularly under the
influence of the 1848 revolution in Europe—plans for setting up an active
revolutionary organisation. However, the members of the Petrashevsky circle
failed to put their plans into effect: in April 1849 they were arrested and
subjected to repression. The court martial sentenced 21 of them to be shot, but at the last moment the death sentence was commuted to exile and hard labour. Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin and some other prominent figures in the Russian culture were members of the Petrashevsky circle.

Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin and some other prominent figures in the Russian culture were members of the Petrashevsky circle.

586 M. S. Neklyudov, an official serving under the Governor-General of Eastern Siberia in Irkutsk, N. N. Muravyov-Amursky, was systematically baited by the latter's entourage, particularly by F. A. Beklemishev. On April 16, 1859, a duel between Neklyudov and Beklemishev took place with the connivance of the administration; Neklyudov was killed. This caused a protest on the part of broad democratic circles in Irkutsk. Butashevich-Petrashevsky made a denunciatory speech at Neklyudov's graveside. Neklyudov's funeral turned into a huge demonstration. The *Kolokol* reported the details of the duel in the supplement "ПОДЪ СУДЪ!" (Put Them on Trial!). Muravyov's hangers-on protested against these accusations and sent, through Bakunin, their refutations to Herzen, editor of the *Kolokol*. Bakunin's letter, mentioned here, was published by Herzen unsigned and with editorial notes on July 1 and 15, 1860.

587 The Manifesto on the abolition of serfdom was signed by Alexander II on February 19 (March 3), 1861, and made public on March 6 (18) of the same year. It marked the beginning of the peasant reform introduced by the ruling classes in the conditions of the profound crisis of the serf system and the growing threat of a popular revolution. The peasants were granted personal freedom but deprived of a considerable part of the land toiled by them. They were to buy back the plots they still kept. The terms of redemption made the peasants debtors to the state, which paid a lump redemption sum to the landowners and then exacted heavy payments from the peasants for several decades, making the village commune collectively responsible for the timely payment.

Progressive, revolutionary-democratic circles in Russia severely criticised the anti-popular reform. Before long even those Russian democrats (e.g. Alexander Herzen) who initially cherished liberal illusions about the emancipatory intentions of the Tsarist government towards the peasants were disappointed in the Manifesto.

588 The manifesto *Молодая Россия* (Young Russia) was written by Pyotr Zaichnevsky, a member of a revolutionary student circle which lithographed and distributed illegal literature. It was published in mid-May 1862 on behalf of the so-called Central Revolutionary Committee. The manifesto expressed the views of the most radical Russian revolutionaries and was widely circulated in Moscow, St. Petersburg and the provinces.

The following words from Herzen's *My Past and Thoughts*, Part Six, "England (1852-1854)", Chapter IX, "Robert Owen", served as the epigraph: "Do you understand now on whom the future of individuals and nations depends?... On you and me, for example. How can we be idle after that?"

589 A reference to the disagreements between Herzen, on the one hand, and Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov, on the other, caused by Herzen's liberal attitudes in appraising the emancipation of the serfs, then in preparation by the Tsarist government. For some time Herzen hoped that the educated and sober-minded section of the nobility would succeed in persuading the Tsar to
resolve the peasant question radically and peacefully. He regarded the revolutionary tactics of the radicals in the democratic movement as extremist and dangerous, and therefore likely to play into the hands of the reactionary serf-owners. It was in this spirit that he argued against Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov (the article "Very Dangerous!!!", Kolokol, June 1, 1859, and others). The revolutionary democrats, for their part, vigorously attacked Herzen's vacillations in Sovremennik and in letters to Kolokol. In the 1860s Herzen broke with liberalism and joined the revolutionary democrats in their active struggle for the consolidation of the Russian revolutionary forces.

Among the documents submitted by Marx and Engels to the special commission of the Hague Congress elected to investigate the activities of the secret Alliance, was a letter written by Nechayev in February 1870 on Bakunin's instructions and addressed, on behalf of the non-existent Russian revolutionary organisation, to Lyubavin who was preparing the publication of the first volume of Capital in Russia. Lyubavin was threatened with violence unless he released Bakunin from his obligations concerning the translation of Volume I of Capital into Russian. Lyubavin sent the letter to Marx c/o Danielson in August 1872.

The series of articles The Bakuninists at Work 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 (see Note 292). 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.

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.

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 (see Note 157) 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.

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394 A reference to the liberalconstitutional monarchists who supported the protégé of the European powers on the Spanish throne, King Amadeo of Savoy.  

p. 583

395 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.  

p. 583

396 See Note 294.  

p. 583

397 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.

398 See Note 87.

399 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, this volume, p. 510).

400 See Note 221.

401 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, present edition, Vol. 10, pp. 397-482, 147-239.

402 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 (see this volume, pp. 511-12).

403 These manuscripts show that Engels intended to write a treatise on German history. He gave his attention to the subject on repeated occasions, particularly in 1873-74. He wrote to Wilhelm Liebknecht on January 27, 1874: “I wanted to write something on Germany for the Volksstaat, but to do so immersed myself into economic and statistical research so deeply that the result will probably be a booklet, if not a whole book.” Engels' plan, however, remained unfulfilled. Apart from the preparatory materials, two draft manuscripts are extant. The first one is divided into two sections. The “Introduction. 1500-1789”, outlines the opening part of the planned work, in which Engels intended to trace German history up to the French Revolution. The second section of this manuscript, “1789-1815”, is a plan for the study of German history of that period. The second manuscript, entitled “Varia on Germany. 1789-1873”, deals mainly with the 19th century up to contemporary developments. Unlike the first one, this manuscript consists of separate notes unconnected chronologically and touching upon individual aspects of the historical development of Germany both in the period indicated by the title, and in earlier times.

Excerpts from Varia on Germany were published in English in V.O.K.S.-Bulletin, Nos. 11 and 12, Moscow-Riga, 1945, and in F. Engels, The Peasant War in Germany, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1956.

The Hansa. The Hanseatic League—a commercial and political alliance of medieval German towns along the southern coasts of the North and Baltic seas, and the rivers running into them; its aim was to establish a trade monopoly in Northern Europe. The Hanseatic League reached its prime in the latter half of the 14th century, and began to decay at the end of the 15th century.

\[1/25-1006\]
The Rhenish League of Cities and the Swabian League of Cities of Western and Southern Germany were formed in the 1370s for the protection of the trade routes and for the defence of the cities against feudal lords. The two leagues merged in 1381. At the end of the 14th century these unstable associations dissolved. p. 599

The Wars of the Roses (1455-85)—wars between the royal houses of York and Lancaster fighting for the throne, the white rose being the badge of York, and the red rose that of Lancaster. The Yorkists were supported by some of the big feudal landowners from the south-eastern, more economically developed part of the country and also by the knights and townspeople, while the Lancastrians were backed by the feudal aristocracy of the backward North and of Wales. The wars almost completely wiped out the ancient feudal nobility and brought Henry VII to power to form a new dynasty, that of the Tudors, who set up an absolute monarchy in England. p. 599

Applying the term "Kulturkampf" to the struggle between the German emperors and the popes in the Middle Ages, Engels hints at the Bismarck government's conflict with the Pope and the Catholic circles in 1872-79, which was known by that name. On the pretext of secularising national culture the Bismarck government introduced anti-Catholic reforms directed against the opposition Centre party which expressed the separatist, anti-Prussian views of the landowners, the bourgeoisie and part of the peasantry in the Catholic regions of Germany (above all South-West Germany). One of the aims of the Kulturkampf was to intensify national oppression in the Polish lands under Prussian rule. In order to consolidate the forces of reaction against the growing workers' movement, Bismarck repealed most of the reforms in the late 1870s and early 1880s. p. 600

A reference to Franche-Comté and French Lorraine which were initially part of the German Empire but then passed to France. p. 600

A reference to the support lent by the Council of Ulm to the Swabian rulers in their punitive expeditions against the rebellious peasants during the 1524-25 Peasant War in Germany. p. 600

Little Germany—a plan for the unification of Germany from above under Prussia's aegis and excluding Austria; supported by the majority of the German bourgeoisie. p. 601

The Thirty Years War (1618-48)—a European war, in which the Pope, the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs, and the Catholic German princes rallied around the banner of Catholicism and fought the Protestant countries: Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, the Republic of the Netherlands, and a number of Protestant German states. The rulers of Catholic France—rivals of the Habsburgs—supported the Protestant camp. Germany was the main battle scene and object of plunder and territorial claims. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) sealed the political dismemberment of Germany. p. 601

The reference is to the participation of Irish emigrants in the Thirty Years War as mercenaries of the Imperial army and to the use of German mercenaries by the English for police service in Ireland and the suppression of the Irish national liberation movement. p. 601

Engels has in mind the claims of German chauvinists to Alsace and Lorraine on the pretext that by "historical" right these provinces belonged to the German
Empire in the Middle Ages. Marx and Engels repeatedly stressed that the historical destinies of Alsace, which had passed to France during the Thirty Years War, and of Lorraine, finally annexed by the French in 1766, had been indissolubly linked with France since the time of the French Revolution. They sharply criticised the Bismarck government for the annexation of these provinces in 1871. p. 601

A reference to the American War of Independence (1776-83) and the wars France waged against the counter-revolutionary coalitions of European states for a number of years since the French Revolution. p. 602

Engels refers to several German princes (dukes Leopold of Dassau, Ernst Friedrich of Coburg and others) who patronised the 18th-century German agronomist Johann Christian Schubart and applied his agricultural methods on their estates. p. 602

A confederation of the states of Western and Southern Germany founded in 1806 under the protection of Napoleon I. These states officially broke with the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, which soon ceased to exist. The confederation fell apart after Napoleon I lost the military campaign of 1813. p. 602

This refers to the estates of the German imperial princes (mainly ecclesiastical) in Alsace and Lorraine. After the two provinces were annexed by France, the princes became vassals of both the French king and the German emperor. The secularisation of Church property by the French Revolution, extended to Alsace and Lorraine, served as a pretext for a declaration of war on the French Republic by the coalition of European powers (Austria, Prussia, etc.) in 1792. p. 603

On September 20, 1792, at Valmy (North-Eastern France), the French revolutionary forces halted the Austro-Prussian interventionists commanded by the Duke of Brunswick. The interventionists were compelled to retreat and on October 5 were thrown back over the French border. p. 603

In the battle of Jemappes (Belgium) on November 6, 1792, the French revolutionary army won a major victory over the Austrians. At Fleurus (Belgium) on June 26, 1794, the French revolutionary army routed the Austrian army. p. 603

The Peace of Amiens was concluded by Napoleonic France and Britain on March 27, 1802. It marked the end of the war between France and the second European coalition (formed in late 1798-early 1799). The Peace of Amiens was but a short respite in the Anglo-French struggle for world domination. In May 1803 the war between Britain and France recommenced.

Napoleon I took advantage of his victory over Austria (a member of the coalition) and the Lunéville peace treaty of February 9, 1801, which gave France the left bank of the Rhine, to establish his hegemony in Germany. Under his pressure a special Imperial deputation at the Imperial Diet of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation in Regensburg adopted, in February 1803, a decree which secularised the Church estates, reduced the number of free cities and annexed the small secular principalities to the large ones (the so-called mediatisation). In all, 112 small states were abolished in Germany, their territory being turned over to Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg and Nassau (they later constituted the Confederation of the Rhine), which were to form, under Napoleon I’s plan, a counterbalance to Austria and Prussia. The implementation of the Imperial deputation’s resolutions undermined the foundations of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, which was
finally abolished in August 1806 after Austria had suffered a series of defeats in the war of the third European coalition against Napoleonic France.

420 The *Continental System*, or the *Continental Blockade*, proclaimed by Napoleon I after the crushing defeat of the Prussian army by the French in 1806, prohibited trade between the countries of the European Continent and Great Britain.

421 A reference to the so-called great mobilisation of the Prussian army in November 1850 during the Austro-Prussian conflict when the two powers attempted to intervene in an uprising in the Electorate of Hesse. This conflict was part of the struggle between Prussia and Austria for supremacy in Germany. Engels described the mobilisation, which revealed grave shortcomings in the Prussian army, in his work *The Role of Force in History* (see present edition, Vol. 26).

422 A reference to the Italian war of 1859 see Note 264.

423 In 1852-56, Georg Weerth made several trips to the West Indies and Latin America as representative of a trading firm. Engels possibly alludes to what Weerth told his friends.

424 The *Prussian Rules concerning servants* (Gesinde-Ordnung für sammtliche Provinzen der Preußischen Monarchie) were issued on November 8, 1810; they defined the legal status of landowners' servants who had been freed by an edict of 1807. The Rules preserved many features of feudal dependence in the relations between servants and masters.

425 This refers to the wars fought by the French Catholics and the Calvinists (Huguenots), with short intervals, between 1562 and 1598. The religious struggle reflected the deep social and political contradictions in France—the growing discontent of the masses, the clashes between different groupings within the ruling class, the feudal aristocracy's opposition to the centralising policy of absolutism (assertion by the Huguenot nobility in the southern and western provinces of their medieval liberties, and later the struggle of the Catholic nobles against the King). The religious wars ended with the Edict of Nantes, signed by King Henry IV in 1598. It left Catholicism as the dominant religion, but Huguenots were allowed to hold services in their castles and in some towns and villages, and were granted certain civil rights. Clashes between Catholics and Huguenots continued, however, in later years. In 1685 the Edict of Nantes was repealed.

426 The *Old Catholics*—followers of a Christian trend which broke away from official Catholicism after the Vatican Council of 1869-70. They refused to recognise the supreme authority of the Pope as well as papal infallibility and certain other dogmas of the Catholic Church. Old Catholicism originated in Germany, and then spread to Austria, Switzerland, the Netherlands, the USA and other countries.

427 Under the Verdun treaty of 843, the Carolingian Empire was divided into three kingdoms. The lands west of the Rhine, Flanders included, formed part of the West Frankish Kingdom.
German girls who came to England in the 1820s-40s to sell brooms in the markets. p. 609

This article was published in English for the first time in K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Britain*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953. p. 611

On January 26, 1874, Gladstone, the leader of the Liberal Party, dissolved Parliament and called for new elections with a view to obtain a strong liberal majority in the House of Commons. As a result 350 Conservatives, 244 Liberals and 58 Irish MPs were elected to the House of Commons. On February 21 a Conservative government was formed with Disraeli at the head.

A Bill on the second electoral reform in England was passed on August 15, 1867. It extended the suffrage to house and flat tenants in the towns and considerably lowered the property qualification for rural voters. As a result, the number of voters increased from one to two million. The extension of electoral rights benefited the petty bourgeoisie and the top layer of the working class.

The Act on secret ballot was passed by Parliament on July 18, 1872. p. 611

The *Irish Church Bill* was moved by Gladstone and passed by Parliament on July 26, 1869. Like other Liberal measures, it was intended to weaken the Irish national movement by combining repression with certain concessions to some sections of Irish society. Under this Bill, the Church of England was separated from the state in Ireland and made equalised in status with the Catholic and Presbyterian churches. It remained, however, the biggest landowner, exploiting the labour of the Irish peasants.

The *Land Bill* was submitted by Gladstone under the pretext of aid to the Irish tenants and was passed on August 1, 1870. Its numerous reservations and qualifications virtually left intact the powers of the big English landlords in Ireland who retained the right to raise the rent and evict tenants. The Bill stipulated that in the latter case the landlords were to pay the tenants for soil improvement, and laid down a court procedure for determining the size of the compensation. The Bill considerably hastened the concentration of landed property in Ireland and the ruin of small Irish tenants. p. 612

A reference to the army reform act passed in 1871, which among other things banned the purchase of officers' commissions. This caused an obstruction in the House of Lords, but Gladstone secured the ban by the royal decree of July 20, 1871. p. 612

The *Home Rulers*—members of the Home Rule party, founded in the autumn of 1872. They expressed the interests of the progressive Irish bourgeoisie and demanded self-government for Ireland, i.e. the autonomous Irish parliament and national administrative bodies within the framework of the United Kingdom. From 1874 onwards they constituted a large opposition faction in the House of Commons of the English Parliament and gradually became a considerable political force. The Home Rulers intended to carry out their programme by peaceful parliamentary means but soon the more radical among them adopted the tactics of obstruction and made common cause with the revolutionary-democratic wing of the national movement in organising mass actions for agrarian reforms in Ireland. By the turn of the century the Home Rule party, now dominated by the Right Liberal advocates of a compromise
with the English government, had become an impediment to the national liberation struggle.

434 The reference is to the National Charter Association, the first mass working-class party, which was founded in 1840 and had about 50 thousand members in its heyday. The Left wing of the party strove to combine the struggle for its political programme—the People's Charter—with social demands. With the decline of the Chartist movement after 1848 the National Charter Association lost its mass character. However, it continued to play an important part in the attempts of the revolutionary elements (Ernest Jones and others), made in the first half of the 1850s, to reorganise Chartism on socialist lines.

435 The Labour Representation League was founded in November 1869. It included trades union leaders who sought to secure the election of worker candidates to the House of Commons largely through compromise with the Liberal Party. The League ceased to exist in about 1880.

436 See Note 176.

437 From the 1820s, the Repeal movement became widespread in Ireland. Its aim was to revoke the Anglo-Irish Union of 1801, which had eliminated all traces of Irish autonomy. In the early 1840s, the Repealers' Association was formed; the Liberals who headed it (Daniel O'Connell and others) regarded the agitation for the repeal of the Union only as a means to obtain individual concessions from the British government for the benefit of the propertied upper crust of Irish society. Following the defeat of the Irish national uprising of 1848 and the advance of reaction in England and Ireland, the Repealers' Association was dissolved.

438 This series of articles was written by Engels in connection with the Reichstag debates on a bill calling for an increase in the strength of the peacetime army. Known as the Septennate Law, it endorsed for the coming seven years the military budget and a 401.5-thousand-strong peacetime standing army. The law imposed the Prussian military system on the whole of Germany and reflected the growth of German militarism and aggressive aspirations of the German ruling circles concealed behind the fuss about "war danger" on the part of France.

439 The Men of Progress—members of the Party of Progress formed in June 1861. It demanded the unification of Germany under the aegis of Prussia, the convocation of an all-German parliament, and the formation of a liberal ministry responsible to the Chamber of Deputies. After the unification of Germany in 1871 the men of Progress, unlike the National Liberals, went into opposition, if only in words. Their fear of the working-class movement made them reconcile themselves to the rule of the Prussian Junkers in semi-absolutist Germany. Their vacillations in policy reflected the political instability of the sections they relied on—the commercial bourgeoisie, the small factory-owners and, in part, the artisans.

The National Liberals—a party of the German big bourgeoisie formed in the autumn of 1866 as a result of a split in the Party of Progress. The main goal of the National Liberals was to unite the German states under Prussia's supremacy. Their policy reflected the German liberal bourgeoisie's capitulation to Bismarck and increasingly took on traits of allegiance after the unification of Germany. They practically renounced their earlier liberal demands, including
those of the 1866 programme on the necessity "above all to defend the budgetary rights" of the representative bodies.

440 The Prussian army was reorganised in 1859-61.
   On the constitutional conflict in Prussia see Note 265.

441 Engels quotes from Manteuffel's speech in the Second Chamber of the Prussian Diet on December 3, 1850, concerning the Olmütz agreement with Austria under which Prussia had to temporarily renounce its claims to domination in Germany (see Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen der durch die Allerhöchste Verordnung vom 2. November 1850 einberufenen Kammern. Zweite Kammer, Vol. I, Berlin, 1851, p. 44).

442 On the Danish War see Note 266.
   On the Battle of Sadowa see Note 267.

443 The North German Imperial Diet, in session from February 24 to April 17, 1867, approved the formation of the North German Confederation (see Note 271) and adopted its Constitution.

444 This refers to the Imperial Diet, which first met on March 21, 1871 and endorsed the Constitution of the German Empire on April 14.

445 See Note 293.

446 The Venetian Quadrilateral was a strongly fortified position in North Italy formed by the fortresses of Verona, Legnago, Mantua and Peschiera. It played an important role as an operational base in the wars of the 19th century.

447 A reference to the meeting of the emperors William I and Francis Joseph in Salzburg in September 1871 and to that of the emperors William I, Francis Joseph and Alexander II in Berlin in September 1872 (see notes 58 and 181).


   The Landwehr, first raised in Prussia in 1813 as a people's militia to fight against Napoleon I's troops, embraced men of older age groups liable for call-up who had completed their service with the regular army and the reserve. In peacetime Landwehr units were only called up sporadically for training courses. In wartime the Landwehr of the first levy (men aged from 26 to 32) was used to replenish the army in the field; the Landwehr of the second levy (men from 32 to 39) was employed for garrison duty. Under the law of the North German Confederation of November 9, 1867 on universal conscription, the Landwehr of the second levy was dissolved, the Landwehr now being confined to a contingent of men aged from 27 to 32.

449 The Landsturm—a militia first set up in Prussia in 1813-14. It was formed of men aged 17 and older who served neither in the regular army nor in the navy.
and was only raised when there was a threat of foreign intervention. Under the law of 1814 the age of men liable for Landsturm service was limited to 50 years, under that of 1867—to 42 years.

p. 622

A reference to the abortive attempt by the Prussian government to call up the Landwehr reservists in the western provinces of Prussia for the suppression of the uprising in defence of the Imperial Constitution, which engulfed Western and Southern Germany in May 1849. The Landwehr reservists in Rhenish Prussia and Westphalia refused to obey orders on the grounds that under the laws of September 3, 1814 and November 21, 1815 the Landwehr could only be called up in the event of foreign aggression. Moreover, in a number of cases they sided, arms in hand, with the insurgent people.

p. 622

This refers to the army recruitment law of July 27, 1872 which introduced universal conscription in France (with a five-year term of service); however, its application allowed for a great number of exemptions.

p. 623

While preparing the third edition of his *Peasant War in Germany*, written in 1850 (see present edition, Vol. 10), Engels amplified the preface to the second edition, written in February 1870. The new version of the preface was published in the third edition of *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg*, Leipzig, 1875 (the book actually came out late in October 1874). This volume contains the second part of the preface, dated by Engels July 1, 1874. The first part, in accordance with the time when it was written, is to be found in Volume 21 of the present edition, pp. 93-100.

p. 626

Engels means the proclamation of the German Empire on January 18, 1871, at Versailles, which made King William I of Prussia the German Emperor.

Here Engels parodies the name of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (962-1806) thus stressing that the unification of Germany was effected under Prussian supremacy and was followed by the Prussification of the German provinces.

On the battle of Sadowa see Note 267.

On the battle of Sedan see Note 293.

p. 626

On Engels' use of the term “Haupt- und Staatsaktion” see Note 200.

p. 626

See Note 269.

p. 626

See Note 271.

p. 627

The South-West German states of Baden, Hesse, Bavaria and Württemberg joined the North German Confederation in the course of the Franco-Prussian war even before the official proclamation of the German Empire in January 1871. Their accession was formalised by special treaties, signed in November 1870. The federal state thus formed was officially called the German Union (Deutscher Bund), and from December 9, 1870, the German Empire (Deutsches Reich).

p. 627

See Note 253.

p. 627

A reference to the 1873 crisis, which put an end to the period of rapid industrial expansion in Germany, marked by an unprecedented development of business speculation, profiteering and stock-jobbing.

p. 629

In the battle of Spichern in Lorraine (also called the battle of Forbach) on
August 6, 1870, the Prussian troops defeated the French units. It was one of the first major engagements of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71.

In the battle of Mars-la-Tour (also known as the battle of Vionville) on August 16, 1870, the German troops succeeded in stopping and cutting off the retreat of the French Rhenish army from Metz. p. 629

461 Nine Social-Democrats were elected to the Imperial Diet on January 10, 1874, polling more than 350,000, or 6 per cent of the vote. Among the elected were August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, who were then serving prison terms. p. 630

462 These notes were presumably written by Marx in connection with the measures taken by the General Council of the International to organise aid for the refugees of the Paris Commune (see Note 50). p. 635

463 These notes and excerpts in English, German and French were written by Marx when he was studying the reports and letters of the leaders of the US sections of the International, as well as American newspaper reports on the split in the North American Federation. Marx intended to use this material for the further unmasking of the bourgeois reformists and other sectarians in the US sections of the International, who had responded to the General Council resolutions of March 5 and 15, 1872 on the split in the US Federation (see this volume, pp. 124-26) with fierce attacks on the leaders of the International. Marx's notes were also widely used by Engels for his work "The International in America" (see this volume, pp. 177-83).

In the languages of the original the notes were first published in The General Council of the First International. 1871-1872. Minutes, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968. p. 636

464 See Note 140. p. 637

465 These extracts were drawn up by Marx at the end of August 1872 shortly before the Hague Congress of the International. Earlier, when preparing for the London Conference of 1871, he and Engels made extracts from the Minutes of the General Council for the period from September 1869 to early September 1871 (see present edition, Vol. 22, pp. 554-64). Marginal lines and marks on both manuscripts show that Marx and Engels used these extracts in their work on the relevant documents of the International.

These extracts were published in English for the first time in The Hague Congress of the First International, September 2-7, 1872. Minutes and Documents, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976. p. 644
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Albors, A. (d. 1873)—Spanish Republican; the alcalde of Alcoy in 1873.—587, 588

Alerini, Charles (b. 1842)—French anarchist; Corsican by birth, teacher; member of the section of the International in Marseilles; took part in the Marseilles Commune (April 1871); emigrated to Italy, then to Spain; editor of La Solidarité Révolutionnaire (Barcelona); delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—245, 247-50, 291, 488, 495, 510, 586

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Ashworth, Edmund (1801-1881)—English manufacturer, Liberal.—351, 354

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Barry, Maltman (1842-1909)—English journalist, socialist; member of the International; member of the General Council (1872) and British Federal Council (1872-74); delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); supported Marx and Engels in the struggle against Bakunists and English reformists.—145, 159, 240, 244, 245, 250

Bassi, Ugo (1801-1849)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; shot by the Austrians.—44

Bastelica, André Augustin (1845-1884)—a leading figure in the French and Spanish working-class movement, Corsican by birth, printer; Bakuninst; member of the General Council of the International (1871), delegate to the London Conference of 1871.—92, 93, 97, 102, 474, 476, 488, 504-05
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Becker, Bernhard (1826-1891)—German journalist, follower of Lassalle, President of the General Association of German Workers (1864-65); subsequently supported the Eisenachers; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—243, 244, 250

Becker, Hermann Heinrich (1820-1885)—German lawyer and journalist, member of the Communist League from 1850; one of the accused at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); member of the Party of Progress in the 1860s; later National-Liberal.—75

Becker, Johann Philipp (1809-1886)—prominent figure in the international and German working-class movement, took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; organised sections of the International in Switzerland and Germany; delegate to the London Conference (1865) and all the congresses of the International; editor of Der Vorbote (1866-71); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—160, 243-50

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Bert, Cesare—Italian mechanic, an organiser of the Turin Section of the International; in 1871-72 supported the General Council; later joined the anarchists; delegate to the anarchist Congress in Geneva (1873).—500

Bertrand, Francis J.—cigar-maker; German by birth; member of the North American Federal Council of the
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Bervi, Vassily Vassilyevich (pseudonym Flerovsky, N.) (1829-1918)—Russian economist and sociologist; democrat; Narodnik utopian socialist; author of the book _The Condition of the Working Class in Russia_.—521

Beust, Friedrich Ferdinand, Count von (1809-1886)—Saxon and Austrian statesman, opposed the unification of Germany under the supremacy of Prussia; in 1849-66 held several ministerial posts in the Government of Saxony; Foreign Minister (1866-71) and Chancellor of Austria-Hungary (1867-71), Ambassador to London (1871-78) and to Paris (1878-82).—64, 83, 223, 225

Biedermann, Friedrich Karl (1812-1901)—German historian and journalist, Liberal; a National-Liberal in the 1860s; editor of the _Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung_ (1863-79).—287

Bignami, Enrico (1846-1921)—prominent figure in the Italian democratic and working-class movement, journalist; took part in Garibaldi’s campaigns; organiser of the Lodi Section of the International; editor of _La Plebe_ (1868-82); from 1871 regularly corresponded with Engels; opposed anarchism.—22, 271, 409, 415, 437, 447

Bismarck-Schönhausen, Otto, Prince von (1815-1898)—statesman of Prussia and Germany, diplomat; Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-72, 1873-90), Chancellor of the North German Confederation (1867-71) and of the German Empire (1871-90); carried through the unification of Germany by counter-revolutionary means.—62, 64, 65, 75, 83, 95, 116, 119, 161, 222, 225, 262, 352, 360, 364, 402-05, 411, 446, 477, 484, 617, 618, 620, 622, 624

Blanc, Gaspard Antoine (b. 1845)—French Bakuninist; took part in the Lyons uprising in 1870; after the suppression of the Paris Commune, sided with the Bonapartists.—92, 93, 96, 119-21, 300, 467, 474, 476, 505, 567

Blanc, Jean Joseph Charles Louis (1811-1882)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, historian; member of the Provisional Government and President of the Luxembourg Commission in 1848; pursued a policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie; a leader of petty-bourgeois refugees in London in the 1850s-60s; deputy to the National Assembly of 1871; opposed the Paris Commune.—524, 562

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Blind, Karl (1826-1907)—German journalist, petty-bourgeois democrat; a leader of the German petty-bourgeois refugees in London in the 1850s; National-Liberal from the 1860s.—162, 418

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Bové, Clément—Spanish anarchist, weaver; Chairman of the factory workers' trade union of Catalonia.—497

Bracke, Wilhelm (1842-1880)—German Social-Democrat; publisher of socialist literature in Brunswick; a founder and leader of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; deputy to the Reichstag (1877-79).—50

Branda, Charles (1833-1891)—English Radical, editor of the National Reformer; sharply attacked Marx and the International Working Men's Association.—62, 71-73

Bradnock, Frederick—member of the General Council of the International (1870-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871); following the Hague Congress (1872) joined the reformist wing of the British Federal Council.—19, 122, 145, 159, 306, 311, 312

Bray, John Francis (1809-1897)—English utopian socialist, follower of Robert Owen.—394

Brentano, Lujo (1844-1931)—German vulgar economist; a representative of Katheder-Socialism.—164, 190

Bright, John (1811-1889)—British manufacturer; one of the Free Trade leaders and founders of the Anti-Corn Law League; leader of the Left wing of the Liberal Party from the early 1860s; held several ministerial posts in Liberal cabinets.—144

Brismée, Désiré Jean François (1822-1888)—prominent figure in the Belgian democratic and working-class movement; printer; Proudhonian; a founder of the Belgian Section of the International (1865); member of the Belgian Federal Council from 1869; joined Bakuninists at the Hague Congress (1872), subsequently dissociated himself from the anarchists.—243, 245-50

Brix, Harald Frederik Valdemar (1841-1881)—Danish journalist; a founder of the sections of the International in Copenhagen; editor of the Socialisten; an organiser of the Danish Social-Democratic Party (1876).—224

Brousse, Paul Louis Marie (1854-1912)—French petty-bourgeois socialist: physician; participant in the Paris Commune; sided with the anarchists; in 1879 became a member of the French Workers' Party; a leader of the opportunist trend of the Possibilists.—399, 448, 507, 586

Bruce, Henry Austin, 1st Baron Aberdare (1815-1895)—British statesman, Liberal, Home Secretary (1868-73).—149, 612

Brunetti, Angelo (nicknamed Ceceruccchio) (1800-1849)—Italian revolutionary; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; shot by the Austrians.—44

Brutus, Lucius Junius (6th cent. B.C.)—according to legend, founder of the Roman Republic, Roman Consul (509 B.C.); condemned his own sons to death for conspiring against the Republic.—395
Bürgers, Heinrich (1820-1878)—German radical journalist; member of the Communist League; an editor of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; from 1850 member of the Communist League Central Authority; one of the accused at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); member of the Party of Progress in the 1860s-70s.—75

Burt, Thomas (1837-1922)—English trade-unionist, miner; Secretary of the Northumberland Miners’ Association; M.P. (1874-1918); supported the Liberal Party.—613, 615

Butt, Isaac (1813-1879)—Irish lawyer and politician, Liberal M.P. (1852-65, 1874-78); counsel for the defence at the trial of the Fenians (1860s); leader of the Irish Home Rule League in 1872-75.—616

Buttery, G. H.—member of the General Council of the International (1871-72).—19, 122, 145, 159

Buttner, Hugo—Swiss whitesmith; participant in the League of Peace and Freedom; member of the Bakuninist Alliance.—461

Cabet, Étienne (1788-1856)—French writer, utopian communist; author of *Voyage en Icarie*.—524

Cafiero, Carlo (1846-1899)—participant in the Italian working-class movement, member of the International; in 1871 corresponded with Engels, pursued the General Council’s line in Italy; one of the founders of the Italian anarchist organisations from 1872; abandoned anarchism at the end of the 1870s.—48, 262, 275, 280, 283, 497, 498, 503, 509

Cagliostro, Alessandro Count (Giuseppe Balsamo) (1743-1795)—Italian adventurer and hoaxer.—89

Cagnon (Cognon), Émile—French anarchist, engraver; lived in Switzerland; member of the Romance Federal Committee; in 1870 expelled from the International for embezzlement.—474

Calas, André (born c. 1825)—French upholsterer; Secretary of the section of the International in Montpellier; supported the policy of the General Council; in 1873 was sentenced to one-year imprisonment.—443, 507, 508

Calleja, Inocente—prominent figure in the Spanish working-class movement, jeweller; member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1871-72), the *Emancipacion* editorial board (1871-73) and the New Madrid Federation (1872-73); opposed the anarchists.—493

Camélinat, Zéphyrin Rémy (1840-1932)—prominent figure in the French working-class and socialist movement, bronze-worker; a leader of the Paris sections of the International; participant in the Paris Commune.—40, 101

Campos—see Martinez de Campos, Arsenio

Caporusso, Stefano (Étienne)—Italian anarchist, tailor; one of the founders of the Neapolitan Section of the International and its chairman; delegate to the Basle Congress (1869); in 1870 was expelled from the section for embezzlement.—497, 498

Carl, Conrad (d. 1890)—German refugee in the USA from 1854; tailor; member of the North American Federal Council of the International; elected to the General Council at the Hague Congress (1872); in 1873 editor of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*; after 1875 abandoned the working-class movement.—240, 253

Castelar y Ripoll, Emilio (1832-1899)—Spanish politician, historian and writer; leader of the Right-wing Republicans; in September 1873-January 1874 head of the government which
paved the way for the restoration of monarchy in Spain.—496

**Catherine II** (1729-1796)—Empress of Russia (1762-96).—567

**Cervera, Rafael** (1828-1908)—Spanish politician; Federal Republican; deputy to the Constituent Cortes (1873).—589

**Cetti**—member of the North American Federal Council of the International.—240

**Chalain, Louis Denis** (1845-1888)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, metal-turner; member of the Paris Commune; emigrated to England, where for some time he was a member of the French Section of 1871, which opposed the General Council; later joined the anarchists.—101

**Charles Augustus (Karl August)** (1757-1828)—duke of Saxe-Weimar (from 1758); grand duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach (from 1815).—602

**Chassin, Charles Louis** (1831-1901)—French journalist and historian, Republican; participant in the League of Peace and Freedom; founder and editor of the *Démocratie* (1868-70).—540

**Chautard, B.**—French police agent who found his way into workers’ organisations; member of the French Section of 1871 in London; was exposed and expelled from the section.—40, 98

**Chernyshevsky, Nikolai Gavrilovich** (1828-1889)—Russian revolutionary democrat and utopian socialist; materialist philosopher; writer and literary critic, one of the predecessors of Russian Social-Democracy.—516, 524, 526, 558, 559, 561-62

**Cherval, Julien** (real name Joseph Crömer)—police spy for Prussia and France; gained entry into the Communist League and led one of the Paris communities belonging to the sectarian Willich-Schapper group; accused of complicity in the so-called Franco-German plot in Paris in February 1852; escaped from prison with the connivance of the police.—160

**Chevalley, Henri**—Swiss anarchist, tailor.—92, 474, 475

**Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero)** (106-43 B.C.)—Roman orator, statesman and philosopher.—619

**Ciceroachio**—see Brunetti, Angelo

**Cincinnatus (Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus)** (c. 519-438 B.C.)—Roman patrician, Consul (460 B.C.), dictator (458 and 439 B.C.); according to legend, was an ordinary man and worked his own small farm.—621

**Claflin, Tennessee Celeste** (1845-1923)—American bourgeois feminist; sought to use the International’s organisation in the USA for her own ends; together with her sister, Victoria Woodhull, published *Woodhull & Claflin’s Weekly*.—178

**Claris, Aristide** (1843-1916)—French journalist, anarchist; took part in the Paris Commune; emigrated to Switzerland, where he joined the anarchist Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Socialist Action; editor of the *Révolution Sociale* (1871-72).—485

**Cochrane-Baillie, Alexander Dundas Ross Wishart** (1816-1890)—British politician and man of letters; Conservative M.P.—31, 33, 140-43, 145, 149-50, 645

**Coenen, Philip(pe)** (1842-1892)—a leading figure in the Belgian working-class movement, shoe-maker; Secretary of the editorial board of the Antwerp newspaper *De Werker*; delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868), London Conference (1871) and Hague Congress (1872) of the International; at the latter he joined the anarchist minority; subsequently one of the organisers of the Belgian
Socialist Party (1879).—243, 245-47, 249, 250

Cordova y Lopez, Francisco—Spanish journalist, Republican; from 1868 member of the Bakuninist Alliance in Madrid.—486

Costa, Andrea (1851-1910)—prominent figure in the Italian working-class and socialist movement; in the 1870s a leader of the anarchist organisations in Italy; in 1879 criticised anarchism; subsequently worked for the establishment of a political workers’ party.—503, 509

Courbet, Frédéric Étienne (1839-1885)—French revolutionary, Blanquist; member of the Paris Commune; emigrated to England; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); withdrew from the International in view of the decision by the Congress to transfer the General Council to New York.—19, 122, 145, 159, 213, 248-47, 250, 253, 441

Cremer, William Randal (1838-1908)—active participant in the British trade union and pacifist movement; a founder of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (1860); member of the London Trades Council, participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin’s Hall (September 28, 1864); member of the General Council of the International and its General Secretary (1864-66); in 1870-71 opposed the campaign in defence of the French Republic; subsequently Liberal M.P.—31, 615

Crescio, Prospero—Italian journalist; supporter of Garibaldi; joined the Bakuninists; editor of the newspaper Avvenire Sociale in Piacenza.—451, 453, 504

Cuno, Theodor Friedrich (pseudonym Capestro, Frederico) (1846-1934)—prominent figure in the German and the international working-class movement, engineer; actively opposed the anarchists in Italy; organiser of the Milan Section of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); after the Congress, emigrated to the USA and took part in the International’s activities there.—151-52, 244, 245, 246-47, 249-50, 415, 457, 499

Cyrille, Marie Antoine Victor—French anarchist, shop assistant; took part in the Paris Commune; refugee in Italy, Switzerland, Belgium; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); subsequently became a police agent.—245, 250, 253, 279

Dante, Alighieri (1265-1321)—Italian poet.—72, 143, 600

Darboy, Georges (1813-1871)—French theologian, archbishop of Paris from 1863; shot by the Commune as a hostage in May 1871.—143, 149

Dave, Victor (1847-1922)—member of the Belgian Federal Council of the International, journalist; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); sided with the anarchist minority.—244-50

David, Edouard—prominent figure in the French and American working-class movement; was elected to the General Council at the Hague Congress of the International (1872), but refused.—253, 266

Davis, Ira—American Radical.—641

Delahaye, Victor Alfred (1838-1897)—French mechanic, Proudhonist; member of the International from 1865, participant in the Paris Commune; emigrated to England; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871).—19, 122, 145
Dentraygues, Émile Jean Philippe (pseudonym Swarm) (b. 1836)—
French railway worker; member of the section of the International in Toulouse; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); betrayed his friends at the Toulouse Trial (1873).—243, 245, 247, 249, 250, 438-40, 442-44, 507

De Paepe, César Almé Désiré (1841-1890)—Belgian socialist, composer, subsequently physician; one of the founders of the Belgian sections of the International, delegate to the London conferences (1865 and 1871), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; following the Hague Congress (1872) supported the Bakuninists for some time; a founder of the Belgian Workers' Party.—135

Dereure, Louis Simon (1838-1900)—prominent figure in the French and the international working-class movement, shoe-maker; Blanquist, member of the Paris Commune, emigrated to the USA; delegate to the Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; member of the General Council (1872-74); from 1882, member of the French Workers' Party.—243-50, 253, 266

De Wolfers, Alfred Charles Daniel Edouard (b. 1841)—took part in the Paris Commune, refugee in London; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72).—145, 159

Dickens, Charles John Huffam (1812-1870)—English novelist.—196

Diderot, Denis (1713-1784)—French philosopher of the Enlightenment, atheist, leader of the Encyclopaedists.—608

Dietzgen, Joseph (1828-1888)—German Social-Democrat, leather-worker; self-taught philosopher who independ-ently arrived at dialectical materialism; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—246

Dilke, Charles Wentworth (1843-1911)—British politician and writer; a leader of the Radical wing of the Liberal Party, M.P.—52, 265

Dolgov, Nikolai Stepanovich (born c. 1844)—Russian revolutionary Narodnik; took part in student disturbances in 1869; member of the Nechayev organisation; in the 1870s was close to the Land and Freedom society.—531, 533

Dollfus, Jean (1800-1887)—Alsace manufacturer, bourgeois philanthropist; Mayor of Mulhouse.—329, 383

Douglass, Frederick (c. 1817-1895)—outstanding leader of the Abolitionist movement; participant in John Brown's raid in 1855 and in the American Civil War; active advocate of women's rights.—641

Ducpétiaux, Édouard (1804-1868)—Belgian journalist and statistician; bourgeois philanthropist; inspector of prisons and charity institutions.—338

Dufaure, Jules Armand Stanislas (1798-1881)—French lawyer and politician, Orleanist; in the 1840s held several ministerial posts; one of the organisers of the suppression of the Paris Commune; Minister of Justice (1871-73, 1875-76 and 1877-79); Prime Minister (1876, 1877-79).—83, 107, 122, 129, 223-24, 439

Dumont—see Faillet, Eugène Louis

Dupont, Eugène (c. 1837-1881)—prominent figure in the international working-class movement; musical instrument maker; took part in the June 1848 uprising in Paris; from 1862 on lived in London; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872), Corresponding Secretary for France (1865-71); participant in the majority of congresses and conferences of the International; associate of Marx; be-
came a member of the British Federal Council of the International in 1872; moved to the USA in 1874.—19, 32, 122, 132, 145, 159, 240, 243-46, 249-50, 253, 265, 273, 283, 314, 556

**Dupont, Jean Martial Aminthe** (b. 1841)—French revolutionary; sided with the Blanquists; bank clerk; member of the Paris Commune.—142

**Durand, Gustave**—member of the section of the International in Lyons; police agent; after the suppression of the Paris Commune, went to London, where he passed himself off as a refugee; Secretary of the French Section of 1871; in October 1871 was expelled from the International.—21, 38, 67, 97, 103

**Duval, Théodore**—prominent figure in the Swiss working-class movement, joiner; a founder of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; at the beginning of 1870 left the Bakunists; member of the Romance Federal Committee of the International; opposed the Bakunists; delegate to the Hague (1872) and Geneva (1873) congresses.—243-50, 253

**Eastwick, Edward Backhouse** (1814-1883)—British diplomat and Orientalist, Conservative M.P. (1868-74).—143

**Eberhardt**—Belgian tailor; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; sided with the anarchist minority.—244-47, 250, 253

**Eberstein, Mangold von**—West-German knight; engaged in hostilities with Nuremberg and other towns from 1516.—600

**Eccarius, Johann Georg** (1818-1889)—prominent figure in the international and German working-class movement, tailor; refugee in London; member of the Communist League, member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), Council's General Secretary (1867-May 16, 1871); Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72); from 1865 to 1872 delegate to all the International's conferences and congresses; associate of Marx up to 1872; after the Hague Congress, joined the reformist wing of the British Federal Council.—16, 20, 122, 145, 159, 243, 245, 247, 449, 615

**Elliott, John T.**—American democrat; member of the International.—640

**Elpidin, Mikhail Konstantinovich** (1835-1908)—took part in the student movement in Russia in the 1860s; then emigrated to Switzerland; member of the Bakuninist Alliance.—36, 460


**Estévez y Murphy, Nicolás** (1838-1914)—Spanish politician and writer; Republican; took part in the 1868-74 revolution; Governor of Madrid (1873).—490
French Workers' Party.—243-45, 247-50

Fanelli, Giuseppe (1827-1877)—Italian democrat; participant in the 1848-49 revolution and Garibaldi's campaign of 1860; Mazzinist; close friend of Bakunin from the mid-1860s; organiser of the first sections of the International and anarchist groups in Spain (1868); delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869); deputy to the Italian parliament from 1865.—288, 467, 486, 490, 497, 509

Farga Pellicer, Rafael (1840-1903)—Spanish anarchist, printer and journalist; an organiser and leader of anarchist groups and first sections of the International in Spain, one of the leaders of the secret Alliance, editor of the Federacion (1869-72); delegate to the Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International.—245, 247, 249, 250, 291, 486, 489, 495, 496, 510, 586

Farkas, Károly (Carl) (1843-1907)—prominent figure in the Hungarian working-class and socialist movement; exponent of Marxism, metal-worker; an organiser and leader of the section of the International in Hungary; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—243-50, 432

Faucher, Julius (Jules) (1820-1878)—German journalist, Young Hegelian; advocate of Free Trade; refugee in England from 1850 till 1861; author of works on the housing question; member of the Party of Progress.—339

Faivre, Henri—watch-maker; chairman of the section of the International in Moutier-Grandval (Switzerland); opposed the principles of the Bakuninist Jura Federation and complied with the decisions of the Hague Congress (1872).—512

Fawcett, Henry (1833-1884)—English vulgar economist; follower of John Stuart Mill; M.P. from 1865; Liberal.—143-45, 645

Ferdinand I (1503-1564)—Austrian Archduke; Holy Roman Emperor (1556-64).—326

Ferdinand II (1810-1859)—King of Naples (1830-59), nicknamed King Bomba for the bombardment of Messina in 1848.—294

Ferré, Théophile Charles (1846-1871)—French revolutionary, Blanquist; member of the Paris Commune; member and later leader of the Committee of Public Safety and Deputy-Procurator of the Commune; shot by the Versailles.—95, 477

Flersovsky, N.—see Bervi, Vassily Vassilyevich

Florinsky, Ivan Ivanovich (born c. 1845)—student of the Agricultural Academy in Moscow; member of the Nechayev organisation; in 1871 sentenced to six months' imprisonment.—533

Fluse, Pierre Joseph (1841-1909)—Belgian Proudhonist, weaver; delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Brussels (1868) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International, supported the Bakuninists.—244-46, 249, 250

Fornaccieri—participant in the American working-class movement, Italian by birth; member of the General Council of the International, elected at the Hague Congress (1872).—253, 266

Foster, Robert—Secretary of the British Federal Council of the International
Fou reiterated, François Marie Charles (1772-1837)—French utopian socialist.—347, 348, 394, 524, 630

Franco—see Nobre Franco, José Correia

Frankel, Léo (1844-1896)—a leading figure in the Hungarian and the international working-class movement, jeweller; member of the Paris Commune; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); associate of Marx and Engels.—19, 122, 145, 159, 213, 243-47, 249-50, 253, 284, 556

Frederick II (the Great) (1712-1786)—King of Prussia (1740-86).—401, 602

Frederick William II (1744-1797)—King of Prussia (1786-97).—604

Frederick William III (1770-1840)—King of Prussia (1797-1840).—604

Frederick William IV (1795-1861)—King of Prussia (1840-61).—401

Friedländer, Hugo—German Social-Democrat; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from the section in Zurich.—243, 244, 246, 250

Fries, Jakob Friedrich (1773-1843)—German idealist philosopher.—610

Fusté, Luis—Spanish cooperator; member of the section of the International in Sans.—495

G

Gambetta, Léon (1838-1882)—French statesman, bourgeois Republican, member of the Government of National Defence (1870-71); Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1881-82).—482

Gambuzzi, Carlo (1837-1902)—Italian lawyer; Mazzinist at the beginning of the 1860s; then anarchist; a leader of the secret Bakuninist Alliance and anarchist organisations in Italy.—461, 497

Gameter, Charles—Swiss anarchist; member of the Bakuninist Jura Federation.—450, 514

Garibaldi, Giuseppe (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat; participant in the revolution of 1848-49; in the 1850s and 1860s headed the struggle for national liberation and the unification of the country; defended the Paris Commune; welcomed the establishment of sections of the International in Italy.—29, 43-45, 47, 48, 451, 453, 504, 579

Garrido y Tortosa, Fernando (1821-1883)—Spanish Federal Republican, utopian socialist, deputy to the Cortes (1869-73).—486

Gavrishev, Georgi Yakovlevich (born c. 1846)—student of the Agricultural Academy in Moscow; member of the Nechayev organisation; in 1871 sentenced to four months' imprisonment.—532

Geleff, Paul Johansen (1842-1921)—an organiser of sections of the International in Denmark (1871); a founder of the Danish Social-Democratic Party (1876); subsequently abandoned the working-class movement.—224

Gerhard, Hendrick (1829-1886)—one of the founders and leaders of the Dutch sections of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872); sided with the Bakuninists.—245, 247, 250, 253

Gerlach, Ernst Ludwig von (1795-1877)—Prussian reactionary politi-
cian, one of the founders of the Conservative Party and its organ *Neue Preussische Zeitung* (1848).—403

Gibbons, Sills John—Lord Mayor of London in 1871.—51

Girardin, Émile de (1806-1881)—French journalist and politician, lacked principles in politics.—62

Gladstone, Robert (1811-1872)—English businessman; bourgeois philanthropist; cousin of William Ewart Gladstone.—144

Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory; later Peelite; a leader of the Liberal Party in the latter half of the nineteenth century; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-94).—164-66, 190-97, 225, 265, 284, 294-95, 611, 612, 615

Gluck, Christoph Willibald von (1714-1787)—German composer.—603

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von (1749-1832)—German writer and thinker.—386, 582, 603, 620

Gondres, Eugène (b. 1825)—police agent, insinuated himself into the Narbonne Section of the International; was exposed in 1873.—507

Gorchakoff (Gorchakov), Alexander Mikhailovich, Prince (1798-1883)—Russian statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (1856-82); State Chancellor (1867-82).—64

Grant, James (1802-1879)—English journalist; editor of *The Morning Advertiser* (1850-71).—351

Greg, Robert Hyde (1795-1875)—English manufacturer, Liberal.—352, 354

Grimm, Jacob Ludwig Carl (1785-1863)—German philologist; a founder of comparative linguistics.—604

Gromeka, Stepan Stepanovich (1823-1877)—Russian journalist, moderate Liberal; during the Polish uprising in 1863-64, was Chairman of the Commission on peasant questions in Poland, later Governor.—562

Grosse, Eduard—German refugee in the USA, Lassallean; member of the International.—183, 641

Grout, John—member of the British Federal Council of the International (1872), member of its reformist wing.—406

Guesde, Jules (Basile, Mathieu) (1845-1922)—prominent figure in the French and the international working-class and socialist movement; sided with the anarchists in the first half of the 1870s; later a founder of the French Workers' Party (1879) and exponent of Marxism in France.—442-44, 506, 507

Guillaume, James (1844-1916)—Swiss teacher, anarchist, participant in the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; one of the organisers of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; editor of the newspapers *Le Progrès*, *La Solidarité* and *Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne*; at the Hague Congress (1872) was expelled from the International for his divisive activities.—67, 91, 92, 102, 113, 118, 244-46, 249, 250, 257, 267, 268, 275, 280, 286, 287, 446, 450, 457, 473-76, 478, 485, 500, 504, 505, 509, 514, 540, 544, 580

Gülich, Gustav von (1791-1847)—German economist and historian; author of works on the history of economics.—604

Hales, John (b. 1839)—British trade unionist, weaver; member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Secretary (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; headed

Hales, William—member of the General Council of the International (1867, 1869-72).—19, 122, 145, 159

Halliday, Thomas (1835-1919)—a leader of British trade unionists, Chairman of the Amalgamated Association of Miners (1869-75); supported the policy of the Liberal Party.—615

Händel, Georg Friedrich (George Frederick) (1685-1759)—German composer, citizen of Great Britain from 1726.—603

Hansard, Thomas Curson (1776-1833)—English publisher; printed reports on the Parliamentary sittings; after his death they continued to be published under his name.—166-67, 195-97

Hansemann, David Justus Ludwig (1790-1864)—big German capitalist; a leader of the Rhenish liberal bourgeoisie; Minister of Finance of Prussia in March-September 1848.—342

Harcourt, W. E.—miner; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from Australia.—247, 250

Hardenberg, Karl August von, Prince (1750-1822)—Prussian statesman and diplomat; Foreign Minister (1804-06, 1807), Chancellor of State (1810-22); champion of moderate reforms; supported the policy of the Holy Alliance after 1815.—401

Harris, George—active in the British working-class movement, follower of James Bronterre O'Brien, a Chartist; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), Finance Secretary of the Council (1870-71).—19

Hartmann, Karl Robert Eduard von (1842-1906)—German idealist philosopher.—610

Hasenclever, Wilhelm (1837-1889)—German Social-Democrat, Lassallean; President of the General Association of German Workers in 1871-75.—451

Hasselmann, Wilhelm (b. 1844)—one of the leaders of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; in 1871-75 editor of the Neuer Social-Demokrat; member of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany from 1875; expelled from the party as anarchist in 1880.—451

Haussmann, Georges Eugène, Baron (1809-1891)—French politician, Bonapartist; prefect of the Seine Department (1853-70); directed work on the reconstruction of Paris.—319, 365

Heddeghem—see Van-Heddeghem, L.

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich (1770-1831)—classical German philosopher.—370, 403, 600, 610, 630

Heine, Heinrich (1797-1856)—German revolutionary poet.—607

Henry III (1551-1589)—King of France (1574-89).—608

Henry IV (1553-1610)—King of France (1589-1610).—608

Hepner, Adolf (1846-1923)—German Social-Democrat; an editor of Der Volksstaat; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—243-45, 247, 249, 250, 286, 439

Herbert, Johann Friedrich (1776-1841)—German idealist philosopher and teacher.—610

Herder, Johann Gottfried von (1744-1803)—German writer and literary theorist of the Enlightenment, a founder of the Sturm-und-Drang movement.—603
Herman, Alfred (1843-1890)—active in the Belgian working-class movement, sculptor; an organiser of sections of the International in Belgium; member of the General Council and Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1871-72); at the Hague Congress (1872) joined the anarchist minority.—19, 41, 103, 122, 145, 159, 244-45, 247, 249, 250

Herzen, Alexander Alexandrovich (1839-1906)—Russian physiologist; son of Alexander Ivanovich Herzen.—162

Herzen, Alexander Ivanovich (1812-1870)—Russian revolutionary democrat, materialist philosopher and writer; emigrated in 1847.—162, 529, 540, 541, 557, 558, 561-62

Hills, Edmund—Secretary of the British Federal Council of the International (1872), opposed its reformist wing.—285, 313

Hinckeldey, Karl Ludwig Friedrich von (1805-1856)—Prussian official, Chief Commissioner of Berlin police from 1848; President of the Police Department in the Ministry of the Interior from 1853.—401

Hoffmann, Gotthelf (pseudonym Füssler Kutschke) (1844-1924)—German poet, author of the nationalist soldier's songs.—339

Hole, James (1820-1895)—English publicist, author of a book on housing conditions of the working class.—338

Hollinger, Fidelio—German refugee, owner of a printing-house in London.—162

Höfner, Friedrich Eduard Alexander von (1797-1858)—Prussian general, military writer.—604

Hout, Isaac Salomon van der (b. 1843)—Dutch worker; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from the sections in Amsterdam.—243, 245, 247, 250, 253, 278

Howell, George (1833-1910)—a leader of the British trade unions, mason; participant in the Chartist movement, Secretary of the London Trades Council (1861-62), participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864 to 1869); opposed revolutionary tactics.—615

Huber, Victor Aimé (1800-1869)—German publicist and historian of literature, conservative.—338, 348, 349

Hubert, Joseph—Belgian miner, member of the International; at the extraordinary Congress of the Belgian Federation in July 1872 came out for preserving General Council's functions.—483

Hugo, Victor Marie (1802-1885)—French writer, Republican; after the Bonapartist coup d'état of December 2, 1851 emigrated from France.—562

Huleck, Maria—member of the General Council of the International (1868); emigrated to the USA, joined the group of bourgeois reformers.—182, 640

Hume, Robert William—American Radical; one of the leaders of the National Labour Union; member of the International and correspondent of the General Council; subsequently joined the group of bourgeois reformers.—182, 640

Huriiman—member of the General Council of the International (1871-72); delegate from the Swiss Society in London.—19, 122, 145, 159

Hurry, F.—member of the British Federal Council of the International (1872-73), opposed its reformist wing.—313

Iglesias, Pablo (1850-1925)—prominent figure in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement, printer;
member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1871-72), the Emancipation editorial board (1871-73), and the New Madrid Federation (1872-73); opposed anarchists; a founder of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (1879).—493

Ishutin, Nikolai Andreyevich (1840-1879)—Russian revolutionary; founder and leader of the secret revolutionary society in Moscow (1863-66); was arrested in 1866 and sentenced to death, commuted to penal servitude for life.—551

Itzenplitz, Heinrich August Friedrich, Count (1799-1883)—Prussian statesman, Minister of Trade (December 1862-May 1873).—404

Ivanov, Ivan Ivanovich (d. 1869)—student of the Agricultural Academy in Moscow; participant in the student movement in the 1860s and the Nechayev organisation; was murdered by Nechayev.—528, 530, 531, 535-38, 541, 553

J

Jacoby, Pavel Ivanovich—Russian refugee, physician, friend of Bakunin; propagated anarchism in Italy in the early 1870s.—500

Jalvo, Juan—Spanish anarchist; founded the groups of the Bakuninist Alliance in Spain; Chairman of Madrid Section of the International.—486

Johannard, Jules Paul (1843-1892)—active in the French working-class movement, lithographer, member of the General Council of the International (1868-69, 1871-72) and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1868-69); member of the Paris Commune, Blanquist; emigrated to London; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—19, 122, 145, 159, 243-45, 247, 249, 250, 253

Jung, Hermann (1830-1901)—prominent figure in the international and Swiss working-class movement, watch-maker; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland (November 1864 to 1872); Treasurer of the General Council (1871-72); Vice-President of the London Conference (1865); Chairman of the Geneva (1866), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and of the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council (1872); supported Marx before the Hague Congress (September 1872), later joined the reformist wing.—20, 122-23, 129, 145, 158, 159, 189, 213, 302, 303, 306, 511, 512, 406, 449, 644

K

Kameke, Arnold Karl Georg von (1817-1893)—Prussian general, fought in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71; War Minister (1873-74).—404

Kamensky, Gavriil Pavlovich (1824-1898)—agent of the tsarist government abroad; in 1872, was, in his absence, sentenced to imprisonment by the Swiss court for the forgery of bank notes.—77

Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804)—founder of the German classical philosophy.—603, 610

Karakozov, Dmitry Vladimirovich (1840-1866)—Russian revolutionary; in April 1866 made an attempt upon Alexander II's life; was hanged.—525, 534

Katkov, Mikhail Nikiforovich (1818-1887)—Russian journalist; in the 1830s and 40s was close to democratic circles; later moderate Liberal; sided with reaction from 1863; editor of the Moscow Gazette (Московская ведомост) (1850-55, 1863-87).—557
Kavanagh, Samuel—participant in the American working-class movement, Irishman by birth; member of the General Council elected at the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—240, 253, 266

Keen, Charles—participant in the British working-class movement; Chartist in the past; member of the General Council of the International (1872).—145, 159

Kepler, Johannes (1571-1630)—German astronomer.—602

Klein, Johann Jacob (1817-c. 1896)—doctor in Cologne, member of the Communist League, defendant at the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); acquitted by the jury.—75

Klimin, Innokenty Fyodorovich (b. 1847)—student of the Agricultural Academy in Moscow, member of the Nechayev organisation; in 1871 sentenced to one-year imprisonment.—532, 534

Kolachevskaya, Alla Nikolayevna (born c. 1845)—sister of Andrei Kolachevsky; prosecuted in the Nechayev organisation’s case; was released in 1870 under police surveillance.—534

Kolachevskaya, Lyudmila Nikolayevna (born c. 1850)—sister of Andrei Kolachevsky; prosecuted in the Nechayev organisation’s case; was released in 1870 under police surveillance.—534

Kolachevsky, Andrei Nikolayevich (c. 1848-1888)—participant in the student movement in Russia in the 1860s; prosecuted in the Nechayev organisation’s case; acquitted by the jury.—534

Kossuth, Lajos (1802-1894)—leader of the Hungarian national liberation movement; head of the Hungarian revolutionary government in 1848-49; after the defeat of the revolution emigrated from Hungary.—52

Krug, Wilhelm Traugott (1770-1842)—German idealist philosopher, follower of Kant.—610

Krupp, Alfred (1812-1887)—German manufacturer.—187, 353

Kugelmann, Ludwig (1828-1902)—German physician, participant in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the International; delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; friend of Marx.—243, 244, 247, 249, 250

Kupper, F.—Secretary of Manchester Foreign Section of the International (1872); opposed reformists.—308

Kuznetsov, Alexei Kirillovich (1845-1928)—Russian revolutionary, student of the Agricultural Academy in Moscow, member of the Nechayev organisation; in 1871 was sentenced to ten years of penal servitude.—532, 537-40

Kuznetsov, Semyon Kirillovich (born c. 1847)—student of the Agricultural Academy in Moscow in 1869; member of the Nechayev organisation; arrested in December 1869; discharged in 1871; brother of Alexei Kuznetsov.—532

La Fontaine, Jean de (1621-1695)—French fabulist.—526
**Landeck, Bernard** (b. 1832)—French jeweller, refugee in London; member of the French Section of 1871 and the Universal Federalist Council, both of which opposed the General Council of the International.—101, 157

**Langenthal, Christian Eduard** (1806-1878)—German botanist and historian of agriculture.—609

**Lanza, Giovanni** (1810-1882)—Italian statesman, Liberal; Minister of Finance (1858-59), Minister of the Interior (1864-65), Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior (1869-73).—225

**Larroque, Charles (Edouard)** (b. 1829)—participant in the French working-class movement and in the Paris Commune, a leader of the International's section in Bordeaux; in 1873 fled to Spain where he conducted the work of Bordeaux sections as a representative of the General Council.—297, 415, 444

**Lasker, Eduard** (1829-1884)—German politician, a founder and a leader of the National-Liberal Party; deputy to the Reichstag from 1867.—167, 619

**Lassalle, Ferdinand** (1825-1864)—German journalist, lawyer, in 1848-49 took part in the democratic movement; founder of the General Association of German Workers (1863), adherent of the unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy, one of the originators of the opportunist trend in the German working-class movement.—144, 379, 380

**Laurgrond, P.**—French refugee in the USA.—641

**Laurel(l), Carl Malcom Ferdinand**—took part in the American working-class movement, Swede by birth, member of the General Council elected at the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—240, 253, 266

**Law, Harriet** (1832-1897)—a leading figure in the democratic and atheist movement in England, member of the General Council (1867-72) and the International's Manchester Section (1872).—19, 122, 145, 159

**Ledru-Rollin, Alexandre Auguste** (1807-1874)—French journalist and politician, democrat; member of the Provisional Government (1848), deputy to the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies where he headed the petty-bourgeois Montagne Party; emigrated to England after the demonstration of June 13, 1849.—562

**Lefrançois, Gustave Adolphe** (1826-1901)—took part in the 1848 revolution in France; member of the International from the late 1860s; Left Proudhonist, member of the Paris Commune, emigrated to Switzerland where he sided with the anarchists.—103, 105, 119, 127

**Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, Baron von** (1646-1716)—German idealist philosopher and mathematician.—600, 602

**Le Moussu, Benjamin Constant** (b. 1846)—participant in the French working-class movement, engraver; member of the Paris Commune, emigrated to London; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for the French-speaking sections in America (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against the Bakuninists.—20, 122, 145, 159, 213, 240, 243-45, 247, 249-50, 253, 416, 437, 447, 556

**Léo, André** (real name Léodile Champseix) (1832-1900)—French writer, took part in the Paris Commune, emigrated to Switzerland, supported the anarchists.—95, 477, 488

**Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim** (1729-1781)—German writer, critic and philosopher of the Enlightenment.—603
Lessner, Friedrich (1825-1910)—prominent figure in the German and the international working-class movement, tailor; member of the Communist League, participant in the revolution of 1848-49, a refugee in London from 1856; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1872); took part in the London conferences of 1865 and 1871, and the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; member of the British Federal Council; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—19, 75, 122, 145, 159, 240, 244, 247, 250, 294, 313

Levièle, E.—member of the American working-class movement, French by birth, member of the General Council elected at the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—240, 253, 266

Liebig, Justus, Baron von (1803-1873)—German chemist, a founder of agricultural chemistry.—384, 609

Liebknecht, Wilhelm (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and the international working-class movement, took part in the 1848-49 revolution; member of the Communist League and of the International, delegate to the Basle Congress (1869); from 1867 deputy to the Reichstag; a founder and leader of the German Social-Democracy, editor of the Volksstaat (1869-76); during the Franco-Prussian War took an internationalist stand, supported the Paris Commune; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—75, 129, 160, 164, 222, 224, 473, 496

Likhutin, Ivan Nikitich (born c. 1848)—took part in the student movement in 1869, founded a circle connected with Nechayev in Petersburg, sentenced to sixteen months' imprisonment (1871).—534

Lochner, Georg (born c. 1824)—active member of the German and the international working-class movement, joiner; member of the Communist League and of the General Council of the International (November 1864 to 1867 and 1871-72); delegate to the London conferences of 1865 and 1871; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—19, 122, 145, 159

Longuet, Charles (1839-1903)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, journalist, Proudhonist; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67, 1871-72), delegate to the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and the Hague (1872) congresses and the London Conference (1871); member of the Paris Commune, emigrated to England; later joined the opportunist group of Possibilists.—19, 20, 123, 145, 159, 240, 243-45, 249, 250

Lorenzo, Anselmo (1841-1914)—active member of the Spanish working-class movement, printer; a founder of the International's sections in Spain, member of the Spanish Federal Council (1870-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871).—53, 207, 234, 236, 289, 290, 302, 303, 486, 491, 493-94

Lostau, Baldomero (born c. 1845)—Spanish mechanic, federal Republican, member of the International; elected to the Cortes in 1871.—495

Louis XIV (1638-1715)—King of France (1643-1715).—94

Louis XV (1710-1774)—King of France (1715-74).—34

Louis Bonaparte—see Napoleon III

Louis Napoleon—see Napoleon III

Louis Philippe I (1773-1850)—Duke of Orleans, King of the French (1830-48).—417

Loyola, St. Ignatius of (Inigo López de Recalde) (1491-1556)—Spanish nobleman, in 1540 founded and headed the Society of Jesus.—470, 525
Lucain—see Potel, Frédéric

Lucraft, Benjamin (1809-1897)—a leader of the British trade unions, furniture-maker; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin’s Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council’s address The Civil War in France and left the Council.—80

Ludwig, Gustav—German Social-Democrat, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from the Mainz Section.—245, 250, 253

M

Macdonald, Alexander (1821-1881)—British trade unionist, miner, President of the National Union of Mineworkers; member of Parliament from 1874, supported Liberal Party’s policy.—613, 615

MacDonnell, Joseph Patrick (1845-1906)—active member of the Irish working-class movement; member of the General Council of the International, Corresponding Secretary for Ireland (1871-72); delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872), member of the British Federal Council (1872); in December of 1872 emigrated to the USA, took part in the American working-class movement.—19, 122, 145, 159, 213, 240, 244-46, 249, 250, 265, 284, 294, 416

Macfarlane, Helen—a Chartist on the staff of The Democratic Review (1849-50) and The Red Republican (1850); translated the Manifesto of the Communist Party into English.—174

Machiavelli, Niccolò (1469-1527)—Italian politician, philosopher, historian and writer.—488

Mac-Mahon, Marie Édmé Patrice Maurice, duc de Magenta (1808-1893)—French military figure and politician, marshal, Bonapartist; during the Franco-Prussian War commanded the First Corps, then the Châlon Army, was captured at Sedan; Commander-in-Chief of the Versailese Army, an organiser of the suppression of the Paris Commune; President of the Republic (1873-79).—623

Maddox (Maddock or Maddoss), G. W.—American Radical.—182, 640-42

Machomet—see Mohammed

Malon, Benoît (1841-1893)—French socialist, member of the International and of the Paris Commune; emigrated to Italy, then to Switzerland where he sided with the anarchists; later a leader of the opportunist trend of the Possibilists.—94, 101, 103, 104, 117, 119, 249, 267, 275, 485, 506, 507

Malou, Jules Edouard, François Xavier (1810-1886)—Belgian statesman, belonged to the Catholic Party, Minister of Finance (1844-47, 1870-78), Chairman of the Council of Ministers (1871-78).—83, 224

Malthus, Thomas Robert (1766-1834)—British vulgar economist, founder of the misanthropic theory of population.—380

Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron von (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman; Minister of the Interior (1848-50), Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1850-58).—401, 402, 617

Marchand, Louis Joseph Gabriel (1842-1901)—French Bakuninist; from 1871 refugee in Switzerland, contributed to La Résolution Sociale; expelled from the International.—249, 399

Marguerittes, Édouard Louis Marie (b. 1835)—French revolutionary, Blanquist, took part in the Paris Commune, emigrated to London; member of the General Council of
the International (1871-72).—122, 145, 159

Marselau, Nicolás Alonso—Spanish anarchist, a leader of the Spanish organisation of the Bakuninist Alliance, editor of the Razon in Seville (1871-72); delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—244-45, 247, 249, 250, 253, 291, 495, 510

Marshall, Alfred (1842-1924)—British economist.—351, 352

Martin, Constant (1839-1906)—French revolutionary, Blanquist, took part in the Paris Commune, emigrated to London; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871).—19, 122, 145, 159

Martin, Felipe—Spanish anarchist.—490

Martínez de Campos, Arsenio (1831-1900)—Spanish general; in 1873 suppressed a cantonal uprising in Catalonia and Valencia, headed the monarchical coup d'état which brought to power Alfonso XII (December 24, 1874); War Minister (1881-83).—593, 594

Martínez, Franco (Francisco)—Spanish anarchist, dyer, member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1872-73).—208, 493


Marx-Aveling, Eleanor (1855-1898)—participant in the British and international working-class movement, Karl Marx’s younger daughter, married to Edward Aveling.—330

Mavritsky, Vasily Abramovich (c. 1847-1910)—student of the Kiev theological seminary, prosecuted in the Nechayev organisation’s case, the investigation was stopped for lack of evidence.—527

Mayo, Henry—took part in the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72) and the British Federal Council (1872); in the latter he joined the reformist wing.—19, 122, 145, 159, 306, 311, 312, 406

Mazzini, Giuseppe (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, democrat, a leader of the national liberation movement in Italy; when the International was founded in 1864, tried to bring it under his influence; in 1871 opposed the Paris Commune and the General Council.—28, 29, 43-48, 60, 61, 141, 162, 480, 497, 504, 562, 579

Mechnikov, Lev Ilyich (1838-1888)—Russian geographer, sociologist and journalist; took part in Garibaldi’s campaign (1860); contributed to Kolokol and Sovremennik; in the second half of the 1860s was close to Bakunin.—506

Méndez, Juan—Spanish anarchist.—495

Menke, Heinrich Theodor (1819-1892)—German geographer and ethnographer.—601, 602

Mesa y Leompart, José (1840-1904)—participant in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement, printer; an organiser of the International’s sections in Spain, member of the Spanish Federal Council (1871-72), of the Emancipacion editorial board (1871-73), the New Madrid Federation (1872-73), fought anarchism; a founder of the Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party (1879); translated works by Marx and Engels into Spanish.—290, 292, 438, 487, 488, 493

Milke, Fritz—German Social-Democrat, printer, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from the Berlin Section.—245, 247, 250, 253
Mill, John Stuart (1806-1873)—British economist and positivist philosopher, follower of the classical school of political economy.—144

Millot, Théodore—French refugee in the USA, bookbinder, member of the International; took bourgeois radicalist stand.—182, 640

Milner, George—took part in the British working-class movement, Irish by birth, tailor; follower of the Chartist O'Brien's views; member of the General Council of the International (1868-72) and the British Federal Council (1872-73), came out against its reformist wing.—19, 122, 145, 159, 302, 313

Mitchell, John—member of the British Federal Council of the International (1872-73), came out against its reformist wing.—313

Mohammed (or Muhammed, Mahomet) (c. 570-632)—semi-legendary founder of Islam.—107, 558

Molière, Jean Baptiste (real name Poquelin) (1622-1673)—French dramatist.—191, 192

Moltke, Helmuth Karl Bernhard von, Count (1800-1891)—Prussian field marshal, military writer, Chief of the Prussian (1857-71) and the Imperial (1871-88) General Staff.—222, 592, 619-24

Montel, Guglielmo—member of the International in Italy.—48

Montoro, Peregrin (pseudonym Damon)—Spanish anarchist, weaver, member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1872-73).—208, 488, 493, 496

Mora, Angel—participant in the Spanish working-class movement, carpenter; member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1870-72), of the Emancipacion editorial board (1871-73) and the New Madrid Federation (1872-73); fought against anarchist influence.—486, 493

Mora, Francisco (1842-1924)—took part in the Spanish working-class and socialist movement, shoemaker; an organiser of the International’s sections in Spain and Portugal; member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1870-72), of the Emancipacion editorial board (1871-73), and the New Madrid Federation (1872-73); fought against anarchist influence; an organiser of the Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party (1879).—235, 236, 290, 413, 486, 487, 491-93, 503, 578

Morago, González, Tomás (d. 1885)—Spanish anarchist, engraver; a founder and leader of the Bakuninist Alliance in Spain, member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1870-71); delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—236, 245, 247, 249, 250, 287, 289-91, 486-90, 495, 497, 510

Morley, Samuel (1809-1886)—British manufacturer and politician, Liberal M.P. (1865, 1868-85).—265, 412, 446, 615

Mottershead, Thomas G. (c. 1826-1884)—British weaver, participant in the Chartist movement, member of the General Council of the International (1869-72); Corresponding Secretary for Denmark (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872); a representative of the reformist wing of the British Federal Council, opposed Marx.—19, 122, 145, 159, 243, 247, 305, 306, 309, 311, 312, 615

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus (1756-1791)—Austrian composer.—603

Mülberger, Arthur (1847-1907)—German petty-bourgeois journalist, Proudhonist, physician.—368-79, 381-83, 385-91

Mundella, Anthony John (1825-1897)—British manufacturer and statesman, M.P. (from 1868), held several ministerial posts.—167
Muravyov, Mikhail Nikolayevich, Count (1796-1866)—Russian statesman, during the Polish uprising (1863) was Governor-General in Poland, for the brutal suppression of the uprising was called "hangman".—536, 556

Muravyov-Amursky, Nikolai Nikolayevich, Count (1809-1881)—Russian statesman, Governor-General of Eastern Siberia (1847-61).—556, 557

Murray, Charles Joseph—member of the British working-class movement, shoemaker; took part in the Chartist movement, follower of O'Brien's views; member of the General Council of the International (1870-72) and the British Federal Council (1872-73); supporter of Marx and Engels.—19, 122, 145, 159, 294, 313

N

Napoleon I Bonaparte (1769-1821)—Emperor of the French (1804-14 and 1815).—340, 419, 420, 602, 603, 604, 624


Navarre, E.—Secretary of the French Section of 1871 (London) which the General Council did not admit to the International.—100

Nechayev (Netschajeff), Sergei Gennadyevich (1847-1882)—Russian revolutionary, conspirator, representative of the extremely adventurist trend in anarchism; in 1869-71 was connected with Bakunin; in 1872 was extradited by the Swiss authorities to the Russian government, sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment, died in the Peter and Paul Fortress in St. Petersburg.—23, 30, 77, 89, 459, 463, 478, 485, 515-17, 519, 522-24, 527-41, 544, 549, 552, 553, 557

Negreskul, Mikhail Vyodorovich (c. 1843-1871)—took part in the student movement in the 1860s, in 1869 arrested in connection with the Nechayev organisation's case, discharged because of illness (1870).—535

Neklyudov, Mikhail Sergeevich (d. 1859)—Russian lawyer, employee in the office of the Eastern Siberian Administration in Irkutsk, killed by Beklemishev at a duel.—556

Nero (Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus) (37-68)—Roman Emperor (54-68).—452

Nicholas I (1796-1855)—Emperor of Russia (1825-55).—560, 567

Nikolayev, Nikolai Nikolayevich (born c. 1850)—member of the Nechayev organisation, in 1871 sentenced to seven years and four months' imprisonment and to settlement in Siberia.—538, 539

Nobre Franca, José Correia—took part in the Portuguese working-class movement, an organiser of the International's sections in Lisbon.—413

Notker, Labeo (c. 952-1022)—German monk, taught at the monastic school of St. Gallen, Switzerland; translated into German and annotated a number of works by ancient and medieval authors.—604

O

Oberwinder, Heinrich (1846-1914)—participant in the Austrian working-class movement, journalist; Lassallean in the early 1860s, later joined the Eisenachers; delegate to the Basle (1869) and the Hague (1872) congresses of the International; in the late 1870s abandoned working-class movement, subsequently exposed as a police agent.—249, 250, 253, 415

O'Connell, Daniel (1775-1847)—Irish lawyer and politician, leader of the Liberal wing of the national libera-
tion movement; organiser and leader of the Repeal Association.—616

O'Connor, Feargus Edward (1794-1855)—a leader of the Left wing of the Chartist movement, founder and editor of The Northern Star; reformist after 1848.—155

Odger, George (1820-1877)—a leader of the British trade unions, shoe-maker; member of the London Trades Council; participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), its President (1864-67), took part in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address The Civil War in France and left the Council.—31, 80, 87, 615

Ogarev, Nikolai Platonovich (1813-1877)—Russian revolutionary democrat, poet and journalist, friend and associate of Alexander Herzen.—529

Ol(l)ivier, Émile (1825-1913)—French politician, moderate Republican, Bonapartist from the end of the 1860s; head of the government (January-August 1870).—220, 395, 645

Otto(n)s—first emperors of the Holy Roman Empire; its founder Otto I (962-73), German King of the Saxon dynasty, and his followers Otto II (973-83) and Otto III (983-1002).—600

Outine—see Utin (Outine), Nikolai Isaakovich

Owen, Robert (1771-1858)—British utopian socialist.—347, 348, 394, 561, 630

Pagés, Victor (born c. 1850)—participant in the Spanish working-class movement, shoe-maker; member of the Spanish Federal Council (1871-72), of the Emancipacion editorial board (1871-73), the New Madrid Federation (1872-73); fought against anarchist influence in Spain.—290, 493

Palladino, Carmelo (1842-1896)—Italian anarchist, barrister, a leader of the Bakuninist Alliance, a founder of anarchist organisations in Italy, member of the International's Neapolitan Section.—498

Pape, Fletcher—member of the International's British Federal Council (from 1871), belonged to the reformist wing.—406

Pauly, Hipolito—participant in the Spanish working-class movement, printer; member of the International's Spanish Federal Council (1871-72), of the Emancipacion editorial board (1871-73), the New Madrid Federation (1872-73); fought against anarchist influence in Spain.—290, 493

Pavia y Rodriguez de Alburquerque, Manuel (1827-1895)—Spanish general and politician, in 1873 suppressed the cantonal uprising in Andalusia, carried out the coup d'état (January 2-3, 1874) which brought the monarchist Serrano to power; Senator from 1880.—590, 593

Pavlov, Platon Vasilyevich (1823-1895)—Russian historian, professor; in 1862 deported from Petersburg for the connection with revolutionary circles.—561

Péreire, Isaac (1806-1880)—French banker, Bonapartist, founded the joint-stock bank Crédit Mobilier together with his brother Emile (1852).—364
Perron—chocolate manufacturer.—94

Perron, Charles Eugène (1837-1919)—Swiss anarchist, member of the Central Bureau of the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy, editor of L'Égalité (1869), an editor of La Solidarité and a leader of the Jura Federation; later abandoned the working-class movement.—229

Pestel, Pavel Ivanovich (1793-1826)—a leader of the Decembrist movement, founder and leader of the Southern Society.—567

Peter I (the Great) (1672-1725)—Tsar of Russia (1682-1721), Emperor of Russia (1721-25).—518, 563

Petrashevsky (Butashevich-Petrashevsky), Mikhail Vasilyevich (1821-1866)—Russian revolutionary, utopian socialist, organiser of the progressive Russian intellectuals’ circle in Petersburg (1844); in 1849 was arrested and sentenced to death, then commuted to penal servitude for life.—556, 557

Petroni, Giuseppe (1812-1888)—Italian journalist and politician, Mazzinist; took part in the 1848-49 revolution; sentenced to life imprisonment in 1853, released in 1870; editor of the Roma del Popolo.—43, 44, 47

Petzold, Ernst—German lawyer, legal officer, Liberal, candidate for election to the Reichstag in Glauchau-Meerane (1873).—411

Pfänder (Pfander), Karl (c. 1819-1876)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, painter; refugee in London from 1845; member of the Communist League’s Central Authority, of the International’s General Council (1864-67 and 1870-72); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—19, 122, 145, 159

Piétri, Joseph Marie (1820-1902)—French politician, Bonapartist, Prefect of police in Paris (1866-70).—101, 463

Pihl, Sophus Theodor (1840-1881)—delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from the Copenhagen Section.—243, 245, 247, 249-50

Pindy, Jean Louis (1840-1917)—French engraver, member of the International (from 1867), of the Paris Commune; emigrated to Switzerland where he sided with the anarchists; member of the Bakuninist Jura Federation’s Committee.—450, 514

Pio, Louis (1841-1894)—participant in the Danish working-class and socialist movement; an organiser of the International’s Danish sections (1871); editor of Socialisten; a founder of the Danish Social-Democratic Party (1876); in 1877 emigrated to America.—57, 224

Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti) (1792-1878)—Pope (1846-78).—45, 64, 225

Pi y Margall, Francisco (1824-1901)—Spanish politician, historian, lawyer, philosopher and writer; leader of the Left federalist Republicans, was influenced by utopian socialist ideas; took part in the revolutions (1854-56 and 1868-74), Minister of the Interior (February 13-June 11, 1873), temporary President of the Republic (June 11-July 18, 1873).—585, 589, 590, 592

Pompadour, Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, marquise de (1721-1764)—Louis XV’s mistress.—34

Potel, Frédéric (pseudonym Lucaïn) (died in December 1872)—French refugee in Belgium, engineer; took part in the Paris Commune; member of the International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—244-45, 247, 249, 250, 437, 457

Potter, George (1832-1893)—a leader of the British trade unions, carpenter;
member of the London Trades Council and a leader of the Amalgamated Union of Building Workers; editor of The Bee-Hive Newspaper; pursued a policy of compromise with the liberal bourgeoisie.—615


Pryzhov, Ivan Gavrilovich (1829-1885)—Russian historian, ethnographer and journalist, member of the Nechayev organisation; in 1871, sentenced to twelve years of penal servitude and life settlement in Siberia.—531, 537-39

Pugachev, Yemelyan Ivanovich (c. 1742-1775)—leader of the anti-serfdom uprising of peasants and Cossacks in Russia (1773-75); executed in Moscow.—567

Pyat, Félix (1810-1889)—French journalist, dramatist and politician; democrat, took part in the 1848 revolution; in 1849 emigrated to Switzerland, then to Belgium and England; conducted a slander campaign against Marx and the International, using for this purpose the French Section in London; member of the Paris Commune.—96

Razin, Stepan Timofeyevich (c. 1630-1671)—leader of an anti-serfdom uprising of peasants and Cossacks in Russia (1670-71); executed in Moscow.—518, 524, 549

Razoua, Angèle Eugène (1830-1878)—French journalist, Republican, sided with neo-Jacobins; took part in the Paris Commune, emigrated to Geneva, contributed to several newspapers.—83

Regis, Vitale (pseudonyms Carlo Boggio, Étienne Péchard)—Italian revolutionary, member of the International's Italian section in London; participant in the Paris Commune, member of the General Council (1871-72); took part in the 1873 revolutionary events in Spain.—19, 122, 145, 159, 499, 500

Renan, Joseph Ernest (1823-1892)—French historian, idealist philosopher, author of works on the origins of Christianity.—452

Reschauer, Heinrich (b. 1838)—Austrian writer and journalist, Liberal.—383

Reuter, Fritz (1810-1874)—German humorous writer and poet, wrote in Low German dialect.—380

Ricardo, David (1772-1823)—British economist.—396

Richard, Albert Marie (1846-1925)—French journalist, a leader of the International's section in Lyons; member of the Bakuninist Alliance, took part in the Lyons uprising in September 1870; after the suppression of the Paris Commune became a Bonapartist.—91, 93, 96, 119-21, 300, 440, 444, 461, 467, 472, 474, 476, 505, 567

Rigaut, Raoul (1846-1871)—French revolutionary, Blanquist; member of the Paris Commune, member of the Public Safety Committee, Procurator of the Commune, shot by the Versailles troops.—95, 477
Riley, William Harrison (1835-1907)—British journalist, Republican, socialist, editor and publisher of the International Herald; member of the International's British Federal Council (1872-73), opposed the reformist wing.—313, 314

Ripman, Fyodor Fyodorovich (b. 1842)—student of the Agricultural Academy in Moscow, member of the Nechayev organisation; in 1871 sentenced to one-year imprisonment.—531, 533

Ripoll—took part in suppression of cantonal uprisings in Spain in the summer of 1873.—593

Roach, Thomas John—member of the British working-class movement; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); Corresponding Secretary of the British Federal Council (1872), belonged to its reformist wing.—19, 122, 145, 159, 245-47, 250, 306, 310-12

Robert, Fritz (1845-1899)—Swiss teacher, Bakuninist, member of the editorial board of La Solidarité.—92, 113, 475

Roberts, Henry (d. 1876)—British architect, philanthropist.—338

Robin, Paul Charles Louis Jean (1837-1912)—French teacher, Bakuninist, a leader of the Alliance of Socialist Democracy; member of the International's General Council (1870-71); delegate to the Basle Congress (1869) and the London Conference (1871).—93, 102, 476, 645

Rochat, Charles Michel (b. 1844)—took part in the French working-class movement; member of the Paris Federal Council of the International, participant in the Paris Commune; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Holland (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference of 1871.—19, 122, 145, 159

Rodriguez, Mariano—member of the International's Granada Federation (1872-73), joined Bakunists in 1873.—410

Romanov—dynasty of the Russian tsars and emperors (1613-1917).—567

Roon, Albrecht Theodor Emil, Count von (1803-1879)—Prussian statesman and military figure, from 1873 field marshal-general, War Minister (1859-73) and Naval Minister (1861-71), Minister-President of Prussia (January-November 1873).—404

Rossell, Vicente—Spanish anarchist, weaver, member of the Spanish Federal Council (1872-73).—208

Rothschild, Mayer Amschel (or Meyer Anselm) (1743-1812)—head of the banking firm in Frankfurt am Main.—604

Roy, Henry—English physician and economist.—165

Rozwadowski, Józef (1846-c. 1878)—Polish revolutionary, participant in the 1863-64 uprising in Poland; took part in the Paris Commune, emigrated to England; member of the General Council of the International (1872).—122, 145, 159

Rubau Donadeu, José—Spanish anarchist, lithographer, a founder and leader of the Bakuninist Alliance in Spain.—486

Rühl, J.—German worker, member of the General Council of the International (1870-72).—19, 122, 145, 159

Sacase, Jean François (1808-1884)—French legal officer, monarchist, deputy to the National Assembly from 1871.—107, 122, 145, 480

Sadler, Michael Thomas—participant in the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72).—19, 122, 145, 159
Saenz, Valentin—took part in the Spanish working-class movement, commercial employee; member of the Spanish Federal Council of the International (1871-72), of the Emancipacion editorial board (1871-73), and the New Madrid Federation (1872-73); fought against anarchist influence in Spain.—493

Sagasta, Prósedez Mateo (1827-1903)—Spanish statesman, leader of the Liberal Party, Minister of the Interior (1871-72), Foreign Minister (1874), Prime Minister (1881-83, 1885-90, 1892-95, 1897-99, 1901-02).—225, 289, 491, 497, 596

Saint-Clair, E. P.—participant in the American working-class movement, Irish by birth, member of the General Council elected at the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—240, 253, 266

Saint-Germain, Claude-Louis, comte de (1707-1778)—French general, War Minister (1775-77).—622

Saint-Martin, D., de—French barrister, Bakuninist.—507

Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de (1760-1825)—French utopian socialist.—89, 394, 472, 630

Salt, Sir Titus (1803-1876)—English manufacturer.—351

Sauva, Arsène—French socialist, tailor; follower of Cabet, an organiser of the Icarian colonies in the USA; took part in the Paris Commune, emigrated to the USA; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872), where he supported the anarchist minority; participant in the socialist movement in America in the 1870s.—244-45, 247, 249, 250, 260, 280

Sax, Emil (1845-1927)—Austrian economist.—338-55, 359-61

Scheu, Heinrich (1845-1926)—Austrian Social-Democrat, member of the International; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), emigrated to England in 1875.—245, 247

Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von (1759-1805)—German writer.—167, 522, 603

Schlözer, August Ludwig von (1735-1809)—German historian and statistician.—603

Schneider, Joseph—German worker, Lasallean, member of the German Workers' Educational Society in London, at the end of 1871 expelled from it for divisive activities; labelled Marx and his supporters in the German press.—75

Schneider, Joseph Eugène (1805-1875)—French manufacturer, owner of the metallurgical plants in Creusot.—353

Schopenhauer, Arthur (1788-1860)—German idealist philosopher, exponent of voluntarism, irrationalism and pessimism.—610

Schubart, Johann Christian (1734-1787)—German agronomist.—602

Schulze-Delitzsch, Franz Hermann (1808-1883)—German economist and liberal politician, supporter of unification of Germany under Prussia's supremacy, a founder of the National Association and leader of the Party of Progress; tried to divert workers from revolutionary struggle by organising co-operative societies.—357, 384

Schumacher, Georg (1844-1917)—German Social-Democrat, tanner, later businessman; delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from the Solingen Section; expelled from the Social-Democratic Party in 1898.—245, 247, 250, 253

Schwetzer, Johann Baptist von (1833-1875)—German barrister, a leader of the Lassalleans; editor of the Social-Demokrat in 1864-67; President of the General Association of German Workers (1867-71), supported the policy of unification of Germany
under Prussia's supremacy, fought against the Social-Democratic Workers' Party; expelled from the General Association for his contacts with the Prussian authorities (1872).—180, 183, 445, 473, 641

Schwitzguébel, Adhémar (1844-1895)—Swiss anarchist, engraver, member of the International; a leader of the Bakuninist Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the Jura Federation; delegate to the Hague Congress (1872).—67, 68, 113, 188, 243-47, 267-68, 275, 280, 286, 287, 474, 478, 580

Schwitzguébel, Léon—Swiss anarchist, member of the Bakuninist Jura Federation.—36, 450, 514

Selchow, Werner von—Prussian statesman, Minister of Agriculture (December 1862-January 1873).—404

Sentíñon, Gaspar (d. 1903)—Spanish anarchist, physician, a founder and leader of the Bakuninist Alliance in Spain; delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869).—486, 496

Serno-Solovyovich, Alexander Alexandrovich (1838-1869)—Russian revolutionary democrat, follower of Chernyshevsky, took part in the revolutionary movement in Russia in the early 1860s, then emigrated to Geneva; member of the International, participant in the Swiss working-class movement.—163

Serraillier, Auguste Daniel (b. 1840)—participant in the French and international working-class movement, shoe-maker; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium (1870) and France (1871-72); member of the Paris Commune; delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress of the International (1872), member of the British Federal Council (1873-74); supporter of Marx and Engels.—19, 27, 42, 122, 127, 145, 159, 213, 240, 243, 247, 249-50, 253, 265, 273, 283, 297, 415, 439, 444, 507-08, 556, 644, 645

Sexton, George—British socialist, physician; member of the General Council of the International (May-August 1872), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); fought against the reformist wing in the British Federal Council (1872-73).—159, 240, 245, 247, 250

Shakespeare, William (1564-1616)—English poet and dramatist.—470, 588

Shaw, Robert (d. 1869)—participant in the British working-class movement, house-painter; took part in the inaugural meeting of the International held at St. Martin's Hall on September 28, 1864; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69), Council's Treasurer (1867-68); Corresponding Secretary for America (1867-69); took part in the London Conference (1865) and the Brussels Congress (1868).—87

Shimanovsky—Russian army officer, was close to the Nechayev organisation.—531

Dr. Simpson—member of the German Reichstag.—49

Smith, Adam (1723-1790)—Scottish economist.—191

Sorge, Friedrich Adolf (1828-1906)—prominent figure in the international and American working-class and socialist movement, took part in the 1848 revolution in Germany, emigrated to the USA in 1852; organised the International's American sections, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), member of the General Council in New York and its General Secretary (1872-74); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—243-47, 249, 250, 253, 292, 398

Soriano, Trinidad (d. after 1913)—Spanish anarchist.—467, 495, 496
Soria Santa Cruz, Federico de (1815-1891)—Spanish general, suppressed the cantonal uprising in Andalusia in 1873; Military Governor of Cadiz (1874-75).—590

Speyer, Karl (b. 1845)—German carpenter; in the 1860s Secretary of the German Workers’ Educational Society in London, in 1870 emigrated to the USA; member of the General Council of the International in New York from October 1872.—253, 266

Spichiger, Auguste (d. 1919)—Swiss anarchist, Chairman of the Bakuninist sections’ Congress in Sonvillier (1871).—479

Splingard, Roch Jules Jean Baptiste (1843-1889)—Belgian anarchist, barrister, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—245, 247, 249, 250, 457, 458

Spotti, Vincenzo—member of the International in Parma (1872).—184

Spruner von Merz, Karl (1803-1892)—German historian and cartographer.—601

Stahl, Friedrich Julius (1802-1861)—German lawyer, philosopher and reactionary politician, a founder of the Prussian Conservative Party.—403

Stanley, Edward Henry, Earl of Derby (1826-1893)—British statesman, Tory; Conservative in the 1860s-70s, later Liberal; Secretary of State for Colonies (1858, 1882-85) and Secretary for India (1858-59); Foreign Secretary (1866-68, 1874-78).—15

Statuti, Michelangelo—Italian clergyman, after renouncing orders took part in the activities of the Neapolitan Section of the International.—498

Stefanoni, Luigi (1842-1905)—Italian writer and journalist, democrat, rationalist, took part in Garibaldi’s campaigns, founder and editor of Libero Pensiero, supported Bakuninists.—74, 119, 160-62, 484

Stein, Heinrich Friedrich Karl, Baron von (1757-1831)—Prussian statesman, in 1804-08 held several high-ranking posts, an initiator of moderate reforms.—401

Stepney, Cowell William Frederick (1820-1872)—participant in the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Treasurer (1868-70); delegate to the Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses and the London Conference (1871), member of the British Federal Council (1872).—19, 122, 145, 159

Stieber, Wilhelm (1818-1882)—Prussian police officer, Chief of the Prussian political police (1850-60), an organiser of the Cologne Communist Trial (1852); during the Franco-Prussian war Chief of military police and of the German intelligence on French territory.—67, 161, 225, 463

Strousberg, Bethel Henry (or Barthel Heinrich) (real name Strausberg, Baruch Hirsch) (1823-1884)—railway entrepreneur; till 1855 lived in London, then in Berlin; went bankrupt in 1875.—364

Strutt, Edward, Baron Belper (1801-1880)—British liberal politician, member of the House of Commons.—351, 352

Svyatsky, Vladimir Ivanovich (born c. 1847)—student of the Agricultural Academy in Moscow, prosecuted as a member of Nechayev’s Petersburg circle, acquitted in 1871.—532

Swarm—see Dentraygues, Émile Jean Philippe

Taylor, Alfred—British worker, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72) and the
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<td>(b. 1845) — Italian barrister and journalist, Secretary of the Emancipation of the Proletarian society in Turin; became police agent in 1872. — 112, 168, 275-76, 483, 499-501</td>
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<td><strong>Testut, Oscar</strong></td>
<td>French lawyer, close to police circles; author of a book on the organisation and history of the International, published in 1871-72 with a police-informative purpose. — 32</td>
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<td><strong>Theisz, Albert Frédéric Félix</strong></td>
<td>(1839-1881) — participant in the French working-class movement, engraver, Proudhonist; member of the Paris Commune, emigrated to England; member of the General Council of the International (1871-72) and its Treasurer. — 97, 101</td>
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<td><strong>Thiers, Louis Adolphe</strong></td>
<td>(1797-1877) — French historian and statesman, Orleanist, Prime Minister (1836, 1840); head of the executive power (Chairman of the Council of Ministers) (1871); President of the Republic (1871-73), chief organiser of the suppression of the Paris Commune. — 44, 59, 64, 98, 119, 122, 128, 223, 225, 262, 300, 412, 418, 420, 446, 507, 629</td>
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<td><strong>Townshend, William</strong></td>
<td>British worker, member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), participant in the socialist movement in the 1880s. — 19, 122, 145, 159</td>
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<td><strong>Trochu, Louis Jules</strong></td>
<td>(1815-1896) — French general and politician, Orleanist, head of the Government of National Defence and Commander-in-Chief of the Paris armed forces (September 1870-January 1871), sabotaged city's defence. — 45</td>
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<td><strong>Tucci, Alberto</strong></td>
<td>member of the Neapolitan Section of the International. — 48</td>
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<td><strong>Us, Vasily Rodionovich</strong></td>
<td>(d. 1671) — Don Cossack, associate of Stepan Razin, a leader of the peasants' uprising in Russia (1670-71). — 524</td>
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<td><strong>Uspensky, Pyotr Gavrilovich</strong></td>
<td>(c. 1847-1881) — a member of the Nechayev organisation, in 1871 sentenced to fifteen years of penal servitude and to settlement in Siberia. — 528, 530, 532, 536-38</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Utin (Outine), Nikolai Isaakovich</strong></td>
<td>(1845-1883) — Russian revolutionary, took part in the student movement, member of the Land and Freedom society; refugee from 1863, an organiser of the Russian Section of the International in Geneva, delegate to the London Conference (1871); supported Marx and the General Coun-</td>
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cil in their struggle against Bakunin and his adherents; in the mid-1870s abandoned the revolutionary movement.—77, 100, 225, 485, 517, 526, 540, 562, 645

V

Vaillant, Marie Edouard (1840-1915)—French revolutionary, Blanquist, member of the Paris Commune, member of the General Council of the International (1871-72), delegate to the London Conference (1871), Lausanne (1867) and the Hague (1872) congresses; withdrew from the International in connection with the decision to transfer the General Council to New York; a founder of the Socialist Party of France.—19, 122, 145, 159, 243-47, 250, 253, 441

Van-Heddeghem, L. (pseudonym Walter) (born c. 1847)—police agent who penetrated the Paris sections of the International, delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); exposed in 1873.—244, 247, 249-50, 438-41, 444, 457

Varlin, Louis Eugène (1839-1871)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, bookbinder, Left Proudhonist, a leader of the International in France, delegate to the London Conference (1865), Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses; member of the Paris Commune, shot by the Versaillerse at the end of May 1871.—101

Velarde, José Maria—Spanish general, captain-general of Catalonia in April-September 1873.—589

Vermersch, Eugène Marie Joseph (1845-1878)—French petty-bourgeois socialist, participant in the republican movement; during the Paris Commune published the newspaper Père Duchêne; emigrated to England where he published the newspaper Qui Vive! attacking the International and the General Council.—143

Vésinier, Pierre (1824-1902)—French journalist, an organiser of the French Section of the International in London, expelled from the Central Council for slander (1866) and in 1868 from the International; member of the Paris Commune, emigrated to England, Secretary of the French Section of 1871 and member of the Universal Federalist Council, opposed Marx and the General Council of the International.—101, 157

Vichard, Paul Eugène (1835-1883)—participant in the French working-class movement, took part in the Paris Commune, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872).—244, 245, 247, 249, 250, 457

Vickery, Samuel—Secretary of the British Federal Council (1872-73), fought against its reformist wing; Chairman of the British Federation Congress in Manchester (1873).—304, 309, 314, 414

Victor Emmanuel (Vittorio Emanuele) II (1820-1878)—King of Piedmont (Sardinia) (1849-61), King of Italy (1861-78).—45, 64, 83

Viñas, García José (1848-1931)—Spanish medical student, anarchist, an organiser of the Bakuninist Alliance in Spain (1868), took part in the revolutionary events of 1873.—486, 496, 586

Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro) (70-19 B.C.)—Roman poet.—166

Vogel von Falckenstein, Eduard (1797-1885)—German general, during the Franco-Prussian war Governor-General of the coastal regions of Germany.—221-22

Vögele, August—compositor at the Hollinger printing shop in London (1859).—162

Vogelweide, Walther, von der (1170-1230)—German medieval poet.—610

Vogt, Gustav (1829-1901)—Swiss lawyer, writer and radical politician,
pacifist, an organiser of the League of Peace and Freedom; Karl Vogt's brother.—85, 461

Vogt, Karl (1817-1895)—German naturalist, vulgar materialist, petty-bourgeois democrat; in 1849 left Germany; in the 1850s-60s Napoleon III's secret agent, a participant of slanderous campaign against proletarian revolutionaries.—160-62, 440

Voltaire (real name François Marie Arouet) (1694-1778)—French philosopher, writer and historian of the Enlightenment.—405, 608

Wagner, Adolf (1835-1917)—German vulgar economist, Katheder-Socialist.—365, 620

Wakefield, Edward Gibbon (1796-1862)—British statesman and economist, proposed a theory of colonisation.—166, 193

Waldersee, Friedrich Gustav, Count von (1795-1864)—Prussian general and military writer, War Minister (1854-58).—604

Walter—see Van-Heddeghem, L.

Ward, Osborne—participant in the American working-class movement, mechanic, member of the International's section in Brooklyn, was influenced by bourgeois reformists; at the Hague Congress of the International (1872) was elected member of the General Council, but refused.—253, 266

Weber, Georg (1822-1856)—German proletarian poet and journalist; member of the Communist League; an editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49); friend of Marx and Engels; in the 1850s visited Latin American states as a travelling agent of the British trade firm.—607

Weiler, G. Adam (1841-1894)—German refugee in the USA and from 1862 in England, cabinet-maker, member of the International (from 1865), member of the British Federal Council (1872-73) and its last Secretary; supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against reformists, later member of the Social-Democratic Federation.—313

Wenker, Henri—Swiss anarchist, joiner, member of the Bakuninist Jura Federation.—450, 514

West, William—American Radical, Secretary of Section No. 12 in New York, expelled from the International by the General Council and the Hague Congress (1872).—178, 179, 182, 261, 272, 514, 636-39, 640

Weston, John—participant in the British working-class movement, carpenter, then businessman, Owenite; took part in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), member of the British Federal Council (1872).—19, 122, 145, 157, 159

Wheeler, George William—t ook part in the British working-class movement, participant in the inaugural meeting of the International held on September 28, 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (1864-67), Treasurer of the Council (1864-65, 1865-67).—31

Wiehe, Johann Friedrich—compositor at the Hollinger printing shop in London (1859).—162

Wieland, Christoph Martin (1733-1813)—German writer of the Enlightenment.—603

William I, the Conqueror (c. 1027-1087)—Duke of Normandy, King of England (from 1066).—222

William I (1743-1821)—Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel (under the name of
William IX) (1785-1803), Elector of Hesse-Cassel (1803-07, November 1813 to 1821).—604

William I (1797-1888)—King of Prussia (1861-88), Emperor of Germany (1871-88).—128, 417

William IV (1765-1837)—King of Great Britain and Ireland (1830-37).—50

Wilmart, Raimond (pseudonym Wilmot)—French revolutionary, took part in the Paris Commune, delegate to the Hague Congress of the International (1872) from Bordeaux sections; in 1873 emigrated to Buenos Aires where he propagated the International's principles.—243-47, 249, 250, 253

Wilmot—see Wilmart, Raimond

Wolf—owner of a shoe factory in Mainz.—434

Woodhull, Victoria Claflin (1838-1927)—American feminist, in 1871-72 tried to become a leader of the International's North American Federation; headed Section No. 12 in New York, expelled from the International by the General Council and the Hague Congress (1872).—178-80, 182, 183, 636, 638-42

Wróblewski, Walery (1836-1908)—prominent figure in the Polish and international working-class movement, revolutionary democrat, a leader of the Polish uprising (1863-64); general of the Paris Commune, member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872), fought against Bakuninists.—19, 122, 145, 159, 213, 240, 244, 247, 249, 250, 265, 273, 284

Wyss, O.—French secretary of the Manchester foreign section of the International, supported Marx and Engels in their struggle against reformists; later emigrated to the USA.—308

Yarrow (Jarrow), F. J.—prominent figure in the British trade-unionist movement, cabinet-maker; member of the General Council of the International (1866-68 and 1872).—122, 145, 159

Yenisherlov, Georgi Petrovich (born c. 1849)—student at the Petersburg Technological Institute, took part in the student disturbances in 1868-69, prosecuted in the Nechayev organisation's case, released for lack of evidence.—534

Z

Zabel, Friedrich (1802-1875)—German liberal journalist, editor of the Berlin National-Zeitung (1848-75).—160

Zaichnevsky, Pyotr Grigoryevich (1842-1896)—Russian revolutionary, organised the student movement in the early 1860s in Moscow and a circle to disseminate illegal literature; author of the Young Russia proclamation; sentenced to penal servitude and exile to Siberia where he continued revolutionary propagandist activities.—561

Zévy, Maurice—member of the General Council of the International (1866-72), Corresponding Secretary for Hungary (1870-71).—19, 122, 145, 159

Zhukovsky (Joukovsky, Joukowski), Nikolai Ivanovich (1833-1895)—Russian anarchist, participant in Petersburg revolutionary circles in the early 1860s; refugee in Switzerland from 1862; a leader of the Bakuninist Alliance.—94, 249, 272, 461

Zürcher, P.—member of the Manchester foreign section of the International (1872), opposed the reformist wing in the British Federal Council.—308
INDEX OF LITERARY AND MYTHOLOGICAL NAMES

Achates—character in Virgil’s Aeneid, Aeneas’ loyal fellow-traveller, whose name is symbolical of true friendship.—476

Anthony—Christian saint, according to legend, hermit in the Nubian desert.—493

Aymon’s sons—heroes in the French early medieval legends; Alard, Richard, Guichard and Renaud de Montauban, sons of Count Dordona Aymon, took part in the vassals’ struggle against Charles the Great (8th-9th cent.).—509

Christ, Jesus (Bib.)—497

Daniel—Old Testament prophet.—562

Dogberry—a character in Shakespeare’s comedy Much Ado About Nothing, a pretentious ignoramus.—143

Don Quixote—the title character in Cervantes’ novel.—223, 599

Etzel—a character in the German medieval poem Nibelungenlied, Huns’ King; Attila, the Huns’ leader (433-53) was his prototype.—610

Falstaff, Sir John—a character in Shakespeare’s King Henry IV and Merry Wives of Windsor, a sly, fat braggart and jester.—470, 588

Gargantua—the title character in Rabelais’ Gargantua et Pantagruel.—493

John—one of the Twelve Apostles, according to Christian tradition, author of the Revelation of John (Apocalypse), one of the Canonic gospels, and three Epistles actually written by different persons.—452

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Il Fascio Operaio—an Italian anarchist weekly published in Bologne from December 1871 to September 1872.—502-03, 580

La Favilla—an Italian paper, at first, democratic, published in Mantua in 1866-94, in 1871-72, daily; in the first half of the 1870s was under the influence of anarchists.—43, 275-76, 451, 453, 504

La Federation—a Spanish workers’ weekly, organ of the Barcelona Federation of the International, published in Barcelona from 1869 to 1873; was under the Bakuninists’ influence.—59, 230, 236, 237, 281, 412, 415, 497, 510-11, 544, 587, 589, 596

Le Figaro—a French conservative paper published in Paris from 1854, from 1866, daily; was connected with the Government of the Second Empire.—75, 95, 257, 477, 504

The Fortnightly Review—an English historical, philosophical, and literary magazine founded in 1865 by a group of radicals, subsequently it became liberal in character, under this title it was published in London till 1934.—165, 192

Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt—a democratic daily published in Frankfurt am Main from 1856 (under this title from 1866) to 1943.—52


La Gaulois—a conservative-monarchist daily, organ of the big bourgeoisie and aristocracy, published in Paris from 1867 to 1929.—75, 95, 477

Gazzettino Rosa—an Italian daily, organ of the Left Mazzinists, published in Milan from 1868 to 1873; in 1871-72 came out in defence of the Paris Commune, printed documents of the International; in 1872 was under the influence of anarchists.—30, 61, 74, 75, 152, 160, 163, 258, 499, 580

Herald—see The New-York Herald

La Igualdad—a Spanish radical daily published in Madrid in 1868-70; a number of utopian socialists and republicans contributed to the paper, from the early 1870s it also expressed anarchist ideas.—491

The Illustrated London News—a weekly magazine published since 1842.—339

L’Internationale—a Belgian weekly, organ of the Belgian sections of the International, published in Brussels from 1869 to 1873; in 1873 took an anarchist stand.—219, 227, 415, 442, 483, 514
The International Herald—an English republican weekly published in London from March 1872 to October 1873, from May 1872 to May 1873 (with intervals) was organ of the British Federal Council of the International; published documents and correspondences by Marx and Engels.—78, 128, 136, 173, 219, 221, 224, 227, 285, 301, 303, 305-07, 309, 314, 408-14, 426, 427, 429, 431, 433, 434, 438, 446

Издания Общества «Народной Расправы» (Publications of the “People’s Judgment” Society)—anarchist publication, which appeared in two issues in 1869 under the editorship of Bakunin and Nechayev; both issues were printed in Geneva.—506, 519, 522, 523, 530, 540-44

Janus, Jahrbücher deutscher Gesinnung, Bildung und That—a German conservative yearly published in Berlin from 1845 to 1848.—348

Journal de Genève national, politique et littéraire—a Swiss conservative daily, founded in 1826.—32, 75, 105, 539

La Justicia—a Spanish republican paper published in Malaga in 1871-73.—29

Kladderadatsch—an illustrated satirical weekly published from 1848 to 1944 in Berlin; in the 19th century held liberal positions.—339

Kölnische Zeitung—a German daily, under this title it was published in Cologne from 1802 to 1945; organ of the Rhenish bourgeoisie and National-Liberal party; in the 1870s was Bismarck’s mouthpiece.—452, 607, 623

Колокол (The Bell)—a revolutionary-democratic newspaper, was published by Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Ogarev from 1857 to 1867 in Russian and in 1868-69 in French under the title Kolokol (La Cloche) with Russian supplements; until 1865 was published in London, later in Geneva.—85, 163, 461, 529, 557, 559, 562-63

Колокол. Орган русского освобождения, основанный А. И. Герценом—was the title under which Sergei Nechayev and Vladimir Serebrennikov published six issues of the paper in spring 1870 in Geneva.—544, 549

Il Ladro—an Italian paper published in Florence from August 20, 1872.—217

Il Libero Pensiero—an Italian weekly magazine, organ of the republican rationalists, published in Florence in 1866-76, attacked the International and its General Council.—74, 75, 160, 163

La Liberté—a Belgian democratic paper published in Brussels from 1865 to 1873, in 1872-73, weekly; from 1867, organ of the International in Belgium.—127, 128, 219, 256, 442-44, 457, 507, 508

The Manchester Weekly Times—an English liberal paper published in Manchester since December 1857.—366

La Marseillaise—a French daily, organ of the Left-wing republicans, published in Paris with the participation of Blanquists from December 1869 to September 1870, printed materials on the activity of the International and on the working-class movement.—97, 219, 540

Il Martello—an Italian paper published in Milan in February-March 1872, organ of the Milan Section of the International.—580
The Morning Advertiser—a daily published in London from 1794 to 1934; in the 1850s and 1860s reflected the interests of the radical bourgeoisie.—196

The Morning Star—an English daily, organ of the Free Traders, published in London from 1856 to 1869.—196

Московская газета (Moscow Gazette)—a Russian paper published from 1756 to 1917; from 1859, daily; from the 1850s assumed a reactionary character.—72, 75, 557

Munkás-Heti-Krónika—see Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik

Народное дело (La Cause du Peuple)—a magazine (from April 1870, newspaper) published in Geneva in 1868-70 by a group of Russian revolutionary émigrés, the first issue was prepared by Bakunin; in October 1868, the editors, among whom was Nikolai Utin, broke off relations with Bakunin and opposed his views; in April 1870 it became the organ of the Russian Section of the International Working Men's Association which pursued the policy of Marx and the General Council.—523, 526, 551

The National Reformer—an English weekly magazine of bourgeois radicals published in London from 1860 to 1893.—71

National Zeitung (National-Zeitung)—a German liberal daily published under this title in Berlin in 1848-1915.—160

Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Organ der Demokratie—a daily published in Cologne under the editorship of Marx from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849 (with an interval between September 27 and October 12, 1848), organ of the revolutionary-proletarian wing of the democrats during the 1848-49 revolution in Germany; Engels was among its editors.—161

Neuer Social-Demokrat—a German daily published in Berlin from 1871 to 1876 three times a week, organ of the Lassallean General Association of German Workers; from sectarian stance waged a struggle against the leaders of the International and of the German Social-Democratic Labour Party, supported Bakuninists and representatives of other anti-proletarian trends.—75, 119, 439, 440, 442, 444, 445, 451, 484

New-York Daily Tribune—an American daily published from 1841 to 1924, organ of the US Left-wing Whigs until the mid-1850s and later of the Republican Party; it voiced progressive views and opposed slavery. Marx and Engels contributed to it from August 1851 to March 1862.—161-62

New-Yorker Demokrat—a weekly of German democratic émigrés in the USA published under different titles from 1845 to 1876.—180, 638

The New-York Herald—a US daily of the Republican Party published from 1835 to 1924, favoured compromise with the slave-owners of the South during the Civil War.—181, 642

Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung—a conservative daily published in Berlin from 1861 to 1918, in the 1860s-80s, semi-official organ of the government of Bismarck.—225

Obshchina (Commune)—the paper, the first issue of which came out under this title in September 1870 in London and was edited by Sergei Nechayev and Vladimir Serebrennikov; the second issue, published in 1871, was destroyed by the publishers themselves.—541
Paris-Journal—a conservative daily connected with the police, was published by Henri de Pène from 1868 to 1874 in Paris, labelled the International and the Paris Commune.—95, 127, 477

O Pensamento Social—a Portuguese socialist weekly newspaper published from February 1872 to April 1873 in Lisbon; organ of the International sections.—408, 410, 421, 438

Pensiero e Azione—organ of the Italian democrats, published under the editorship of Mazzini, appeared twice a month in 1858-59 in London and in 1860 in Lugano and Genoa.—162

Le Père Duchêne—a French daily published in Paris by Eugène Vermersch from March 6 to May 21, 1871; was close in its trend to the Blanquist press.—143

Le Petit Journal—a French bourgeois daily published in Paris from 1863 to 1944.—75

La Plebe—an Italian paper published under the editorship of Enrico Bignami in Lodi from 1868 to 1875 and in Milan from 1875 to 1883; before the early 1870s, was of democratic trend, later of socialist; in 1872-73, organ of the International sections; supported the General Council in its struggle against anarchists, published the documents of the International and articles by Engels.—22, 59, 61, 150, 217, 276, 284, 293, 296, 300, 408, 409, 414, 438, 447

Il Popolino—a weekly, official organ of the Turin Section of the International, published in Turin from April 15 to October 6, 1872.—217, 258

Le Progrès—a Swiss paper, organ of the Bakuninists; opposed the General Council of the International, published in Le Locle from December 1868 to April 1870 under the editorship of James Guillaume.—90, 104, 472, 473, 540

Le Progrès de Lyon—a French bourgeois daily published in Lyon from 1860.—104

Il Proletario—see Il Proletario Italiano

Il Proletario Italiano—an Italian paper published in Turin under the editorship of a secret police agent Terzagli in 1871, organ of the Turin Section of the International, supported Bakuninists; from 1872 to 1874 was published under the title Il Proletario.—28, 29, 54, 111, 499

Qui Vive!—a daily published in London in 1871, organ of the French Section of 1871.—23, 100

Le Radical—a French republican daily published in Paris in 1871-72.—100

La Razon—a Spanish weekly, organ of the anarchists, was published in Seville in 1871-72.—211, 236, 494

The Red Republican—a Chartist weekly published in London by George Harney from June to November 1850; the English translation of the Manifesto of the Communist Party by Marx and Engels appeared in it.—174

La Réforme. Journal du Midi—a French paper published in Toulouse from 1870.—483

Reichs-Gesetzblatt—a German government paper, organ of the Ministry of Home Affairs, was founded in Berlin in 1867, published under this title from 1871.—618
La République Française—a French daily of the radical trend, founded by Léon Gambetta in Paris in November 1871 as organ of the parliamentary faction of the Republican League, was published up to (and including) 1924.—482

La Réveil—a French weekly, a daily from May 1869, organ of the Left republicans, was published under the editorship of Charles Delescluse in Paris from July 1868 to January 1871; printed documents of the International and materials on the working-class movement.—97, 220

La Révolution Sociale—an anarchist weekly published in Geneva from October 1871 to January 1872; from November 1871, official organ of the Bakuninist Jura Federation.—55, 68, 69, 95, 116, 119, 121, 477, 478, 484, 488

La Roma del Popolo—a weekly on questions of religion, philosophy, politics, and literature, organ of the petty-bourgeois democracy, published in Rome from 1871 to 1872; published articles by Mazzini against the International.—28, 43, 44, 46, 60, 61, 480

Il Romagnolo—an Italian democratic weekly published in Parma with intervals from September 1868 to October 1871.—29

C.-Петербургские ведомости (St. Petersburg Gazette)—a Russian daily, official government organ, published from 1728 to 1917; under this title appeared from 1728 to 1914.—516, 527-35, 539

The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art—an English conservative weekly magazine published in London from 1855 to 1938.—192

Der Social-Demokrat—organ of the Lassallian General Association of German Workers, under this title was published in Berlin from December 15, 1864 to 1871; Johann Baptist Schweitzer was its editor in 1864-67; under the title Neuer Social-Demokrat was published from 1871 to 1876.—473

Le Socialiste—a daily published in New York from October 1871 to May 1873; organ of the French sections of the International in the USA; after the Hague Congress (1872) broke off with the International.—174, 641-42

Le Socialiste—a French weekly, founded by J. Guesde in Paris in 1885; up to 1902, organ of the Workers’ Party, later organ of the French Socialists; Engels was its contributor in the 1880s and 90s.—348

Socialisten—a Danish workers’ paper published in Copenhagen from July 1871 to May 1874, first as a weekly and from April 1872, as a daily; organ of the Danish sections of the International.—57, 408

Le Soir—a French bourgeois daily published in Paris from 1869 to 1932.—257

La Solidarité—a Swiss daily, organ of the Bakunists, was edited by James Guillaume from April to September 1870 in Neuchâtel and from March to May 1871 in Geneva.—91, 92, 95, 104, 120, 474, 476-77

La Solidarité Révolutionnaire—a weekly published in Barcelona in French from June to September 1873, organ of the Committee for Revolutionary Socialist Propaganda for Southern France, founded by Alerini and Brousse for popularising anarchist ideas in France and among the refugees of the Paris Commune.—586-88, 590

Со временникъ (Contemporary)—a Russian literary and political magazine published in St. Petersburg from 1836 to 1866 (from 1843, a monthly); was founded by Pushkin; from 1847, its editors were Nekrasov and Panayev;
Belinsky, Dobrolyubov, Chernyshevsky contributed to it; organ of the Russian revolutionary democracy in the 1860s.—559

The Spectator—an English weekly published in London from 1828; at the beginning was liberal in character, later, conservative.—187

The Standard—an English conservative daily founded in London in 1827.—75

Die Tages-Presse—an Austrian daily published in Vienna from 1869 to 1878.—72, 75

Die Tagwacht—a Swiss social-democratic paper published in Zurich from 1869 to 1880; in 1869-73 organ of the German sections of the International in Switzerland, later, of the Swiss Workers' Union and of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland.—408, 459

The Times—an English conservative daily founded in London in 1785.—31, 32, 84, 104, 127, 140, 143, 166, 193-96, 214, 395, 398, 399

El Trabajo—a Spanish republican paper published in El Ferrol in the early 1870s.—29

Le Travail—a French daily of the Paris sections of the International published in Paris from October 3 to December 12, 1869; Louis Eugène Varlin was among its major contributors.—90, 473

Il Tribuno—see Ciceraucchio. Il Tribuno

Über Land und Meer—a German illustrated weekly magazine published in Stuttgart from 1858 to 1923.—339

Vierteljahrschrift für Volkswirthschaft und Kulturgeschichte—a German liberal magazine published in Berlin from 1863 to 1893.—339

Der Volksstaat—central organ of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party, published in Leipzig from October 2, 1869 to September 29, 1876 twice a week (from July 1873, three times a week) under the general editorship of Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel played an important role in its publishing, Marx and Engels were among its contributors.—21, 23, 35, 48, 70, 126, 164, 167, 181, 183, 185, 187, 190, 191, 193, 194, 197, 216, 219, 223, 226-27, 255, 256, 260-62, 264, 266, 270, 286, 287, 317, 319, 321-23, 327, 331, 334, 335, 368, 371, 374-78, 383, 388, 390, 391, 398, 405, 408, 421, 437, 441, 445, 448, 451, 473, 584, 588, 591, 598, 616, 617, 619, 625, 629

Die Volksstimme—an Austrian workers' paper published in Vienna twice a month from April to December 1869, supported the General Council of the International.—142

Volkswille—an Austrian workers' paper published in Vienna from January 1870 to June 1874 (once a week up to October 1872, later, twice a week); printed documents of the International.—408

De Werkman—a Dutch workers' weekly published in Amsterdam from 1868 to 1874, organ of the Amsterdam Section of the International from 1869.—408

Wiesbadener Zeitung—a German paper published from 1872 to 1881.—75

Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly—a paper published by bourgeois feminists Victoria Woodhull and Tennessee Claflin in New York from 1870 to 1876; organ of the
US Section No. 12 excluded from the International by the General Council and the Hague Congress (1872).—125, 126, 178, 180-82, 636-41

The World—an American daily of the Democrats published in New York from 1860 to 1931.—641-42

Zeitschrift des Central-Vereins in Preussen für das Wohl der arbeitenden Klassen—a German philanthropic magazine published by Guido Weiß in Leipzig.—338

Zeitschrift für spekulative Theologie—a German theoretical magazine of the Hegelian trend published under the editorship of Bruno Bauer in Berlin from 1836 to 1838.—452

Die Zukunft—a German democratic paper, organ of the petty-bourgeois People's Party, published in Königsberg (Kaliningrad) in 1867 and in Berlin from 1868.—127
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