

MARX
ENGELS
Gesamt-
Ausgabe

19

22

Werke
März 1871
bis
November 1871

M
ECKART

MARX/ENGELS GESAMTAUSGABE

KARL MARX FRIEDRICH ENGELS GESAMTAUSGABE (MEGA)

ERSTE ABTEILUNG

WERKE • ARTIKEL • ENTWÜRFE

BAND 22

Herausgegeben vom Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus
beim Zentralkomitee der
Kommunistischen Partei der Sowjetunion
und vom Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus
beim Zentralkomitee der
Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands

KARL MARX
FRIEDRICH ENGELS
WERKE ARTIKEL
ENTWÜRFE
MÄRZ BIS NOVEMBER
1871

TEXT



DIETZ VERLAG BERLIN

1978

Redaktionskommission der Gesamtausgabe:
Günter Heyden und Anatoli Jegorow (Leiter),
Erich Kundel und Alexander Malysch (Sekretäre),
Rolf Dlubek, Heinrich Gemkow, Lew Golman,
Sofia Lewiowa, Michail Mtschedlow, Richard Sperl.

Redaktionskommission der Ersten Abteilung:
Rolf Dlubek (Leiter),
Erich Kundel, Alexander Malysch, Richard Sperl, Inge Taubert.

Bearbeitung des Bandes:
Hans-Dieter Krause (Leiter),
Liselotte Hermann, Brigitte Rieck, Rosie Rudich,
unter Mitarbeit von Irma Baude, Mathias Engel und Edith Voigt.
Gutachter: Nikita Kolpinski und Erich Kundel.

Text und Apparat
Mit 36 Abbildungen
© Dietz Verlag Berlin 1978
Lizenznummer 1
LSV 0046 **V**
Technische Redaktion: Friedrich Hackenberger, Heinz Ruschinski
und Waltraud Schulze
Korrektur: Hanna Behrendt, Renate Kröhnert und Gerda Plauschinat
Einband: Albert Kapr
Typografie: Albert Kapr/Horst Kinkel
Schrift: Times-Antiqua und Maxima
Printed in the German Democratic Republic
Gesamtherstellung: INTERDRUCK Graphischer Großbetrieb Leipzig
Papierherstellung: VEB Druck- und Spezialpapiere Golzern
Best.-Nr.: 7448021
DDR 135,-M

Inhalt

	Text	Apparat
Einleitung	19*	
Editorische Hinweise	51*	
Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen, Siglen und Zeichen	767	
 KARL MARX · FRIEDRICH ENGELS: WERKE · ARTIKEL ENTWÜRFE · MÄRZ BIS NOVEMBER 1871		
<i>Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels</i> • To the Editor of "The Times". March 20 or 21, 1871	3	771
<i>Karl Marx</i> • Statement by the General Council to the Editor of "The Times" and other papers	4	775
<i>Karl Marx</i> • An die Redaktionen des „Volksstaats“ und der „Zukunft“	5	779
<i>Karl Marx</i> • A la rédaction du «Werker». 31 mars 1871	9	782
<i>Karl Marx</i> • To the Editor of "The Times". April 3, 1871	10	783
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Der Streik der Zigarrenarbeiter in Ant- werpen	11	785
<i>Karl Marx</i> • Mitteilung über Karl Vogt	12	787
<i>Karl Marx</i> • The Civil War in France. (First Draft, Second Draft and Address of the General Council)	13	789
<i>Karl Marx</i> • The Civil War in France. (First Draft) The Government of Defence	15	805
	17	
		5*

Inhalt

	Text	Apparat
Dufaure	22	
Lecomte and Clément Thomas	24	
The National Assembly	27	
Chanzy, Archbishop of Paris etc.	27	
Thiers	28	
The Assembly and the Paris Revolution	28	
Thiers' finest Army	29	
Thiers	30	
The Commune	39	
Paris	40	
The Province	41	
Trochu, Jules Favre, et Thiers' Provincials	43	
The Commune	45	
a) Measures for the Working Class	45	
2) Measures for Working Class, but mostly for the Middle Classes	46	
3) General Measures	47	
4) Measures of Public Safety	48	
5) Financial Measures	50	
La Commune	50	
The Rise of the Commune and the Central Committee	50	
The Character of the Commune	53	
Peasantry	60	
Union (Ligue) Républicaine	63	
The Communal Revolution as the Representative of all Classes of Society not living upon foreign labour	63	
Republic only possible as avowedly Social Republic	64	
Workmen and Comte	65	
The Commune (Social Measures)	65	
Decentralization by the Ruraux and The Commune	69	
Comtist view	73	
Thiers on the Rurals	74	
Government of Defence	74	
The Gendarms and Policemen	75	
Republican Deputies of Paris	75	
Vendôme affair etc.	76	
<i>Karl Marx · The Civil War in France. (Second Draft)</i>	83	890
1) Government of Defence.		
Trochu, Favre, Picard, Ferry	85	
2) Thiers. Dufaure. Pouyer-Quertier	88	
3) The Rural Assembly	91	
5) Opening of the Civil War. 18 March Revolution. Clement Thomas. Lecomte. The Affaire Vendôme	93	

Inhalt

	Text	Apparat
<i>Clement Thomas. Lecomte etc.</i>	94	
The Affaire at Belle-Epine	99	
6) The Commune	99	
7) Schluß	106	
The lies in Thiers bulletins	108	
Revised passages to part 5 and 6 of the Second Draft	112	
<i>Karl Marx • The Civil War in France. Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association</i>	119	972
I.	123	
II.	131	
III.	137	
IV.	149	
Notes	160	
I.	160	
II.	161	
<i>Friedrich Engels • Outline of an appeal to the Weavers' and Spinners' Trade Unions of Manchester for assistance of the Spanish textile workers' strike</i>	163	1002
<i>Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels • Resolution of the General Council expelling Henri Louis Tolain from the International Working Men's Association</i>	165	1004
<i>Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels • Résolution du Conseil général sur l'expulsion de Henri Louis Tolain de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Übersetzung aus dem Englischen von Friedrich Engels</i>	166	1008
<i>Friedrich Engels • Abermals „Herr Vogt"</i>	167	1009
<i>Karl Marx • To the Editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette". June 8, 1871</i>	174	1014
<i>Friedrich Engels • Meeting of the Subcommittee of the General Council. June 11, 1871. Minutes</i>	175	1017
<i>Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels • Statement by the General Council on Jules Favre's Circular</i>	176	1019
<i>Karl Marx • Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich. Adresse des Generalrats der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation an alle Mitglieder in Europa und den Vereinigten Staaten. Übersetzung aus dem Englischen von Friedrich Engels</i>	179	1023
I.	183	
II.	192	

Inhalt

	Text	Apparat
III.	198	
IV.	212	
Beilagen	224	
I.	224	
II.	225	
<i>Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels</i> • Statement by the General Council to the Editor of "The Times"	227	1040
<i>Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels</i> • Statement by the General Council to the Editor of "The Standard"	228	1043
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Statement by the General Council on George Jacob Holyoake's letter	229	1045
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> Letter from the General Council to the Editor of the "Spectator" (resp. "Examiner")	230	1048
<i>Karl Marx</i> • To the Editor of the "Echo". Probably June 20 or 21, 1871	233	1050
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Statement by the General Council to the Editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette"	234	1051
<i>Karl Marx</i> • To the Editor of the "Daily News". June 26, 1871	237	1053
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Statement by the General Council on the letters of George Jacob Holyoake and Benjamin Lucraft	238	1055
<i>Karl Marx</i> • An die Redaktion der „Neuen Freien Presse“. 30. Juni 1871	240	1058
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • „The Civil War in France“ und die englische Presse	241	1061
<i>Karl Marx</i> • Letter to the Editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette", Frederick Greenwood	243	1064
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Aufzeichnungen von einer Unterredung zwischen Karl Marx und Robert Reid	244	1067
<i>Karl Marx</i> • Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador in Paris	246	1071
<i>Karl Marx</i> • To the Editor of the "Morning Advertiser". July 11, 1871	253	1077
<i>Karl Marx</i> • To the Editor of "The Standard". July 13, 1871	254	1078
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Notizen über Giuseppe Mazzini	255	1079

Inhalt

	Text	Apparat
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • L'intervento di Giuseppe Mazzini contro l'Associazione Internazionale degli Opérai. Übersetzung aus dem Englischen von Carlo Cafiero	256	1081
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • To the Editor of "The Times". August 7, 1871	260	1085
<i>Karl Marx</i> • Au rédacteur de « L'International ». 17 août 1871	262	1087
<i>Karl Marx</i> • To the Editor of "Public Opinion". August 19, 1871	263	1090
<i>Karl Marx</i> • Au rédacteur du « Gaulois ». 24 août 1871	264	1093
<i>Karl Marx</i> • Letter to the Editor of the "Sun", Charles Dana	265	1095
<i>Karl Marx</i> • The Commune and Archbishop Darboy	268	1099
<i>Karl Marx</i> • Au rédacteur de « La Vérité ». 30 août 1871	271	1102
<i>Karl Marx</i> • To the Editor of the "Evening Standard". September 4, 1871	272	1106
<i>Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels</i> • Propositions to the General Council concerning preparations for the London Conference	275	1107
<i>Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels</i> • Propositions to be submitted to the Conference by the General Council	276	1109
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Meeting of the Subcommittee of the General Council September 9, 1871. Minutes	278	1112
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Meeting of the Subcommittee of the General Council September 11, 1871. Minutes	282	1114
 Delegiertenkonferenz der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation in London. 17. bis 23. September 1871	 283	 1116
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Proposal on the meeting-places and the opening of the sessions of the London Conference	285	1130
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Notizen von den Sitzungen der Londoner Konferenz	286	1131
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Procès-verbal de la séance de la Commission pour les affaires de Suisse du 18 septembre 1871	292	1140
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Propositions du Conseil général adoptées par la Conférence	300	1157

Inhalt

	Text	Apparat
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Document pour le rapport des finances du Conseil général	301	1161
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Résumé de la gestion financière du Conseil général du 1 ^{er} septembre 1869 au 31 août 1870	302	1163
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Gestion financière du Conseil général pour l'année du 1 ^{er} septembre 1870 au 31 août 1871	304	1164
<i>Karl Marx</i> • Notes sur la résolution Vaillant (Extrait des notes de Marx à la Conférence de Londres)	306	1165
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Über die politische Aktion der Arbeiterklasse. Rededisposition für die Sitzung der Londoner Konferenz am 21. September 1871	307	1166
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Sur l'action politique de la classe ouvrière. Note manuscrite du discours prononcé à la séance du 21 septembre 1871 de la Conférence de Londres	308	1168
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Projet de la résolution de la Conférence de Londres relative à la lettre de Paul Robin à la Conférence	311	1170
<i>Karl Marx</i> • Complément à une proposition d'André Bastelica	312	1172
<i>Karl Marx</i> • Résolution de la Conférence des délégués de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs relative au différend entre les fédérations dans la Suisse romande	315	1173
<i>Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels</i> • Résolutions des délégués de la Conférence de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Réunie à Londres, du 17 au 23 septembre 1871. (Circulaire publiée par le Conseil général de l'Association)	321	1182
<i>Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels</i> • Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association. Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871. (Circular issued by the General Council of the Association)	335	1207
<i>Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels</i> • Beschlüsse der Delegiertenkonferenz der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation, abgehalten zu London vom 17. bis 23. September 1871. Auf der Grundlage der französischen und der englischen Ausgabe bearbeitet	347	1209
<i>Karl Marx</i> • To the Editors of "Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly". Covering letter to the letter from Jenny Marx to "Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly"	359	1212

Inhalt

	Text	Apparat
<i>Karl Marx</i> • General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association. Official edition, revised by the General Council	361	1213
General Rules of the International Working Men's Association	365	
Administrative Regulations, revised in accordance with the Resolutions passed by the Congresses (1866 to 1869), and by the London Conference (1871)	368	
Appendix	373	
<i>Karl Marx</i> • Statuts généraux et règlements administratifs de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Édition officielle, révisée par le Conseil général. Auf der Grundlage der englischen Ausgabe bearbeitet von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels	379	1238
Statuts généraux de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs	383	
Règlements administratifs, révisés conformément aux résolutions des congrès successifs (1866 à 1869) et de la Conférence de Londres (1871)	386	
Appendice	392	
<i>Karl Marx</i> • Allgemeine Statuten und Verwaltungsverordnungen der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation. Amtliche deutsche Ausgabe, revidiert durch den Generalrat. Auf der Grundlage der englischen und der französischen Ausgabe bearbeitet von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels	397	1241
Allgemeine Statuten der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation	401	
Verwaltungsverordnungen revidiert im Einklang mit den Beschlüssen der Kongresse (1866—69) und der Londoner Konferenz 1871	404	
Anhang	410	
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Resolution of the General Council expelling Gustave Durand from the International Working Men's Association	416	1245
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Résolution du Conseil général sur l'expulsion de Gustave Durand de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Vermutliche Übersetzung aus dem Englischen	417	1248
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Resolution des Generalrats über den Ausschluß von Gustave Durand aus der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation. Übersetzung aus dem Englischen von Karl Marx	418	1249

Inhalt

	Text	Apparat
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Risoluzione del Consiglio Generale sulla espulsione di Gustave Durand dall'Associazione Internazionale degli Opérai. Übersetzung aus dem Englischen, unter Berücksichtigung der französischen Textfassung	419	1251
<i>Karl Marx</i> • Declaration of the General Council on Netchaev's misuse of the name of the International Working Men's Association	420	1253
<i>Karl Marx</i> • Déclaration du Conseil général sur l'usurpation par Netchaïev du nom de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Vermutliche Übersetzung aus dem Englischen von Friedrich Engels	423	1256
<i>Karl Marx</i> • Résolution du Conseil général sur les statuts de la Section française de 1871 adoptée à la séance du 17 octobre 1871	424	1258
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • On the progress of the International Working Men's Association in Italy and Spain	427	1265
<i>Karl Marx</i> • Dichiarazione del Consiglio Generale sull'abuso del nome dell'Associazione Internazionale degli Opérai da parte di Neciaiev. Übersetzung aus dem Englischen, unter Berücksichtigung der französischen Textfassung, von Friedrich Engels	429	1267
<i>Karl Marx</i> • Erklärung des Generalrats zum Mißbrauch des Namens der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation durch Neschajew. Übersetzung aus dem Englischen	430	1268
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Statement by the General Council concerning Alexander Baillie Cochrane's letter	431	1269
<i>Karl Marx</i> • Résolutions du Conseil général sur la Section française de 1871	433	1272
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Der Gründungsschwindel in England	438	1281
<i>Friedrich Engels</i> • Giuseppe Garibaldi's Statement and its effects on the Working Classes in Italy	440	1283

Inhalt

	Text	Apparat
ANHANG		
Artikel, Dokumente und Übersetzungen, die unter Mitwirkung von Marx und Engels verfaßt wurden, Aufzeichnungen von Reden	445	1291
Lettre au rédacteur du «Courrier de l'Europe»	447	1293
<i>Karl Marx • Aan de redactie van «De Werker».</i> Tussen 1 en 7 april 1871. Übersetzung aus dem Französischen	448	1295
Account of an interview with Karl Marx published in the "World"	451	1296
Resolution that the Conference of Delegates from the local federations of the Spanish region, held at Valencia the 10th September 1871, presents to the International Conference of London. Von Friedrich Engels redigierte Übersetzung aus dem Spanischen	459	1302
Proposition présentée à la Conférence de Londres par la Conférence de délégués de la fédération espagnole à Valencia, le 10 septembre 1871. Übersetzung aus dem Spanischen von Friedrich Engels	465	1308
<i>Friedrich Engels • Traduction française de l'article 10 des «Provisional Rules of the Association» de Karl Marx</i>	468	1310
<i>Jenny Marx • To the Editor of "Woodhull G Claflin's Weekly". Not after September 23, 1871</i>	469	1312
The Seventh Anniversary of the International Working Men's Association. Account of the celebrations held in London September 25, 1871	477	1314
Resolution on the Central Committee of the International's sections in the United States. Drawn up by the Subcommittee	480	1316
<i>Karl Marx • La Guerre civile en France. Adresse du Conseil général de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs.</i> Von Karl Marx redigierte Übersetzung aus dem Englischen	481	1319
I	485	
II	491	
III	496	
IV	506	

Inhalt

	Text	Apparat
Protokolle		
The minute book of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. March 21 - November 7, 1871	519	1347
Meeting of the General Council March 21, 1871	521	
Meeting of the General Council March 28, 1871	525	
Meeting of the General Council April 4, 1871	528	
Meeting of the General Council April 11, 1871	531	
Meeting of the General Council April 18, 1871	536	
Meeting of the General Council April 25, 1871	539	
Meeting of the General Council May 2, 1871	544	
Meeting of the General Council May 9, 1871	547	
Meeting of the General Council May 16, 1871	551	
Meeting of the General Council May 23, 1871	555	
Meeting of the General Council May 30, 1871	558	
Meeting of the General Council June 6, 1871	559	
Meeting of the General Council June 13, 1871	562	
Meeting of the General Council June 20, 1871	565	
Meeting of the General Council June 27, 1871	568	
Meeting of the General Council July 4, 1871	570	
Meeting of the General Council July 11, 1871	573	
Meeting of the General Council July 18, 1871	576	
Meeting of the General Council July 25, 1871	580	
Meeting of the General Council August 1, 1871	585	
Meeting of the General Council August 8, 1871	589	
Meeting of the General Council August 15, 1871	593	
Meeting of the General Council August 22, 1871	595	
Meeting of the General Council August 29, 1871	598	
Meeting of the General Council September 5, 1871	600	
Meeting of the General Council September 12, 1871	604	
Special Meeting of the General Council September 16, 1871	608	
Meeting of the General Council September 26, 1871	610	
Meeting of the General Council October 2, 1871	615	
Special Meeting of the General Council October 7, 1871	618	
Meeting of the General Council October 10, 1871	620	
Special Meeting of the General Council October 16, 1871	624	
Meeting of the General Council October 17, 1871	627	
Meeting of the General Council October 24, 1871	631	
Meeting of the General Council October 31, 1871	633	
Meeting of the General Council November 7, 1871	637	

Inhalt

	Text	Apparat
Procès-verbaux de la Conférence des délégués de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs réunie à Londres du 17 au 23 septembre 1871	641	1397
Séance du 17 septembre 1871	643	
Séance du 18 septembre 1871	650	
Séance du 19 septembre 1871 (après-midi)	664	
Séance du 19 septembre 1871 (soir)	674	
Séance du 20 septembre 1871 (après-midi)	682	
Séance du 20 septembre 1871 (soir)	693	
Séance du 21 septembre 1871	704	
Séance du 21 septembre 1871	709	
Séance du 22 septembre 1871	719	
Séance du 22 septembre 1871	735	
Verzeichnis nicht überliefelter Arbeiten	1459	
 REGISTER		
Literaturregister	1463	
I. Arbeiten von Marx und Engels	1463	
II. Arbeiten anderer Autoren	1466	
III. Periodica	1478	
Namenregister	1487	
Sachregister	1526	
 Verzeichnis der Abbildungen		
Der Volksstaat. Leipzig Nr. 26, 29. März 1871. Titelblatt	7	
Karl Marx: The Civil War in France (First Draft). Seite 19 der Handschrift	71	
Karl Marx: The Civil War in France (Second Draft). Seite 7 der Handschrift	101	
Karl Marx. The Civil War in France. Third edition. [London] 1871. Titelblatt	121	
Karl Marx: Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich. Leipzig 1871. Titelblatt	181	
Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels: Entwürfe von Erklärungen an das „Echo“ und die „Pall Mall Gazette“	231	
The Eastern Post London. Nr. 144, 1. Juli 1871. Titelblatt	235	

Inhalt

	Text	Apparat
Karl Marx: To the Editor of the "Daily News". June 26, 1871. The Eastern Post. London. Nr. 144, I.Juli 1871. Seite 5	236	
Karl Marx: Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador in Paris. Erste Seite des Flugblatts	247	
Friedrich Engels: Notizen über Giuseppe Mazzini	257	
Karl Marx: Au rédacteur de la Vérité. Erste Seite der Handschrift	273	
Friedrich Engels: Meeting of the Subcommittee of the General Council September 9, 1871. Minutes. Zweite Seite der Handschrift	279	
Friedrich Engels: Notizen von den Sitzungen der Londoner Konferenz. Zweite Seite der Handschrift	287	
Friedrich Engels: Notizen von den Sitzungen der Londoner Konferenz. Dritte Seite der Handschrift	288	
Friedrich Engels: Procès-verbal de la séance de la Commission pour les affaires de Suisse du 18 septembre 1871. Erste Seite der Handschrift	293,	
Friedrich Engels: Über die politische Aktion der Arbeiterklasse. Rededisposition für die Sitzung der Londoner Konferenz am 21. September 1871	309	
Karl Marx: Complément à une proposition d'André Bastelica. Handschrift von Bastelica und Marx	313	
L'Égalité. Genève. Nr. 20, 21. Oktober 1871. Titelblatt	317	
Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels: Résolutions des délégués de la Conference de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Londres 1871. Titelblatt	323	
Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels: Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association. London 1871. Titelblatt	337	
Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels: Beschlüsse der Delegiertenkonferenz der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation... Leipzig [1872]. Titelblatt	349	
Karl Marx: General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the International Working Men's Association. Official edition, revised by the General Council. London 1871. Titelblatt	363	
Karl Marx: Statuts généraux et règlements administratifs de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. Édition officielle, révisée par le Conseil Général. Londres 1871. Titelblatt	381	
Karl Marx: Allgemeine Statuten und Verwaltungsverordnungen der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation. Amtliche deutsche Ausgabe, revidiert durch den Generalrat. Leipzig [1872]. Titelblatt	399	

Inhalt

	Text	Apparat
Italienische Übersetzung der Resolution des Generalrats über den Ausschluß von Gustave Durand aus der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation. La Plebe. Lodi. Nr. 122, 19. Oktober 1871	421	
De Werker Antwerpen. Nr. 35, 22. Juli 1871. Titelblatt	449	
Resolution that the Conference of Delegates from the local federations of the Spanish region, held at Valencia the 10th September 1871, presents to the International Conference of London. Von Friedrich Engels redigierte Übersetzung aus dem Spanischen. Erste Seite der Handschrift von Nicolas Alonso Marselau mit Änderungen von Engels' Hand	461	
Karl Marx. La Guerre civile en France. Troisième édition revue. (Bruxelles [1872].) Titelblatt	483	
Protokollbuch des Generalrats der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation. Seite 284. Handschrift von John Haies, mit Unterschrift von Karl Marx	605	
Protokoll der Sitzung der Londoner Konferenz vom 18. September 1871. Erste Seite der Handschrift von Charles Rochat	651	
Protokoll der Abendsitzung der Londoner Konferenz vom 19. September 1871. Neunte Seite der Mitschrift von Constant Martin	679	
Karl Marx: The Civil War in France (Second Draft). Seite 1 der Handschrift (S. 85.1-88.21 des Edierten Textes)	895	
Karl Marx: The Civil War in France (Second Draft). Seite 6 der Handschrift (S. 93.6-98.12 des Edierten Textes)	923	
Karl Marx: The Civil War in France. [London] 1871. Titelblatt der Erstausgabe	973	
Korrekturfahne zu Karl Marx' Arbeit „La Guerre civile en France“ (Bruxelles 1872) mit Korrekturen von Marx' und Charles, Longuets Hand (S. 485.31-489.42 des Edierten Textes)	1327	
Protokollbuch des Generalrats der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation. S.232. Handschrift von John Haies	1369	

Editorische Hinweise

Der vorliegende Band wurde bearbeitet von Hans-Dieter Krause (Leitung), Liselotte Hermann, Brigitte Rieck und Rosie Rudich. An der Vorbereitung des Bandes haben mitgearbeitet: Irma Baude, Mathias Engel und Edith Voigt. Wissenschaftlich-technische Arbeiten wurden ausgeführt von Waltraud Schulze und Katharina Kühl. Das Literaturregister wurde von Irma Baude, das Namenregister von Rosie Rudich und Liselotte Hermann, das Sachregister von Waldtraut Opitz und Jutta Nesler, unter Mitarbeit von Sabine Edeling und Brigitte Rieck, zusammengestellt. Ferner waren beteiligt: Jo Koch, Maria Lehmann und Käthe Schwank.

Der Band wurde seitens der Redaktionskommission betreut und begutachtet von Erich Kundel. Gutachter des IML beim ZK der KPdSU war Nikita Kolpinski. An der Begutachtung des Gesamtmanuskripts war beteiligt Inge Taubert; Teilgutachten zu einzelnen Arbeiten sowie Stellungnahmen zu bestimmten Sachgebieten erfolgten durch Mercedes Alvarez (Madrid), Bert Andreas (Genf), Mary Ashraf (Berlin), Jean Bruhat (Paris), Madeleine Burgaleta (Paris), Nina Catach (Paris), Philip S. Foner (Lincoln University, Pennsylvania), Ernesto Gatta (Berlin), Beatrice de Gerloni (Trento), Joachim Höppner (Berlin), Motomi Itizyo (Tokio), Johannes Klare (Berlin), Vivien Morton (Clare, Suffolk), John Peet (Berlin), Arvid Spreu (Berlin), Hans Wetzler (Berlin) sowie durch den Verlag Éditions sociales (Paris).

Die Herausgeber danken allen wissenschaftlichen Einrichtungen, die bei der Vorbereitung des Bandes Unterstützung gewährten. Die Einsichtnahme in die Originale von Marx und Engels ermöglichten das Internationale Institut für Sozialgeschichte in Amsterdam und — für eine Handschrift — die Kinki-Universität, Osaka. Ferner ist zu danken der Deutschen Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle/S., der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek, Dresden, der Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, der British Library, London und dem Feltrinelli-Institut in Milano.

KARL MARX
FRIEDRICH ENGELS
WERKE - ARTIKEL · ENTWÜRFE
MÄRZ BIS NOVEMBER 1871

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels
To the Editor of "The Times"
March 20 or 21, 1871

To the Editor of the Times

Sir

In your impression of the 16th March your Paris correspondent states:
"Karl Marx____has written a letter to one of his principal affiliés in Paris,
5 stating that he is not satisfied with the attitude which the members of that
society (the "International") have taken up in that city etc." This statement
your correspondent has evidently taken from the Paris Journal of the
14th March where also the publication, in full, of the pretended letter is
promised. The Paris Journal of the 19th March does indeed contain a
10 letter dated London 28th February 1871 and purporting to be signed by me,
the contents of which agree with the statement of your correspondent. I now
beg to declare that this letter is, from beginning to end, an impudent
forgery. |

Karl Marx
Statement by the General Council to the Editor
of "The Times" and other papers

The Times. Nr.27018,
23. März 1871

To the Editor of The Times.

Sir,—I am directed by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to solicit your favour to publish the following in the columns of your journal:—

A statement has gone the round of the English press that the Paris members of the International Working Men's Association had in so far joined the so-called Anti-German League as to declare all Germans to be henceforth excluded from our association. 5

This statement is the very reverse of fact. Neither the Federal Council of our association in Paris, nor any of the Paris sections represented by that council, have ever passed any such resolution. The so-called Anti-German League, as far as it exists at all, is the exclusive work of the upper and middle classes; it was started by the Jockey Club, and kept up by the adhesions of the Academy, of the Stock Exchange, of some bankers and manufacturers, etc. The working-classes have nothing whatever to do 15 with it.

The object of these calumnies is evident. A short time before the outbreak of the late war the International was made the general scapegoat for all untoward events. This is now repeated over again. While the Swiss and the Prussian press accuse it of having created the late outrages upon Germans in Zurich, French papers, such as the *Courrier de Lyon*, *Courrier de la Gironde*, *La Liberté*, etc., tell of certain secret meetings of Internationals having been held at Geneva and Berne, the Prussian Ambassador in the chair, in which meetings a plan was concocted to hand over Lyons to the united Prussians and Internationals for the sake of common plunder. 20 25

Yours respectfully,
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS,
General Secretary of the
International Working Men's Association.

256, High Holborn, March 22.

30

Karl Marx
An die Redaktionen des „Volksstaats“ und der „Zukunft“

Der Volksstaat. Nr. 26,
29. März 1871

An die Redaktion des „VolksStaat“.

Das *Paris-Journal*, eines der gelungensten Organe der Pariser Polizeipresse, veröffentlichte in seiner Nummer vom 14. März einen Artikel unter dem sensationellen Aushängeschild: „Le Grand Chef de l'Internationale.“

- 5 („Grand Chef“ ist wohl die französische Uebersetzung des Stieber'schen „Haupt-Chef“). „Er“, beginnt der Artikel, „ist, wie bekannt, ein Deutscher, was schlimmer ist, ein Preuße. Er nennt sich Karl Marx, wohnt zu Berlin etc. Nun wohl! Dieser Karl Marx ist unzufrieden mit der Haltung der französischen Mitglieder der *Internationalen*. Dies spricht schon für ihn.
- 10 Er findet, daß sie sich unendlich zu viel mit Politik und nicht genug mit den sozialen Fragen beschäftigen. Das ist seine Ansicht, und er hat sie so eben sehr entschieden formulirt in einem Brief an seinen Bruder und Freund, den Bürger *Serraillier*, einen der Pariser Hochpriester der *Internationalen*. Karl Marx bittet die französischen Mitglieder, insbesondere die
- 15 Pariser Affiliirten, nicht aus dem Auge zu verlieren, daß ihre Gesellschaft einen einzigen Zweck hat: die Organisation der Arbeit und die Zukunft der Arbeitergesellschaften. Aber man desorganisiert die Arbeit, statt sie zu organisieren, und er glaubt die Delinquenten zum Respekt der Statuten der Assoziation zurückrufen zu müssen. Wir erklären uns im Stand, diesen
- 20 merkwürdigen Brief des Herrn Karl Marx publiziren zu können, sobald er den Mitgliedern der *Internationalen* mitgetheilt worden sein wird“.

In seiner Nummer vom 19. März hat das *Paris-Journal* in der That einen angeblich von mir unterzeichneten Brief, der sofort von der gesammten Pariser Reaktionspresse nachgedruckt ward und dann seinen Weg in London fand. Mittlerweile jedoch hatte *Paris-Journal* ausgewittert, daß ich in London hause und nicht in Berlin. Es datirt daher diesmal den Brief von London, im Widerspruch zu seiner ersten Ankündigung. Diese nachträgliche Korrektur leidet jedoch an dem Mißstand, daß sie mich mit meinem zu London befindlichen Freunde *Serraillier* über den Umweg von

25 Paris korrespondiren läßt. Der Brief, wie ich bereits in der *Times* erklärt habe, ist von Anfang bis zu Ende eine unverschämte Fälschung.

Karl Marx

Dasselbe *Paris-Journal* und andere Pariser Organe der „guten Presse“ verbreiteten das Gerücht, der Pariser Föderalrath der *Internationalen* habe den außerhalb seiner Kompetenz liegenden Beschuß gefaßt, die Deutschen von der Internationalen Arbeiterassociation auszuschließen. Die Londoner Tagesblätter griffen die willkommene Nachricht hastig auf und ergingen sich in schadenfroh gerührten Leitartikeln über den endlich vollzogenen Selbstmord der *Internationalen*. Leider bringt die *Times* heute folgende Erklärung des *Generalraths der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation*:

„Eine Mittheilung, wonach die Pariser Mitglieder der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation den Ausschluß aller Deutschen aus der *Internationalen* erklärt, also im Sinne der *antideutschen Ligue* gehandelt hätten, macht die Runde in der englischen Presse. Die Mittheilung steht im schreidendsten Widerspruch zu den Thatsachen. Weder der Föderalrath unserer Assoziation zu Paris, noch irgend eine der Pariser Sektionen, die er repräsentirt, haben jemals von einem solchen Beschuß geträumt. Die sogenannte antideutsche Ligue, so weit sie überhaupt existirt, ist ausschließlich das Werk der Aristokratie und der Bourgeoisie. Sie ward ins Leben gerufen durch den Jockey-Club und in Gang gehalten durch die Zustimmungen der Akademie, der Börse, einiger Bankiers und Fabrikanten u. s. w. Die Arbeiterklasse hatte nie damit zu schaffen. — Der Zweck dieser Verleumdungen springt ins Auge. Kurz vor dem Ausbruch des neulichen Krieges mußte die *Internationale* als Sündenbock für alle mißliebigen Ereignisse herhalten. Dieselbe Taktik wird jetzt wiederholt. Während z.B. Schweizer und preußische Blätter sie als Urheber der Unbilden gegen die Deutschen in Zürich denunzieren, berichten gleichzeitig französische Blätter, wie der „*Courrier de Lyon*“, der „*Courrier de la Gironde*“, die Pariser „*Liberte*“ u. s. w. von gewissen geheimen Zusammenkünften der „*Internationalen*“ zu *Genf* und *Bern*, unter dem Vorsitz des preußischen Gesandten, worin der Plan ausgeheckt worden sei, den vereinigten Preußen und Internationalen *Lyon* zum Behuf gemeinsamer Plünderung zu überliefern“. 30

So weit die Erklärung des Generalraths. Es liegt in der Natur der Sache, daß die Großwürdenträger und herrschenden Klassen der alten Gesellschaft, welche ihre eigne Macht und die Exploitation der produktiven Volksmassen nur noch durch *nationale* Kämpfe und Gegensätze erhalten können, in der *Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation* ihren gemeinsamen Gegner erkennen. Ihn zu vernichten, sind alle Mittel gut.

London, 23. März 1871.

Karl Marx,
Sekretär des Generalraths der Internationalen
Arbeiterassoziation für Deutschland.

Karl Marx
A la rédaction du « Werker »
31 mars 1871

General Council of the International
Working Men's Association,
256, High Holborn, London, W.C.

Londres, 31 Mars, 1871

5 Citoyen,

Ma soi-disante lettre, adressée aux Internationaux de Paris, est tout bonnement, comme je l'ai déjà déclaré dans le *Times* du 22^e Mars, une fabrication du *Paris-Journal*, un de ces journaux de mauvais lieu couvés dans l'égout, impérialiste. Du reste, tous les organes de la «bonne presse» 10 en Europe ont, à ce qu'il paraît, reçu le mot d'ordre d'employer *le faux* comme leur grand instrument de guerre contre *l'Internationale*. Aux yeux de ces honnêtes souteneurs de la religion, de l'ordre, de la famille et de la propriété, [le cr]ime de faux n'est pas même une peccadille.

Salut et fraternité

Karl Marx.

Karl Marx
To the Editor of "The Times"
April 3, 1871

The Times. Nr.27028,
4. April 1871

To the Editor of The Times.

Sir,—Will you allow me to again intrude upon your columns in order to contradict widely-spread falsehoods? •

A Lombard telegram, dated Paris, March 30, contains an extract from the *Gaulois* which, under the sensational heading, "Alleged Organization of the Paris Revolution in London," has adorned the London papers of Saturday last. Having during the late War successfully rivalled the *Figaro* and the *Paris Journal* in the concoction of Munchausiades that made the Paris *petite presse* a byword all over the world, the *Gaulois* seems more than ever convinced that the news-reading public will always cling to the tenet, "*Credo quia absurdum est.*" Baron Munchausen himself, would he have undertaken to organize at London "in the early part of February," when M. Thiers did not yet hold any official post, "the insurrection of the 18th of March," called into life by the attempt of the same M. Thiers to disarm the Paris National Guard? Not content to send MM. Assi and Blanqui on an imaginary voyage to London, there to conspire with myself in secret conclave, the *Gaulois* adds to that conclave two imaginary persons—one "Bentini, general agent for Italy," and one "Dermott, general agent for England." It also graciously confirms the dignity of "supreme chief of the *Internationale*," first bestowed upon me by the *Paris Journal*. These two worthies notwithstanding, the General Council of the International Working Men's Association will, I am afraid, continue to transact its business without the incumbrance of either "chief" or "president."

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obediently,

KARL MARX. 25
London, April 3.

Friedrich Engels
Der Streik der Zigarrenarbeiter
in Antwerpen

Der Volksstaat. Nr. 30,
12. April 1871

In *Antwerpen* sind 500 *Cigarrenarbeiter* außer Arbeit. Die Fabrikanten stellten ihnen die Wahl: entweder ihre (zur Internationalen-Arbeiter-Association gehörige) Gewerkschaft aufzulösen oder entlassen zu werden. Alle ohne Ausnahme wiesen diese Zumuthung entschieden zurück, und

5 so schlössen die Fabrikanten ihre Werkstätten.

Die Arbeiter haben 6000Fr. (1600 Thaler) in ihrer Kasse; sie haben sich mit den Cigarren-Arbeitern von Holland und England bereits in Verbindung gesetzt und jeder Zuzug von dort ist verhindert. Von England werden sie nicht unbedeutende Geldunterstützung erhalten, 176 Pfund St. (1200 Thlr.)
10 sind bereits abgegangen und für weitere Hülfe wird gesorgt. Die Antwerper verlangen übrigens nur *Vorschuß*, da sie erklären, im Stande zu sein, jede geleistete Hülfe zurückzuerstatten. Sollten die deutschen Cigarrenarbeiter oder andere Gewerkschaften im Stande sein, ihren Antwerper Brüdern Unterstützung zuwenden zu können so ist zu hoffen, daß sie nicht damit
15 zurückhalten. Geldsendungen sind zu machen an Ph. Coenen, Boomgaardsstraat 3, Antwerpen. Jedenfalls aber ist es ihre Pflicht, deutsche Cigarrenarbeiter von allem Zuzug nach Antwerpen abzuhalten, solange die Fabrikanten dort auf ihren Forderungen beharren.

Karl Marx
Mitteilung über Karl Vogt

/in den jetzt offiziell veröffentlichten „*Papiers et Correspondance de la famille impériale*“ findet sich unter dem Buchstaben V (die Geldempfänger sind nämlich alphabetisch aufgeführt)————verbotenus:
„Vogt, il lui est remis en août 1859 40000fr.”/

Karl Marx
The Civil War in France
(First Draft, Second Draft and Address
of the General Council)

Karl Marx

The Civil War in France
(First Draft)

III The Government of defence.

Four months after the commencement of the war, when the Government of Defence had thrown a sop to the Paris National Guard by allowing them to show their fighting capabilities at Buzenval, the 5 Government considered the opportune moment come to prepare Paris for capitulation. To the assembly of the maires of Paris for capitulation, Trochu, in presence of [u]nd supported by Jules Favre and others of his colleagues, revealed at last his "plan". He said literally: "The first question, addressed to me by my colleagues *on the evening of the* 10 *4th September*, was this: Paris can it stand, with any chance of success, a siege against the Prussian army? *I did not hesitate to answer in the negative.* Some of my colleagues here present will warrant the truth of these my words, and *the persistence of my opinion*. I told them in these very terms that, under the existing state of things, the attempt of Paris to maintain a siege 15 against the Prussian army would be a *folly*. Without doubt, I added, this might be a *heroical folly*, but it would be nothing else... *The events have not given the lie to my prevision.*" Hence Trochu's plan, from the very day of the proclamation of the Republic, was *the capitulation of Paris and of France.* In point of fact he was the commander in chief of the Prussians. In a letter 20 to Gambetta, Jules Favre himself confessed so much that the enemy to be put down, was not the Prussian soldier, but the Paris "demagogue revolutionist". The high sounding promises to the people, by the Government of Defence, were therefore as many deliberate lies. Their "plan" they systematically carried out by entrusting the defence of Paris to Bonapartist generals, by disorganizing the National Guard and by organizing famine under the maladministration of Jules Ferry. The attempts of the Paris workmen on the 5th of October, the 31st of October etc, to supplant these traitors by the Commune, were put down as conspiracies with the 25 Prussian! After the capitulation the mask was thrown off (cast aside). The

Karl Marx

capitulards became a government by the grace of Bismarck. Being his prisoners, they stipulated with him a general armistice the conditions of which disarmed France and rendered all further resistance impossible. Resuscitated at Bordeaux as the Government of the Republic, these very same capitulards through Thiers, their ex-Ambassador, and Jules Favre, their Foreign minister, fervently implored Bismarck, in the name of the majority of the socalled National Assembly, and long before the rise of Paris, to disarm and occupy Paris and put down "its canaille", as Bismarck himself sneeringly told his admirers at Frankfurt on his return from France to Berlin. This occupation of Paris by the Prussians—such was the last word of the "plan" of the government of defence. The cynical effrontery with which, since their instalment at Versailles, the same men fawn upon and appeal to the armed intervention of Prussia, has dumbfounded even the venal press of Europe. The heroic exploits of the Paris National Guard, since they fight no longer *under* but *against* the capitulards, have forced even the most sceptical to brand the word "traitor" on the brazen fronts of the Trochu, Jules Favre et Co. The documents seized by the Commune, have at last, furnished the juridical proofs of their high treason. Amongst these papers there are letters of the Bonapartist *sabreurs*, to whom the execution of Trochu's "plan" had been confided, in which these infamous wretches crack jokes at and make fun of their own "defence of Paris", (cf. for instance the letter of Alphonse Simon Guiod, supreme commander of the artillery of the army of defence of Paris and Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, to Suzanne, General of division of artillery, published by the *Journal officiel* of the Commune.)

5

10

15

20

25

It is, therefore evident, that the men who now form the government of Versailles, can only be saved from the fate of convicted traitors by civil war, the death of the Republic and a monarchical restauration under the shelter of Prussian bayonets.

But—and this is most characteristic of the men of the Empire as well as of the men who but on its soil and within its atmosphere could grow into mock-tribunes of the people—the victorious republic would not only brand them as traitors, it would have to surrender them as common felons to the criminal court. Look only at Jules Favre, Ernest Picard, and Jules Ferry, the great men, under Thiers, of the government of defence!

30

35

A series of authenticated judiciary documents spreading over about 20 years, and published by M. Minière, a representative to the National Assembly, proves that Jules Favre, living in adulterous concubinage with the wife of a drunkard resident at Algiers, had, by a most complicated concatenation of daring forgeries, contrived to grasp in the name of his bastards, a large succession that made him a rich man and that the conniv-

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

ance only of the Bonapartist tribunals saved him from exposure in a law-suit undertaken by the legitimate claimants. Jules Favre, then, this unctuous mouthpiece of family, religion, property, and order, has long since been forfeited to the *Code Pénal*. Lifelong penal servitude would
5 be his unavoidable lot under every honest government. Ernest Picard, the present Versailles home minister, appointed by himself on the 4th of September Home minister of the government of defence, after he had tried in vain to be appointed by L. Bonaparte, this Ernest Picard is the brother of one Arthur Picard. When, together with Jules Favre and Co.,
10 he had the impudence to propose this worthy brother of his as a candidate in the Seine et Oise for the *Corps législatif*, the Imperialist government published two documents, a report of the Prefecture of Police (31 July, 1867) stating that this Arthur Picard was excluded from the Bourse as an "Escrocq", and another document of the 11 December 1868, according to
15 which Arthur had confessed the theft of 300,000 fcs, committed by him as a director of one of the branches of the *Société Générale*, rue Palestro, N° 5. Ernest made not only his worthy Arthur the *editor in chief* of a paper of his own, the *Electeur Libre*, founded under the Empire and continued to this day, a paper, in which the republicans are daily denounced as
20 "robbers, bandits, and *partageux*", but once become the home minister of the "Defence", Ernest employed Arthur as his financial medium between the home office to the Stock Exchange, there to discount the State secrets entrusted to him. The whole "financial" correspondence between Ernest and Arthur has fallen into the hands of the Commune.
25 Like the lachrymose Jules Favre, Ernest Picard, the Joe Miller of the Versailles Government, is a man forfeited to the *Code Pénal* and the galleys!

To make up this trio, *Jules Ferry*, a poor briefless barrister before 4 September, not content to organize the famine of Paris, had contrived to
30 job a fortune out of this famine. The day on which he would have to give an account of his peculations during the Paris siege would be his day of judgment!

No wonder then that these men who can only hope to escape the hulks in a monarchy, protected by Prussian bayonets, who but in the turmoil
35 of civil war can win their *ticket of leave*, that these desperadoes were at once *chosen* by Thiers and accepted by the Rurals as the safest tools of the Counterrevolution !

No wonder that when in the beginning of April captured National Guards were exposed at Versailles to the ferocious outrages of Piétri's
40 "lambs" and the Versailles mob, M. Ernest Picard, "with his hands in his trousers pockets, walked from group to group cracking jokes" while

Karl Marx

"on the balcony of the Prefecture Madame Thiers, Madame Jules Favre and a ||2| bevy of similar *Dames*, looking in excellent health and spirits", exulted in that disgusting scene. No wonder then, that while one part of France winces under the heels of the conquerors while Paris, the heart and head of France, daily sheds streams of its best blood in self-defence against the home traitors,—the Thiers, Favres et Co. indulge in revelries at the Palace of Louis XIV, such f. i. as the grand *fête* given by Thiers in honour of Jules Favre on his return from Rouen (whither he had been sent to conspire with the Prussians). It is the cynical orgy of evaded felons!

5

10

If the Government of Defence first made Thiers their Foreign Ambassador, going a begging at all Courts of Europe there to barter a king for France for their intervention against Prussia, if, later on, they sent him on a travelling tour throughout the French provinces, there to conspire with the *Châteaux* and secretly prepare the General elections which together with the Capitulation would take France by surprise—Thiers, on his side, made them his ministers and high functionaries. They were safe men.

15

There is one thing rather mysterious in the proceedings of Thiers, his recklessness in precipitating the revolution of Paris. Not content to goad Paris by the Antirepublican demonstrations of his rurals, by the threats to *decapitate* and *decapitalize* Paris, (by Dufaure's (Thiers' minister of justice) law of the 10th of March on the *échéances* of bills which impended bankruptcy on the Paris commerce), by appointing Orleanist ambassadors, by the transfer of the Assemblée to Versailles, by an imposition of a new tax on newspapers, by the confiscation of the Republican Paris journals, by the revival of the State of Siege, first proclaimed by Palikao and annulled with the downfall of the Imperialist government on the 4th of September, by appointing Vinoy, the *Décembriser* and Exsenator governor of Paris, Valentin, the Imperialist Gendarme Prefect of Police, and Aurelle de Paladines, the Jesuit General Commander in chief of the Paris National Guard—he opened the civil war with feeble forces, by Vinoy's attack on the Buttes Montmartre, by the attempt first to rob the National Guards of Cannons which belonged to them and which were only left to them by the Paris convention, because they were their property, and thus to disarm Paris.

25

30

35

Whence this feverish eagerness *d'en finir?* To disarm and put down Paris was of course the first condition of a monarchical counterrevolution, but an astute intriguer like Thiers could only risk the future of the difficult enterprise in undertaking it without due preparation, with ridiculously insufficient means, except under the sway of some overwhelmingly

40

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

urgent move. The motive was this. By the agency of Pouyer-Quertier, his finance minister, Thiers had concluded a loan of two milliards to be paid immediately down and some more milliards to follow at certain terms. In this loan transaction a truly royal *pot-de-vin* (drinkmoney) 5 was reserved for those grand citizens Thiers, Jules Favre, Ernest Picard, Jules Simon, Pouyer-Quertier etc. But there was one hitch in the transaction. Before definitively sealing the treaty, the contractors wanted one guarantee—the *tranquillization of Paris*. Hence the reckless proceedings of Thiers. Hence the savage hatred against the Paris workmen 10 perverse enough to interfere with this fine job.

As to the Jules Favres, Picards etc, we have said enough to prove them the worthy accomplices of such a jobbery. As to Thiers himself, it is notorious that during his two ministries under Louis Philippe he realized 2 millions, and that during his premiership (dating Mars 1840) he 15 was taunted from the tribune of the Chambre of Deputies with his Bourse peculations, in answer to which he shed tears, a commodity he disposes of as freely as Jules Favre and the celebrated comedian Frederick Lemaître. It is no less notorious that the first measure taken by M. Thiers to save France from the financial ruin, fastened upon her by the war, was—to 20 endow himself with a yearly salary of 3 Millions of francs, exactly the sum L.Bonaparte got in 1850 as an equivalent from M.Thiers and his troop in the *Legislative Assembly* for allowing them to abolish the general suffrage. This endowment of M.Thiers with 3 millions was the first word of "the *economic republic*" the vista of which he had opened to 25 his Paris electors in 1869. As to Pouyer-Quertier, he is a cottonspinner at Rouen. In 1869, he was the leader of the millowners' conclave that proclaimed a general reduction of wages necessary for the "conquest" of the English market—an intrigue, then baffled by the *International*. Pouyer-Quertier, otherwise a fervent and even servile partisan of the Empire, 30 found only one fault with it, its commercial treaty with England damaging to his own shop interests. His first step as M.Thiers' finance minister was to denounce that "hateful" treaty and to pronounce the necessity of reestablishing the old protective duties for his own shop. His second step was the *patriotic* attempt to strike Alsace by the reestablished old 35 protective duties on the pretext that in this case no international treaty stood in the way of their re-introduction. By this masterstroke his own shop at Rouen would have got rid of the dangerous competition of the rival shops at Mülhausen. His last step was to make a present to his son-in-law, M.Roche Lambert, of the receveur-generalship of the Loiret, one 40 of the rich booties falling into the lap of the *governing bourgeois*, and which Pouyer-Quertier had found so much fault with his Imperialist

Karl Marx

predecessor M. Magne, endowing his own son with that big jobbing place. This Pouyer-Quertier was then exactly the man for the perpetration of the above-said job.

30 Mars. Rappel. Jules Ferry, ex-maire de Paris, a défendu, par une circulaire du 28 Mars, aux employés de l'octroi, de continuer toute perception for the city of Paris. 5

Small state-roggeries,—a little character... cankering conscience... everlasting suggester of Parliamentary intrigue... petty expedients and devices... rehearsing his homilies of liberalism, of the "libertés nécessaires"... eagerly bent on... strong reasons to weigh against the chances of failure... cogent arguments which counterpoise... kind of heroism in exaggerated baseness... lucky parliamentary stratagems... 10

M. E. Picard est un malandrin, qui pendant toute la durée du siège a tripoté à la Bourse sur les défaites de nos armées. 15

massacre, trahison, incendie, assassinat, calomnie, mensonge.

In his speech to the assembly of maires etc. (25th April) Thiers says himself that the "assassins of Clément Thomas and Lecomte" are a handful of criminals «et ceux qui pourront à juste titre être considérés comme complices de ces crimes par conspiration ou assistance, c. à. d. un très petit nombre d'individus ». 20

| 3 | Dufaure.

Dufaure wants to put down Paris by press prosecutions in the provinces. 25 Monstruous to bring journals before a jury because preaching "*Conciliation*".

Dufaure plays a great part in the Thiers intrigue. By his law of the 10th of March, he roused all the indebted commerce of Paris. By his law on Paris houserents, he menaced all Paris. Both laws were to punish 30 Paris for having saved the honour of France and delayed the surrender to Bismarck for 6 months. Dufaure is an Orleanist, and a "Liberal", in the parliamentary sense of the word. **Consequently**, he has always been the minister of repression and of the State of Siege.

He accepted his first portefeuille on the 13 May, 1839, after the defeat 35

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

of the dernière prise d'armes of the Republican party, was therefore the minister of the pitiless repression of the July government of that day.

Cavaignac, forced on the 29th October (1848) to raise the state of siege, called into his ministry two ministers of Louis Philippe (*Dufaure*, for 5 the Interior, and *Vivien*). He appointed them on the demand of the *rue Poitiers* (Thiers), which demanded guarantees. He thus hoped to secure the support of the dynasties for the impending election of president. Dufaure employed the most illegal means to secure Cavaignac's candidature. Intimidation and electoral corruption had never been exercised on a larger 10 scale. Dufaure inundated France with diffamatory prints against the other candidates, and especially of Louis Bon., what did not prevent him to become later on Louis Bonaparte's minister. Dufaure became again the minister of the *state of siege of 13 June 1849* (against the demonstration of the National Guard against the bombardment of Rome etc by the French 15 army). He is now again the minister of the state of siege, proclaimed at Versailles (for department of Seine et Oise). Power given to Thiers to declare any department whatever in a state of siege. Dufaure, as in 1839, as in 1849, wants new repressive laws, new press laws, a law to "abridge the formalities 20 of the Courts Martial". In a circular to the Procureurs-Généraux he denounces the cry of "*conciliation*" as a press crime to be severely prosecuted. It is characteristic of the French magistrature that only one single Procureur Général (der of Mayenne) wrote to Dufaure to "resign... I cannot serve an Administration which orders me, in a moment of civil 25 war, to rush into party struggles and prosecute citizens, whom my conscience holds innocent, for uttering the word *conciliation*". He belonged to the "Union Libérale" in 1847 which conspired against Guizot, as he belonged to the "Union libérale" of 1869 which conspired against Louis Bonaparte.

With respect to the law of 10 March and the law of houserents, it ought to be remarked that both Dufaure's and Picard's, both advocates, best 30 clients are amongst the houseproprietors and the *big bourses* averse to losing anything by the siege of Paris.



Now as after the Revolution of February 1848, these men tell the Republic, as the executioner told Don Carlos, «*Je vais t'assassiner, mais c'esf pour ton bien* ». (I shall murder thee, but for thy own good.)

Lecomte and Clément Thomas.

After Vinoy's attempt to carry the Buttes Montmartre (on the 18th March, they were shot in the gardens of the Château Rouge, 4 o'clock, 18th) General Lecomte and Clement Thomas were taken prisoners and shot by the same excited soldiers of the 81st of the line. It was a summary 5 act of Lynch justice performed despite the instances of some delegates of the *Central Committee*. Lecomte, an epauletted cut-throat, had four times commanded his troop, on the place Pigalle, to charge an unarmed gathering of women and children. Instead of shooting the people, the soldiers shot him. Clement Thomas, an ex-quartermaster, a "general" 10 extemporized at the eve of the June massacres (1848) by the men of the *National*, whose *gérant* he had been, had never dipped his sword in the blood of any other enemy but that of the Paris working class. He was one of the sinister plotters who deliberately provoked the June 15 insurrection and one of its most atrocious executioners. When on the 31 October 1870, the Paris Proletarian National Guards surprised the "Government of Defence" at the Hôtel de Ville and took them prisoners, these men, who had [been] appointed by themselves, these *gens de paroles*, as one of them, Picard, called them recently, gave their *word of honour* 20 that they would make place to the *Commune*. Thus allowed to escape scot 25 free, they launched Trochu's Bretons on their too-confident captors. One of them, however, M. *Tamisier*, resigned his dignity as commander in chief of the National Guard. He refused to *break* his word of honour. Then the hour had again struck for Clement Thomas. He was appointed in Tamisier's place commander in chief of the National Guard. He was the true man for 30 Trochu's "plan". He never made war upon the Prussians; he made war upon the National Guard, whom he disorganized, disunited, calumniated, weeding out all its officers hostile to Trochu's "plan", setting one set of National Guards against the other, and whom he sacrificed in "sorties" so planned as to cover them with ridicule. Haunted by the spectres of his June 35 victims, this man, without any official charge, must needs again reappear on [the] theatre of war of the 18th of Mars, where he scented another massacre of the Paris people. He fell a victim of Lynch justice in the first moment of popular exasperation. The men who had surrendered Paris to the tender mercies of the *Décembreur* Vinoy, in order to kill the Republic and pocket the pots-de-Vin stipulated by the Pouyer-Quertier contract, shouted now: Assassins, Assassins! Their howl was re-echoed by the press of Europe so eager for the blood of the "Proletarians". A farce of hysterical "sensibility" was enacted in the rural Assemblée, and, as now as before, the

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

corpses of their friends were most welcome weapons against their enemies. Paris and the Central Committee were made responsible for an accident out of their control. It is known how in the days of June 1848 the "men of order" shook Europe with the cry of indignation against the Insurgents

5 because of the assassination of the Archbishop of Paris. Even at that time they knew perfectly well from the evidence of M.Jacquemet, the vicaire général of the Archbishop, who had accompanied him to the barricades, that the Bishop had been shot by the troops of "Cavaignac", and not by the insurged, but his dead corpse served their turn. M. Darboy,

10 the present Archbishop of Paris, one of the hostages taken by the *Commune* in self-defence against the savage atrocities of the Versailles government, however seems, as appears from his letter to Thiers, to have strange misgivings [that] *Papa Transnonain* be eager to speculate in his dead body, as an object of holy indignation. There passed hardly a day,

15 in which the Versailles journals did not announce his execution, which the continued atrocities, and violation of the rules of war on the side of "order", would have sealed on the part of every government but that of the Commune. The Versailles government had hardly realized a first military success, when Captain Desmarets, who at the head of his gendarmes

20 assassinated the chivalrous Flourens, has been decorated by Thiers. Flourens had saved the lives of the "defence men" on the 31st October. Vinoy, the runaway (runagate), was appointed grand cross of the Legion of Honour, because he had our brave comrade Duval, when taken prisoner, shot inside the redoubts, because as a second instalment, he had shot

25 some dozen captive troops of the line who had joined the Paris people and inaugurated this civil war by the "methods of December". General Galliffet—"the husband of that charming Marchioness ||4| whose costumes at the masked balls were one of the wonders of the Empire", as a London penny a liner delicately puts it, "surprised" near Rueil a captain, lieutenant,

30 and private of National Guards, had them at once shot, and immediately published a proclamation to glorify himself in the deed. These are a few of the murders *officially* narrated and gloried in by the Versailles government. 25 soldiers of the 80th Regiment of the line shot as "rebels" by the 75th. "Every man wearing the uniform of the regular army who was

35 captured in the ranks of the Communists was straightaway shot without the slightest mercy. The government troops were perfectly ferocious." "*M.Thiers communicated the encouraging particulars of Flourens' death to the Assembly.*"

Versailles 4. April. Thiers, that misshapen dwarf, reports on his prisoners

40 brought to Versailles (in his proclamation): "Never had more degraded countenances of a degraded democracy met the afflicted gaze of honest

Karl Marx

men." (Piétri's men!) "Vinoy protests against any mercy to insurgent officers or line men."

On the 6th of April *decree of the Commune on reprisals* (and hostages): "Considering that the Versailles government openly treads underfoot the laws of humanity and those of war, and that it has been guilty of horrors such as even the invaders of France have not dishonoured themselves by... it is decreed etc." (Folgen die Artikel) 5

April 5. Proclamation of the Commune: "Every day the banditti of Versailles slaughter or shoot our prisoners, and every hour we learn that another murder has been committed... The people even in its anger, 10 detests bloodshed, as it detests civil war, but it is its duty to protect itself against the savage attempts of its enemies, and whatever it may cost it shall be an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth."

«Les sergents de ville qui se battent contre Paris ont 10 fcs par jour». 15

Versailles, 11 April. Most horrible details of the cold-blooded shooting of prisoners, not deserters, related with an evident gusto by general officers and other eyewitnesses.

In his letter to Thiers, Darboy protests "against the atrocious excesses which add to the horror of our fratricidal war". In the same strain writes 20 Deguerry (curé de la Madeleine): «These executions rouse des grandes colères à Paris et peuvent y produire des terribles représailles.» «Ainsi l'on est résolu, à chaque nouvelle exécution, d'en ordonner deux des nombreux otages que l'on a entre les mains. Jugez à quel point ce que [je] vous demande comme prêtre est d'une rigoureuse et absolue nécessité.» 25

In midst of these horrors Thiers writes to the Prefects: «L'assemblée siège paisiblement.» (Elle aussi a le cœur léger.)

Thiers and la commission des quinze of his rurals had the cool impudence to "deny officially" the "pretended summary executions and reprisals attributed to the troops of Versailles". But Papa Transnonain, in his 30 circular of 16th April on the bombardment of Pans: "If some cannon-shots have been fired, it is not the deed of the army of Versailles, but of some insurgents wanting to make believe that they are fighting, while they do not dare show themselves." Thiers has proved that he surpasses his hero, Napoleon I, at least in one thing—lying bulletins. (Of course, Paris bombards 35 itself, in order to be able to calumniate M. Thiers !)

X To these atrocious provocations of the Bonapartist blacklegs, the Commune has contented itself to take hostages and to threaten reprisals, but its threats have remained a dead letter! Not even the Gendarmes maskeraded into officers, not even the captive sergents de ville, upon 40 whom explosive bombs have been seized, were placed before a court

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

martial! The Commune has refused to soil its hands with the blood of these bloodhounds!

A few days before the 18th March, Clément Thomas laid before the war minister Le Flô a plan for the disarmament of trois quarts of the
5 National Garde. «La fine fleur de la canaille, disait-il, s'est concentrée autour de Montmartre et s'entend avec Belleville. »



The National Assembly

L'assemblée élue le 8 février sous la pression de l'ennemi, aux mains
10 desquels les hommes qui gouvernent à Versailles avaient remis tous les forts et livré Paris sans défense, l'Assemblée de Versailles avait un but unique et clairement déterminé par la Convention même, signée à Versailles le 28 Janvier — de décider si la guerre pouvait être continuée ou traiter la paix; et, dans ce cas, fixer les conditions de cette paix et assurer le plus
15 promptement possible l'évacuation du territoire français.

Chanzy, Archbishop of Paris etc.

Liberation of Chanzy took place almost simultaneously with the retreat of Saisset. The Royalist journalists were unanimous in decreeing the death of the General. They desired to fix that amiable proceeding on the Reds.
20 Three times he had been ordered to execution, and now he was really going to be shot.



After the Vendôme affair: There was consternation at Versailles. An attack on Versailles was expected on 23 March, for the leaders of the Communal agitation had announced that they would march on Versailles,
25 if the Assembly took any hostile action. The assembly did not. On the contrary, it voted as urgent a proposition to hold Communal Elections at Paris etc. By the concessions the Assembly admitted its powerlessness. At the same time Royalist Intrigues at Versailles. Bonapartist Generals and the Due d'Aumale. Favre avowed he had received a letter from Bismarck,
30 announcing that unless order were restored by the 26 March Paris would be occupied by the German troops. Reds saw plainly through his little artifice. Die Vendôme affaire provoquée by le faussaire, *ce jésuite infâme J. Favre*, qui le (21 Mars?) est monté à la tribune de l'Assemblée de Versailles

Karl Marx

pour insulter ce peuple qui l'a tiré du néant et soulever Paris contre les départements.

30 March Proclamation of the Commune: « Aujourd'hui les criminels, que vous n'avez pas même voulu poursuivre, abusent de votre magnanimité pour organiser aux portes mêmes de la cité un foyer de conspiration monarchique. Ils invoquent la guerre civile, ils mettent en œuvre toutes les corruptions, ils acceptent toutes les complicités, ils ont osé mendier jusqu'à l'appui de l'étranger. »j 5

|5| Thiers.

On the 25th April, in his reception of the maires, adjuncts, and municipal councillors of the suburban communes of the Seine, Thiers said: 10

« La république existe. *Le chef du pouvoir exécutif* n'est qu'un simple citoyen. »

The progress of France from 1830 to 1871, according to M.Thiers, consists in this: In 1830 Louis Philippe was "the best of Republics". 15 In 1871 the ministerial fossil of Louis Philippe's reign, little Thiers himself, is the *best of Republics*.

(M.Thiers commenced his regime by an usurpation. By the National Assembly he was appointed chief of the ministry of the Assembly; he appointed himself chief of the executive of France.) 20

The Assembly and the Paris Revolution.

((The Assembly, summoned at the dictate of the Foreign invader, was, as is clearly laid down in the Versailles convention of the 28th January, but elected for one single purpose: To decide the continuation of war or settle the conditions of peace. In their calling the French people to electoral 25 urns, the Capitulards of Paris themselves plainly defined that specific mission of the Assembly and this accounts to a great part for its very constitution. The continuation of the war having become impossible through the very terms of the armistice humbly accepted by the capitulards, the Assembly had in fact but to register a disgraceful peace and for this specific 30 performance the worst men of France were best.

The Republic was proclaimed on the 4th of September, not by the pettifoggers who installed themselves at the Hôtel de Ville as a government of defence, but by the Paris people. It was acclaimed throughout France without a single dissentient voice. It conquered its own existence by a five 35

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

months' war whose cornerstone was the prolonged resistance of Paris. Without this war, carried on by the Republic and in the name of the Republic, the Empire would have been restored by Bismarck after the capitulation of Sedan, the puffed-up men with M. Thiers at their head would

5 have had to capitulate not for Paris, but for personal guarantees against a voyage to Cayenne, and the rural Assembly would never have been heard of. It met only by the grace of the Republican revolution, initiated at Paris. Being no constituent Assembly, as M. Thiers himself has repeated to nauseousness, it would, if not as a mere chronicler of the passed incidents

10 of the Republican Revolution, not even have had the right to proclaim the destitution of the Bonapartist dynasty. The only legitimate power, therefore, in France is the *Revolution* itself, centring in Paris. That revolution was not made against Napoleon the little, but against the social and political conditions, which engendered the Second Empire, which received

15 their last finish under its sway, and which, as the war with Prussia glaringly revealed, would leave France a cadaver, if they were not superseded by the regenerating powers of the French working class. The attempts of the Rural Assembly, holding only an Attorney's Power from the Revolution to sign the disastrous bond handed over by its present

20 "executive" to the Foreign invader, its attempt to treat the Revolution as its own capitulation, is, therefore, a monstrous usurpation. Its war against Paris is nothing but a cowardly Chouannerie under the shelter of Prussian bayonets. It is a base conspiracy to assassinate France, in order to save the privileges, the monopolies and the luxuries of the degenerate, effete,

25 and putrefied classes that have dragged her to the abyss from which she can only be saved by the Herculean hand of a truly social Revolution.))

Thiers' finest army

Even before he became a "statesman", M. Thiers had proved his lying

30 powers as a historian. But the vanity, so characteristic of dwarfish men, has this time betrayed him into the sublime of the ridiculous. His army of order, the dregs of the Bonapartist soldatesca, freshly reimported, by the grace of Bismarck from Prussian prisons, the Pontifical Zouaves, the Chouans of Charette, the Vendean Cathelineau; the "municipals" of

35 Valentin, the ex-sergents de ville of Piétri and the Corsican Gendarmes of Valentin who under L. Bonaparte were only the spies of the army but under M. Thiers form its warlike flower, the whole under the supervision of epauletted mouchards and under the command of the runaway Decembrist

Karl Marx

Marshals who had no honour to lose—this motley, ungainly, hangdog lot, M. Thiers dubs "*the finest army France ever possessed*"] If he allows the Prussians still to quarter at St. Denis, it is only to frighten them by the sight of the "finest army" of Versailles.

Thiers.

5

Small state rougeries. Everlasting suggester of Parliamentary intrigues, M.Thiers was never anything else but an "able" journalist and a clever "word fencer", a master of parliamentary rougery, a virtuoso in perjury, a craftsman in all the small stratagems, base perfidies, and subtle devices of Parliamentary party-warfare. This mischievous gnome charmed the 10 French bourgeoisie during half a century because he is the truest intellectual expression of their own class-corruption. When in the ranks of the opposition he over and over rehearsed his stale homily of the "libertés nécessaires", to stamp them out when in power. When out of office, he used to threaten Europe with the sword of France. And what were his 15 diplomatic performances in reality? To pocket in 1841 the humiliation of the London treaty, to hurry on the war with Prussia by his declamations against German unity, to compromise France in 1870 by his begging tour at all the Courts of Europe, to sign in 1871 the Paris capitulation to accept a "peace at any price" and implore from Prussia a concession: leave and 20 means to get up a civil war in his own downtrodden country. To a man of his stamp the underground agencies ||6| of modern society remained of course always unknown, but even the palpable changes at its surface he failed to understand. F. i. any deviation from the old French protective system he denounced as a sacrilege and, as a minister of Louis Philippe, 25 went the length of treating disdainfully the construction of railways as a foolish chimera and even under Louis Bonaparte he eagerly opposed every Reform of the rotten French army organization. A man without ideas, without convictions, and without courage.

A professional "Revolutionist" in that sense, that in his eagerness of 30 display, of wielding power and putting his hands into the National Exchequer, he never scrupled, when banished to the banks of the opposition, to stir the popular passions and provoke a catastrophe to displace a rival; he is at the same time a most shallow man of routine, etc. The working class he reviled as "*the vile multitude*". One of his former colleagues in the 35 legislative assemblies, a cotemporary of his, a capitalist, and however a member of the Paris Commune, *M. Beslay* thus addresses him in a public address: "The subjugation (asservissement) of labour to capital, such is

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

the 'fonds' of your politics (policy), and the day you saw the *Republic of Labour* installed at the Hôtel-de-Ville, you have never ceased to cry to France 'They are criminals!'" No wonder that M.Thiers has given orders by his home minister Ernest Picard to prevent "the International Association"

5 from communicating with Paris. (*Sitting of Assembly.* 28 Mars.) *Circulaire de Thiers, aux préfets et sous préfets:* "The good workmen, so numerous as compared to the bad ones, ought to know, that if bread flies again from their mouths, they owe it to the adepts of the *International*, who are the tyrants of labour, of which they pretend themselves the liberators."

10 Without the *International*

(Jetzt die Geldgeschichte) (Er und Favre haben ihr Geld nach London übersiedelt.) It is a proverb that if rogues fall out truth comes out. We can therefore not better finish the picture of Thiers than by the words of the London *Moniteur* of the master of his Versailles generals. Says the

15 *Situation* in its number of the 21 Mars: "M. Thiers has never been minister without pushing the soldiers to the massacre of the people, he the parricide, the man of incest, the peculator, the plagiarist, the traitor, the ambitious, the *impuissant.*"

shrewd in cunning devices, and artful dodges.

20

Banded with the republicans before the Revolution of July, he slipped into his first ministry under Louis Philippe by ousting Laffitte, his old protector. His first deed was to throw his old collaborator Armand Carrel into prison. He insinuated himself with Louis Philippe as a spy upon and

25 the gaol-accoucheur of the Duchesse of Berry, but his activity centred in the massacre of the insurgent Paris Republicans in the Rue Transnonain and the September Laws against the press, to be then cast aside as an instrument become blunted. Having intrigued himself again into power in 1840, he planned the Paris fortifications opposed as an attempt on the

30 liberty of Paris by the whole democratic party, except the Bourgeois Republicans of the *National*. M. Thiers replied to their outcry from the Tribune of the Chambre des Députés: «Quoi ! imaginer que des ouvrages de fortification quelconque peuvent nuire à la liberté... C'est se placer hors de toute réalité. Et d'abord, c'est calomnier un *gouvernement quel qu'il soit* de

35 supposer qu'il puisse un jour chercher à se maintenir en bombardant la capitale. Quoi ! Après avoir bercé de ses bombes la voûte des Invalides ou du Panthéon, après avoir inondé de ses feux la demeure de vos familles, il se présenterait à vous pour vous demander la confirmation de son existence ! Mais il serait cent fois plus impossible après la victoire qu'auparavant. » Indeed, neither the government of Louis Philippe nor that of the

Karl Marx

Bonapartist Regency dared to withdraw from Paris and bombard it. This employment of the fortifications was reserved to M. Thiers, their original plotter.

When King Bomba of Naples bombarded Palermo in January 1848,
M.Thiers again declared in the Chambre of Deputies:

«Vous savez, Messieurs, ce qui se passe à Palerme: vous avez tous
tressailli d'horreur en apprenant que pendant 48 heures une grande ville
a été bombardée. Par qui? Etait-ce par un ennemi étranger, exerçant les
droits de la guerre? Non, messieurs, par *son propre gouvernement*. Et
pourquoi? *Parce que cette ville infortunée demandait des droits*. Eh bien! 5
pour la demande de ses droits, il y a eu 48 heures de bombardement. Per-
mettez moi d'en appeler à l'opinion européenne. C'est un service à rendre
à l'humanité que de venir, du haut de la plus grande tribune peut-être de
l'Europe, faire retentir *quelques paroles d'indignation contre de tels actes*.
Messieurs, lorsque, il y a 50 ans, les Autrichiens exerçant les droits de la 10
guerre, pour s'épargner les longueurs d'un siège, voulurent bombarder Lille,
lorsque plus tard les Anglais, qui exerçaient aussi les droits de la guerre,
bombardèrent Copenhague ; et tout récemment, *quand le régent Espartero*,
qui avait rendu des services à son pays, *pour réprimer une insurrection*,
a voulu bombarder Barcelone ; dans tous les parts, il y a eu une générale 15
indignation. » 20

Little more than a year later, Thiers acted the most fiery apologist of the
bombardment of Rome by the troops of the French republic, and exalted his
friend, General Changarnier, for sabring down the Paris National Guards
protesting against this breach of the French Constitution.

A few days before the Revolution of February 1848, fretting at the long
exile from place to which Guizot had condemned him, scenting the
growing commotion of the masses, which he hoped would enable him
to oust his rival and impose himself upon Louis Philippe, Thiers exclaimed in
the Chambre of Deputies:

«*Je suis du parti de la Révolution, tant en France qu'en Europe*. Je
souhaite que le gouvernement de la Révolution reste dans les mains des
hommes modérés... Mais quand ce gouvernement passera dans les mains
d'hommes ardents, fut-ce des radicaux, je n'abandonnerai pas ma cause
pour cela. *Je serai toujours du parti de la Révolution.* » 30

To put down the February Revolution was his exclusive occupation
from the day when the Republic was proclaimed to the Coup d'Etat.

The first days after the February explosion he anxiously hid himself, but
the Paris workmen despised him too much to hate him. Still, with his
notorious cowardice which made Armand Carrel answer to his boast "he 40
would one day die on the banks of the Rhine", "Thou wil'st die in a gutter"—he

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

dared not play a part on the public stage before the popular forces were broken down through the massacre of the Insurgents of June. He confined himself first to the secret direction of the Conspiracy of the Reunion of the Rue de Poitiers which resulted in the Restauration of the Empire,
5 until the stage had become sufficiently clear to reappear publicly on it.

During the siege of Paris, on the question whether Paris was about to capitulate, Jules Favre answered that, to utter the word capitulation, the bombardment of Paris was wanted! This explains his melodramatic protests
10 against the Prussian bombardment, and why the latter was a mock-bombardment, while the Thiers bombardment is a stern reality. |

|7| Parliamentary mountebank.

He is for 40 years on the stage. He has never initiated a single useful measure in any department of state or life. Vain, sceptical, epicurean:
15 He has never written or spoken for things. In his eyes the things themselves are only pretexts for the display of his pen or his tongue. Except his thirst for place and pelf and display there is nothing real about him, not even his chauvinism.

In the true vein of vulgar professional journalists he now sneers in his
20 bulletins [at] the bad looks of his Versailles prisoners, now communicates that the rurals are "à leur aise", now covers himself with ridicule by his bulletin on the taking of "Moulin-Saquet" (4 of Mai), where 300 prisoners were taken. «Le reste des insurgés s'est enfui à toutes jambes, laissant 150 morts et blessés sur le champ de bataille», and snappishly adds:
25 «Voilà la victoire que la Commune peut célébrer demain dans ses bulletins.» «Paris sera sous peu délivré de ces terribles tyrans qui l'oppriment.» (Paris—the "Paris" of the mass of the Paris people fighting against him is not "Paris". "Paris—that is the rich, the capitalist, the idle" (why not the cosmopolitan stew?) This is the Paris of M. Thiers. The real Paris, working,
30 thinking, fighting Paris, the Paris of the people, the Paris of the Commune is a "vile multitude". There is the whole case of M. Thiers, not only for Paris, but for France. The Paris that shews its courage in the "pacific procession" and Saisset's "escapade", that throngs now at Versailles, at Rueil, at St. Denis, at St. Germain-en-Laye, followed by the Cocottes sticking to
35 the "men of religion, family, order, and property" (the Paris of the really "dangerous", of the exploiting and lounging classes) ("the franc-fileurs") and amusing itself by looking by the telescope at the battle going on, for whom "the civil war is but an agreeable diversion"—that is the Paris of M. Thiers, as the emigration of Coblenz was the France of M. de Calonne.)
40 In his vulgar journalist vein he knows not even to observe sham dignity,

Karl Marx

but he murders the wives and girls, and children found under the ruins of Neuilly not to swerve from the etiquette of "legitimacy". He must needs illuminate the municipal elections he has ordered in France by the conflagration of Clamart burnt by petroleum bombs. The Roman historians finish off Nero's character by telling us that the monster gloried in being a rhymester and a comedian. But lift a professional mere journalist and parliamentary mountebank like Thiers to power, and he will outnero Nero. 5

He acts only his part as the blind tool of class interests in allowing the Bonapartist "generals" to revenge themselves on Paris; but he acts his personal part in the little byplay of bulletins, speeches, addresses, in which the vanity, vulgarity, and lowest taste of the journalist creep out. 10

He compares himself with Lincoln and the Parisians with the rebellious slaveholders of the South. The Southerners fought for the slavery of labour and the territorial secession from the United States. Paris fought for the emancipation of labour and the secession from power of Thiers stateparasites, 15 of the wouldbe slaveholders of France!

In his speech to the Maires: «On peut compter sur ma parole à laquelle je 20 n'ai jamais manqué ! »

« L'assemblée est une des plus libérales qu'ait nommé la France. »

Er wird die Republik retten «pourvu que l'ordre et le travail ne soient pas perpétuellement compromis par ceux qui se prétendent les gardiens particuliers du salut de la république ». 25

In der Sitzung der Assemblée vom 27 April sagt er: « L'assemblée est plus libérale que lui-même ! »

He whose rhetorical trumpcard was always the denunciation of the 30 Vienna treaties, he signs the Paris treaty, not only the dismemberment of one part of France, not only the occupation of almost 1/3 of it, but the milliards of indemnity, without even asking Bismarck to specify and prove his war expenses! He does not even allow the Assembly at Bordeaux to discuss the paragraphs of his capitulation! 35

He who upbraided throughout his life the Bourbons because they came back in the rear of Foreign armies and because of their undignified behaviour

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

to the allies occupying France after the conclusion of peace, he asks nothing from Bismarck in the treaty but one concession: 40,000 troops to subdue Paris (as Bismarck stated in the Diet). Paris was for all purposes of internal defence and Foreign aggression fully secured by his armed
5 National Guard, but Thiers superadded at once to the capitulation of Paris to the Foreigner the character of the capitulation of Paris to himself and Co. This stipulation was a stipulation for civil war. That war itself he opens not only with the passive permission of Prussia, but by the facilities she lends him, by the captive French troops she magnanimously despatches
10 him from German dungeons! In his bulletins, in his and Favre's speeches in the Assembly, he crawls in the dust before Prussia and threatens Paris every eight days with her intervention, after having failed to get it, as stated by Bismarck himself. The Bourbons were dignity itself compared to this mountebank, this grand apostle of Chauvinism!

15

After the downbreak of Prussia (Tilsit peace 1807), its government felt that it could only save itself and the country by a great social regeneration. It naturalized in Prussia—on a small scale, within the limits of a feudal monarchy—the results of the French revolution. It liberated the peasant
20 etc. After the Crimean defeat, which, however Russia might have saved her honour by the defence of Sebastopol and dazzled the Foreigner by her diplomatic triumphs at Paris, laid open at home the rottenness of her social and administrative system, her government emancipated the serf and her whole administrative and judicial system. In both countries the daring social
25 reform was fettered and limited in its character because it was octroyed from the throne and not conquered by the people. Still there were great social changes doing away with the worst privileges of the ruling classes and changing the economical basis of the old society. They felt that the great malady could only be cured by heroic measures. They felt that they could only
30 answer to the victors by social reforms, by calling into life elements of popular regeneration. The French catastrophe of 1870 stands unparallelled in the history of the modern world! It shewed official France, the France of Louis Bonaparte, the France of the ruling classes and their state parasites—a putrescent cadaver. And what is the first attempt of the infamous men, who
35 had got at her government by a surprise of the people and who continue to hold it by a conspiracy with the Foreign invader, what is their first attempt? To assassinate, under Prussian patronage, by L. Bonaparte's soldatesca and Piétri's police, the glorious work of popular regeneration commenced at Paris, to summon all the old legitimist spectres, beaten by the July Revo-
40 lution, the fossile swindlers of Louis Philippe, beaten by the revolution of

Karl Marx

February, and celebrate an orgy of counterrevolution! Such heroism in exaggerated self debasement is unheard of in the annals of history! But, what is most characteristic, instead of arousing a general shout of indignation on the part of official Europe, and America, it evokes a current of sympathy and of fierce denunciation of Paris! (fossiles, vilains, hommes tarés) 5
This proves that Paris, true to its historical antecedents, seeks the regeneration of the French people in making it the champion of the regeneration of old society, making the social regeneration of mankind the national business of France! It is the emancipation of the producing class from the exploiting classes, their retainers and their state parasites who prove 10
the truth of the French adage, that "les valets du diable sont pire que le diable himself." Paris has hoisted the flag of mankind!

18 March. Government laid "stamp of 2 centimes on each copy of every periodical, whatever its nature", "forbidden to found new journals until the raising of the state of siege".| 15

|8| The different fractions of the French bourgeoisie had successively their reigns, the great landed proprietors under the *Restoration* (the old Bourbons), the capitalists under the parliamentary monarchy of July, (Louis Philippe), while its Bonapartist and republican elements kept rankling in the background. Their party feuds and intrigues were of course carried 20
on on pretexts of *public welfare*, and a popular revolution having got rid of these monarchies, the other set in. All this changed with the Republic (February). All the fractions of the Bourgeoisie combined together in the *Party of Order*, that is the party of Proprietors and Capitalists, bound together to maintain the economic subjugation of labour and the repressive 25
state machinery supporting it. Instead of a monarchy, whose very name signified the prevalence of one bourgeois fraction over the other, a victory on one side and a defeat on the other, (the triumph of one side and the humiliation of the other) the *Republic* was the anonymous joint-stock-company of the combined bourgeois fractions, of all the *exploiteurs* of the 30
people clubbed together, and indeed, Legitimists, Bonapartists, Orleanists, Bourgeois Republicans, Jesuits, and Voltaireans, embraced each other. No longer hidden by the shelter of the crown, no longer able to interest the people in their party feuds by maskerading them into struggles for popular 35
interest, no longer subordinate the one to the other. Direct and confessed antagonism of their class rule to the emancipation of the producing masses,—*order* the name for the economical and political conditions of their class rule and the servitude of labour, this anonymous or republican form of the bourgeois regime—this Bourgeois Republic, this Republic of the *Party of Order* is the most *odious* of all political regimes. Its direct 40
business, its only *raison d'être* is to crush down the people. It is the

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

terrorism of class rule. The thing is done in this way. The people having fought and made the Revolution, proclaimed the Republic, and made room for a National Assembly, the Bourgeois whose known Republican professions are a guarantee for their "Republic", are pushed on the foreground of the 5 stage by the majority of the Assembly, composed of the vanquished and professed enemies of the Republic. The Republicans are entrusted with the task to goad the people into the trap of an insurrection to be crushed by fire and sword. This part was performed by the party of the *National* with Cavaignac at their head after the Revolution of February, (by the June 10 Insurrection) By their crime against the masses, these Republicans lose then their sway. They have done their work and, if yet allowed to support the *party of order* in its general struggle against the Proletariate, they are at the same time displaced from the government, forced to fall back in the last ranks, and only allowed "on sufferance". The combined royalist 15 bourgeois then become the fathers of the Republic, the true rule of the "Party of Order" sets in. The material forces of the people being broken for the time being, the work of reaction—the breaking down of all the concessions conquered in four revolutions—begins piece by piece. The people is stung to madness not only by the deeds of the *party of order*, but 20 by the cynical effrontery with which it is treated as the vanquished, with which in its own name, in the name of the Republic, that low lot rules it supreme. Of course, that spasmodic form of *anonymous* class despotism cannot last long, can only be a transitory phasis. It knows that it is seated on a revolutionary volcano. On the other hand, if the party of order is united 25 in its war against the working class, in its capacity of the *party of order*, the play of intrigue of its different fractions the one against the other, each for the prevalence of its peculiar interest in the old order of society, each for the Restoration of its own pretender and personal ambitions, sets in in full force as soon as its rule seems secured (guaranteed) by the 30 destruction of the material revolutionary forces. This combination of a common war against the people and a common conspiracy against the Republic, combined with the internal feuds of its rulers, and their play of intrigues, paralyses society, disgusts and bewilders the masses of the middleclass and "troubles" business, keeps them in a chronic state 35 of disquietude. All the conditions of despotism are created (have been engendered) under this regime, but despotism without quietude, despotism with parliamentary anarchy at its head. Then the hour has struck for a *Coup d'Etat*, and the incapable lot has to make room for any lucky pretender, making [an] end of the *anonymous* form of class rule. In this 40 way Louis Bonaparte made an end of the Bourgeois Republic after its 4 years of existence. During all that time *Thiers* was the "âme damnée" of the party

Karl Marx

of order, that in the name of the Republic made war upon the Republic, a class war upon the people, and, in reality, created the Empire. He played exactly the same part now as he played then, only then but as a parliamentary intriguer, now as the Chief of the Executive. Should he not be conquered by the Revolution, he will now as then be a baffled tool. Whatever countervailing government will set in, its first act will be to cast aside the man who surrendered France to Prussia and bombarded Paris.

5

Thiers had many grievances against L. Bonaparte. The latter had used him as a tool and a dupe. He had frightened him by his arrest after the Coup d'Etat. He had annulled him by putting down the parliamentary regime, the only one under which a mere state-parasite, like Thiers, a mere talker can play a political part. Last not least, Thiers having been the historic shoebblack of Napoleon had so long described his deeds as to fancy he had enacted them himself. The legitimate caricature of Nap. I was in his eyes not Nap. the little, but little Thiers. With all that there was no infamy committed by L. B. which had not been backed by Thiers, from the occupation of Rome by the French troops to the war with Prussia.

10

15

Only a man of his shallow head can fancy for one moment, that a Republic with his head on its shoulders, with a National Assembly half legitimist, half Orleanist, with an army under Bonapartist leaders, will, if victorious, not push him aside.

There is nothing more grotesquely horrid than a Tom Pouce affecting to play the Timur Tamerlane. With him the deeds of cruelty are not only a matter of business, but a thing of theatrical display, of phantastical vanity. To write his "bulletin's", to show his "severity", to have "his" troops, "his" strategy, "his" bombardments, "his" petroleum-bombs, to hide "his" cowardice under the coldbloodedness with which he allows the Decembrist blacklegs to take their revenge on Paris ! This kind of heroism in exaggerated baseness! He exults in the important part he plays and the noise he makes in the world! He quite fancies to be a great man! and how gigantic (titanic) he, the dwarf, the parliamentary dribbler, must look in the eyes of the world ! Inmidst the horrid scenes of this war, one cannot help smiling at the ridiculous capers Thiers Vanity cuts! M.Thiers is a man of lively imagination, there runs an artist's vein through his blood, and an artist's vanity able to gull him into a belief of his own lies, and a belief in his own grandeur.

20

25

30

35

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

Through all the speeches, bulletins etc. of Thiers, runs a vein of elated vanity.

|9| *that affreux Triboulet.*

5 Splendid Bombardment (with petroleum bombs) from Mont Valerien on one part of the houses in the Ternes within the rampart, with a grandious conflagration and a fearful thunder of cannon shaking all Paris. Bombs purposely thrown into Ternes and the Champs Elysées quarters.

Explosive bombs, petroleum bombs.

10

The Commune.

The glorious British penny a liner has made the splendid discovery that this is not what *we* use to understand by selfgovernment. Of course, it is not. It is not the selfadministration of the towns by turtle-soup guttling aldermen, jobbing vestries, and ferocious workhouse guardians. It is 15 not the selfadministration of the counties by the holders of broad acres, long purses and empty heads. It is not the judicial abomination of "the Great Unpaid". It is not political selfgovernment of the country through the means of an oligarchic club and the reading of the *Times* newspaper. It is the people acting for itself by itself.

20

Within this war of cannibals the most disgusting, the "literary" shrieks of the hideous gnome seated at the head of the government!

The ferocious treatment of the Versailles prisoners was not interrupted one moment, and their coldblooded assassination was resumed so soon as 25 Versailles had convinced itself that the Commune was too humane to execute its decree of reprisals !

The *Paris Journal* (at Versailles) says that 13 line soldiers made prisoners at the railway station of Qamart were shot offhand, and all prisoners wearing the line uniforms who arrive in Versailles will be executed whenever 30 doubts about their identity are cleared up !

M. Alexander Dumas, fils, tells that a young man exercising the functions, if not bearing the title, of a general, was shot after having marched (in custody) a few hundred yards along a road.

5 Mai. Mot d'Ordre: D'après la *Liberté*, qui paraît à Versailles «tous 35 les soldats de l'armée régulière qui ont été trouvés à Clamart parmi les insurgents ont été fusillés séance tenante» (by Lincoln Thiers !) (Lincoln

Karl Marx

acknowledged the belligerent rights) "These are the men denouncing on the walls of all French communes the Parisians as assassins!" The banditti!
Desmarests.

Deputation de commune à Bicêtre (27 April) pour faire une enquête sur les 4 gardes nationaux du 185^e bataillon de marche de la garde nationale, où 5 ils ont visité le survivant (grièvement blessé) *Scheffer*. Le malade a déclaré que le 25 Avril, à la belle Epine, près de Villejuif, il était surpris avec trois de ces camarades par les chasseurs à cheval, qui leur ont dit de se rendre. Comme il leur était impossible de faire une résistance utile contre les forces 10 qui les entouraient, ils jetèrent leurs armes à terre et se rendirent. Les soldats les entourèrent, les firent prisonniers sans exercer aucune violence ni aucune menace envers eux. Ils étaient déjà prisonniers depuis quelques instants, lorsqu'un capitaine des chasseurs à cheval arriva et se précipita 15 sur eux le revolver au poing. Il fit feu sur l'un d'eux sans dire un seul mot et l'étendit raide mort, puis il en fit autant sur le garde *Scheffer* qui reçut une balle en pleine poitrine et tomba à côté de ses camarades. Les deux autres gardes se retirèrent effrayés de cette infâme aggression, mais le féroce capitaine se précipita sur les deux prisonniers et les tua de deux autres coups de revolver. Les chasseurs après les actes d'atroce et de féroce 20 lâcheté, se retirèrent avec leur chef, laissant leurs victimes étendues sur le sol.

New York Tribune outdoes the London papers.

M. Thiers' "most liberal and most freely elected National assembly that ever existed in France" is quite of a piece with his "finest army that 25 France ever possessed". The municipal elections, carried on under Thiers himself on the 30th of April, show their relations to the French people! Of 700,000 councillors (in round numbers) returned by the 35,000 communes still left in mutilated France, 200 are Legitimists, 600 Orléanists, 7,000 avowed Bonapartists, and all the rest Republicans or Communists. (*Versailles Cor. Daily News*, 5 May) Is any other proof wanted that this Assembly with the Orleanist mummy Thiers at its head represent only an usurpatory minority?

Paris.

35

M.Thiers represented again and again the Commune as the instrument of a handful of "convicts" and "ticket of leave men", of the scum of

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

Paris. And this "handful" of desperadoes holds in check since more than 6 weeks the "finest army that France ever possessed" led by the invincible Mac Mahon and inspired by the genius of Thiers himself!

The exploits of the Parisians have not only refuted him. All elements 5 of Paris have spoken. « Il ne faut point confondre le mouvement de Paris avec la surprise de Montmartre, qui n'en a été que l'occasion et le point de départ; ce mouvement est général et profond dans la conscience de Paris; le plus grand nombre de ceux-là mêmes qui, pour une cause ou pour une autre, s'en sont tenus à l'écart, n'en désavouent point pour cela 10 la légitimité sociale.» Who says this? The *delegates of the Syndical chambres*, men who speak in the name of 7—8,000 merchants and industrials. They have gone to tell it at Versailles ... The *Ligue de la réunion républicaine...* the *manifestation of the Francs Maçons* etc.

The Province.

15 *Les provinciaux espiègles.*

If Thiers fancied one moment that the provinces were really antagonistic to the Paris movement, he would do all in his power to give the provinces the greatest possible facilities to become acquainted with that movement and all "its horrors". He would solicit them to look at it in its naked 20 reality, to convince themselves with their own eyes and ears of what it is. Not he! He and his "defence men" try to keep the provinces down, to prevent their general rising for Paris, by a *wall of lies* as they kept out the news from the provinces in Paris during the Prussian siege. The Provinces are only allowed to look at Paris through the Versailles *camera obscura*. (les 25 mensonges et les calomnies des journaux de Versailles parviennent seuls aux départements et y font loi.) Pillages and murders of 20,000 ticket of leave men dishonour the capital. «La Ligue se donne pour premier devoir de faire la lumière et de rétablir les relations normales entre la province and Paris.» As they were, when besieged in Paris, thus they are now in besieging 30 it in their turn. «Le mensonge, comme par le passé, est leur arme favorite. Ils suppriment, saisissent les journaux de la Capitale, interceptent les communications, sift the letters, de telle sorte que la Province est réduite aux nouvelles qu'il plaît aux Jules Favre, Picard et Consorts de lui donner, sans qu'il soit possible de vérifier l'exactitude de leur dire.» Thiers' 35 bulletins, Picards' circulars, Dufaures'... The placards in the Communes. The felon press of Versailles and the Germans. The petit moniteur. The reintroduction of passports for travelling from one place to another. An army of mouchards spread in every direction. Arrests (in Rouen etc under

Karl Marx

Prussian authority) etc. Les milliers de commissaires de police répandus dans les environs de Paris ont reçu du préfet gendarme Valentin l'ordre de saisir tous les journaux, à quelque nuance qu'ils appartiennent, qui s'impriment dans la ville insurgée, et de les brûler en place publique comme au meilleur temps de la Ste Inquisition.

5

Thiers' government first appealed to the provinces to form battalions of National Guards and send them to Versailles against Paris. "The Province," as the *Journal de Limoges* says, "showed its discontent by refusing the battalion of volontaires which were asked from it by Thiers and his ruraux." The few Breton idiots, fighting under a white flag, every 10 one of them wearing on his breast a Jesus heart in ||10| white cloth and shouting "vive le roi!" are the only "provincial" army gathered round Thiers.

The elections Vengeur 6 Mai.

M.Dufaure's presslaw (8 April) confessedly directed against the 15 "excesses" of the Provincial press.

Then the numerous arrests in the Province. It is placed under the laws of suspects. *Blocus intellectuel et policier de la province.*

April 23 Havre: The municipal council has despatched three of its members to Paris and Versailles with instructions to offer mediation, with 20 the view of terminating the civil war on the basis of the maintenance of the Republic, and the granting of municipal franchises to the whole of France... *23 April delegates from Lyon received by Picard and Thiers—* "guerre à tout prix" deren Antwort.

Adresse des délégués de Lyon présentée à l'assemblée par Greppo 25 24 Avril.

The municipalities of the provincial towns committed the great impudence to send their delegations to Versailles in order to call upon them to grant what demanded by Paris; not one Commune of France has sent an address approving of the acts of Thiers and the rurals; the provincial papers, like 30 these municipal councils, as Dufaure complains in his *circular against Conciliation to the Procureur Général* «mettent sur la même ligne l'Assemblée issue du suffrage universel et la prévue commune de Paris; reprochent à la première de n'avoir pas accordé à Paris ses droits municipaux etc » and what is worse, these municipal councils, f. i. *that of Auch* 35 "unanimement lui demandent de proposer immédiatement un armistice avec Paris and that the Assembly chosen on the 8-th of February, dissolves itself because its mandate had expired". (*Dufaure, l'assemblée de Versailles 26 April*)

It ought to be remembered that these were the old municipal councils, 40 not those elected on 30th April. Their delegations so numerous, that Thiers

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

decided no longer to receive them personally, but address them to a ministerial subaltern.

5 *Lastly the elections of 30 April* the final judgment of the Assembly and the electoral surprise from which it had sprung. If then, the provinces have till now only made a passive resistance against Versailles without rising for Paris, to be explained by the strongholds the old authorities hold here still, the trance in which the Empire merged and the war maintained the Province. It is evident that it is only the Versailles army, government, and Chinese wall of lies, that stand between Paris and the provinces. If that
10 wall falls, they will unite with it.

It is most characteristic, that the same men (Thiers et Co.) who in May 1850 abolished by a parliamentary conspiracy (Bonaparte aided them, to get them into a snare, to have them at his mercy, and to proclaim himself after the coup d'état as the restorer of the universal suffrage against the
15 party of order and its Assembly) the *universal suffrage*, because under the Republic it might still play them freaks, are now its fanatical adepts, make it their "legitimate" title against Paris, after it had received under Bonaparte such an organization as to be the mere plaything in the hand of the Executive, a mere machine of cheat, surprise, and forgery on the part of
20 the Executive. Congrès de la Ligue des Villes (*RappelloMai!*)

Trochu, Jules Favre, et Thiers' Provincials.

It may be asked how these superannuated parliamentary mountebanks and intriguers like Thiers, Favre, Dufaure, Gamier Pages (only strengthened
25 by a few rascals of the same stamp) continue to reappear, after every revolution, on the surface, and usurp the executive power? these men that always exploit and betray the Revolution, shoot down the people that made it, and sequester the few liberal concessions conquered from former governments? (which they opposed themselves?)

30 The thing is very simple. In the first instance, if very unpopular, like Thiers after the February Revolution, popular magnanimity spares them. After every successful rising of the people the cry of conciliation, raised by the implacable enemies of the people, is reechoed by the people in the first moments of the enthusiasm at its own victory. After this first moment
35 men like Thiers and Dufaure eclipse themselves as long as the people hold material power and work in the dark. They reappear as soon as it is disarmed and are acclaimed by the bourgeoisie as their *chefs de file*.

Or, like Favre, Gamier Pages, Jules Simon etc (recruited by a few younger

Karl Marx

ones of similar stamp) and Thiers himself after the 4th of September, were the "respectable" republican opposition under Louis Philippe: afterwards the parliamentary opposition under L. Bonaparte. The reactionary regimes they have themselves initiated when raised to power by the Revolution, secure for them the ranks of the opposition, deporting, killing, exiling the true Revolutionists. The people forget their past, the middleclass look upon them as their men, their infamous past is forgotten, and thus they reappear to recommence their treason and their work of infamy. 5

Night of 1 to 2 May: the village of Clamart had been in the hands of the military, the railway station in that of the insurgents, (this station dominates the Fort of Issy.) By a surprise (their patrouilles being let in by a soldier on guard, the *watchword having been betrayed* to them) the 23 Bataillon of Chasseurs got in, surprised the garrison most of them sleeping in their bed, made only 60 prisoners, *bayoneted 300 of the insurgents*. Dazu line soldiers 10 afterwards shot offhand. *Thiers in his circular to the Prefects, civil and military authorities of 2 May* has the impudence to say: "It (the Commune) arrests generals (Cluseret!) only to shoot them, and institutes a committee of public safety which is utterly unworthy!" 15

Troops under General Lacretelle took the *redoubt* of *Moulin Saquet* 20 situated betwixt Fort Issy and Montrouge, by a coup de main. The garrison was surprised by treachery on the part of the commandant *Gallien*, who had sold the password to the Versaillese troops. 150 of the Federals bayoneted and over 300 of them made prisoners.

M.Thiers, says the *Times* correspondent was weak when he ought to 25 have been firm (the coward is always weak as long as *he has to apprehend danger for himself*) and firm, when everything was to be gained by some concessions, (the rascal is always firm, when the employment of material force bleeds France, gives great airs to himself, but when he, personally, is safe. This is his whole cleverness. Like Anthony, Thiers is an "honest man".) 30

Thiers' bulletin über Moulin-Saquet (4 Mai) «*Délivrance de Paris des affreux tyrans qui l'oppriment*» («les Versaillais étaient déguisés en gardes nationaux. ») (« le plus grand nombre des fédérés dormaient et ont été frappés ou saisis dans leur sommeil. ») 35

«Blanqui, enseveli mourant dans un cachot, Floureens haché par les gendarmes, Duval fusillé par Vinoy, les ont tenus dans leurs mains au 31 Octobre, et qu'ils leur ont rien faits. »

1111 The Commune.

a) Measures for the Working Class.

- nightwork of journeymen bakers suppressed. (20 April)
the private jurisdiction, usurped by the Seigneurs of mills etc (manufacturers) (employers, great and small) being at the same time judges, executors, gainers and parties in the disputes, that right of a *penal code of their own*, enabling them to rob the labourers' wages by *fines and deductions*, as punishment etc, abolished in public and private workshops; penalties impended upon the employers in case they infringe upon this law; *fines and deductions* extorted since the 18th of March to be paid back to the workmen; (27 April)
- Sale of pawned articles at Pawn Shops suspended; (29 March)
- A great lot of workshops and manufactures have been closed in Paris; their owners having run away. This is the old method of the industrial capitalists, who consider themselves entitled "by the spontaneous action of the laws of political economy" not only to make a profit out of labour, as the condition of labour, but to stop it altogether and throw the workmen on the pavement—to produce an artificial crisis whenever a victorious revolution threatens the "order" of their "system". The Commune, very wisely, has appointed a Communal commission which in cooperation with delegates chosen by the different trades will inquire into the ways of handing over the deserted workshops and manufactures to cooperative workmen societies with some indemnity for the capitalist deserters; (16 April) (this commission has also to make statistics of the abandoned workshops);
- Commune has given order to the mairies to make no distinction between the femmes called illegitimate, the mothers and widows of national guards, as to the indemnity of 75 centimes;
- the public prostitutes till now kept for the "men of order" at Paris but for their "safety" kept in penal servitude under the arbitrary rule of the police; the Commune has liberated the prostitutes from this degrading slavery, but swept away the soil upon which, and the men by whom, prostitution flourishes. The higher prostitutes—the cocottes—were of course, under the rule of order, not the slaves, but the masters of the police and the governors.
- There was, of course, no time to reorganize public instruction (education); but by removing the religious and clerical element from it, the Commune has taken the initiative in the mental emancipation of the people. It has appointed a Commission for the organization de l'enseignement (primary and

Karl Marx

professional) (28 April). It has ordered that all tools of instruction like books, maps, paper etc be given gratuitously by the schoolmasters who receive them in their turn from the respective mairies to which they belong. No schoolmaster is allowed on any pretext to ask payment from his pupils for these instruments of instruction. (28 April)

5

Pawnshops: toute reconnaissance du Mont de Piété antérieure au 25 Avril 1871, portant engagement d'effets d'habillement, de meubles, de linge, de livres, d'objets de literie et d'instruments de travail nicht über 20 fcs pourra être dégagée gratuitement à partir du 12 Mai courant. (7 May)

10

2) Measures for working class,
but mostly for the middle classes.

Houserent for the last 3 quarters up to April wholly remitted: Whoever had paid any of these 3 quarters shall have right of setting that sum against future payments. The same law to prevail in the case of furnished apartments. No notice to quit coming from landlords to be valid for 3 months to come. (29 Mars)

échéances (Payment of bills of exchange due): (expiration of bills): all prosecutions for bills of exchange fallen due suspended. (12 April)

All commercial papers of that sort to be repaid in repayment spread over two years, to begin next July 15, the debts being not chargeable with interest. The total amount of the sums due divided in 8 *equal coupures, payable by trimestre* (first trimester to be dated from July 15). Only on these partial payments when fallen due judicial prosecutions permitted. (16 April) The Dufaure laws on leases and bills of exchange entailed the bankruptcy of the majority of the respectable shopkeepers of Paris.

The notaries, huissiers, auctioneers, bum-bailiffs and other judicial officers making till now a fortune of their functions transformed into agents of the Commune receiving from it fixed salaries like other workmen;

As the Professors of the Ecole de Médecine have run away, the Commune appointed a Commission for the foundation of *free universities*, no longer stateparasites; given to the students that had passed their examination means to practise independent of Doctor titles; (titles to be conferred by the faculty).

Since the judges of the *Civil tribunal of the Seine*, like the other magistrates always ready to function under any class government, had run away, Commune appointed an advocate to do the most urgent business until the reorganization of tribunals on the basis of general suffrage; (26 April)

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

3) General Measures.

Congscription abolished. In the present war every able man (National Guard) must serve. This measure excellent to get rid of all traitors and cowards hiding in Paris (29 Mars)

y

- 5 J Games of hazard suppressed. (2 April)
Church separated from State; the religious budget suppressed; all clerical estates declared national properties, (3 April).
- The Commune, having made inquiries consequent upon private informations, found that beside the old Guillotine the "government of order" had commanded the construction of a new guillotine (more expeditive and portable), and paid in avance. The Commune ordered both the old and the new guillotine to be burned publicly on the 6th of April. The Versailles journals, reechoed by the press of order all over the world, narrated the Paris people, as a demonstration against the bloodthirstiness of the Communals, had burnt these guillotines ! (6 April) All political prisoners were set free at once after the Revolution of the 18th of March. But the Commune knew that under the régime of L. Bonaparte and his worthy successor of the Government of Defence many people were simply incarcerated on no charge whatever as political suspects. Consequently it charged one of its members—Protot—to make inquiries. By him 150 people set free who being arrested since six months, had not yet undergone any judicial examination; many of them, already arrested under Bonaparte, had been for a year in prison without any charge or judicial examination. (9 April) This fact, so characteristic of the Government of Defence, [12] enraged them.
- 25 They asserted the Commune had liberated all felons. But who liberated convicted felons? The forger Jules Favre. Hardly got into power, he hastened to liberate Pic and Taillefer, condemned for theft and forgery in the affaire of the *Etendard*. One of these men, Taillefer, daring to return to Paris, has been reinstated into his convenient abode. But this is not all.
- 30 The Versailles government has delivered in the *Maisons Centrales* all over France convicted thief s on the condition of entering M.Thiers' army!

Decree on the demolition of the column of the place Vendôme as "a monument of barbarism, symbol of brute force and false glory, an affirmation of militarism, a negation of international right". (12 April)

Election of Frankel (German member of the International) to the Commune declared valid: "considering that the flag of the Commune is that of the Universal Republic and that foreigners can have a seat in it";

Karl Marx

(4 April) Frankel afterwards chosen a member of the executive of the Commune; (21 April)

The Journal officiel has inaugurated the publicity of the sittings of the Commune. (15 April)

Decree of Paschal Grousset for the protection of Foreigners against requisitions. Never a government in Paris so courteous to Foreigners.

(27 April)

The Commune has abolished political and professional oaths. (27 April)

Destruction of the monument dit "Chapelle expiatoire de Louis XVI" rue d'Anjou St. Honoré (œuvre de la Chambre introuvable de 1816) (7 Mai) 10

4) Measures of public safety.

Disarmament of the "loyal" National Guards; (30 Mars)

Commune declares incompatibility between seats in its ranks and at Versailles ; (29 Mars).

Decree of Reprisals. Never executed. Only the fellows arrested, Archbishop of Paris and Curé of the Madeleine; whole staff of the college of Jesuits ; Incumbents of all the principal churches ; Part of these fellows arrested as hostages, part as conspirators with Versailles, part because they tried to save church property from the clutches of the Commune. (6 April) "The Monarchists wage war like savages; they shoot prisoners, they murder the wounded, they fire on ambulances, troops raise the butt-end of their rifles in the air and then fire traitorously." (Proclamation of Commune) 15
20

In regard to these decrees of Reprisals to be remarked:

In the first instance men of all layers of the Paris society—after the exodus of the capitalists, the idlers, and the parasite—have interposed at Versailles to stop the Civil war—except the Paris clergy. The Archbishop and the curé de [la] Madeleine have only written to Thiers because averse to "the effusion of their own blood", in their quality as hostages. 25

Secondly: After the publication by the Commune of the Decree of reprisal, the taking of hostages etc, the atrocious treatment of the Versailles prisoners by Piétri's lambs and Valentin's Gendarmes did not cease, but the assassination of the captive Paris soldiers and National Guard was stopped to set in with renewed fury so soon as the Versailles Government had convinced itself that the Commune was too humane to execute its decree of the 6th of April. Then the assassination set again in wholesale. The Commune did not execute one hostage, not one prisoner, not even some Gendarme officers who under the disguise of National Guards had entered Paris as spies and were simply arrested. 30
35

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

Surprise of the Redoute of Clamart (2 May.) Railway Station in the hands of the Parisians, massacre, bayonetting, the 22nd Battalion of Chasseurs (Gallifet?) shoots line soldiers offhand without any formality. (2 Mai)

5 *Redoubt of Moulin Saquet*, situated between Fort Issy and Montrouge, surprised in the night by treachery on the part of the commandant *Gallien* who had sold the password to the Versaillaise troops. Federals surprised in their beds asleep—massacred great part of them. (4 May?)

10 *25 April* 4 National guards (this constated by Commissaries sent to Bicêtre where the only survivor of the 4 men, à Belle Epine, près Villejuif. His name *Scheffer*.) These men being surrounded by horse Chasseurs, on their order, unable to resist, surrendered, disarmed, nothing done to them by the soldiers. But then arrives the captain of the chasseurs, and shoots them down one after the other with his revolver. Left them on the soil.

15 *Scheffer* fearfully wounded survived.

20 13 soldiers of the line made prisoners at the railway Station of Clamart were shot offhand, and all prisoners wearing the line uniforms who arrive in Versailles will be executed whenever doubts about their identity are cleared up. (*Liberté* at Versailles.) Alexander Dumas fils, now at Versailles, tells that a young man exercising the functions, if not bearing the title, of a general, was shot, by order of a Bonapartist general, after having marched in custody a few 100 yards along a road____Parisian troops and National Guards surrounded in houses by Gendarmes, inundate the house with Petroleum and then fire it. Some cadavers of National Guards (*calcinés*) have been transported by the ambulance of the press of the Ternes. (Mot d'ordre 20 April) "They have no right to ambulances".

Thiers. Blanqui. Archbishop. General Chanzy. (Thiers said his Bonapartists should have liked to be shot.)

30 *Visitation in Houses, etc.* Casimir Bouis nommé président d'une commission d'enquête in the doings of the dictators of 4 September. (14 April) Private houses invaded and papers seized, but no furniture has been carried away and sold by auction. (Papers der fellows vom 4. September, des Thiers etc und bonapartistischer Polizeileute), f. i. in Hotel of Lafont, inspecteur général des prisons. (11 April) The houses (properties) of

35 *Thiers et Co.* as traitors sealed but *only the papers* confiscated.

Arrest among themselves: This shocks the bourgeois who wants political idols and "great men" immensely.

40 "It is provoking" (Daily News 6 May. Paris Correspondence), "however, and discouraging, that whatever be the authority possessed by the Commune, it is continually changing hands, and we know not to-day with whom the power may rest to-morrow... In all these eternal changes one sees more

Karl Marx

than ever the want of a presiding mind. The Commune is a concourse of equivalent atoms, each one jealous of another and *none endowed with supreme control over the others.*"

Journal suppression!

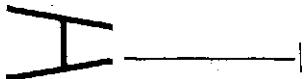
5) Financial Measures.

(See Daily News. 6 may)

Principal outlay for war!

Only 8,928 fcs. from saisies—all taken from ecclesiastics etc

Vengeur 6 Mai.



1131 La Commune.

The rise of the Commune and the Central Committee.

The Commune had been proclaimed at Lyons, then Marseilles, Toulouse etc after Sedan. Gambetta tried his best to break it down.

The different movements at Paris in the beginning of October aimed at the establishment of the Commune, as a measure of defence against the Foreign invasion, as the realisation of the rise of the 4th of September. Its establishment by the movement of the 31 October failed only because Blanqui, Flourens and the other then leaders of the movement believed in the *gens de paroles* who had given their *parole d'honneur* to abdicate and make room to a Commune freely elected by all the arrondissements of Paris. It failed because they saved the lives of those men so eager for the assassination of their saviours. Having allowed Trochu and Ferry to escape, they [were] surprised then by Trochu's Bretons. It ought to be remembered that on the 31st of October the self imposed "government of defence" existed only on sufferance. It had not yet gone even through the farce of a plebiscite. Under the circumstances, there was of course nothing easier than to misrepresent the character of the movement, to decry it as a treasonable conspiracy with the Prussians, to improve the dismissal of the only man amongst them who would not break his word, for strengthening Trochu's Bretons who were for the Government of the Defence what the Corsican *spadassins* had been for L. Bonaparte by the appointment of Clément Thomas as Commander in Chief of the National Guard; there was nothing easier for these old panic-mongers than—appealing

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

to the cowardly fears of the middleclass working bataillons who had taken the initiative, throwing distrust and dissension amongst the working bataillons themselves, by an appeal to patriotism—to create one of those days of blind reaction and disastrous misunderstandings by which they 5 have always contrived to maintain their usurped power. As they had slipt into power the 4th of September by a surprise, they were now enabled to give it a mock sanction by a plebiscite of the true Bonapartist pattern during days of reactionary terror.

The victorious establishment at Paris of the Commune in the beginning of
 10 November 1870 (then already initiated in the great cities of the country and sure to be imitated all over France) would not only have taken the defence out of the hands of traitors and imprinted its enthusiasm as the present heroic war of Paris shows, it would have altogether changed the character of the war. It would have become the war of republican France, hoisting the
 15 flag of the social Revolution of the 19th century, against Prussia, the banner bearer of the conquest and counterrevolution. Instead of sending the hackneyed old intriguer a begging at all courts of Europe, it would have electrified the producing masses in the old and the new world. By the *escamotage* of the Commune on October 31, the Jules Favre et Co
 20 secured the capitulation of France to Prussia and initiated the present civil war.

But this much is shown: The revolution of*the 4th September was not only the reinstalment of the Republic because the place of the usurper had become vacant by his capitulation at Sedan,—it not only conquered that
 25 republic from the Foreign invader by the prolonged resistance of Paris although fighting under the leadership of its enemies—that revolution was working its way in the heart of the working classes. The republic had ceased to be a name for a thing of the past. It was impregnated with a new world. Its real tendency veiled from the eye of the world through the
 30 deceptions, the lies and the vulgarizing of a pack of intriguing lawyers and word fencers, came again and again to the surface in the spasmodic movements of the Paris working classes (and the South of France) whose watchword was always the same: the *Commune!*

The Commune—the positive form of the Revolution against the Empire
 35 and the conditions of its existence—first essayed in the cities of Southern France, again and again proclaimed in the spasmodic movements during the siege of Paris and *escamotés* by the sleights of hands of the Government of Defence and the Bretons of Trochu, the "plan of capitulation" hero—was at last victoriously installed on the 26th March, but it had not suddenly
 40 sprung into life on that day. It was the unchangeable goal of the workmen's revolution. The capitulation of Paris, the open conspiracy against the Repub-

Karl Marx

lie at Bordeaux, the Coup d'Etat initiated by the nocturnal attack on Montmartre, rallied around it all the living elements of Paris, no longer allowing the defence men to limit it to the insulated efforts of the most conscious and revolutionary portions of the Paris working class.

The government of defence was only undergone as a *pis aller* of the 5 first surprise, a necessity of the war. The true answer of the Paris People to the Second Empire, the Empire of Lies—was the Commune.

Thus also the rising of all living Paris—with the exception of the pillars of Bonapartism and its official opposition, the great capitalists, the financial jobbers, the sharpers, the loungers, and the old stateparasites—against 10 the government of Defence does not date from the 18th of March, although it conquered on that day its first victory against the conspirators, it dates from the 31 January, from the very day of the capitulation. The National Guard—that is all the armed manhood of Paris—organized itself and really ruled Paris from that day, independently of the usurpatory government of 15 the capitulards installed by the grace of Bismarck. It refused to deliver its arms and artillery, which was its property and only left them in the capitulation because its property. It was not the magnanimity of Jules Favre that saved these arms from Bismarck, but the readiness of armed Paris to fight for its arms against Jules Favre and Bismarck. In view of the 20 Foreign invader and the peace negotiations Paris would not complicate the situation. It was afraid of civil war. It observed a mere attitude of defence and content with the *de facto* selfrule of Paris. But it organized itself quietly and steadfastly for resistance. (Even in the terms of the capitulation itself 25 the capitulards had unmistakeably shown their tendency to make the surrender to Prussia at the same time the means of their domination over Paris. The only concession of Prussia, they insisted upon, a concession, which Bismarck would have imposed upon them as a condition, if they had not begged it as a concession—was 40,000 soldiers for subduing Paris. In 30 the face of its 300,000 national guards,—more than sufficient for securing Paris from an attempt by the Foreign enemy, and for the defence of its internal order—the demand of these 40,000 men—a thing which was besides avowed—could have no other purpose.) On its existing military organisation it grafted a political federation according to a very simple plan. It was the alliance of all the guard nationale, put in connection the one 35 with the other by the *delegates* of each company, appointing in their turn the delegates of the bataillons, who in their turn appointed general delegates, generals of legions, who were to represent an arrondissement and to cooperate with the delegates of the 19 other arrondissements. Those 20 delegates, chosen by the majority of the bataillons of the National 40 Guard, composed the *Central Committee*, which on the 18th of March

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

initiated the greatest revolution of this century and still holds its post in the present glorious struggle of Paris. Never were elections more sifted, never delegates fuller representing the masses from which they had sprung. To the objection of the outsiders that they were unknown—in point of fact, that they
5 only were known to the working classes, but no old stagers, no men illustrated by the infamies of their past, by their chase after pelf and place—they proudly answered: "So were the 12 Apostles" and they answered by their deeds.

The character of the Commune.

¹⁰ The centralized statemachinery which, with its ubiquitous and complicated military, bureaucratic, clerical and judiciary organs, entoils (inmeshes) the living civil society like a boa constrictor, was first forged in the days of absolute monarchy as a weapon of nascent modern society in its
15 struggle of emancipation from feudalism. The seignorial privileges of the medieval lords and cities and clergy were transformed into the attributes of a unitary state power, displacing the feudal dignitaries by salaried statefunctionaries, transferring the arms from medieval retainers of the landlords and the corporations of townish citizens to a standing army,
20 substituting to the checkered (party coloured) anarchy of conflicting medieval powers the regulated plan of a statepower, with a systematic and hierachic division of labour. The first French Revolution with its task to found national unity (to create a nation) had to break down all local, territorial, townish and provincial independences. It was, therefore, forced to
25 develop, what absolute monarchy had commenced, the centralization and organization of state power, and to expand the circumference and the attributes of the state power, the number of its tools, its independence of, and its supernaturalist sway of real society which in fact took the place of the medieval supernaturalist heaven with its saints. Every minor solitary
30 interest engendered by the relations of social groups was separated from society itself, fixed and made independent of it and opposed to it in the form of stateinterest, administered by state priests with exactly determined hierarchical functions. |

[.14] This parasitical [excrescence upon] civil society, pretending to
35 be its ideal counterpart, grew to its full development under the sway of the first Bonaparte. The restauration and the monarchy of July added nothing to it but a greater division of labour, growing at the same measure in which the division of labour within civil society created new groups

Karl Marx

of interest, and, therefore, new material for state action. In their struggle against the Revolution of 1848, the parliamentary republic of France and the governments of all continental Europe, were forced to strengthen, with their measures of repression against the popular movement, the means of action and the centralization of that governmental power. All revolutions thus 5 only perfected the state machinery instead of throwing off this deadening incubus. The fractions and parties of the ruling classes which alternately struggled for supremacy, considered the occupancy (seizure) and the direction of this immense machinery of government as the main booty of the victor. It centred in the creation of immense standing armies, a host of 10 state vermin, and huge national debts. During the time of the absolute monarchy it was a means of the struggle of modern society against feudalism, crowned by the French revolution, and under the first Bonaparte it served not only to subjugate the Revolution and annihilate all popular liberties, it was an instrument of the French revolution to strike abroad, to create 15 for France on the Continent instead of feudal monarchies more or less states after the image of France. Under the Restauration and the Monarchy of July it became not only a means of the forcible class domination of the middleclass, and a means of adding to the direct economic exploitation a second exploitation of the people by assuring to their families all the 20 rich places of the State household. During the time of the Revolutionary struggle of 1848 at last it served as a means of annihilating that Revolution and all aspirations at the emancipation of the popular masses. But the state parasite received only its last development during the second 25 Empire. The governmental power with its standing army, its all directing bureaucracy, its stultifying clergy and its servile tribunal hierarchy, had grown so independent of society itself, that a grotesquely mediocre adventurer with a hungry band of desperadoes behind him sufficed do wield it. It did no longer want the pretext of an armed Coalition of old Europe against the modern world founded by the Revolution of 1789. It appeared no 30 longer as a means of class domination, subordinate to its parliamentary ministry of legislature. Humbling under its sway even to the interests of the ruling classes, whose parliamentary showwork it supplanted by selfselected Corps Législatifs and self-paid senates, sanctioned in its absolute sway by universal suffrage, the acknowledged necessity for keeping up "order", 35 that is the rule of the landowner and the capitalist over the producer, cloaking under the tatters of a maskerade of the past, the orgies of the corruption of the present and the victory of the most parasite fraction, the financial swindler, the *debauchery* of all the reactionary influences of the past let loose—a pandemonium of infamies—the **Statepower** had received 40 its last and supreme expression in the Second Empire. Apparently the

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

final victory of this governmental power over society, it was in fact the orgy of all the corrupt elements of that society. To the eye of the uninitiated it appeared only as the victory of the Executive over the legislative, of the final defeat of the form of class rule pretending to be the autocracy of
5 society under its form pretending to be a superior power to society. But in fact it was only the last degraded and the only possible form of that class rule, as humiliating to those classes themselves as to the working classes which they kept fettered by it.

The 4th of September was only the revindication of the Republique
10 against the grotesque adventurer that had assassinated it. The true antithesis to the *Empire itself*— that is to the state power, the centralized executive, of which the Second Empire was only the exhausting formula—was *the Commune*. This state power forms in fact the creation of the middleclass, first a means to break down feudalism, then a means to crush
15 the emancipatory aspirations of the producers, of the working class. All reactions and all revolutions had only served to transfer that organized power—that organized force of the slavery of labour—from one hand to the other, from one fraction of the ruling classes to the other. It had served the ruling classes as a means of subjugation and of pelf. It had sucked new
20 forces from every new change. It had served as the instrument of breaking down every popular rise and served it to crush the working classes after they had fought and been ordered to secure its transfer from one part of its oppressors to the others. This was, therefore, a Revolution not against this or that, legitimate, constitutional, republican or Imperialist form of
25 State Power. It was a Revolution against the *State* itself, of this supernaturalist abortion of society, a resumption by the people for the people, of its own social life. It was not a revolution to transfer it from one fraction of the ruling classes to the other, but a Revolution to break down this horrid machinery of Classdomination itself. It was not one of those dwarfish struggles
30 between the executive and the parliamentary forms of class domination, but a revolt against both these forms, integrating each other, and of which the parliamentary form was only the deceitful bywork of the Executive. The Second Empire was the final form of this State usurpation. The Commune was its definite negation, and, therefore the initiation of the
35 social Revolution of the 19th century. Whatever therefore its fate at Paris, it will make *le tour du monde*. It was at once acclaimed by the working class of Europe and the United States as the magic word of delivery. The glories and the antediluvian deeds of the Prussian conqueror seemed only hallucinations of a bygone past.

40 *It was only the working class that could formulate by the word "Commune"* and initiate by the fighting Commune of Paris—this new aspiration. Even

Karl Marx

the last expression of that state power in the Second Empire although 5
humbling for the pride of the ruling classes and casting to the winds their parliamentary pretensions of selfgovernment, had been only the last possible form of their class rule. While politically dispossessing them, it was
the orgy under which all the economic and social infamies of their régime
got full sway. The middling bourgeoisie and the petty middleclass were by
their economical conditions of life excluded from initiating a new revolution
and induced to follow in the tracks of the ruling classes or the followers of
the working class. The peasants were the passive economical basis of the
Second Empire, of that last triumph of a *State* separate of and independent 10
from society. Only the Proletarians, fired by a new social task to accomplish
by them for all society, to do away with all classes and class rule, were the
men to break the instrument of that class rule—the State, the centralized and
organized governmental power usurping to be the master instead of the
servant of society. In the active struggle against them by the ruling classes, 15
supported by the passive adherence of the peasantry, the Second Empire,
the last crowning at the same time as the most signal prostitution of the
State—which had taken the place of the medieval church—had been
engendered. It had sprung into life against them. By them it was broken, not
as a peculiar form of centralized governmental power, but as its most power- 20
ful, elaborated into seeming independence from society expression, and,
therefore, also its most prostitute reality, covered by infamy from top to
bottom, having centred in absolute corruption at home and absolute power-
lessness abroad. |

|15j Parliamentarism in France had come to an end. Its last term and 25
fullest sway was the parliamentary Republic from May 1848 to the Coup
d'Etat. The Empire that killed it, was its own creation. Under the Empire
with its Corps Législatif and its Senate—and in this form it has been repro-
duced in the military monarchies of Prussia and Austria—it had been a
mere farce, a mere bywork of Despotism in its crudest form. Parliamentarism 30
then was dead in France and the workmen's Revolution certainly was
not to awaken it from the death.

But this one form of class rule had only broken down to make the Exec-
utive, the governmental statemachinery the great and single object of
attack to the Revolution. 35

The *Commune*—the reabsorption of the State power by society, as its
own living forces instead of as forces controlling and subduing it, by the
popular masses themselves, forming their own force instead of the organized
force of their suppression—the political form of their social emancipation, 40

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

instead of the artificial force (their own force opposed to and organized against them) of society wielded for their oppression by their enemies. The form was simple like all great things. The Reaction of former Revolutions—the time wanted for all historical developments, and in the past always lost in all

5 Revolutions in the very days of popular triumph, whenever it had rendered its victorious arms, to be turned against itself—first by displacing the army by the National guard. "For the first time since the 4th September the republic is liberated from the *government of its enemies...* to the city a national militia that defends the citizens against the power (*the government*)

10 *instead of a permanent army that defends the government against the citizens.*" (*Proclamation of Central Committee of 22 Mars.*) (the people had only to organize this militia on a national scale, to have done away with the Standing armies; the first economical condition *sine qua* for all social improvements, discarding at once this source of taxes and state debt, and

15 this constant danger to government usurpation of class rule—of the regular class rule or an adventurer pretending to save all classes); at the same time the safest guarantee against Foreign aggression and making in fact the costly military apparatus impossible in all other states; the emancipation of the peasant from the bloodtax and the most fertile source of all state

20 taxation and state debts. Here already the point in which the Commune is a *bait for the peasant*, the first word of his emancipation. With the "independent police" abolished, and its ruffians supplanted by servants of the Commune. The general suffrage, till now abused either for the parliamentary sanction of the Holy State Power, or a play in the hands of the

25 ruling classes, only employed by the people to choose the instruments of parliamentary class rule once in many years, adapted to its real purposes, to choose by the communes their own functionaries of administration and initiation. The Delusion as if administration and political governing were mysteries, transcendent functions only to be trusted to the hands of a trained

30 caste, stateparasites, richly paid sycophants and sinecurists, in the higher posts, absorbing the intelligences of the masses and turning them against themselves in the lower places of the hierarchy. Doing away with the state hierarchy altogether and replacing the haughty masters of the people into its always removable servants, a mock responsibility by a real respon-

35 sibility, as they act continuously under public supervision. Paid like skilled workmen, 12 pounds a month, the highest salary not exceeding 240£ a year, a salary somewhat more than Vs, according to a great scientific authority, Professor Huxley, to satisfy a clerk for the Metropolitan School Board. The whole sham of statemysteries and statepretensions was done

40 away by a Commune, mostly consisting of simple working men, organizing the defence of Paris, carrying war against the Pretorians of Bonaparte, secur-

Karl Marx

ing the approvisionment of that immense town, filling all the posts hitherto divided between Government, police, and Prefecture, doing their work publicly, simply, under the most difficult and complicated circumstances, and doing it, as Milton did his *Paradise Lost*, for a few pounds, acting in bright daylight, with no pretensions to infallibility, not hiding itself behind circumlocution office, not ashamed to confess blunders by correcting them. Making in one order the public functions,—military, administrative, political—*real workmen's functions*, instead of the hidden attributes of a trained caste; (keeping order in the turbulence of civil war and revolution) (initiating measures of general regeneration). Whatever the merits of the single 10 measures of the Commune, its greatest measure was its own organisation, extemporized with the Foreign Enemy at one door, and the class enemy at the other, proving by its life its vitality, confirming its thesis by its action. Its appearance was a victory over the victors of France. Captive Paris resumed by one bold spring the leadership of Europe, not depending on brute 15 force, but by taking the lead of the Social Movement, by giving body to the aspirations of the working class of all countries.

With all the great towns organized into Communes after the model of Paris no government could repress the movement by the surprise of sudden reaction. Even by this preparatory step the time of incubation, the guarantee 20 of the movement, won. All France organized into selfworking and self-governing communes, the standing army replaced by the popular militias, the army of stateparasites removed, the clerical hierarchy displaced by the schoolmaster, the state judges transformed into Communal organs, the suffrage for the National representation not a matter of sleight of hands for 25 an allpowerful government, but the deliberate expression of organized communes, the statefunctions reduced to a few functions for general national purposes.

Such is the *Commune—the political form of the social emancipation*, of the liberation of labour from the usurpation of the monopolists of the means 30 of labour, created by the labourers themselves or forming the gift of nature. As the state machinery and parliamentarism are not the real life of the ruling classes, but only the organized general organs of their dominion, the political guarantees and forms and expressions of the old order of things, so the Commune is not the social movement of the working class and 35 therefore of a general regeneration of mankind but the organized means of action. The Commune does not away with the class struggles, through which the working classes strive to the abolition of all classes and, therefore, of all class rule (because it does not represent a peculiar interest. It represents the 40 liberation of "labour", that is the fundamental and natural condition of individual and social life which only by usurpation, fraud, and artificial

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

contrivances can be shifted from the few upon the many), but it affords the rational medium in which that class struggle can run through its different phases in the most rational and human way. It could start violent reactions and as violent revolutions. It begins the *emancipation of labour*—its
5 great goal—by doing away with the unproductive and mischievous work of the state parasites, by cutting away the springs which sacrifice an immense portion of the national produce to the feeding of the state-monster, on the one side, by doing, on the other, the real work of administration, local and national, for workingmen's wages. It begins therefore with
10 an immense saving, with economical reform as well as political transformation!

|16| The communal organization once firmly established on a national scale, the catastrophes it might still have to undergo, would be sporadic slaveholders' insurrections, which, while for a moment interrupting the
15 work of peaceful progress, would only accelerate the movement, by putting the sword into the hand of the Social Revolution.

The working class know that they have to pass through different phases of class struggle. They know that the superseding of the economical conditions of the slavery of labour by the conditions of free and associated labour can only be the progressive work of time, (that economical transformation) that they require not only a change of distribution, but a new organization of production, or rather the delivery (setting free) of the social forms of production in present organized labour, (engendered by present industry) of the trammels of slavery of their present class
20 character and their harmonious national and international coordination. They know that this work of regeneration will be again and again relented and impeded by the resistances of vested interests and class egotisms. They know that the present "spontaneous action of the natural laws of capital and landed property"—can only be superseded by "the spontaneous action of
25 the laws of the social economy of free and associated labour" by a long process of development of new conditions, as was the "spontaneous action of the economic laws of slavery" and the "spontaneous action of the economical laws of serfdom". But they know at the same time that great strides may be taken at once through the Communal form of political organization and that the time has come to begin that movement for themselves
30 and mankind.

(Peasantry

((War indemnity)). Even before the instalment of the Commune, the Central Committee had declared through its *Journal Officiel*: "the greater part of the war indemnity should be paid by the authors of war." This is the great "conspiracy against Civilization" the men of order are most afraid of. It is the most practical question. With the Commune victorious, the authors of the war will have to pay its indemnity; with Versailles victorious, the producing masses who have already paid in blood, ruin, and contributions, will have again to pay, and the financial dignitaries will even contrive to make a profit out of the transaction. The liquidation of the war costs is to be decided by the civil war. The Commune represents on this vital point not only the interests of the working class, the petty middleclass, in fact, all the middleclass with the exception of the *bourgeoisie* (the wealthy capitalist) (the rich landowners, and their stateparasites). It represents above all the interest of the *French peasantry*. On them the greater part of the wartaxes will be shifted, if Thiers and his "Ruraux" are victorious. And people are silly enough to repeat the cry of the "ruraux" that they—the great landed proprietors—represent the peasant, who is of course, in the naivety of his soul exceedingly anxious to pay for these good "landowners" the milliards of the war indemnity who made him already pay the milliard of the Revolution indemnity!

The same men deliberately compromised the Republic of February by the additional 45 Centimes tax on the peasant, but this they did in the name of the Revolution, in the name of the "provisional government", created by it. It is now in their own name that they wage a civil war against the Communal Republic to shift the war indemnity from their own shoulders upon those of the peasant! He will of course be delighted by it!

The Commune will abolish Conscription, the party of order will fasten the bloodtax on the peasant. The party of order will fasten upon him the taxcollector for the payment of a parasitical and costly statemachinery, the Commune will give him a cheap government. The party of order will continue [to] grind him down by the townish usurer, the Commune will free him of the incubus of the mortgages lasting upon his plot of land. The Commune will replace the parasitical judiciary body eating the heart of his income—the notary, the huissier etc—into Communal agents doing their work at workmen's salaries, instead of enriching himself out of the peasants' work. It will break down this whole judiciary cobweb which entangles the French peasant and gives abodes to the judiciary bench and maires of the bourgeois spiders that suck its blood! The party of order will

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

keep him under the rule of the gendarme, the Commune will restore him to independent social and political life! The Commune will enlighten him by the rule of the schoolmaster, the party of order force upon him the stultification by the rule of the priest! But the French peasant is above all a
5 man of reckoning! He will find it exceedingly reasonable that the payment of the clergy will no longer [be] exacted from him by the tax-collector, but will be left to the "spontaneous action" of his religious instincts!

The French peasant had elected L. Bonaparte President of the Republic, but the party of Order (during the anonymous Regime of the Republic under
10 the assembly constituante, and législative) was the creator of the Empire! What the French peasant really wants, he commenced to show in 1849 and 1852 by opposing his maire to the Government's prefect, his schoolmaster to the government's parson, himself to the government's gendarme! The nucleus of the reactionary laws of the Party of Order in 1849—and
15 peculiarly in January and February 1850—were specifically directed against the French Peasantry! If the French peasant had made L. Bonaparte president of the Republic because in his tradition all the benefits he had derived from the first Revolution were phantastically transferred on the first Napoleon, the armed risings of Peasants in some departments of
20 France and the gendarm hunting upon them after the Coup d'Etat proved that that delusion was rapidly breaking down ! The Empire was founded on the delusions artificially nourished and traditional prejudices, the Commune would be founded on his living interests and his real wants !

The hatred of the French peasant centres on the "rural", the men of the
25 Château, the men of the Milliard of indemnity and the townish capitalist, maskeraded into a landed proprietor, whose encroachment upon him marched never more rapidly than under the Second Empire, partly fostered by artificial state means, partly naturally growing out of the very development of modern agriculture. The "rurals" know that three months rule of
30 the Republican Commune in France would be the signal of the rising of the peasantry and the agricultural Proletariat against them. Hence their ferocious hatred of the Commune! What they fear even more than the emancipation of the townish proletariat is the emancipation of the peasants ! The peasants would soon acclaim the townish proletariat as their own leaders
35 and seniors ! There exists of course in France as in most continental Countries a deep antagonism between the townish and rural producers, between the industrial Proletariat and the peasantry. The aspirations of the Proletariat, the material basis of its movement is labour organized on a grand scale, although now despotically organized, and the means of production central-
40 ized, although now centralized in the hands of the monopolist, not only as a means of production, but as a means of the exploitation and enslavement of

Karl Marx

the producer. What the proletariat has [to] do is to transform the present capitalist character of that organized labour and those centralized means of labour, to transform them from the means of class rule and class exploitation into forms of free associated labour and social means of production. On the other hand, the labour of the peasant is insulated, and the means of production are parcelled, dispersed. On these economical differences rests superconstructed a whole world of different social and political views. But this peasantry proprietorship has long since outgrown its normal phase, that is the phase in which it was a reality, a mode of production and a form of property which responded to the economical wants of society and placed the rural producers themselves into normal conditions of life. It has entered its period of decay. On the one side a large *proletariat foncier* (rural proletariat) has grown out of it whose interests are identical with those of the townish wages labourer. The mode of production itself has become superannuated by the modern progress of agronomy. Lastly—the peasant proprietorship itself has become nominal, leaving to the peasant the delusion of proprietorship, and expropriating him from the fruit of his own labour. The competition of the great farm producers, the bloodtax, the statetax, the usury of the townish mortgagee and the multitudinous pilfering of the judiciary system thrown around him, | 17| have degraded him to the position of a Hindoo Ryot, while expropriation—even expropriation from his nominal proprietorship—and, his degradation into a rural proletarian is an every day's fact. What separates the peasant from the proletarian is, therefore, no longer his real interest, but his delusive prejudice. If the Commune, as we have shown, is the only power that can give him immediate great boons even in its present economical conditions, it is the only form of government that can secure to him the transformation of his present economical conditions, rescue him from expropriation by the landlord on the one hand, from grinding, trudging and misery on the pretext of proprietorship on the other, that can convert his nominal proprietorship of the land in the real proprietorship of the fruits of his labour, that can combine for him the profits of modern agronomy, dictated by social wants, and every day now encroaching upon him as a hostile agency, without annihilating his position as a really independent producer. Being immediately benefited by the communal Republic, he would soon confide in it.)

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

Union (Ligue) Républicaine.

The party of disorder, whose régime topped under the corruption of the Second Empire, has left Paris (Exodus from Paris), followed by its appurtenances, its retainers, its menials, its stateparasites, its mouchards, its
 5 "cocottes", and the whole band of low *bohème* (the common criminals) that form the complement of that *bohème of quality*. But the true vital elements of the middle classes, delivered by the workmen's revolution from their sham représentants, has for the first time in the history of French Revolution, separated from it and come out in its true colours. It is the
 10 "Ligue of Republican Liberty" acting the intermediary between Paris and the Provinces, disavowing Versailles and marching under the banners of the Commune.

**15 The Communal Revolution as the Representative
of all classes of society not living upon foreign labour.**

We have seen that the Paris Proletarian fights for the French Peasant, and Versailles fights against him; that the greatest anxiety of the "ruraux" is that Paris be heard by the Peasants and no longer separated by him through the blockade; that at the bottom of its war upon Paris is the attempt
 20 to keep the peasantry as its bondman and treat him as before as its matière "taillable à merci et miséricorde".

For the first time in history the petty and *moyenne* middleclass has openly rallied round the workmen's Revolution, and proclaimed it as the only means of their own salvation and that of France! It forms with them
 25 the bulk of the National guard, it sits with them in the Commune, it mediates for them in the Union Républicaine!

The principal measures taken by the Commune are taken for the salvation of the middleclass—the debtor class of Paris against the Creditor class! That middleclass had rallied in the June insurrection (1848) against the
 30 Proletariat under the banners of the capitalist class, their generals, and their stateparasites. It was punished at once on the 19 September 1848 by the rejection of the "concordats à l'amiable". The victory over the June insurrection showed itself at once also as the victory of the creditor, the wealthy capitalist, over the debtor, the middleclass. It insisted mercilessly
 35 on its pound of flesh. On the 13th June 1849 the national guard of that

Karl Marx

middleclass was disarmed and sabred down by the army of the bourgeoisie! During the Empire the dilapidation of the State Resources, upon which the wealthy capitalist fed, this middleclass was delivered to the plunder of the stockjobber, the Railway kings, the swindling associations of the Crédit Mobilier etc and expropriated by Capitalist Association (Joint Stock 5 Company). If lowered in its political position, attacked in its economical interests, it was morally revolted by the orgies of that regime. The infamies of the war gave the last shock and roused its feelings as Frenchmen. The disasters bestowed upon France by that war, its crisis of national downbreak and its financial ruin, this middle class feels that not the corrupt class of 10 the would be slaveholders of France, but only the manly aspirations and the herculean power of the working class can come to the rescue!

They feel that only the workingclass can emancipate them from priestrule, convert science from an instrument of class rule into a popular force, convert the men of science themselves from the panderers to class 15 prejudice, place hunting state parasites, and allies of capital into free agents of thought! Science can only play its genuine part in the Republic of Labour.

Republic only possible as avowedly Social Republic. 20

This civil war has destroyed the last delusions about "Republic" as the Empire the delusion of unorganized "universal suffrage" in the hands of the State Gendarm and the parson. All vital elements of France acknowledge that a Republic is only in France and Europe possible as a "Social Republic", that is a Republic which disowns the capital and landowner 25 class of the State machinery to supersede it by the Commune, that frankly avows "social emancipation" as the great goal of the Republic and guarantees thus that social transformation by the Communal organisation. The other Republic can be nothing but the *anonymous* terrorism of all monarchical fractions, of the combined legitimists, orleanists, and bona- 30 partists to land in an Empire quelconque as its final goal, the *anonymous* terror of class rule which having done its dirty work will always burst into an Empire!

The professional republicans of the rural assembly are men who really believe, despite the experiments of 1848—51, despite the civil war against 35 Paris—the *republican form* of class despotism a possible, lasting form, while the "party of order" demands it only as a form of conspiracy for fighting the Republic and reintroducing its only adequate form, monarchy

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

or rather Imperialism, as the form of class despotism. In 1848 these voluntary dupes were pushed in the foreground till, by the insurrection of June, they had paved the way for the *anonymous* rule of all fractions of the would be slaveholders in France. In 1871, at Versailles, they are from
5 beginning pushed in the background, there to figure as the "Republican" decoration of Thiers' rule and sanction by their presence the war of the Bonapartist generals upon Paris! In unconscious self irony these wretches hold their party meeting in the *Salle des Paumes* (Tennis-Court) to show how they have degenerated from their predecessors in 1789! By their
10 Schoelchers etc they tried to coax Paris in tendering its arms to Thiers and to force it into disarmament by the National Guard of "Order" under Saisset! We do not speak of the socalled Socialist Paris deputies like Louis Blanc. They undergo meekly the insults of a Dufaure and the ruraux, dote upon Thiers' "legal" rights, and whining in presence of the banditti
15 cover themselves with infamy!

Workmen and Comte.

If the workmen have outgrown the time of Socialist Sectarianism, it ought not be forgotten that they have never been in the leading strings of
20 Comtism. This sect has never afforded the *International* but a branch of about half a dozen of men, and whose programm was rejected by the General Council. Comte is known to the Parisian workmen as the prophet in politics of Imperialism (of personal *Dictatorship*), of capitalist rule in political economy, of hierarchy in all spheres of human action, even in the
25 sphere of science, and as the author of a new catechism with a new pope and new saints in place of the old ones. If his followers in England play a more popular part than those in France, it is not by preaching their Sectarian doctrines, but by their personal valour, and by the acceptance on their part of the forms of working men class struggle created without
30 them, as f. i. the tradeunions and strikes in England which by the by are denounced as a heresy by their Paris coreligionists. |

1181 The Commune (Social Measures).

That the workmen of Paris have taken the initiative of the present Revolution and in heroic self sacrifice bear the brunt of his battle, is nothing
35 new. It is the striking fact of all French revolutions! It is only a repetition

Karl Marx

of the past! That the revolution is made in *the name* and confessedly
for the popular masses, that is the producing masses, is a feature this
Revolution has in common with all its predecessors. The new feature is that
the people, after the first rise, have not disarmed themselves and
surrendered their power into the hands of the Republican mountebanks 5
of the ruling classes, that, by the constitution of the *Commune*, they have
taken the actual management of their Revolution into their own hands and
found at the same time, in the case of success, the means to hold it in the
hands of the People itself, displacing the Statemachinery, the govern-
mental machinery of the ruling classes by a governmental machinery 10
of their own. This is their ineffable crime! Workmen infringing upon the
governmental privilege of the upper 10,000 and proclaiming their will to
break the economical basis of that class despotism, which for its own sake
wielded the organized Stateforce of society! This is it that has thrown
the respectable classes in Europe as in the United States into the paroxysm 15
of convulsions and accounts for their shrieks of abomination, it is blas-
phemy, their fierce appeals to assassination of the people, and this
Billingsgate of abuse and calumny from their parliamentary tribunes and
their journalistic servants' hall!

The greatest measure of the Commune is its own existence, working, 20
acting under circumstances of unheard of difficulty! The red flag, hoisted by
the Paris Commune, crowns in reality only the government of workmen for
Paris! They have clearly, consciously proclaimed the Emancipation of
Labour, and the transformation of Society, as their goal! But the actual
"social" character of their Republic consists only in this, that workmen 25
govern the Paris Commune! As to their measures, they must, by the nature
of things, be principally confined to the military defence of Paris and its
appro visionment!

Some patronizing friends of the working class, while hardly dissembling
their disgust even at the few measures they consider as "socialist" although 30
there is nothing socialist in them except their tendency—express their
satisfaction and try to coax genteel sympathies for the Paris Commune
by the great discovery that after all workmen are rational men and when-
ever in power always resolutely turn their back upon Socialist enterprises!
They do in fact neither try to establish in Paris a *phalanstère* nor an *Icarie*. 35
Wise men of their generation! These benevolent patronizers, profoundly
ignorant of the real aspirations and the real movement of the working classes,
forget one thing. All the Socialist founders of Sects belong to a period in which
the working class themselves were neither sufficiently trained and organized
by the march of capitalist society itself to enter as historical agents upon 40
the world's stage, nor were the material conditions of their emancipation

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

sufficiently matured in the old world itself. Their misery existed, but the conditions of their own movement did not yet exist. The Utopian founders of sects, while in their criticism of present society clearly describing the goal of the social movement, the supersession of the wages system with all its economical conditions of class rule, found neither in society itself the material conditions of its transformation nor in the working class the organized power and the conscience of the movement. They tried to compensate for the historical conditions of the movement by phantastic pictures and plans of a new society in whose propaganda they saw the true means of salvation. From the moment the workingmen class movement became real, the phantastic Utopias evanesced, not because the working class had given up the end aimed at by these Utopists, but because they had found the real means to realize them, but in their place came a real insight into the historic conditions of the movement and a more and more gathering force of the military organization of the workingclass. But the last 2 ends of the movement proclaimed by the Utopians are the last ends proclaimed by the Paris Revolution and by the International. Only the means are different and the real conditions of the movement are no longer clouded in Utopian fables. These patronizing friends of the Proletariat in glossing over the loudly proclaimed Socialist tendencies of this Revolution, are therefore but the dupes of their own ignorance. It is not the fault of the Paris proletariat, if for them the Utopian creations of the prophets of the workingmen movement are still the "Social Revolution", that is to say, if the Social Revolution is for them still "Utopian".

25 ——————

Journal officiel of the Central Committee 20 Mars:

"The proletarians of the capital, in midst the *défaillances* and the treasons of the governing (ruling) classes, have understood (compris) that the hour was arrived for them *to save the situation in taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs* (the **Statebusiness**)."
They denounce "the political incapacity and the moral decrepitude of the bourgeoisie" as the source of "the misfortunes of France". "The workmen, who produce everything and enjoy nothing, who suffer from misery in the midst of their accumulated products, the fruit of their work and their sweat, ... shall
35 *they never be allowed to work for their emancipation?*... The proletariat, in face of the permanent menace against its rights, of the absolute negation of all its legitimate aspirations, of the ruin of the country and all its hopes, has understood that it was its imperious duty **and** its absolute right to take into its hands its own destinies and to assure their triumph in seizing
40 the state power (en s'emparant du pouvoir)."

Karl Marx

It is here plainly stated that the government of the working class is, in the first instance, necessary to save France from the ruins and the corruption impended upon it by the ruling classes, that the dislodgment of these classes from Power (of these classes who have lost the capacity of ruling France) is a *necessity of national safety.*

5

But it is no less clearly stated that the government by the working class can only save France and do the national business, by working for its own *emancipation*, the conditions of that emancipation being at the same time the conditions of the regeneration of France.

It is proclaimed as a war of labour upon the monopolists of the means 10 of labour, upon capital.

[The *chauvinism* of the bourgeoisie is only the supreme vanity, giving a national cloak to all their own pretensions. It is a means, by permanent armies, to perpetuate international struggles, to subjugate in each country the producers by pitching them against their brothers in each other country, 15 a means to prevent the international cooperation of the working classes, the first condition of their emancipation. The true character of that chauvinism (long since become a mere phrase) has come out during the war of defence after Sedan, everywhere paralysed by the Chauvinist bourgeoisie, in the capitulation of France, in the civil war carried on under that high Priest 20 of Chauvinism, Thiers, on Bismarck's sufferance! It came out in the petty police intrigue of the Anti-German league, Foreigners hunting in Paris after the capitulation. It was hoped that the Paris people (and the French people) could be stultified into the passion of National hatred and by factitious outrages to the Foreigner forget its real aspiration and its home 25 betrayers!

How has this factitious movement disappeared (vanished) before the breath of Revolutionary Paris! Loudly proclaiming its international tendencies—because the cause of the producer is every[where] the same and its enemy everywhere the same, whatever its nationality (in whatever national 30 garb)—it proclaimed as a principle the admission of Foreigners into the Commune, it chose even a Foreign workman (a member of the International) into its Executive, it decreed [the destruction of] the symbol of French chauvinism—the Vendôme column!

And, while their bourgeois chauvins have dismembered France, and act 35 under the dictatorship of the Foreign Invasion, the Paris workmen have beaten the Foreign enemy by striking at their own class rulers, have abolished frontiers, in conquering the post as the vanguard of the workmen of all nations! I

|19| The genuine patriotism of the bourgeoisie—so natural for the real 40 proprietors of the different "national" estates—has faded into a mere sham

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

consequent upon the cosmopolitan character imprinted upon their financial, commercial, and industrial enterprise. Under similar circumstances it would be exploded in all countries as it did in France.

Decentralization by the Ruraux and The Commune.

5 It has been said that Paris, and with it the other French towns, were oppressed by the rule of the peasants, and that its present struggle is for its emancipation from the rule of the peasantry! Never was a more foolish lie uttered!

Paris as the central seat and the stronghold of the centralized government machinery subjected the peasantry to the rule of the gendarmes, the tax collector, the Prefect, and the priest, and the rural magnates, that is to the despotism of its enemies, and deprived it of all life (took the life out of it). It repressed all organs of independent life in the rural districts. On the other hand, the government, the rural magnates, the gendarm and the 15 priest, into whose hands the whole influence of the provinces was thus thrown by the centralized statemachinery centring at Paris, brought this influence to bear for the government and the classes whose government it was, not against Paris [of] the government, the parasite, the capitalist, the idle, the cosmopolitan stew, but against the Paris of the workmen and the 20 thinker. In this way, by the government centralization with Paris as its base, the peasants were suppressed by the Paris of the government and the capitalist, and the Paris of the workmen was suppressed by the provincial power handed over into the hands of the enemies of the peasants.

25 The *Versailles Moniteur* (29 Mars) declares "that Paris cannot be a *free city*, because it is *the capital*". This is the true thing. Paris, the capital of the ruling classes and its government, cannot be a "free city", and the provinces cannot be "free", because such a Paris is the capital. The provinces can only be free with the *Commune at Paris*. The *party of order* is 30 still less infuriated against Paris because it has proclaimed its own emancipation from them and their government, than because, by doing so, it has sounded the alarm signal for the emancipation of the peasant and the provinces from their sway.

Journal officiel de la Commune, 1 April: "the revolution of the 18th March 35 had not for its only object the securing to Paris of communal representation elected, but subject to the *despotic tutelage of a national power strongly centralized*. It is to conquer, and secure independence for all the communes of France, and also of all superior groups, departments, and provinces,

Karl Marx

united amongst themselves for their common interest by a really national pact; it is to guarantee and perpetuate the Republic... Paris has *renounced her apparent omnipotence* which is identical with her forfeiture, she has not renounced that moral power, that intellectual influence, which so often has made her victorious in France and Europe in her propaganda." 5

X 'This time again Paris works and suffers for all France, of which it prepares by its combats and its sacrifices the intellectual, moral, administrative and economic regeneration, the glory and the prosperity.' (*Programme of the Commune de Paris sent out by balloon*)

* Mr. Thiers, in his tour through the provinces, managed the elections, and above all, his own manifold elections. But there was one difficulty. The Bonapartist provincials had for the moment become impossible. (Besides, he did not want them, nor did they want him.) Many of the old Orleanist stagers had merged into the Bonapartist lot. It was, therefore, necessary, to appeal to the rusticated legitimist landowners, who had kept quite aloof from politics and were just the men to be duped. They have given the apparent character to the Versailles assembly, its character of the "chambre introuvable" of Louis XVIII, its "rural" character. In their vanity, they believed of course, that their time had at last come with the downfall of the Second Bonapartist Empire and under the shelter of Foreign invasion, as it had come in 1814 and 1815. Still they are mere dupes. So far as they act, they can only act as elements of the "party of order", and its "anonymous" terrorism as in 1848—1851. Their own party effusions lend only the comical character to that association. They are, therefore, forced to suffer as president the jail-accoucheur of the Duchess of Berry and as their ministers the pseudo republicans of the government of defence. They will be pushed aside as soon as they have done their service. But—a freak of history—by this curious combination of circumstances they are forced to attack Paris because of revolting against "the Republique une et indivisible" (Louis Blanc expresses it so, Thiers calls it unity of France), while their very first exploit was to revolt against unity by declaring for the "decapitation and decapitalization" of Paris, by wanting the Assembly to throne in a provincial town. What they really want is to go back to what preceded the centralized statemachinery, become more or less independent of its prefects and its minister, and put into its place the provincial and local domanial influence of the Châteaux. They want a reactionary decentralization of France. What Paris wants is to supplant that centralization which has done its service against feudalism, but has become the mere unity of an artificial body, resting on gendarmes, red and black armies, repressing the life of real society, lasting as an incubus upon it, giving Paris an "apparent omnipotence" by enclosing it and leaving the provinces out- 10 15 20 25 30 35 40

Karl Marx: The Civil War in France (First Draft).

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

door—to supplant this unitarian France which exists besides the French society—by the political union of French society itself through the Communal organization.

5 The true partisans of breaking up the unity of France are therefore the rurals, opposite to the united statemachinery so far as it interferes with their own local importance (seigniorial rights), so far as it is the antagonist of feudalism.

What Paris wants is to break up that factitious unitarian system, so far as it is the antagonist of the real living union of France and a mere means of
10 class rule.

Comtist view.

Men completely ignorant of the existing economical system are of course still less able to comprehend the workmen's negation to that system. They
15 can of course not comprehend that the social transformation the working class aim at is the neccessary, historical, unavoidable birth of the present system itself. They talk in deprecatory tones of the threatened abolition of "property" because in their eyes their present class form of property—a transitory historical form—is property itself, and the abolition of that
20 form would therefore be the abolition of property. As they now defend the "eternity" of capital rule and the wages system, if they had lived in feudal times or in times of slavery they would have defended the feudal system and the slavesystem as founded on the nature of things, as springing from nature, fiercely declaimed against their "abuses", but at
25 the same time from the height of their ignorance answering to the prophecies of the abolition by the dogma of their "eternity" righted by "moral checks", (constraints)

Poor men ! They do not even know that every *social form* of property has "morals" of its own, and that the form of social property which makes
30 property the attribute of labour, far from creating individual "moral constraints" will emancipate the "morals" of the individual from its class constraints.

They are as right in their appreciation of the aims of the Paris working classes, as is M.Bismarck in declaring that what the Commune wants is
35 the Prussian municipal order.

Karl Marx

j20J How the breath of the popular revolution has changed Paris! The revolution of February was called the Revolution of moral contempt! It was proclaimed by the cries of the people: "à bas les grands voleurs! à bas les assassins!" Such was the sentiment of the people. But as to the bourgeoisie, they wanted broader sway for corruption! They got it under Louis Bonaparte's (Napoleon the little) reign. Paris, the gigantic town, the town of historic initiative, was transformed in the *Maison dorée* of all the idlers and swindlers of the world, into a cosmopolitan stew! After the exodus of the "better class of people", the Paris of the working class reappeared, heroic, selfsacrificing, enthusiastic in the sentiment of its herculean task! No 5
cadavers on the Morgue, no insecurity of the streets. Paris was never more quiet within. Instead of the Cocottes, the heroic women of Paris! Manly, stern, fighting, working, thinking Paris! Magnanimous Paris! In view of the cannibalism of their enemies, making their prisoners only dangerless!..
"What Paris will no longer stand is yet the existence of the Cocottes and 10
Cocodès. What it is resolved to drive away or transform is this useless, sceptical and egotistical race which has taken possession of the gigantic town, to use it as its own. No celebrity of the Empire shall have the right to say, Paris is very pleasant in the best quarters, but there are too many paupers in the others." (*Vérité: 23 April*) "Private crime wonderfully diminished at Paris. The absence of thieves and cocottes, of assassines and streetattacks: all the conservateurs have fled to Versailles!" 15
20

"There has not been signalized one single nocturnal attack even in the most distant and less frequented quarters since the citizens do their police business themselves." 25

Thiers on the rurals:

"This party knows only to employ three means: Foreign invasion, civil war and anarchy... such a government will never be that of France".
(*Chambre des Députés of 5th Janvier 1833.*) 30

Government of Defence.

And this same Trochu said in his famous programme: "the governor of Paris will never capitulate" and Jules Favre in his circular: "Not a stone of our fortresses, nor a foot of our territories" same as Ducrot: "I shall never 35

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

return to Paris save dead or victorious." He found afterwards at Bordeaux that his life was necessary for keeping down the "rebels" of Paris. (These wretches know that in their flight to Versailles they have leftbehind the proofs of their crimes, and to destroy these proofs, they would not recoil from
5 making of Paris a mountain of ruins bathed in a sea of blood) (*Manifeste à la Province*, by balloon).

"The unity which has been imposed upon us to the present, by the Empire, the Monarchy, and Parliamentary Government is nothing but
10 centralization, despotic, unintelligent, arbitrary and onerous. The political unity as desired by Paris, is a voluntary association of all local initiaives... a central delegation from the Federal Communes... End of the old governmental and clerical world, of military supremacy and bureaucracy and jobbing in monopolies and privileges to which the *proletariat owed its slavery*
15 and the *country its misfortunes and disasters.*" (Proclamation of Commune
19. April.)

The Gendarms and Policemen.

20,000 Gendarmes drawn to Versailles from all France (im Ganzen
20 30,000 unter dem Empire) und 12,000 Paris policeagents,—basis of the finest army France ever had.

Republican Deputies of Paris.

The Republican deputies of Paris "have not protested either against the
25 bombardment of Paris, nor the summary executions of the prisoners, nor the calumnies against the People of Paris. They have on the contrary by their presence at the assembly and their mutisme given a consecration to all these acts supported by the notoriety the republican party has given those men. "Have become the allies and conscious accomplices of the
30 monarchical party. Declares them traitors to their mandate and the Republic". (*Association générale des défenseurs de la République*) (9 May)

"Centralization leads to apoplexy in Paris and to absence of life everywhere else" (*Lamennais*).

Karl Marx

« Aujourd'hui tout se rapporte à un centre, et ce centre est, pour ainsi dire, l'Etat même. » (*Montesquieu*)

J211 Vendôme affair etc.

The Central Committee of the National Guard, constituted by the nomination of a delegate of each company, on the entrance of the Prussians into Paris, transported to Montmartre, Belleville and La Villette the cannons and mitrailleuses found by the subscription of the National guards themselves, which cannons and mitrailleuses were abandoned by the government of the National defence, even in those quarters which were to be occupied by the Prussians. 5 10

On the morning of the 18th March the government made an energetic appeal to the National Guard, but out of 400,000 National Guard only 300 men answered.

On the 18th March, at 3 o'clock in the morning, the agents of police, and some bataillons of the line were at Montmartre, Belleville, and La Villette 15 to surprise the guardians of artillery and to take it away by force.

The National Guard resisted, the soldiers of the line levèrent la crosse en l'air, *despite the menaces and the orders of General Lecomte*, shot the same day by his soldiers at the same time as Clément Thomas, ("troops of the line threw the butts of their muskets in the air, and fraternized with the 20 insurgents.")

The bulletin of victory by Aurelle de Paladines was already printed, also papers found on the Decembrisation of Paris.

On the 19 March the Central Committee declared the state of siege of Paris raised, on the 20 Picard proclaimed it for the department of the 25 Seine et Oise.

18 Mars (Morning: still believing in his victory:) *proclamation of Thiers*, placarded on the walls: "The Government has resolved to act. The Criminals who affect to institute a government must be delivered to regular justice, and the cannons taken away must be restored to the Arsenals." 30

Late in the afternoon, the nocturnal surprise having failed he appeals to the *National Guards*: "The Government is not preparing a coup d'état. The Government of the Republic has not and cannot have any other aim than the safety of the Republic." He will only "do away with the insurgent committee... almost all unknown to the population". 35

Late in the evening, a third proclamation to the *National Guard*, signed by Picard and d'Aurelle: "Some misguided men... resist forcibly the National Guard and the army... The Government has chosen that your

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

arms should be left to you. Seize them with resolution to establish the reign of law and to save the Republic from anarchy."

(On the 17th Schoelcher tries to wheedle them into disarming.)

5 *Proclamation of the Central Committee of the 19 March*, "the state of siege is raised. The people of Paris is convoked for its communal elections." *Id. to the National Guards*: "You have charged us to organize the defence of Paris and of your rights... At this moment our mandate has expired; we give it back to you, we will not take the place of those whom the popular breath vient de renverser."

10 They allowed the members of the Government to withdraw quietly to Versailles (even such as they had in their hands like Ferry).

The communal elections convoked for the 22 March through the demonstration of the party of order removed to the 26th March.

15 *21 Mars*. The Assembly's frantic roars of dissent against the words "Vive la République" at the end of a Proclamation "to Citizens and Army". *Thiers*: "It might be a very legitimate proposal etc" (Dissent of the rurals). *Jules Favre* made a harangue against the doctrine of the Republic being superior to universal suffrage, flattered the rural majority, threatened the Parisians with Prussian intervention and provokes—the demonstration of

20 *the Paris of Order*. *Thiers*: "come what may he would not send an armed force to attack Paris." (had no troops yet to do it.)

Le comité central était si peu sûr de sa victoire, qu'il accepta avec empressement la médiation des maires et des députés de Paris... L'entêtement de Thiers lui permit (au comité) de vivre un ou deux jours: il eut alors 25 conscience de ses forces. Fautes sans nombre des révolutionnaires. Au lieu de mettre les sergents de ville hors d'état de nuire, on leur ouvrit les portes; ils allèrent à Versailles, où ils furent accueillis comme les sauveurs ; on laissa partir le 43 de ligne ; on renvoya dans leur foyers tous les soldats qui avaient fraternisé avec le peuple ; on permit à la réaction de s'organiser 30 dans le centre même de Paris ; on laissa tranquille Versailles. Tridon, Jaclard, Varlin, Vaillant voulaient qu'on allait immédiatement débusquer les royalistes... Favre et Thiers faisaient des démarches pressantes auprès des autorités prussiennes dans le but d'obtenir leur concours... pour réprimer le mouvement insurrectionnel de Paris.

35 L'occupation constante de Trochu et de Clément Thomas d'entraver toutes les tentatives d'armements et d'organisation de la garde nationale. La marche sur Versailles fut décidée, préparée et entreprise par le Comité Central, à l'insu de la Commune et même en opposition directe avec sa volonté nettement manifestée...

40 *Bergeret*... au lieu de faire sauter le pont de Neuilly, que les fédérés ne

Karl Marx

pouvaient garder à cause du Mont Valerien et des batteries établies à Courbevoie, il laissa les royalistes s'en emparer, s'y retrancher puissamment et s'assurer par là une voie de communication avec Paris...

As M. Littré said in a letter (*Daily News* 20 April): "Paris disarmed; Paris manacled by the Vinois, the Valentins, the Paladines, the Republic was lost. This the Parisians understood. With the alternative of succumbing without fighting, and risking a terrible contest of uncertain issue, they chose to fight; and I cannot but praise them for it." 5

The expedition to Rome, the work of Cavaignac, Jules Favre, and Thiers. 10

« Un gouvernement qui a tous les avantages intérieurs du gouvernement républicain et la force extérieure du gouvernement monarchique. Je parle de la République fédérative... C'est une société des sociétés, qui en font une nouvelle qui peut s'agrandir par des nombreux associés, jusqu'à ce que sa puissance suffise à la sûreté de ceux qui se sont unis. Cette sorte de république... peut se maintenir dans sa grandeur sans que l'intérieur se corrompe. La forme de cette société prévient tous les inconvénients. » 15 (*Montesquieu, Esprit des lois*, 1. IX. ch. I).

Constitutions de 1793 § 78) Il y a dans chaque commune de la république une administration municipale. Dans chaque district, une administration intermédiaire, dans chaque département une administration centrale. 20 § 79) les officiers municipaux sont élus par les assemblées de la commune. § 80) Les administrateurs sont nommés par les assemblées électorales de département et de district. § 81) Les municipalités et les administrations sont renouvelées tous les ans par moitié. 25

Conseil exécutif '§ 62) composé de 24 membres. 63) L'assemblée électorale de chaque département nomme un candidat. Le corps législatif choisit sur la liste générale, les membres du conseil. 64) Il est renouvelé par moitié à chaque législature, dans le dernier mois de sa session. 65) Le conseil est chargé de la direction et de la surveillance de l'administration générale. 30 66) Il nomme, hors de son sein, les agens en chef de l'administration générale de la république. 68) Ces agens ne forment point un conseil; ils sont séparés, sans rapports immédiats entre eux; ils n'exercent aucune autorité personnelle. 73) Le Conseil révoque et remplace les agens à sa nomination. | 35

|22| Roused on the one hand by J. Favre's call to civil war in the Assembly—he told that the Prussians had threatened to interfere, if the Parisians did not give in at once,—encouraged by the forbearance of the people and the passive attitude towards them of the Central Committee, the "Party of Order" at Paris resolved *on a coup de main* which came off 40 on the 22 March under the etiquette of a *Peaceful Procession*, a peaceable

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

demonstration against the Revolutionary Government. And it was a peaceful demonstration of a very peculiar character. "The whole movement seemed a surprise. There were no preparations to meet it." A riotous mob of "gentlemen", in their first rank the familiars of the Empire, the Heeckeren, 5 Coëtlogon, and H. de Pêne etc, illtreating and disarming national guards detached from advanced sentinels (sentries) who fled to the Place Vendôme whence the National Guards march at once to the Rue Neuve des Petits Champs. Meeting the rioters, they received order not to fire, but the rioters advance under the cry: "down with the Assassins! down with the Com- 10 mittee!" insult the guards, grasp at their muskets, shoot with a revolver citizen *Maljournal* (lieutenant d'était major de la place) (membre du Comité central). General Bergeret calls upon them to withdraw (disband) (retire). During about 5 minutes the drums are beaten and the sommations (replacing the English reading of the riot acts) made. They reply by cries of insult. Two 15 national guards fall severely wounded. Meanwhile their comrades hesitate and fire into the air. The *rioters try to forcibly break through the lines and to disarm them.* Bergeret commands fire and the cowards fly. The émeute is at once dispersed and the fire ceases. Shots were fired from houses on the national guard. Two of them, Wahlin and François were killed, eight are 20 wounded. The streets through which the "pacific" disband are strewn with revolvers and sword-canes", (many of them picked up in the Rue de la Paix) Vicomte de Molinet, killed from behind (by his own people) found with a *dagger* fixed by a chain.

Rappel was beaten. A number of cane swords, revolvers, and daggers lay 25 on the streets by which the "unarmed" demonstration had passed. Pistol shots were fired before the insurgents received orders to fire on the crowd. The manifestors were the aggressors (witnessed by General Sheridan from a window).

This was then simply an attempt to do by the reactionists of Paris, 30 armed with revolvers, caneswords, and daggers, what Vinoy had failed to do with his sergents de ville, soldiers, cannon and mitrailleuse. That the "lower orders" of Paris allowed themselves not even to be disarmed by the "gentlemen" of Paris, was really too bad!

When on the 13th June 1849 the National Guards of Paris made a really 35 "unarmed" and "pacific" procession to protest against a crime, the attack on Rome by the French troops, General Changarnier was praised by his intimate Thiers for sabring and shooting them down. The state of siege was declared, new laws of repression, new proscriptions, a new reign of terror! Instead of all that, the Central Committee and the workmen of 40 Paris strictly kept on the defensive, during the encounter itself, allowed the assailers, the gentlemen of the dagger, to return quietly home, and,

Karl Marx

by their indulgence, by not calling them to account for this daring enterprise, encouraged them so much, that two days later, under the leadership of admiral Saisset, sent from Versailles, rallied again and tried again their hands at civil war.

And this Vendôme affair evoked at Versailles a cry of "Assassination of unarmed citizens" reverberating throughout the world. Be it remarked that even Thiers while eternally reiterating the assassination of the two generals, has not once dared to remind the world of this "Assassination of unarmed citizens". 5

As in the medieval times the knight may use any weapon whatever against the plebeian, but the latter must not dare even to defend himself. 10

(27 Mars. *Versailles*. *Thiers*: "I give a formal contradiction to those who accuse me of leading the way for a monarchical settlement. *I found the Republic an accomplished fact*. Before God and men I declare I will not betray it".) 15

After the second rising of the party of Order, the Paris people took no reprisals whatever. The Central Committee even committed the great blunder, against the advice of its most energetic members, not to march at once at Versailles, where, after the flight of Adm. Saisset and the ridiculous collapse of the National Guard of Order, Consternation ruled supreme, there being not yet any forces of resistance organized. 20

After the election of the Commune, the party of order tried again their forces at the ballot box, and, when again beaten, effected their Exodus from Paris. During the election handshaking and fraternization of the Bourgeois (in the courts of the Mayoralties) with the insurgent National Guards, while among themselves they talk of nothing but "decimation en masse", "mitrailles", "frying at Cayenne", "wholesale fusillades". "The runaways of yesterday think to-day by flattering the men of the Hôtel-de-Ville to keep them quiet until the Rurals and Bonapartist generals, who are gathering at Versailles will be in a position to fire on them." 25 30

Thiers commenced the armed attack on the National Guard for the second time in Affair of April 2. Fighting between Courbevoie and Neuilly, close to Paris. National Guards beaten, bridge of Neuilly occupied by Thiers' soldiers. Several thousands of National Guards having come out of Paris and occupied Courbevoie et Puteaux and the bridge of Neuilly, 35 routed. Many prisoners taken. Many of the insurgents immediately shot as rebels. Versailles troops began the firing.

Commune: "The Government of Versailles has attacked us. Not being able to count upon the army, it has sent Pontifical Zouaves of Charette, Bretons of Trochu, and Gendarmes of Valentin, in order to bombard Neuilly." 40 On 2nd April the Versailles Government had sent forward a division chiefly

The Civil War in France (First Draft)

consisting of *Gendarmes*, *Marines*, *Forest Guard*, and *Police*. Vinoy with two brigades of infantry, and Gallifet at the head of a brigade of cavalry and a battery of artillery advanced upon Courbevoie.

Paris. April 4. Millière (Declaration) "the people of Paris was not making any aggressive attempt... when the Government ordered it to be attacked by the ex-soldiers of the Empire, organized as pretorian troops, under the Command of ex-Senators."|

Karl Marx

The Civil War in France

(Second Draft)

III 1) Government of Defence. Trochu, Favre, Picard, Ferry.

[The republic, proclaimed on the 4th September by the Paris workmen, was acclaimed through all France without a single voice of dissent. Its right of life was fought for in a 5 months' defensive war (centring in) based upon the resistance of Paris. Without that war of defence waged in the name of the Republic, William the "Conqueror" would have restored the Empire of his "good brother" Louis Bonaparte. The cabal of barristers, with Thiers for their statesman, and Trochu for their general, who installed themselves at the Hôtel-de-Ville at a moment of surprise, when the real leaders of the Paris working class were still shut up in Bonapartist prisons and the Prussian army was already marching upon Paris. So deeply were the Thiers, the Jules Favre, the Picard then imbued with the belief in the historical leadership of Paris, that to legitimate their title as the government of national defence they founded their claim exclusively upon their having been chosen in the elections to the Corps Législatif, in 1869, as the *Deputies of Pans*.

[In our Second address on the late war, five days after the advent of those men, we told you what they were. If they had seized the government without consulting Paris, Paris had proclaimed the republic in the teeth of their resistance. And their first step was to send Thiers begging about at all courts of Europe there to buy if possible Foreign mediation bartering the Republic for a king. Paris did bear with their assumption of power, because they highly professed on their solemn vow to wield that power for the single purpose of *national defence*. Paris, however, was not to be seriously defended without arming the working class, organizing them into a National Guard, and training their ranks through the war itself. But Paris armed was the social Revolution armed. The victory of Paris over its Prussian besieger would have been a victory of the Republic over French classrule. In this

Karl Marx

conflict between national duty and class interest, the Government of national Defence did not hesitate one moment to turn into a government of national defection. In a letter to Gambetta, Jules Favre confessed that what Trochu stood in defence of, was not the Prussian soldier, but the Paris workman. Four months after the commencement of the siege, when they thought the opportune moment come for breaking the first word of capitulation, Trochu, in the presence of Jules Favre and others of his colleagues, addresses the reunion of the maires of Paris in these terms: "The first question, addressed to me by my colleagues, *on the very evening of the 4th September*, was this: Paris can it, with any chance of success, stand a siege against the Prussian army? *I did not hesitate to answer in the negative.* Some of my colleagues here present will warrant the truth of my words, and *the persistence of my opinion.* I told them, in these very terms, that under the existing state of things, the attempt of Paris to maintain a siege against the Prussian army would be a *folly*. Without doubt, I added, 15 it might be a *heroic folly*, but it would be nothing more. *The events* (managed by himself) *have not given the lie to my prevision.*" (This little speech of Trochu's was after the armistice published by M. Corbon, one of the Maires present.) Thus, on the very evening of the proclamation of the Republic, Trochu's "plan", known to his colleagues, was nothing else 20 but the *capitulation of Paris and France*. To cure Paris of its "heroic folly", it had to undergo a treatment of decimation and famine, long enough to screen the usurpers of the 4th of September from the vengeance of the December men. If the "national defence" had been more than a false pretence for "government", its self appointed members would have abdicated 25 on the 5th of September, publicly revealed Trochu's "plan", and called upon the Paris people to at once surrender to the conqueror or take the work of defence in its own hands. Instead of this the imposters published high-sounding manifestoes wherein Trochu "the governor will never capitulate" and Jules Favre the Foreign minister "not cede a stone of our fortresses, nor 30 a foot of our territory". Through the whole time of the siege Trochu's plan was systematically carried out. In fact, the vile Bonapartist cut-throats, to whose trust they gave the generalship of Paris, cracked in their intimate correspondence ribald jokes at the well understood farce of the defence. (See f.i. the correspondence of Alphonse Simon Guidod, supreme com- 35 mander of the artillery of the army of defence of Paris and Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, to Suzanne, General of Division of Artillery, published by the *Journal Officiel* of the Commune.) The mask of imposture was dropped at the capitulation of Paris. The "government of national defence" unmasked itself as the "government of France by Bismarck's prisoners"—a 40 part which Louis Bonaparte himself at Sedan had considered too infamous

The Civil War in France (Second Draft)

even for a man of his stamp. On their wild flight to Versailles, after the events of the 18th March, the capitulards have left in the hands of Paris the documentary evidence of their treason, to destroy which, as the Commune says in its *Manifesto to the Provinces*, "they would not recoil from 5 battering Paris into a heap of ruins washed in a sea of blood".

Some of the most influential members of the government of defence had moreover urgent private reasons' of their own to be passionately bent upon such a consummation. Look only at Jules Favre, Ernest Picard, and Jules Ferry!

10 [Shortly after the conclusion of the armistice, *M.Milliére*, one of the representatives of Paris to the National Assembly, published a series of authentic legal documents in proof that *Jules Favre*, living in concubinage with the wife of a drunkard, resident at Algiers, had, by a most daring concoction of forgeries, spread over many years, contrived to grasp, in
15 the name of the children of his adultery, a large succession which made him a rich man, and that, in a law suit undertaken by the legitimate heirs, he only escaped exposure through the connivance of the Bonapartist tribunals. Since those dry legal documents were not to be got rid of by any horsepower of rhetorics, Jules Favre, in the same heroism of self-
20 abasement, remained for once tongue-tied until the turmoil of the civil war allowed him to brand the Paris people in the Versailles assembly as a band of "escaped convicts" in utter revolt against family, religion, order and property!]

(*Pic affaire*). This very forger had hardly got into power when he sympathetically hastened to liberate two brother forgers, Pic and Taillefer, under the Empire itself convicted to the hulks for theft and forgery. One of these men, Taillefer, daring to return to Paris after the instalment of the Commune, was at once returned to a convenient abode; and then Jules Favre told all Europe that Paris was setting free all the felonious inhabitants
30 of her prisons!

Ernest Picard, appointed by himself the homeminister of the French Republic on the 4th of September, after having striven in vain to become the homeminister of Louis Bonaparte, is the brother of one *Arthur Picard*, an individual expulsed from the Paris bourse as a blackleg (Report of the
35 Prefecture of Police d. d. 13 July 1867) and convicted on his own confession of a theft of 300,000 fcs while a director of one of the branches of the *Société Générale*, (see Report of the Prefecture of Police 11 December 1868). Both these reports have been still published at the time of the Empire. This Arthur Picard was made by Ernest Picard *the rédacteur en chef*
40 of his "*Electeur libre*" to act, during the whole siege, as his financial go-between, discounting at the Bourse the state secrets in the trust of

Karl Marx

Ernest and safely speculating on the disasters of the French army, while the common jobbers were misled by the false news, and official lies, published in the "*Electeur libre*", the organ of the home minister. The whole financial correspondence between that worthy pair of brethren has fallen into the hands of the Commune. No wonder that Ernest Picard,
5 the Joe Miller of the Versailles government, "with his hands in his trousers' pockets, walked from group to group cracking jokes", at the first batch of Paris National Guards, made prisoners, and exposed to the ferocious outrages of Piétri's lambs.

Jules Ferry, a pennyless barrister before the 4th of September, contrived,
10 as the Maire of Paris, to job during the siege a fortune out of the famine which was to a great part the work of his maladministration. The day on which he would have to give an account of his maladministration would be his day of judgement. The documentary proofs are in the hands of the
15 Commune.

These men, therefore, are the deadly foes of the workingmen's Paris, not only as parasites of the ruling classes, not only as the betrayers of Paris during the siege, but above all as common felons who but in the ruins of Paris, this stronghold of the French Revolution, can hope to find their
20 *tickets of leave*. These desperadoes were exactly the men to become the ministers of Thiers. |

| 2 | 2) Thiers. Dufaure. Pouyer-Quertier.

In the "parliamentary sense" things are only a pretext for words serving as a snare for the adversary, an ambuscade for the people, or a matter of artistic display for the speaker himself.

Their master, M.Thiers, the mischievous gnome, has charmed the French bourgeoisie for almost half a century because he is the most consummate intellectual expression of their own class corruption. Even before he became a statesman, he had shown his lying powers as a historian. Eager of display, like all dwarfish men, greedy of place and pelf, with a barren intellect but lively fancy, epicurean, sceptical, of an encyclopedic facility for mastering the surface of things, and turning things into a mere pretext for talk, a wordf encer of rare conversational power, a writer of lucid shallowness, a master of small state roguery, a virtuoso in perjury, a craftsman in all the petty stratagems, cunning devices and base perfidies of parliamentary party warfare, national and class prejudices standing him in the place of ideas, and vanity in the place of conscience, in order to displace a rival, and to shoot the people, in order to stifle the Revolution, mischievous

The Civil War in France (Second Draft)

when in opposition, odious when in power, never scrupling to provoke revolutions the history of his public life is the chronicle of the miseries of his country. Fond of brandishing with his dwarfish arms in the face of Europe the sword of the first Napoleon, whose historical shoebblack he had become, 5 his Foreign policy always culminated in the utter humiliation of France, from the London convention of 1841 to the Paris capitulation of 1871 and the present civil war he wages under the shelter of Prussian invasion. It need not be said that to such a man the deeper undercurrents of modern society remained a close book, but even the most palpable changes at its surface 10 were abhorrent to a brain all whose vitality had fled to the tongue. F. i. he never fatigued to denounce any deviation from the old French protective system as a sacrilege, railways he sneeringly derided, when a minister of Louis Philippe, as a wild chimera, and every reform of the rotten French army system he branded under Louis Bonaparte as a profanation. With all his 15 versatility of talent and shiftiness of purpose, he was steadily wedded to the traditions of a fossilized routine, and never, during his long official career, became guilty of one single, even the smallest measure of practical use. Only the old world's edifice, may be proud of being crowned by two such men as Napoleon the little and little Thiers. [The socalled accomplishments 20 of culture appear in such a man only as the refinement of debauchery and the of selfishness.

[Banded with the republicans under the restauration, Thiers insinuated himself with Louis Philippe as a spy upon and the jailaccoucheur of the Duchess of Berry, but his activity when he had first slipt into a ministry 25 (1834—35) centred in the massacre of the insurgent Republicans at the rue Transnonain and the incubation of the atrocious September laws against the press.

[Reappearing as the chief of the cabinet in March 1840, he came out with the plot of the Paris fortifications. To the [outcry] of the Republican party, 30 against the sinister attempt on the liberty of Paris, he replied: "What! To fancy that any works of fortification could endanger liberty! And first of all, you calumniate *every Government whatever* in supposing that it could one day try to maintain itself by bombarding the capital... But it would be hundred times more impossible after its victory than before."

35 Indeed no French government whatever save that of M. Thiers himself with his ticket-of-leave ministers and his rural assembly ruminants could have dared upon such a deed! And this too in the most classic form; one part of his fortifications in the hands of his Prussian conquerors and protectors.

40 [When King Bomba tried his hands at Palermo in January 1848, Thiers rose in the Chambre of Deputies: "You know, gentlemen, what passes at

Karl Marx

Palermo: you all shook with horror" (in the "parliamentary" sense) "when hearing that *during 48 hours a great town has been bombarded*. By whom? was it by a Foreign enemy, exercising the rights of war? No, gentlemen, by *its own government.*" (If it had been by its own government, under the eyes and on the sufferance of the Foreign enemy, all would, of course, have been right.) "And why? *Because that unfortunate town (city) demanded its rights.* Well, then. For the demand of its rights, it has *had 48 hours of bombardment.*" (If the bombardment had lasted 4 weeks and more all would have been right) "...Allow me to appeal to the opinion of Europe. It is doing a service to mankind to come and make reverberate from the greatest tribune perhaps of Europe some *words of indignation* (indeed! words!) against such acts... When the regent Espartero, who had rendered services to his country, (what Thiers never did), *in order to suppress an insurrection*, wanted to *bombard Barcelona*, there was from all parts of the world a general shriek of indignation." 5
10
15

Well, about a year later this fine-souled man became the sinister suggester and the most fierce defender (apologist) of the bombardment of Rome by the troops of the French republic, under the command of the legitimist Oudinot.

A few days before the Revolution of February, fretting at the long exile 20 from power to which Guizot had condemned him, smelling in the air the commotion, Thiers exclaimed again in the Chambre of Deputies:

"I am of the party of Revolution not only in France, but in Europe. I wish the government of the Revolution to remain in the hands of moderate men... But if that government should pass into the hands of ardent men, even 25 of the Radicals, I should not for all that desert (abandon) my cause. I shall always be of the party of the Revolution."

The Revolution of February came. Instead of displacing the cabinet Guizot by the cabinet Thiers, as the little man had dreamt, it displaced Louis Philippe by the Republic. To put down that Revolution was 30 M.Thiers' exclusive business from the proclamation of the Republic to the *Coup d'Etat*. On the first day of the popular victory, he anxiously hid himself, forgetting that the contempt of the people rescued him from its hatred. Still, with his legendary courage, he continued to shy the public stage until after the bloody disruption of the material forces of the Paris proletariat by Cavaignac, the bourgeois republican. Then the scene was cleared 35 for his sort of action. His hour had again struck. He became the leading mind of the "*Party of Order*" and its "*Parliamentary Republic*", that anonymous reign in which all the rival factions of the ruling classes conspired together to crush the working class and conspired against each other each for the 40 restoration of its own monarchy.|

|4| 3) The Rural Assembly.

If this rural assembly, meeting at Bordeaux, made this government, the "government of defence men" had beforehand taken good care to make that assembly. For that purpose they had dispatched Thiers on a travelling tour through the provinces, there to foreshadow coming events and make ready for the surprise of the general elections. Thiers had to overcome one difficulty. Quite apart from having become an abomination to the French people the Bonapartists, if numerously elected, would at once have restored the Empire and embaled M.Thiers and Co. for a voyage to Cayenne. The
10 Orleanists were too sparsely scattered to fill their own places and those vacated by the Bonapartists. To galvanize the Legitimist party, had therefore become unavoidable. Thiers was not afraid of his task. Impossible as a government of modern France, and therefore contemptible as rivals for place and pelf, who could be fitter to be handled as the blind tool of Counter-
15 revolution, than the party whose action, in the words of Thiers, had always been confined to the three resources of "Foreign invasion, civil war, and anarchy". (*Speech of Thiers at the Chambre of Deputies of January 5, 1833*). A select set of the Legitimists, expropriated by the Revolution of 1789, had regained their estates by enlisting in the servant hall of the first
20 Napoleon, the bulk of them by the milliard of indemnity and the private donations of the Restauration. Even their seclusion from participation in active politics under the successive reigns of Louis Philippe and Napoleon the little, served as a lever to the reestablishment of their wealth as landed proprietors. Freed from court dissipation and representation costs at
25 Paris, they had, out of the very corners of provincial France, only to gather the golden apples falling into their châteaux from the tree of modern industry, railways enhancing the price of their land, agronomy applied to it by capitalist farmers, increasing its produce, and the inexhaustible demand of a rapidly swollen town population securing the growth of markets for that
30 produce. The very same social agencies which reconstituted their material wealth and remade their importance as partners of that jointstockcompany of modern slaveholders, screened them from the infection of the modern ideas and allowed them, in rustic innocence, nothing to forget and nothing to learn. Such people furnished the mere passive material to be worked upon by
35 a man like Thiers. While executing the mission, entrusted to him by the government of Defence, the mischievous imp overreached his mandataries in securing to himself that multitude of elections which was to convert the defence men from his opponent masters into his avowed servants.
[The electoral traps being thus laid, the French people was suddenly

Karl Marx

summoned by the capitulards of Paris to choose within 8 days a national assembly with the exclusive task by virtue of the terms of the convention of the 31st January, dictated by Bismarck, to decide on war or peace. Quite apart from the extraordinary circumstances, under which that election occurred, with no time for deliberation, with one half of France under the sway of Prussian bayonets, with its other half secretly worked upon by the government intrigue, with Paris secluded from the provinces, the French people felt instinctively that the very terms of the armistice, undergone by the capitulards, left Franco no alternative choice but that of a peace *à outrance* and that for its sanction the worst men of France would be the best. Hence the 10 rural assembly emerging at Bordeaux.

[Still we must distinguish between the old regime orgies and the real historical business of the rurals. Astonished to find themselves the strongest fraction of an immense majority, composed of themselves and the Orleanists, with a contingent of Bourgeois republicans and a mere sprinkling of Bonapartists, they verily believed in the long expected advent of their retrospective millennium. There were the heels of the Foreign invasion trampling upon France, there was the downfall of the Empire and the captivity of a Bonaparte, and there they were themselves. The wheel of history had evidently turned round to stop at the *Chambre introuvable* of 1816, with 20 its deep and impassionate curses against the Revolutionary deluge and its abominations, with its "decapitation and decapitalization of Paris", its "decentralization" breaking through the network of state rule by the local influences of the *Châteaux* and its religious homilies and its tenets of antediluvian politics, with its gentilhommery, flippancy, its généalogie 25 spite against the drudging masses, and its Oeil de Boeuf views of the world. Still in point of fact they had only to act their part as joint stock holders of the "party of order", as monopolists of the means of production. From 1848 to 1851, they had only to form a fraction of the interregnum of the "parliamentary republic", with this difference that then they were 30 represented by their educated and trained parliamentary champions, the Berryer, the Falloux, the Larochejaquelein, while now they had to ask in their rustic rank and file, imparting thus a different tone and tune to the assembly, maskerading its bourgeois reality under feudal colours. Their grotesque exaggerations serve only to set off the liberalism of their 35 banditti government. Ensnared into an usurpation of powers beyond their electoral mandates, they live only on the sufferance of their selfmade rulers. The Foreign invasion of 1814 and 1815 having been the deadly weapon wielded against them by the bourgeois parvenus, they have in injudicial blindness bestowed upon themselves the responsibility of this unprecedented 40 surrender of France to the Foreigner by their bourgeois foes. And the

The Civil War in France (Second Draft)

French people astonished and insulted by the reappearance of all the noble Pourceaugnacs it believed buried long since, has become aware that beside making the Revolution of the 19th century it has to finish off the Revolution of 1789 by driving the ruminants to the last goal of all rustic
 5 animals—the shambles. |

**| 6 | 5) Opening of the civil war. 18 March Revolution.
 Clement Thomas. Lecomte. The Affaire Vendôme.**

[The disarmament of Paris, as a mere necessity of the contrarevolutionary plot might have been undertaken in a more temporizing circumspect manner,
 10 but as a clause of the urgent financial treaty with its irresistible fascinations it brooked no delay. Thiers had therefore to try his hands at a *coup d'Etat*. He opened the civil war by sending Vinoy, the Décembriser, at the head of a multitude of sergents de ville and a few regiments of the line, upon the nocturnal expedition against the Buttes Montmartre. Thiers' felonious
 15 attempt having broken down on the resistance of the National Guards and their fraternization with the soldiers, on the following day, in a manifesto, stuck to the walls of Paris, Thiers told the National Guards of his magnanimous resolve to leave them their arms with which he felt sure, they would be eager to rally round the government against "the rebels".
 20 Out of 300,000 national guards only 300 responded to his summons. The glorious workmen's Revolution of the 18th March had taken undisputed possession (sway) of Paris.

[The Central Committee, which directed the defence of Montmartre and emerged on the dawn of the 18th March as the leader of the Revolution, was
 25 neither an expedient of the moment nor the offspring of secret conspiracy. From the very day of the capitulation, by which the government of the national defence had disarmed France but reserved to itself a bodyguard of 40,000 troops for the purpose of cowing Paris, Paris stood on the watch. The national guard reformed its organization and entrusted its supreme
 30 control to a Central Committee, consisting of the delegates of the single companies, mostly workmen, with their main strength in the workmen's suburbs, but soon accepted by the whole body save its old Bonapartist formations. On the eve of the entrance of the Prussians into Paris, the Central committee took measures for the removal to Montmartre, Belleville, and
 35 La Villette, of the cannons and mitrailleuses treacherously abandoned by the capitulards, even in those quarters which the Prussians were about to occupy. It thus made safe of the artillery, furnished by the subscriptions of the National Guard, officially recognized as their private property in the

Karl Marx

convention of the 31st of January, and on that very title exempted from the general surrender of arms. During the whole interval from the meeting of the National Assembly at Bordeaux to the 18th of March, the Central Committee had been the people's government of the capital, strong enough to persist in its firm attitude of defence despite the provocations of the Assembly, the violent measures of the Executive, and the menacing concentration of troops. 5

[The defeat of Vinoy by the National Guard was but a check given to the Counterrevolution plotted by ruling classes, but the Paris people turned at once that incident of their self defence into the first act of a social 10 Revolution. The revolution of the 4th September had restored the Republic after the throne of the usurper had become vacant. The tenacious resistance of Paris during its siege, serving as the basis for the defensive war in the provinces, had wrung from the Foreign invader the recognition of that Republic, but its true meaning and purpose were only revealed on the 15 18th of March. It was to supersede the social and political conditions of class rule, upon which the old world's system rests, which had engendered the Second Empire and under its tutelage, ripened into rottenness. Europe thrilled as under an electric shock. It seemed for a moment to doubt whether its late sensational performances of state and war had any reality 20 in them and were not the mere sanguinary dreams of a long bygone past. The traces of the long endured famine still upon their figures, and under the very eye of Prussian bayonets, the Paris working class conquered in one bound the championship of progress etc.

In the sublime enthusiasm of historic initiative, the Paris workmen's Revolution made it a point of honour to keep the proletarian clean of the crimes in which the revolutions and still more the counterrevolutions of their betters abound. 25

Clement Thomas. Lecomte etc.

30

But the horrid "atrocities" that have sullied this Revolution?

So far as these atrocities imputed to them by their enemies are not the deliberate calumny of Versailles or the horrid spawn of the penny a liner's brain, they relate only to two facts—the execution of the Generals Lecomte and Clement Thomas and the Vendôme Affaire, of which we shall dispose 35 in a few words.

One of the paid cut-throats selected for the execution of the nocturnal coup de main on Montmartre, General Lecomte had on the place Pigalle four

The Civil War in France (Second Draft)

times ordered his troops of the 81st of the line to charge an unarmed gathering, and on their refusal fiercely insulted them. Instead of shooting women and children, some of his own men shot him, when taken prisoner in the afternoon of the 18th March, in the gardens of the Château rouge.

5 The inveterate habits acquired by the French soldatesca under the training of the enemies of the working class, are of course not likely to change the very moment they change sides. The same soldiers executed Clement Thomas.

"General" Clement Thomas, a discontent ex-quartermaster sergeant had, in the latter times of Louis Philippe's reign, enlisted in the "republican" 10 *National* newspaper, there to serve in the double quality of strawman (responsible *Gérant*) and bully. The men of the *National* having abused the February Revolution, to cheat themselves into power metamorphosed their old quartermaster serjeant into a "General" on the eve of the butchery of June, of which he, like Jules Favre, was one of the sinister plotters and 15 became one of the most merciless executors. Then his generalship came to a sudden end. He disappears only to rise again to the surface on the 1st November 1870. The day before the government of defence, caught at the Hôtel de Ville, had, upon their word of honour, solemnly bound themselves to Blanqui, Flourens and the other representatives of the working class to abdicate 20 their usurped power into the hands of a Commune to be freely chosen by Paris. They broke, of course, their word of honour, to let loose the Bretons of Trochu, who had taken the place of the Corsicans of L. B[onaparte], upon the people guilty of believing in their honour. M. Tamisier alone refusing to brand himself by such a breach of faith, tendering at once his resignation 25 of the commandership in chief of the National Guard, "General" Clement Thomas was shuffled into his place. During his whole tenure of office he made war not upon the Prussians, but upon the Paris National Guard, | I proving inexhaustible in pretexts to prevent its general armament, in devices of disorganization by pitching its bourgeois element against its 30 working men's elements, of weeding out the officers hostile to Trochu's "plan" and disbanding, under the stigma of cowardice, the very proletarian bataillons whose heroism is now astonishing their most inveterate enemies. Clement Thomas felt proud of having reconquered his June preeminence as the personal enemy of the Paris working class. Only a few days 35 before the 18th of March he laid before the warminister Le Flô a new plan of his own for finishing off "*la fine fleur* (the cream) of the Paris *canaille*". As if haunted by the June spectres, he must needs appear, in the quality of an *amateur* detective, on the scene of action after Vinoy's rout!

The Central Committee tried in vain to rescue these two criminals, 40 Lecomte and Clement Thomas, from the soldier's wild lynch justice, of which they themselves and the Paris workmen were as guilty as the

Karl Marx

Princess Alexandra of the people crushed to death on the day of her entrance in London. Jules Favre with his forged Pathos, flung his curses upon Paris, the den of assassins. The Rural Assembly mimicked hysterical contortions of "sensiblerie". These men never shed their crocodile tears but as a pretext for shedding the blood of the people. To handle respectable cadavers as weapons of civil war has always been a favourite trick with the party of order. How did Europe ring in 1848 with their shouts of horror at the assassination of the Archbishop of Paris by the insurgents of June, and while they were fully aware from the evidence of an eye witness: M. Jaquemet, the Archbishop's vicar, that the Bishop had been shot by 10 Cavaignac's own soldiers! Through the letters to Thiers of the present Archbishop of Paris, a man with no martyr's vein in him, there runs the shrewd suspicion that his Versailles friends were quite the men to console themselves of his prospective execution in the violent desire to fix that amiable proceeding on the Commune! However, when the cry of "assassins" 15 had served its turn, Thiers coolly disposed of it by declaring from the tribune of the National Assembly, that the "assassination" was the private deed of a few, "very few" obscure individuals.

The "men of order", the reactionists of Paris, trembling at the people's victory as the signal of retribution, were quite astonished by proceedings, 20 strangely at variance with their own traditional methods of celebrating a defeat of the people. Even the sergeants de ville, instead of being disarmed and locked up, had the doors of Paris flung wide open for their safe retreat to Versailles, while the "men of order", left not only unhurt, were allowed to rally quietly and lay hold on the strongholds in the very centre of 25 Paris. They interpreted, of course, the indulgence of the Central Committee and the magnanimity of the armed workmen as mere symptoms of conscious weakness. Hence their plan to try under the mask of an "unarmed" demonstration the work which four days before Vinoy's cannon and mitrailleuses had failed in. Starting from their quarters of 30 luxury, this riotous mob of "gentlemen", with all the "petits crevés" in their ranks and the familiars of the Empire, the Heeckeren, Coëtlogon, H. de Pêne etc at their head, fell in marching order under the cries of "down with the Assassins! down with the Central Committee, Vive l'Assemblée Nationale!" illtreating and disarming the detached posts of 35 National Guards they met with on their progress. When then at last debouching into the place Vendôme, they tried, under shouts of ribald insults, to dislodge the National Guards from their headquarters and forcibly break through the lines. In answer to their pistol shots the regular 40 *sommations* (the French equivalent of the English reading of the Riot acts) were made, but proved ineffective to stop the aggressors. Then fire was

The Civil War in France (Second Draft)

commanded by the general of the National Guard and these rioters dispersed in wild flight. Two national guards killed, eight dangerously wounded, and the streets, through which they disbanded, strewn with revolvers, daggers and cane swords, gave clear evidence of the "unarmed" character of their
5 "pacific" demonstration. When, on the 13th June 1849, the National guards of Paris made a really "unarmed" demonstration of protest against the felonious assault on Rome by French troops, Changarnier, the general of the "party of order", had their ranks sabred, trampled down by cavalry and shot down, the state of siege was at once proclaimed, new arrests, new
10 proscriptions, a new reign of terror set in. But the "lower orders" manage these things otherwise. The runaways of the 22nd March being neither followed up on their flight nor afterwards called to account by the judge of instruction (juge d'instruction), were able two days later to muster again an "armed" demonstration under Admiral Saisset. Even after the
15 grotesque failure of this their second rising they were, like all other Paris citizens, allowed to try their hands at the ballot box for the election of the Commune, and when succumbing in this bloodless battle, they at last purged Paris from their presence by an unmolested Exodus, dragging along with them the cocottes, the lazzaroni and the other dangerous class
20 of the capital. The "assassination of the unarmed citizens" on the 22nd of March is a myth which even Thiers and his rurals have never dared to harp upon, entrusting it exclusively to the servant hall of European journalism.

If there is to be found fault with in the conduct of the Central Committee
25 and the Paris workmen towards these "men of order" from 18-th March to the time of their Exodus it is an excess of moderation bordering upon weakness.

Look now to the other side of the medal!

30 After the failure of their nocturnal surprise of Montmartre, the party of order began their regular Campaign against Paris in the commencement of April. For inaugurating the civil war by the methods of December, the massacre in cold blood of the captured soldiers of the line and infamous murder of our brave friend Duval, Vinoy, the runaway, is appointed by
35 Thiers Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour ! Gallifet, the fancy man of that woman so notorious for her shameless maskerades at the orgies of the Second Empire, boasts in an official manifesto of his cowardly assassination of Paris National Guards, their lieutenant and their captain, made by surprise and treason. Desmarêts, the gendarme, is decorated for his

Karl Marx

butchery like chopping of the high-souled and chivalrous Flourens, the "encouraging" particulars of whose death are triumphantly communicated to the Assembly by Thiers. In the horribly grotesque exultation of a Tom Pouc playing the part of Timur Tamerlane, Thiers denies the "rebels" against his littleness all the rights and customs of civilized warfare, even the rights of "ambulances".

5

When the Commune had published on the 7 April its decree of reprisals, declaring it its duty to protect itself against the cannibal exploits of the Versailles banditti and to demand an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, the atrocious treatment of the Versailles prisoners, of whom Thiers says in one of his bulletins "never had more degraded countenances of a degraded democracy ||7| met the afflicted gazes of honest men"—did not cease, but the fusillades of the captives were stopped. Hardly however had he and his Decembrist general become aware, that the Commune's decree was but an empty threat, that even their spying gendarmes caught in Paris under the disguise of National Guards, that even their sergeants de ville captured with explosive bombs upon them were spared, when at once the old regime set in wholesale and has continued to this day. The National Guards who had surrendered at Belle Epine to an overwhelming force of Chasseurs were then shot down one after the other by the captain of the peloton on horseback; houses, to which Parisian troops and National guards had fled, surrounded by Gensdarmes, inundated with petroleum, and then set on fire, the calcinated corpses being afterward transported by Paris ambulance; the bayonetting of the national guards surprised by treason in their beds at the Redoubt of Moulin Saquet, the massacre of Clamart, prisoners wearing the line uniform shot offhand, all these high deeds flippantly told in Thiers bulletin, are only a few incidents of this slaveholders' rebellion! But would it not be ludicrous to quote single facts of ferocity in view of this civil war, fomented amidst the ruins of France, by the conspirators of Versailles from the meanest motives of class interest, and the bombardment of Paris under the patronage of Bismarck, in the sight of his soldiers! The flippant manner in which Thiers reports on these things in the bulletin, has even shocked the not oversensitive nerves of *the Times*. All this is however "regular" as the Spaniards say. All the fights of the ruling classes against the producing classes menacing their privileges are full of the same horrors, although none exhibits such an excess of humanity on the part of the oppressed and few such an abasement... Theirs has always been the old axiom of knight-errantry that every weapon is fair if used against the plebeian.

10

15

20

25

30

35

"L'assemblée siège paisiblement", writes *Thiers* to the *Prefects*.

The Affaire at Belle-Epine.

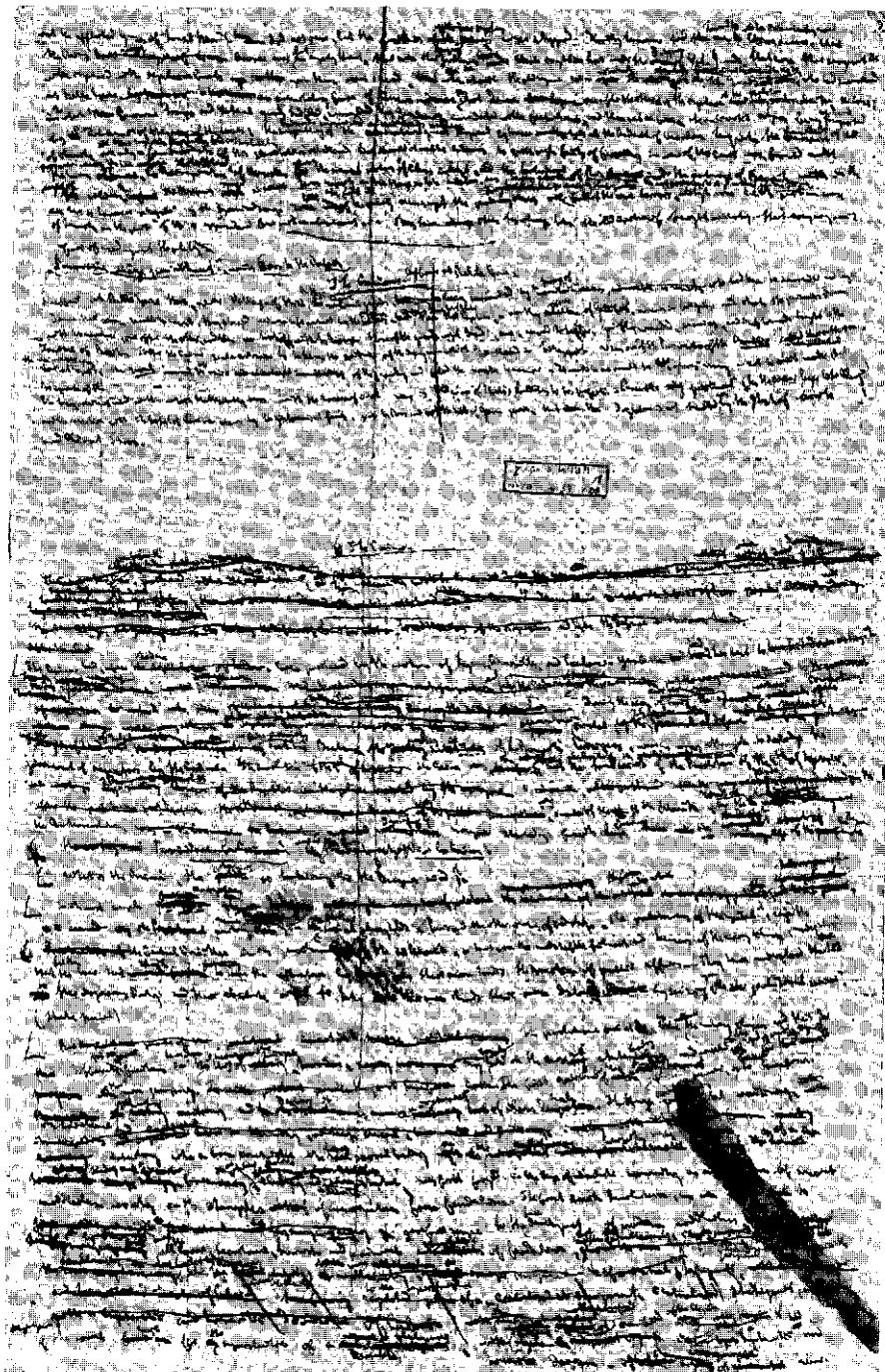
The affair at Belle-Epine, near Villejuif this: On the 25 April four national guards, being surrounded by a troop of mounted Chasseurs, who bid them to surrender and lay down their arms. Unable to resist, they obeyed and
5 were left unhurt by the chasseurs. Some time later then their Captain, aworthy officer of Galliffet's, arrives in full galop and shoots the prisoners down with his revolver, one after the other, and then trots off with his troop. Three of the guards were dead, one, named Scheffer, grieftly wounded, survives, and is afterwards brought to the Hospital of Bicêtre. Thither the Com-
10 mune sent a commission to take up the evidence of the dying man which it published in its rapport. When one of the Paris members of the Assemblée interpellated the war minister upon that report, the *rurals* drowned the voice of the deputy and forbid the minister to answer. It would be an insult to their "glorious" army—not to commit murder, but to speak of it.
15 The tranquillity of mind with which that Assembly bears with the horrors of civil war is told in one of Thiers' bulletins to his prefects: "L'assemblée siège paisiblement" (has the coeur leger like Ollivier) and the executive with its ticket of leave men shows by its gastronomical feats, given by Thiers and at the table of German princes, that their digestion
20 is not troubled even by the ghosts of Lecomte and Clément Thomas.

6) The Commune.

[The Commune had, after Sedan, been proclaimed by the workmen of Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulouse. Gambetta did his best to destroy it. During the siege of Paris the ever recurrent workmen's commotions again and again crushed on false pretences by Trochu's Bretons, those worthy substitutes of L. Bonaparte's Corsicans, were as many attempts to dislodge the government of impostors by the Commune. The Commune then silently elaborated, was the true secret of the Revolution of the 4th of September. Hence on the very dawn of the 18th March, after the rout of the Counter-revolution, drowsy Europe started up from its dreams of the Prussian Empire under the Paris thunderbursts of *Vive la Commune!*

[What is the Commune, this sphinx so tantalizing to the Bourgeois mind?

[In its most simple conception the form under which the working class assume the political power in their social strongholds, Paris and the other centres of industry. "The proletarians of the capital", said the Central Com-



Karl Marx: The Civil War in France (Second Draft).
Seite 7 der Handschrift

Karl Marx

mittee in its proclamation of the 20 March, "have, in the midst of the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, understood that for them the hour had struck to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs... They have understood that it was their imperious duty and their absolute right to take into their own hands their own destiny by seizing upon the political power" (state power). 5

[But the proletariat cannot, as the ruling classes and their different rival fractions have done in their successive hours of their triumph, simply lay hold on the existent statebody and wield this ready made agency for their own purpose. The first condition for the holding of political power, is to transform the traditional working machinery and destroy it as an instrument of class rule. That huge governmental machinery, entoiling like a boa constrictor the real social body in the ubiquitous meshes of a standing army, a hierarchical bureaucracy, an obedient police, clergy and a servile magistrature, was first forged in the days of absolute monarchy as a weapon of nascent middleclass society in its struggles of emancipation from feudalism. The first French Revolution, with its task to give full scope to the free development of modern middleclass society had to sweep away all the local, territorial, townish and provincial strongholds of feudalism, prepared the social soil for the superstructure of a centralized statepower, with omnipresent organs ramified after the plan of a systematic and hierarchic division of labour. | 10 15 20 25

|δ| But the working class cannot simply lay hold on the ready made state-machinery and wield it for their own purpose. The political instrument of their enslavement cannot serve as the political instrument of their emancipation. 25

[The modern bourgeois state is embodied in two great organs, parliament and government. Parliamentary omnipotence had, during the period of the party of order republic, from 1848 to 1851, engendered its own negative—the Second Empire, and Imperialism, with its mere mockery of parliament, is the regime now flourishing in most of the great military states of the continent. At first view apparently the usurpatory dictatorship of the governmental body over society itself, rising alike above and humbling alike all classes, it has in fact, on the European continent at least, become the only possible state form in which the appropriating class can continue to sway it over the producing class. The assembly of the ghosts of all the defunct French parliaments which still haunts Versailles, wields no real force save to governmental machinery as shaped by the Second Empire. 30 35 40

[The huge governmental parasite, entoiling the social body like a boa constrictor in the ubiquitous meshes of its bureaucracy, police, standing

The Civil War in France (Second Draft)

army, clergy and magistrature—dates its birth from the days of absolute monarchy. The centralized statepower had at that time to serve nascent middleclass society as a mighty weapon in its struggles of emancipation from feudalism. The French Revolution of the 18th century, with its task
5 to sweep away the medieval rubbish of seigniorial, local, townish, and provincial privileges, could not but simultaneously clear the social soil of the last obstacles hampering the full development of a centralized statepower, with omnipresent organs wrought after the plan of a systematic and hierachic division of labour. Such it burst into life under the first
10 Empire, itself the offspring of the coalition wars of old semifeudal Europe against modern France. During the subsequent parliamentary regimes of the Restauration, the July Monarchy, and the party of order Republic, the supreme management of that statemachinery with its irresistible allurements of place, pelf and patronage, became not only the
15 butt of contest between the rival fractions of the ruling class, but at the same degree that the economic progress of modern society swelled the ranks of the working class, accumulated its miseries, organized its resistance and developed its tendencies at emancipation, that, in one word, the struggle of classes, the struggle between labour and capital assumed shape and form,
20 the physiognomy and the character of the state power underwent a striking change. It had always been the power for the maintenance of order, i. e. the existing order of society, and, therefore, of the subordination and exploitation of the producing class by the appropriating class. But as long as this order was accepted as the uncontrovertible and uncontested necessity, the state power
25 could assume an aspect of impartiality. It kept up the existing subordination of the masses which was the unalterable order of things and a social fact undergone without contest on the part of the masses, exercised by their "natural superiors" without solicitude. With the entrance of society itself into a new phase, the phase of class struggle, the character of its organized
30 public force, the state power, could not but change also (but also undergo a marked change) and more and more develop its character as the instrument of classdespotism, the political engine for forcibly perpetuating the social enslavement of the producers of wealth by its appropriators, of the economic rule of capital over labour. After each new popular revolution,
35 resulting in the transfer of the direction of the statemachinery from one set of the ruling classes to another, the repressive character of the state power was more fully developed and more mercilessly used, because the promises made, and seemingly assured by the Revolution, could only be broken by the employment of force. Besides, the change worked by the
40 successive revolutions, sanctioned only politically the social fact, the growing power of capital, and, therefore, transferred the statepower itself

Karl Marx

more and more directly into ihe hands of the direct antagonists of the workingclass. Thus the Revolution of July transferred the power from the hands of the landowners into those of the great manufacturers (the great capitalists) and the Revolution of February into those of the united fractions of the ruling class, united in their antagonism to the working class, united as "the party of order", the order of their own class rule. During the period of the parliamentary republic the state power became at last the avowed instrument of war wielded by the appropriating class against the productive mass of the people. But as an avowed instrument of civil war it could only be wielded during a time of civil war and the condition of life for the parliamentary republic was, therefore, the continuance of openly declared civil war, the negative of that very "order" in the name of which the civil war was waged. This could only be a spasmodic, exceptional state of things. It was impossible as the normal political form of society, unbearable even to the mass of the middleclass. When therefore all elements of popular resistance were broken down, the parliamentary republic had to disappear (give way to) before the Second Empire.

The Empire, professing to rest upon the producing majority of the nation, the peasants, apparently out of the range of the class struggle between capital and labour (indifferent and hostile to both the contesting social powers), wielding the state power as a force superior to the ruling and ruled classes, imposing upon both an armistice, (silencing the political, and, therefore revolutionary form of the class struggle), divesting the state power from its direct form of classdespotism by braking the parliamentary and, therefore, directly political power of the appropriating classes, was the only possible stateform to secure the old social order a respite of life. It was, therefore, acclaimed throughout the world as the "saviour of order" and the object of admiration during 20 years on the part of the would be slaveholders all over the world. Under its sway coincident with the change brought upon the market of the world by California, Australia, and the wonderful development of the United States, an unsurpassed period of industrial activity set [in], an orgy of stockjobbery, finance swindling, Joint Stock Company adventure—leading all to rapid centralization of capital by the expropriation of the middleclass and widening the gulph between the capitalist class and the working class. The whole turpitude of the capitalist regime, gave full scope to its innate tendency, broke loose unfettered. At the same time an orgy of luxurious debauch, meretricious splendour, a pandemonium of all the low passions of the higher classes. This ultimate form of the governmental power was at the same time its most prostitute, | 18^j shameless plunder of the state resources by a band of adventurers, hotbed of huge state debts, the glory of prostitution, a factitious life of

The Civil War in France (Second Draft)

false pretences. The governmental power with all its tinsel covering from top to bottom immerged in mud. The maturity of rottenness of the state machinery itself, and the putrescence of the whole social body, flourishing under it, were laid bare by the bayonets of Prussia, herself only eager to
5 transfer the European seat of that regime of gold, blood, and mud from Paris to Berlin.

[This was the statepower in its ultimate and most prostitute shape, in its supreme and basest reality, which the Paris working class had to overcome, and of which this class alone could rid society. As to parliamentarism, it had been killed by its own triumph and by the Empire. All the
10 working class had to do was not to revive it.

[What the workmen had to break down was not a more or less incomplete form of the governmental power of old society, it was that power itself in its ultimate and exhausting shape—the *Empire*. The direct opposite to the
15 *Empire* was the *Commune*.

In its most simple conception the Commune meant the preliminary destruction of the old governmental machinery at its central seats, Paris and the other great cities of France, and its superseding by real selfgovernment which, in Paris and the great cities, the social strongholds of the working
20 class, was the government of the working class. Through the siege Paris had got rid of the army which was replaced by a National Guard, with its bulk formed by the workmen of Paris. It was only due to this state of things, that the rising of the 18th of March had become possible. This fact was to become an institution, and the national guard of the great cities, the
25 people armed against governmental usurpation to supplant the standing army, defending the government against the people. The commune to consist of the municipal councillors of the different arrondissements, (as Paris was the initiator and the model, we have to refer to it) chosen by the suffrage of all citizens, responsible, and revocable in short terms. The
30 majority of that body would naturally consist of workmen or acknowledged representatives of the working class. It was to be a working, not a parliamentary body, executive and legislative at the same time. The police agents, instead of being the agents of a central government, were to be the servants of the Commune, being, like the functionaries in all the other departments
35 of administration, to be appointed and always revocable by the Commune; all the functionaries, like the members of the Commune itself, having to do their work at workmen's wages. The judges were also to be elected, revocable, and responsible. The initiative in all matters of social life to be reserved to the Commune. In one word all public functions, even the few
40 ones that would belong to the Central Government, were to be executed by communal agents, and, therefore, under the control of the Commune. It is

Karl Marx

one of the absurdities to say, that the Central functions, not of governmental authority over the people, but necessitated by the general and common wants of the country, would become impossible. These functions would exist, but the functionaries themselves could not, as in the old governmental machinery, raise themselves over real society, because the functions were to be executed by *communal agents*, and, therefore, always under real control. The public functions would cease to be a private property bestowed by a central government upon its tools. With the standing army and the governmental police the physical force of repression was to be broken. By the disestablishment of all churches as proprietary bodies and the banishment of religious instruction from all public schools (together with gratuitous instruction) into the recesses of private life, there to live upon the alms of the faithful, the divestment of all educational institutes from governmental patronage and servitude, the mental force of repression was to be broken, science made not only accessible to all, but freed from the fetters of government pressure and class prejudice. The municipal taxation to be determined and levied by the Commune, the taxation for general state purposes to be levied by communal functionaries, and disbursed by the Commune itself for the general purposes, (its disbursement for the general purposes to be supervised by the Commune itself.)

The governmental force of repression and authority over society was thus to be broken in its merely repressive organs, and where it had legitimate functions to fulfil, these functions were not to be exercised by a body superior to the society, but by the responsible agents of society itself. I

|9| 7) Schluss.

To fighting, working, thinking Paris, electrified by the enthusiasm of historic initiative, full of heroic reality, the new society in its throes, there is opposed at Versailles the old society, a world of antiquated shams and accumulated lies.. Its true representation is that rural Assembly, peopled with the gibberish ghouls of all the defunct regimes into which class rule had successively embodied itself in France, at their head a senile mountebank of parliamentarism, and their sword in the hands of the Imperialist capitulards, bombarding Paris under the eyes of their Prussian conquerors.

The immense ruins which the second Empire, in its fall, has heaped upon France, is for them only an opportunity to dig out and throw to the surface the rubbish of former ruins, of Legitimism or Orleanism.

The flame of life is to burn in an atmosphere of the sepulchral exhalations

The Civil War in France (Second Draft)

of all the bygone emigration. (The very air they breathe is the sepulchral exhalation of all bygone emigrations)

There is nothing real about them but their common conspiracy against life, their egotism of class interest, their wish to feed upon the carcass of
5 French society, their common slaveholders' interests, their hatred of the present, and their war upon Paris.

Everything about them is a caricature, from that old fossile of Louis Philippe's regime, Count Jaubert exclaiming in the National assembly, in the palace of Louis XIV "we are the state" (they are in fact the State
10 spectre in its secession from society) and the Republican fawners upon Thiers holding their reunions in the *Jeu de Paumes* (Tennis Court) to show their degeneracy from their predecessors in 1789.

Thiers at the head, the bulk of the majority split into these two groups of Legitimists and Orleanists, in the tail the Republicans of "old style".

15 Each of these fractions intrigues for a restoration of its own, the Republicans for that of the parliamentary Republic—building their hopes upon the senile vanity of Thiers, forming in the meantime the Republican decoration of his rule and sanctioning by their presence the war of the Bonapartist generals upon Paris, after having tried to coax it into the arms of Thiers and to disarm
20 it under Saisset! Knights of the sad figure, the humiliations they voluntarily bear with, show what Republicanism, as a special form of class rule, has come down to. It was in view of them that Thiers said to the assembled maires of the Seine and Oise: What could they more want. "Was not he, a simple citizen, at the head of the State." Progress from 1830 to 1870
25 that then Louis Philippe was the best of Republics, and that now Louis Philippe's Minister, little Thiers himself, is the best of Republics.

Being forced to do their real work—the war against Paris, through the Imperialist soldiers, Gendarmes, and police, under the sway of the retired Bonapartist generals, they tremble in their shoes at the suspicion that—as
30 during their regime of 1848—51—they are only forging the instrument for a second Restoration of the Empire. The Pontifical Zouaves and the Vendeans of Cathelineau and the Bretons of Charette are in fact their "parliamentary" army, the mere phantasms of an army compared with the Imperialist reality. While fuming with rage at the very name of the Republic, they accept
35 Bismarck's dictates in its name, waste in its name the rests of French wealth upon the civil war, denounce Paris in its name, forge laws of prospective proscription against the rebels in its name, usurp dictation over France in its name.

Their title [is] the general suffrage, which they had always opposed during
40 their own régimes from 1815 to 1848, abolished in May 1850, after it had been established against them by the Republic, and which they now

Karl Marx

accept as the prostitute of the Empire, forgetting that with it they accept the Empire of the Plebiscites! They themselves are impossible even with the general suffrage.

They reproach Paris to revolt against national unity, and their first word was the *decapitation* of that Unity by the decapitalization of Paris. Paris has done the thing they pretended to want, but it has done it, not as they wanted it, as a reactionary dream of the past, but as the revolutionary vindication of the future. Thiers, the Chauvin, threatens since the 18th March Paris with the "intervention of Prussia", asked at Bordeaux for the "intervention of Prussia", acts against Paris in fact only by the means accorded to him by Prussia. The Bourbons were dignity itself, compared to this mountebank of Chauvinism. 5

Whatever may be the name—in case they are victorious—of their Restoration, with whatever successful pretender at its head, its reality can only be the Empire, the ultimate and indispensable political form of the rule of their rotten classes. If they succeed to restore it, and they must restore it with any of their plans of restoration successful—they succeed only to accelerate the putrefaction of the old society they represent and the maturity of the new one they combat. Their dim eyes see only the political outwork of the defunct regimes and they dream of reviving them by placing a Henry the 5th or the Count of Paris at their heads. They do not see that the social bodies which bore these political superstructures have withered away, that these regimes were only possible under now outgrown conditions and past phases of French society, and that it can only yet bear with Imperialism, in its putrescent state, and the Republic of Labour in its state of régénération. They do not see that the cycles of political forms were only the political expression of the real changes society underwent. 15 20 25

The Prussians who in coarse war exultation of triumph look at the agonies of French society and exploit them with the sordid calculation of a Shylock, and the flippant coarseness of the Krautjunker, are themselves already punished by the transplantation of the Empire to the German soil. They themselves are doomed to set free in France the subterranean agencies which will engulf them with the old order of things. The Paris Commune may fall, but the Social Revolution it has initiated, will triumph. Its birthplace is everywhere. 30 35

The lies in Thiers bulletins.

The immense sham of that Versailles, its lying character could not better be embodied and resumed than in Thiers, the professional liar, for whom the

r

The Civil War in France (Second Draft)

"reality of things" exists only in their "parliamentary sense", that is as a lie.

In his answer to the Archbishop's letter he coolly denies "the pretended executions and *reprisals* (!) attributed to the troops of Versailles", and 5 has this impudent lie confirmed by a commission appointed for this very purpose by his rurals. He knows of course their triumphant proclamations by the Bonapartist generals themselves. But in "the parliamentary sense" of the word they do not exist.

10 *In his circular of the 16th April on the bombardment of Paris:* "If some cannon-shots have been fired, it is not the deed of the army of Versailles, but of some insurgents *wanting to make believe that they are fighting*, while they do not dare show themselves." Of course, Paris bombards itself, in order to make the world believe that it fights!

Later: «*notre artillerie ne bombarde pas: elle canonne, il est vrai.* »

15 Thiers bulletin on Moulin-Saquet (4 May): «*Délivrance de Paris des affreux tyrans qui l'oppriment.* » (by killing the Paris National Guards asleep.)

20 The motley lot of an army—the dregs of the Bonapartist soldatesca released from prison by the grace of Bismarck, with the Gendarmes of Valentin and the Sergants de Ville of Piétri for their nucleus, set off by the Pontifical Zouaves, the Chouans of Charette and the Vendeanes of Cathélineau, the whole placed under the runaway Decembrist generals of capitulation, he dubs "*the finest army France ever possessed*". Of course, if the Prussians quarter still at St. Denis, it is because Thiers wants to frighten 25 them by the sight of that "finest of fine armies".

If such is the "finest army"—the Versailles anachronism is "the most liberal and most freely elected assembly that ever existed in France". Thiers caps his eccentricity by telling the maires etc that "he is a man, who has never broken his word", of course in the parliamentary sense of 30 word keeping.

He is the truest of Republicans and (Séance vom 27 April) A I: «*L'assemblée est plus libérale que lui-même.* »

To the Makes: «*On peut compter sur ma parole à laquelle je n'ai jamais manqué,* » in an unparliamentary sense, which I have never kept.

35 «*L'assemblée est une des plus libérales qu'ait nommé la France.* »|

110 He compares himself with Lincoln and the Parisians with the rebellious slaveholders of the South. The Southerners wanted territorial Secession from the United States for the slavery of labour. Paris wants the secession of M. Thiers himself and the interests he represents from power for the emancipation of labour.

40 The revenge which the Bonapartist Generals, the Gendarmes and the

Karl Marx

Chouans wreak upon Paris is a necessity of the class war against labour, but in the little byplay of his bulletins Thiers turns it into a pretext of caricaturing his idol, the first Nap., and makes himself the laughing stock of Europe by boldly affirming, that the French army through its war upon the Parisian has regained the renown it had lost in the war against the 5 Prussian. The whole war thus appears as mere childplay to give vent to the childish vanity of a dwarf, elated at having to describe *his* own battles, fought by *his* own army, under *his* own secret commandership in chief.

And his lies culminate in regard to Paris and the Province.

Paris which in reality holds in check for two months the finest army France 10 ever possessed, despite the secret help of the Prussian, is in fact only anxious to be delivered from its "atrocious tyrants", by Thiers, and therefore it fights against him, although a mere handful of criminals.

He does not tire of representing the Commune as a handful of convicts, ticket of leave men, scum. Paris fights against him because it wants to 15 be delivered by him from "the affreux tyrants that oppress it". And this "handful" of desperadoes holds in check since two months "the finest army that France ever possessed" led by the invincible Mac Mahon and inspired by the Napoleonic genius of Thiers himself!

The resistance of Paris is no reality, but Thiers' lies about Paris are. 20

Not content to refute him by its exploits, all the living elements of Paris have spoken to him, but in vain, to dislodge him out of his lying world. "You must not confound the movement of Paris with the surprise of Montmartre, which was only its opportunity and starting point: this movement is general and profound in the conscience of Paris; the greatest 25 number even of those who by one reason or another keep back (stand aside), do for all that not disavow its social legitimacy." By whom he was told this? By the delegates of the syndical chambres, speaking in the name of 7—8,000 merchants and Industrials. They went to tell it him personally at Versailles. Thus the *Ligue of the Republican Union*, thus the *Masons'* 30 lodges by their delegates and their demonstrations. But he sticks to it.

In his bulletin of Moulin-Saquet (4 May): « 300 prisoners taken... the rest of the insurgents has fled à toutes jambes, laissant 150 morts et blessés sur le champ de bataille... Voilà la victoire que la Commune peut célébrer dans ses bulletins. Paris sera sous peu délivré de ses terribles tyrans qui l'oppriment. » But the fighting Paris, the real Paris is not *his* Paris. His Paris is itself a parliamentary lie. "The rich, the idle, the capitalist Paris", the cosmopolitan stew, this is his Paris. That is the Paris which wants to be restored to him, the real Paris, is the Paris of the "vile multitude". The Paris that shew its courage in the "pacific procession" and Saisset's 35 stampedo, that throngs now at Versailles, at Rueil, at St. Denis, at 40

The Civil War in France (Second Draft)

St. Germain-en-Laye, followed by the Cocottes, sticking to the "man of family, religion, order" and above all "of property", the Paris of the lounging classes, the Paris of the francs-fileurs, amusing itself by looking through telescopes at the battles going on, treating the civil war
5 but as an agreeable diversion, that is the Paris of M.Thiers, as the emigration of Coblenz was the France of M. de Calonne and as the emigration at Versailles is the France of M.Thiers.

If the Paris, that wants to be delivered of the Commune by Thiers, his rurals, Decembriseurs and Gendarmes, is a lie, so is his "province"
10 which through him and his rurals wants to be delivered from Paris.

Before the definitive conclusion at Frankfort of the peace treaty, he appealed to the provinces to send their bataillons of national guards and volunteers to Versailles to fight against Paris. The Province refused point blank. Only the Bretagne sent a handful of Chouans "fighting under a white
15 flag, every one of them wearing on his breast a Jesus heart in white cloth and shouting: vive le roi!" Thus is the provincial France listening to his summons so that he was forced to lend captive French troops from Bis-
marck, lay hold on the Pontifical Zouaves (the real armed representatives of his provincial France) and make 20,000 Gendarmes and 12,000 sergents
20 de ville the nucleus of his army.

Despite the wall of lies, the intellectual and police blockade, by which he tried to (debar) fence off Paris from the provinces, the provinces, instead of sending him bataillons to wage war upon Paris, inundated him with so many delegations insisting upon peace with Paris, that he refused to
25 receive them any longer in person. The tone of the addresses sent up from the Provinces, proposing most of them the immediate conclusion of an armistice with Paris, the dissolution of the Assembly, "because its mandate had expired" and the grant of the municipal rights demanded by Paris, was so offensive that Dufaure denounces them in his "circular against
30 conciliation" to the prefects. On the other hand, the rural assembly and Thiers received not one single address of approval on the part of the provinces.

But the grand *défi* the Provinces gave to Thiers' "lie" about the provinces were the municipal elections of the 30 April, carried on under his government, on the basis of a law of his Assembly. Out of 700,000 councillors (in round numbers) returned by the 35,000 communes still left in mutilated France, the united Legitimists, Orleanists and Bonapartists did not carry 8,000! The supplementary elections still more hostile! This showed plainly how far the *National Assembly*, chosen by surprise, and on false pretences,
40 represents France, provincial France, France minus Paris!

But the plan of an assembly of the municipal delegates of the great

Karl Marx

provincial towns at Bordeaux, forbidden by Thiers on the ground of his law of 1834 and an Imperialist one of 1855, forced him to avow that his "Provinces" are a lie, as "his" Paris is. He accuses them to resemble the "false" Paris, to be eagerly bent upon "laying the fundaments of Communism and Rebellion". Again he has been answered by the late resolutions of the municipal councils of Nantes, Vienne, Chambéry, Limoux, Carcassonne, Angers, Carpentras, Montpellier, Privas, Grenoble etc, insisting upon peace with Paris, "the absolute affirmation of the Republic, the recognition of the communal right which", as the municipal *council of Vienne says*, «the élus of the 8. février promised, dans leurs circulaires 10 lorsqu'ils étaient candidats. Pour faire cesser la guerre étrangère, elle (l'Assemblée Nationale) a cédé deux provinces et promis cinq milliards à la Prusse. Que ne doit-elle pas faire pour mettre fin à la guerre civile? » (Just the contrary. The two provinces are not their "private" property, and as to the promissory note of 5 milliards, the thing is exactly that it shall be 15 paid by the French people and not by them.)

If, therefore, Paris may justly complain of the Provinces that they limit themselves to pacific demonstrations, leaving it unaided against all the State forces... the Province has in most unequivocal tones given the lie to Thiers and the Assembly to be represented there, has declared their 20 Province a lie as is their whole existence, a sham, a false pretence.

The General Council feels proud of the prominent part the Paris branches of the *International* have taken in the glorious revolution of Paris. Not, as the imbeciles fancy, as if the Paris, or any other branch of the International 25 received its *mot d'ordre* from a centre. But the flower of the working class in all civilized countries belonging to the *International*, and being imbued with its ideas, they are sure everywhere in the working class movements to take the lead.

[Revised passages to part 5 and 6 of the Second Draft]

|Seite 9| [Armed Paris was the only serious obstacle in the way of the counterrevolutionary conspiracy. Paris was, therefore, to be disarmed. On this point the Bordeaux assembly was sincerity itself. If the roaring rant of its rurals had not been audible enough, the surrender of Paris handed over 35 by Thiers to the tender mercies of the triumvirat of Vinoy, the *Décembriser*, Valentin, the Bonapartist Gendarm, and Aurelles de Paladine, the Jesuit

The Civil War in France (Second Draft)

General, would have cut off even the last subterfuge of doubt as to the ultimate aim of the disarmament of Paris. But if their purpose was frankly avowed, the pretext on which these atrocious felons initiated the civil war was the most shameless, the most barefaced (glaring) of lies. The
5 artillery of the Paris National Guard, said Thiers, belonged to the State and to the State it must be returned. The fact was this. From the very day of the capitulation by which Bismarck's prisoners had signed the surrender of France but reserved to themselves a numerous bodyguard for the express purpose of cowing Paris, Paris stood on its watch. The national guard reorganized themselves and entrusted their supreme control to a central committee elected by their whole body, save some fragments of the old Bonapartist formations. On the eve of the entrance of the Prussians into Paris, their central committee took measures for the removal to Montmartre, Belleville, and La Villette of the cannon and mitrailleuses treacherously abandoned by
10 the capitulards in the very quarters the Prussians were about to occupy. That artillery had been furnished by the subscriptions of the National Guard. As their private property it was officially recognized in the convention of the 28th January, and on that very title exempted from the general surrender of arms, belonging to the government, into the hands of the conqueror.
15 20 And Thiers dared initiate the civil war on the mendacious pretext that the artillery of the National Guard was state property!

The seizure of this artillery was evidently but to serve as the preparatory measure for the general disarmament of the Paris National Guard, and therefore of the Revolution of the 4th of September. But that revolution
25 had become the legal status of France. Its republic was recognized in the terms of the capitulation itself by the conqueror, it was after the capitulation acknowledged by the Foreign powers, in its name the National Assembly had been summoned. The Revolution of the Paris workmen of the 4th of September was the only legal title of the National Assembly seated at
30 Bordeaux and its Executive. Without it, the National Assembly had at once to give room to the Corps Légitif, elected by general suffrage and dispersed by the arm of the Revolution. Thiers and his ticket of leave men would have had to capitulate for safe conducts and securities against a voyage to Cayenne. The National Assembly, with its Attorney's Power to settle the
35 terms of peace with Prussia, was only an incident of the Revolution. Its true embodiment was armed Paris, that had initiated the Revolution, undergone for it a five months siege with its horrors of famine, that had made its prolonged resistance, despite Trochu's "plan", the basis of a tremendous war of defence in the provinces, and Paris was now summoned with coarse in-
40 suit by the rebellious slaveholders at Bordeaux to lay down its arms and acknowledge that the popular revolution of the 4th September had had no

Karl Marx

other purpose but the simple transfer of power from the hands of Louis Bonaparte and his minions into those of his monarchical rivals, or to stand forward as the self sacrificing champion of France to be saved from her ruin and to be regenerated only through the revolutionary overthrow of the political and social conditions that had engendered the Empire and under 5 its fostering care, matured into utter rottenness. Paris, Paris emaciated by a five months' famine, did not hesitate one moment. It heroically resolved to run all the hazards of a resistance against the French conspirators under the very eye of the Prussian army quartered before its gates. But in its utter abhorrence of civil war, the popular government of Paris, the Central 10 Committee of the National Guard, continued to persist in its merely defensive attitude, despite the provocations of the Assembly, the usurpations of the Executive, and the menacing concentration of troops in and around Paris.]

[8] [On the dawn of the 18th March Paris arose under thunderbursts of 15
Vive la Commune! What is the Commune, that sphinx so tantalizing to the bourgeois mind?

["The proletarians of the capital", said the Central Committee in its manifesto of the 18th March, "have, in the midst of the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, understood that for them the hour has struck to 20 save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs... They have understood that it is their imperious duty and their absolute right to take into their own hands their own destinies by seizing the political power." But the working class cannot, as the rival factions of the appropriating class have done in their hours of triumph, simply lay hold 25 on the ready made statemachinery, and wield it for its own purposes.

[The centralized statepower, with its ubiquitous organs of standing army, police, bureaucracy, clergy and magistrature, organs wrought after the plan of a systematic and hierarchic division of labour, dates from the days of absolute monarchy when it served nascent middleclass society 30 as a mighty weapon in its struggles for emancipation from feudalism. The French Revolution of the 18th century swept away the rubbish of seigniorial, local, townish and provincial privileges, thus clearing the social soil of its last medieval obstacles to the final superstructure of the state. It received its final shape under the First Empire, the offspring of the Coalition wars of 35 old, semifeudal Europe against modern France. Under the following parliamentary regimes, the hold of the governmental power, with its irresistible allurements of place, pelf, and patronage, became not only the bone of contention between the rival factions of the ruling classes. Its political character changed simultaneously with the economic changes 40 of society. At the same pace that the progress of industry developed, widened

The Civil War in France (Second Draft)

and intensified the class antagonism between capital and labour, the governmental power assumed more and more the character of the national power of capital over labour, of a political force organized to enforce social enslavement, of a mere engine of class despotism. On the heels of every
5 popular revolution, marking a new progressive phase in the march (development) (course) of the struggle of classes, (class struggle), the repressive character of the state power comes out more pitiless and more divested of disguise. The Revolution of July, by transferring the management of the state machinery from the landlord to the capitalist, transfers it from the dis-
10 tant to the immediate antagonist of the working men. Hence the state power assumes a more clearly defined attitude of hostility and repression in regard of the working class. The Revolution of February hoists the colours of the "social Republic", thus proving at its outset that the true meaning of state power is revealed, that its pretence of being the armed force of
15 public welfare, the embodiment of the general interests of societies rising above and keeping in their respective spheres the warring private interests is exploded, that its secret as an instrument of classdespotism is laid open, that the workmen do want the republic, no longer as a political modification of the old system of class rule, but as the revolutionary means of
20 breaking down class rule itself. In view of the menaces of "the social republic" the ruling class feels instinctively that the anonymous reign of the parliamentary republic can be turned into a jointstockcompany of their conflicting factions, while the past monarchies by their very title signify the victory of one faction and the defeat of the other, the prevalence of
25 one section's interests of that class over that of the other, land over capital or capital over land. In opposition to the working class the hitherto ruling class, in whatever specific forms it may appropriate the labour of the masses, has one and the same *economic* interest, to maintain the enslavement of labour and reap its fruits directly as landlord and capitalist, indirectly
30 as the state parasites of the landlord and the capitalist, to enforce that "order" of things which makes the producing multitude, "a vile multitude" serving as a mere source of wealth and dominion to their betters. Hence Legitimists, Orleanists, Bourgeois Republicans and the Bonapartist adven-
35 turers, eager to qualify themselves as defenders of property by first pilfering it, club together and merge into the "*Party of Order*", the practical upshot of that revolution made by the proletariat under enthusiastic shouts of the "*Social Republic*". The parliamentary republic of the Party of Order is not only the reign of terror of the ruling class. The state power becomes in their hand the *avowed instrument of the civil war* in the hand of the capitalist and
40 the landlord, not their state parasites against revolutionary aspirations of the producer. |

Karl Marx

I Under the monarchical regimes the repressive measures and the confessed principles of the day's government are denounced to the people by the fractions of the ruling classes that- are out of power, the oppositions' ranks of the ruling class interest the people in their party feuds, by appealing to its own interests, by their attitudes of tribunes of the people, by the revindication of popular liberties. But in the anonymous reign of the republic, while amalgamating the modes of repression of old past regimes (taking out of the arsenals of all past regimes the arms of repression), and wielding them pitilessly, the different fractions of the ruling class celebrate an orgy of renegation. With cynical effrontery they deny the professions of their past, trample under foot their "socalled" principles, curse the revolutions they have provoked in their name, and curse the name of the republic itself, although only its anonymous reign is wide enough to admit them into a common crusade against the people.

[Thus this most cruel is at the same time the most odious and revolting form of class rule. Wielding the state power only as an instrument of civil war, it can only hold it by perpetuating civil war. With parliamentary anarchy at its head, crowned by the uninterrupted intrigues of each of the fractions of the "order" party for the restoration of each own pet regime, in open war against the whole body of society out of its own narrow circle, the party of order rule becomes the most intolerable rule of disorder. Having in its war against the mass of the people broken all its means of resistance and laid it helplessly under the sword of the Executive, the party of order itself and its parliamentary regime is warned off the stage by the sword of the Executive. That parliamentary party of order republic can therefore only be an interregnum. Its natural upshot is *Imperialism*, whatever the number of the Empire. Under the form of imperialism, the statepower with the sword for its scepter, professes to rest upon the peasantry, that large mass of producers apparently outside the class struggle of labour and capital, professes to save the working class by breaking down parliamentarism and therefore the direct subserviency of the state power to the ruling classes, professes to save the ruling classes themselves by subduing the working classes without insulting them, professes, if not public welfare, at least national glory. It is therefore proclaimed as the "saviour of order". However galling to the political pride of the ruling class and its state parasites, it proves itself to be the really adequate regime of the bourgeois "order" by giving full scope to all the orgies of its industry, turpitudes of its speculation, and all the meretricious splendours of its life. The state thus seemingly lifted above civil society, becomes at the same time itself the hotbed of all the corruptions of that society. Its own utter rottenness, and the rottenness of the society to be saved of it, was laid

The Civil War in France (Second Draft)

bare by the bayonet of Prussia, but so much is this Imperialism the unavoidable political form of "order", that is the "order" of bourgeois society, that Prussia herself seemed only to reverse its central seat at Paris in order to transfer it to Berlin.

[The Empire is not, like its predecessors, the legitimate monarchy, the constitutional monarchy and the parliamentary republic, one of the political forms of bourgeois society, it is at the same time its most prostitute, its most complete, and its ultimate political form. It is *the* statepower of modern classrule, at least on the European continent.

—————1

Karl Marx
The Civil War in France
Address of the General Council
of the
International Working Men's Association

THE
CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE.
—
ADDRESS
OF
THE GENERAL COUNCIL
OF THE
INTERNATIONAL WORKING-MEN'S
ASSOCIATION.

THIRD EDITION, REVISED.

Printed and Published for the Council by
EDWARD TRUELOVE, 256, HIGH HOLBORN.

1871.
Price Twopence.

**|3| To all the members of the Association
in Europe and the United States.**

I.

On the 4th of September, 1870, when the working men of Paris proclaimed the Republic, which was almost instantaneously acclaimed throughout France, without a single voice of dissent, a cabal of place-hunting barristers, with Thiers for their statesman and Trochu for their general, took hold of the Hôtel de Ville. At that time they were imbued with so fanatical a faith in the mission of Paris to represent France in all epochs of historical crisis, that, to legitimate their usurped titles as Governors of France, they thought it quite sufficient to produce their lapsed mandates as representatives of Paris. In our second address on the late War, five days after the rise of these men, we told you who they were. Yet, in the turmoil of surprise, with the real leaders of the working class still shut up in Bonapartist prisons and the Prussians already marching upon Paris, Paris bore with their assumption of power, on the express condition that it was to be wielded for the single purpose of national defence. Paris, however, was not to be defended without arming its working class, organizing them into an effective force, and training their ranks by the war itself. But Paris armed was the Revolution armed. A victory of Paris over the Prussian aggressor would have been a victory of the French workman over the French capitalist and his State parasites. In this conflict between national duty and class interest, the Government of National Defence did not hesitate one moment to turn into a Government of National Defection.

The first step they took was to send Thiers on a roving tour to all the courts of Europe, there to beg mediation by offering the barter of the Republic for a king. Four months after the commencement of the siege,

Karl Marx

when they thought the opportune moment come for breaking the first word of capitulation, Trochu, in the presence of Jules Favre and others of his colleagues, addressed the assembled mayors of Paris in these terms:—

"The first question put to me by my colleagues on the very evening of the 4th of September was this: Paris, can it, with any chance of success| 5 |4| stand a siege by the Prussian army? I did not hesitate to answer in the negative. Some of my colleagues here present will warrant the truth of my words and the persistence of my opinion. I told them, in these very terms, that, under the existing state of things, the attempt of Paris to hold out a siege by the Prussian army, would be a folly. Without doubt, I added, it would 10 be an heroic folly; but that would be all. . . . The events (managed by himself) have not given the lie to my prevision." This nice little speech of Trochu was afterwards published by M. Corbon, one of the mayors present.

Thus, on the very evening of the proclamation of the Republic, Trochu's 15 "plan" was known to his colleagues to be the capitulation of Paris. If national defence had been more than a pretext for the personal government of Thiers, Favre, & Co., the upstarts of the 4th of September would have abdicated on the 5th—would have initiated the Paris people into Trochu's 20 "plan," and called upon them to surrender at once, or to take their own fate into their own hands. Instead of this, the infamous impostors resolved upon curing the heroic folly of Paris by a regimen of famine and broken heads, and to dupe her in the meanwhile by ranting manifestoes, holding forth that Trochu, "the Governor of Paris, will never capitulate," and Jules Favre, the Foreign Minister, will "not cede an inch of our territory, nor a stone of our 25 fortresses." In a letter to Gambetta, that very same Jules Favre avows that what they were "defending" against were not the Prussian soldiers, but the working men of Paris. During the whole continuance of the siege the Bonapartist cut-throats, whom Trochu had wisely intrusted with the command of the Paris army, exchanged, in their intimate correspondence, 30 ribald jokes at the well-understood mockery of defence (see, for instance, the correspondence of Alphonse Simon Guiod, supreme commander of the artillery of the Army of Defence of Paris and Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, to Suzanne, general of division of artillery, a correspondence published by the *Journal Officiel* of the Commune). The mask of imposture 35 was at last dropped on the 28th of January, 1871. With the true heroism of utter self-debasement, the Government of National Defence, in their capitulation, came out as the Government of France by Bismarck's prisoners—a part so base that Louis Bonaparte himself had, at Sedan, shrunk from accepting it. After the events of the 18th of March, on their wild flight 40 to Versailles, the *capitulards* left in the hands of Paris the documentary

evidence of their treason, to destroy which, as the Commune says in its manifesto to the provinces, "those men would not recoil from battering Paris into a heap of ruins washed by a sea of blood."

To be eagerly bent upon such a consummation, some of the leading 5 members of the Government of Defence had, besides, most peculiar reasons of their own.

Shortly after the conclusion of the armistice, M. Millière, one of the representatives of Paris to the National Assembly, now shot by express order of Jules Favre, published a series of authentic legal documents in 10 proof that Jules Favre, living in concubinage with the wife of a drunkard resident at Algiers, had, by a most daring concoction of forgeries, spread |
|s| over many years, contrived to grasp, in the name of the children of his adultery, a large succession, which made him a rich man, and that, in a lawsuit undertaken by the legitimate heirs, he only escaped exposure by the 15 connivance of the Bonapartist tribunals. As these dry legal documents were not to be got rid of by any amount of rhetorical horse-power, Jules Favre, for the first time in his life, held his tongue, quietly awaiting the outbreak of the civil war, in order, then, frantically to denounce the people of Paris as a band of escaped convicts in utter revolt against family, religion, order, 20 and property. This same forger had hardly got into power, after the 4th of September, when he sympathetically let loose upon society Pic and Taillefer, convicted, even under the Empire, of forgery, in the scandalous affair of the "Etandard." One of these men, Taillefer, having dared to return to Paris under the Commune, was at once reinstated in prison; and then Jules Favre 25 exclaimed, from the tribune of the National Assembly, that Paris was setting free all her jailbirds!

Ernest Picard, the Joe Miller of the Government of National Defence, who appointed himself Finance Minister of the Republic after having in vain striven to become the Home Minister of the Empire, is the brother of one 30 Arthur Picard, an individual expelled from the Paris Bourse as a blackleg (see report of the Prefecture of Police, dated 31st July, 1867), and convicted, on his own confession, of a theft of 300,000 francs, while manager of one of the branches of the *Société Générale*, rue Palestro, No. 5 (see report of the Prefecture of Police, 11th December, 1868). This Arthur Picard was 35 made by Ernest Picard the editor of his paper, *l'Electeur Libre*. While the common run of stockjobbers were led astray by the official lies of this Finance-Office paper, Arthur was running backwards and forwards between the Finance Office and the Bourse, there to discount the disasters of the French army. The whole financial correspondence of that worthy pair of 40 brothers fell into the hands of the Commune.

Jules Ferry, a penniless barrister before the 4th of September, contrived,

Karl Marx

as Mayor of Paris during the siege, to job a fortune out of famine. The day on which he would have to give an account of his maladministration would be the day of his conviction.

These men, then, could find, in the ruins of Paris only, their tickets-of-leave: they were the very men Bismarck wanted. With the help of some shuffling of cards, Thiers, hitherto the secret prompter of the Government, now appeared at its head, with the ticket-of-leave men for his Ministers. 5

Thiers, that monstrous gnome, has charmed the French bourgeoisie for almost half a century, because he is the most consummate intellectual expression of their own class-corruption. Before he became a statesman he had already proved his lying powers as an historian. The chronicle of his public life is the record of the misfortunes of France. Banded, before 1830, with the Republicans, he slipped into office under Louis Philippe by betraying his protector Laffitte, ingratiating himself with the king by exciting mob-riots against the clergy, during which the church of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois and the Archbishop's palace were plundered, and by acting the minister-spy upon, and the jail-accoucheur of, the Duchess ¹⁶ de Berry. The massacre of the Republicans in the Rue Transnonain, and the subsequent infamous laws of September against the press and the right of association, 10 were his work. Reappearing as the chief of the Cabinet in March, 1840, he astonished France with his plan of fortifying Paris. To the Republicans, who denounced this plan as a sinister plot against the liberty of Paris, he replied from the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies:— 15

"What! to fancy that any works of fortification could ever endanger liberty! And first of all you calumniate any possible Government in supposing that it could some day attempt to maintain itself by bombarding the capital;—but that government would be a hundred times more impossible after its victory than before." Indeed, no Government would ever have dared to bombard Paris from the forts, but that Government which had 20 previously surrendered these forts to the Prussians. 25

When King Bomba tried his hand at Palermo, in January, 1848, Thiers, then long since out of office, again rose in the Chamber of Deputies: "You know, gentlemen, what is happening at Palermo. You, all of you, shake with horror (in the parliamentary sense) on hearing that during forty-eight hours 30 a large town has been bombarded—by whom? Was it by a foreign enemy exercising the rights of war? No, gentlemen, it was by its own Government. And why? Because that unfortunate town demanded its rights. Well, then, for the demand of its rights it has got forty-eight hours of bombardment . . . Allow me to appeal to the opinion of Europe. It is doing a service to 35 mankind to arise, and to make reverberate, from what is perhaps the 40

The Civil War in France · I

greatest tribune in Europe, some words (indeed words) of indignation against such acts . . . When the Regent Espartero, who had rendered services to his country, (which M.Thiers never did) intended bombarding Barcelona, in order to suppress its insurrection, there arose from all parts
5 of the world a general outcry of indignation."

Eighteen month afterwards, M. Thiers was amongst the fiercest defenders of the bombardment of Rome by a French army. In fact, the fault of King Bomba seems to have consisted in this only, that he limited his bombardment to forty-eight hours.

10 A few days before the Revolution of February, fretting at the long exile from place and pelf to which Guizot had condemned him, and sniffing in the air the scent of an approaching popular commotion, Thiers, in that pseudo-heroic style which won him the nickname of Mirabeau-moucne/declared to the Chamber of Deputies: "I am of the party of Revolution, not only in
15 France, but in Europe. I wish the Government of the Revolution to remain in the hands of moderate men____but if that Government should fall into the hands of ardent minds, even into those of Radicals, I shall, for all that, not desert my cause. I shall always be of the party of the Revolution." The Revolution of February came. Instead of displacing the Guizot Cabinet by
20 the Thiers Cabinet, as the little man had dreamt, it superseded Louis Philippe by the Republic. On the first day of the popular victory he carefully hid himself, forgetting that the contempt of the working men screened him from their hatred. Still, with his legendary courage, he continued to shy the public stage, until the ||7| June massacres had cleared it for his sort of action. Then
25 he became the leading mind of the "Party of Order" and its Parliamentary Republic, that anonymous interregnum, in which all the rival factions of the ruling class conspired together to crush the people, and conspired against each other to restore each of them its own monarchy. Then, as now, Thiers denounced the Republicans as the only obstacle to the consolidation of the
30 Republic; then, as now, he spoke to the Republic as the hangman spoke to Don Carlos—"I shall assassinate thee, but for thy own good." Now, as then, he will have to exclaim on the day after his victory: *L'Empire est fait—the Empire is consummated.* Despite his hypocritical homilies about necessary liberties and his personal grudge against Louis Bonaparte, who
35 had made a dupe of him, and kicked out parliamentarism—and outside of its factitious atmosphere the little man is conscious of withering into nothingness—he had a hand in all the infamies of the Second Empire, from the occupation of Rome by French troops to the war with Prussia, which he incited by his fierce invective against German unity—not as a cloak of
40 Prussian despotism, but as an encroachment upon the vested right of France in German disunion. Fond of brandishing, with his dwarfish arms, in the

Karl Marx

face of Europe the sword of the first Napoleon, whose historical shoe-black he had become, his foreign policy always culminated in the utter humiliation of France, from the London convention of 1840 to the Paris capitulation of 1871, and the present civil war, where he hounds on the prisoners of Sedan and Metz against Paris by special permission of Bismarck. Despite his versatility of talent and shiftiness of purpose, this man has his whole lifetime been wedded to the most fossil routine. It is self-evident that to him the deeper under-currents of modern society remained for ever hidden; but even the most palpable changes on its surface were abhorrent to a brain all the vitality of which had fled to the tongue. Thus he never tired of denouncing as a sacrilege any deviation from the old French protective system. When a minister of Louis Philippe, he railed at railways as a wild chimera; and when in opposition under Louis Bonaparte, he branded as a profanation every attempt to reform the rotten French army system. Never in his long political career has he been guilty of a single—even the smallest—measure of any practical use. Thiers was consistent only in his greed for wealth and his hatred of the men that produce it. Having entered his first ministry under Louis Philippe poor as Job, he left it a millionaire. His last ministry under the same king (of the 1st of March, 1840) exposed him to public taunts of peculation in the Chamber of Deputies, to which he was content to reply by tears—a commodity he deals in as freely as Jules Favre, or any other crocodile. At Bordeaux his first measure for saving France from impending financial ruin was to endow himself with three millions a year, the first and the last word of the "Economical Republic," the vista of which he had opened to his Paris electors in 1869. One of his former colleagues of the Chamber of Deputies of 1830, himself a capitalist and, nevertheless, a devoted member of the Paris Commune, M.Beslay, lately addressed Thiers thus in a public placard:—"The enslavement of labour by capital has always been the corner-stone of your ||8| policy, and from the very day you saw the Republic of Labour installed at the Hôtel de Ville, you have never ceased to cry out to France: 'These are criminals!'" A master in small state roguery, a virtuoso in perjury and treason, a craftsman in all the petty stratagems, cunning devices, and base perfidies of Parliamentary party-warfare; never scrupling, when out of office, to fan a revolution, and to stifle it in blood when at the helm of the State; with class prejudices standing him in the place of ideas, and vanity in the place of a heart; his private life as infamous as his public life is odious—even now, when playing the part of a French Sulla, he cannot help setting off the abomination of his deeds by the ridicule of his ostentation.

The capitulation of Paris, by surrendering to Prussia not only Paris, but all France, closed the long-continued intrigues of treason with the enemy,

which the usurpers of the 4th September had begun, as Trochu himself said, on that very same day. On the other hand, it initiated the civil war they were now to wage, with the assistance of Prussia, against the Republic and Paris. The trap was laid in the very terms of the capitulation. At that time above 5 one-third of the territory was in the hands of the enemy, the capital was cut off from the provinces, all communications were disorganized. To elect under such circumstances a real representation of France was impossible, unless ample time were given for preparation. In view of this, the capitulation stipulated that a National Assembly must be elected within eight 10 days; so that in many parts of France the news of the impending election arrived on its eve only. This Assembly, moreover, was, by an express clause of the capitulation, to be elected for the sole purpose of deciding on peace or war, and, eventually, to conclude a treaty of peace. The population could not but feel that the terms of the armistice rendered the continuation of the 15 war impossible, and that for sanctioning the peace imposed by Bismarck, the worst men in France were the best. But not content with these precautions, Thiers, even before the secret of the armistice had been broached to Paris, set out for an electioneering tour through the provinces, there to galvanize back into life the Legitimist party, which now, along with the 20 Orleanists, had to take the place of the then impossible Bonapartists. He was not afraid of them. Impossible as a government of modern France, and, therefore, contemptible as rivals, what party were more eligible as tools of counter-revolution than the party whose action, in the words of Thiers himself (Chamber of Deputies, 5th January, 1833), "had always been confined to the three resources of foreign invasion, civil war, and anarchy"? They verily believed in the advent of their long-expected retrospective millennium. There were the heels of foreign invasion trampling upon France; there was the downfall of an Empire, and the captivity of a Bonaparte; and there they were themselves. The wheel of history had evidently 25 rolled back to stop at the "chambre introuvable" of 1816. In the Assemblies of the Republic, 1848 to '51, they had been represented by their educated and trained Parliamentary champions; it was the rank-and-file of the party which now rushed in—all the Pourceaugnacs of France.

As soon as this assembly of "Rurals" had met at Bordeaux, Thiers ¹¹⁹ made 30 it clear to them that the peace preliminaries must be assented to at once, without even the honours of a Parliamentary debate, as the only condition on which Prussia would permit them to open the war against the Republic and Paris, its stronghold. The counter-revolution had, in fact, no time to lose. The Second Empire had more than doubled the national debt, and 35 40 plunged all the large towns into heavy municipal debts. The war had fearfully swelled the liabilities, and mercilessly ravaged the resources of the

Karl Marx

nation. To complete the ruin, the Prussian Shylock was there with his bond for the keep of half a million of his soldiers on French soil, his indemnity of five milliards, and interest at 5 per cent on the unpaid instalments thereof. Who was to pay the bill? It was only by the violent overthrow of the Republic that the appropriators of wealth could hope to shift on to the shoulders of its producers the cost of a war which they, the appropriators, had themselves originated. Thus, the immense ruin of France spurred on these patriotic representatives of land and capital, under the very eyes and patronage of the invader, to graft upon the foreign war a civil war—a slaveholders' rebellion.

5

10

There stood in the way of this conspiracy one great obstacle—Paris. To disarm Paris was the first condition of success. Paris was therefore summoned by Thiers to surrender its arms. Then Paris was exasperated by the frantic anti-republican demonstrations of the "Rural" Assembly and by Thiers's own equivocations about the legal status of the Republic; by the threat to decapitate and decapitalize Paris; the appointment of Orleanist ambassadors; Dufaure's laws on over-due commercial bills and house-rents, inflicting ruin on the commerce and industry of Paris; Pouyer-Quertier's tax of two centimes upon every copy of every imaginable publication; the sentences of death against Blanqui and Flourens; the suppression of the Republican journals; the transfer of the National Assembly to Versailles; the renewal of the state of siege declared by Palikao, and expired on the 4th of September; the appointment of Vinoy, the *Décembriseur*, as governor of Paris—of Valentin, the Imperialist *gendarme*, as its prefect of police—and of D'Aurelle de Paladines, the Jesuit general, as the commander-in-chief of its National Guard.

15

20

25

And now we have to address a question to M.Thiers and the men of national defence, his understrappers. It is known that, through the agency of M. Pouyer-Quertier, his finance minister, Thiers had contracted a loan of two milliards. Now, is it true, or not,—

30

1. That the business was so managed that a consideration of several hundred millions was secured for the private benefit of Thiers, Jules Favre, Ernest Picard, Pouyer-Quertier, and Jules Simon? and—

2. That no money was to be paid down until after the "pacification" of Paris?

35

At all events, there must have been something very pressing in the matter, for Thiers and Jules Favre, in the name of the majority of the Bordeaux Assembly, unblushingly solicited the immediate occupation of Paris by Prussian troops. Such, however, was not the game of Bismarck, as he sneeringly, and in public, told the admiring Frankfort Philistines on his return to Germany.|

40

| 10 | II.

Armed Paris was the only serious obstacle in the way of the counter-revolutionary conspiracy. Paris was, therefore, to be disarmed. On this point the Bordeaux Assembly was sincerity itself. If the roaring rant of its Rurals 5 had not been audible enough, the surrender of Paris by Thiers to the tender mercies of the triumvirate of Vinoy the *Décembriseur*, Valentin the Bonapartist *gendarme*, and Aurelle de Paladines the Jesuit general, would have cut off even the last subterfuge of doubt. But while insultingly exhibiting the true purpose of the disarmament of Paris, the conspirators asked her to lay 10 down her arms on a pretext which was the most glaring, the most barefaced of lies. The artillery of the Paris National Guard, said Thiers, belonged to the State, and to the State it must be returned. The fact was this:—From the very day of the capitulation, by which Bismarck's prisoners had signed the surrender of France, but reserved to themselves a numerous body-guard for 15 the express purpose of cowing Paris, Paris stood on the watch. The National Guard reorganized themselves and intrusted their supreme control to a Central Committee elected by their whole body, save some fragments of the old Bonapartist formations. On the eve of the entrance of the Prussians into Paris, the Central Committee took measures for the removal to Montmartre, 20 Belleville, and La Villette of the cannon and mitrailleuses treacherously abandoned by the capitulards in and about the very quarters the Prussians were to occupy. That artillery had been furnished by the subscriptions of the National Guard. As their private property, it was officially recognized in the capitulation of the 28th of January, and on that very title exempted 25 from the general surrender, into the hands of the conqueror, of arms belonging to the Government. And Thiers was so utterly destitute of even the flimsiest pretext for initiating the war against Paris, that he had to resort to the flagrant lie of the artillery of the National Guard being State property!

30 The seizure of her artillery was evidently but to serve as the preliminary to the general disarmament of Paris, and, therefore, of the Revolution of the 4th of September. But that Revolution had become the legal status of France. The republic, its work, was recognized by the conqueror in the terms of the capitulation. After the capitulation, it was acknowledged by all 35 the foreign Powers, and in its name the National Assembly had been summoned. The Paris working men's revolution of the 4th of September was the only legal title of the National Assembly seated at Bordeaux, and of its executive. Without it, the National Assembly would at once have to give way to the Corps Législatif, elected in 1869 by universal suffrage under

I

Karl Marx

French, not under Prussian, rule, and forcibly dispersed by the arm of the Revolution. [jll] Thiers and his ticket-of-leave men would have had to capitulate for safe-conducts signed by Louis Bonaparte, to save them from a voyage to Cayenne. The National Assembly, with its power of attorney to settle the terms of peace with Prussia, was but an incident of that Revolution, the true embodiment of which was still armed Paris, which had initiated it, undergone for it a five months' siege, with its horrors of famine, and made her prolonged resistance, despite Trochu's plan, the basis of an obstinate war of defence in the provinces. And Paris was now either to lay down her arms at the insulting behest of the rebellious slaveholders of Bordeaux, and acknowledge that her Revolution of the 4th of September meant nothing but a simple transfer of power from Louis Bonaparte to his Royal rivals; or she had to stand forward as the self-sacrificing champion of France, whose salvation from ruin, and whose regeneration were impossible, without the revolutionary overthrow of the political and social conditions that had engendered the second Empire, and, under its fostering care, matured into utter rottenness. Paris, emaciated by a five months' famine, did not hesitate one moment. She heroically resolved to run all the hazards of a resistance against the French conspirators, even with Prussian cannon frowning upon her from her own forts. Still, in its abhorrence of the civil war into which Paris was to be goaded, the Central Committee continued to persist in a merely defensive attitude, despite the provocations of the Assembly, the usurpations of the Executive, and the menacing concentration of troops in and around Paris.

Thiers opened the civil war by sending Vinoy, at the head of a multitude of *sergents-de-ville* and some regiments of the line, upon a nocturnal expedition against Montmartre, there to seize, by surprise, the artillery of the National Guard. It is well known how this attempt broke down before the resistance of the National Guard and the fraternization of the line with the people. Aurelle de Paladines had printed beforehand his bulletin of victory, and Thiers held ready the placards announcing his measures of *coup d'état*. Now these had to be replaced by Thiers' appeals, imparting his magnanimous resolve to leave the National Guard in the possession of their arms, with which, he said, he felt sure they would rally round the Government against the rebels. Out of 300,000 National Guards only 300 responded to this summons to rally round little Thiers against themselves. The glorious working men's Revolution of the 18th March took undisputed sway of Paris. The Central Committee was its provisional Government. Europe seemed, for a moment, to doubt whether its recent sensational performances of state and war had any reality in them, or whether they were the dreams of a long bygone past.

The Civil War in France · II

From the 18th of March to the entrance of the Versailles troops into Paris, the proletarian revolution remained so free from the acts of violence in which the revolutions, and still more the counter-revolutions, of the "better classes" abound, that no facts were left to its opponents to cry out about, 5 but the execution of Generals Lecomte and Clement Thomas, and the affair of the Place Vendôme.

One of the Bonapartist officers engaged in the nocturnal attempt against Montmartre, General Lecomte, had four times ordered the 81st [12] line regiment to fire at an unarmed gathering in the Place Pigalle, and on their 10 refusal fiercely insulted them. Instead of shooting women and children, his own men shot him. The inveterate habits acquired by the soldiery under the training of the enemies of the working class are, of course, not likely to change the very moment these soldiers change sides. The same men executed Clement Thomas.

15 "General" Clement Thomas, a malcontent ex-quartermaster-sergeant, had, in the latter times of Louis Philippe's reign, enlisted at the office of the Republican newspaper *Le National*, there to serve in the double capacity of responsible man-of-straw (*gérant responsable*) and of duelling bully to that very combative journal. After the revolution of February, the men of the 20 *National* having got into power, they metamorphosed this old quartermaster-sergeant into a general on the eve of the butchery of June, of which he, like Jules Favre, was one of the sinister plotters, and became one of the most dastardly executioners. Then he and his generalship disappeared for a long time, to again rise to the surface on the 1st November, 1870. The day 25 before the Government of Defence, caught at the Hôtel de Ville, had solemnly pledged their parole to Blanqui, Flourens, and other representatives of the working class, to abdicate their usurped power into the hands of a commune to be freely elected by Paris. Instead of keeping their word, they let loose on Paris the Bretons of Trochu, who now replaced the 30 Corsicans of Bonaparte. General Tamié alone, refusing to sully his name by such a breach of faith, resigned the commandership-in-chief of the National Guard, and in his place Clement Thomas for once became again a general. During the whole of his tenure of command, he made war, not upon the Prussians, but upon the Paris National Guard. He prevented their 35 general armament, pitted the bourgeois battalions against the working men's battalions, weeded out the officers hostile to Trochu's "plan," and disbanded, under the stigma of cowardice, the very same proletarian battalions whose heroism has now astonished their most inveterate enemies. Clement Thomas felt quite proud of having reconquered his June pre-eminence as 40 the personal enemy of the working class of Paris. Only a few days before the 18th of March, he laid before the War Minister, Le Flô, a plan of his own

Karl Marx

for "finishing off *la fine fleur* (the cream) of the Paris *canaille*." After Vinoy's rout, he must needs appear upon the scene of action in the quality of an amateur spy. The Central Committee and the Paris working men were as much responsible for the killing of Clement Thomas and Lecomte as the Princess of Wales was for the fate of the people crushed to death on the day 5 of her entrance into London.

The massacre of unarmed citizens in the Place Vendôme is a myth which M.Thiers and the Rurals persistently ignored in the Assembly, intrusting its propagation exclusively to the servants' hall of European journalism. "The men of order," the reactionists of Paris, trembled at the victory of the 18th 10 of March. To them it was the signal of popular retribution at last arriving. The ghosts of the victims assassinated at their hands from the days of June, 1848, down to the 22nd of January, 1871, arose before their faces. Their panic was their only punishment. Even the sergents-de-ville, instead of being disarmed and locked up, as *il* ought to have been done, had the gates 15 of Paris flung wide open for their safe retreat to Versailles. The men of order were left not only unharmed, but allowed to rally and quietly to seize more than one stronghold in the very centre of Paris. This indulgence of the Central Committee—this magnanimity of the armed working men—so strangely at variance with the habits of the "party of order," the latter 20 misinterpreted as mere symptoms of conscious weakness. Hence their silly plan to try, under the cloak of an unarmed demonstration, what Vinoy had failed to perform with his cannon and mitrailleuses. On the 22nd of March a riotous mob of swells started from the quarters of luxury, all the *petits crevés* in their ranks, and at their head the notorious familiars of the 25 Empire—the Heeckeren, Coëtlogon, Henri de Pêne, etc. Under the cowardly pretence of a pacific demonstration, this rabble, secretly armed with the weapons of the bravo, fell into marching order, ill-treated and disarmed the detached patrols and sentries of the National Guards they met. with on their progress, and, on debouching from the Rue de la Paix, with the cry of 30 "Down with the Central Committee! Down with the assassins! The National Assembly for ever!" attempted to break through the line drawn up there, and thus to carry by a surprise the head-quarters of the National Guard in the Place Vendôme. In reply to their pistol-shots, the regular *sommations* (the French equivalent of the English Riot Act) were made, and, proving ineffect- 35 tive, fire was commanded by the general of the National Guard. One volley dispersed into wild flight the silly coxcombs, who expected that the mere exhibition of their "respectability" would have the same effect upon the Revolution of Paris as Joshua's trumpets upon the walls of Jericho. The runaways left behind them two National Guards killed, nine severely wounded (among them a member of the Central Committee), and the whole scene 40

F.

The Civil War in France · II

of their exploit strewn with revolvers, daggers, and sword-canes, in evidence of the "unarmed" character of their "pacific" demonstration. When, on the 13th of June, 1849, the National Guard made a really pacific demonstration in protest against the felonious assault of French troops upon Rome,

5 Changarnier, then general of the party of order, was acclaimed by the National Assembly, and especially by M. Thiers, as the saviour of society, for having launched his troops from all sides upon these unarmed men, to shoot and sabre them down, and to trample them under their horses' feet.

Paris, then, was placed under a state of siege. Dufaure hurried through the

10 Assembly new laws of repression. New arrests, new proscriptions—a new reign of terror set in. But the lower orders manage these things otherwise. The Central Committee of 1871 simply ignored the heroes of the "pacific demonstration;" so much so, that only two days later they were enabled to muster, under Admiral Saisset, for that *armed* demonstration, crowned by

15 the famous stampede to Versailles. In their reluctance to continue the civil war opened by Thiers' burglarious attempt on Montmartre, the Central Committee made themselves, this time, guilty of a decisive mistake in not at once marching upon Versailles, then completely helpless, and thus putting an end to the conspiracies of Thiers and his Rurals. Instead of this, the party

20 of order was again allowed to try its strength at the ballot-^{1 j} 14 | box, on the 26th of March, the day of the election of the Commune. Then, in the mairies of Paris, they exchanged bland words of conciliation with their too generous conquerors, muttering in their hearts solemn vows to exterminate them in due time.

25 Now, look at the reverse of the medal. Thiers opened his second campaign against Paris in the beginning of April. The first batch of Parisian prisoners brought into Versailles was subjected to revolting atrocities, while Ernest Picard, with his hands in his trousers' pockets, strolled about jeering them, and while Mesdames Thiers and Favre, in the midst of their ladies of

30 honour (?) applauded, from the balcony, the outrages of the Versailles mob. The captured soldiers of the line were massacred in cold blood; our brave friend, General Duval, the ironfounder, was shot without any form of trial. Galliffet, the kept man of his wife, so notorious for her shameless exhibitions at the orgies of the Second Empire, boasted in a proclamation of having

35 commanded the murder of a small troop of National Guards, with their captain and lieutenant, surprised and disarmed by his Chasseurs. Vinoy, the runaway, was appointed by Thiers Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, for his general order to shoot down every soldier of the line taken in the ranks of the Federals. Desmarests, the gendarme, was decorated for the

40 treacherous butcher-like chopping in pieces of the high-souled and chivalrous Flourens, who had saved the heads of the Government of Defence on

Karl Marx

the 31st of October, 1870. "The encouraging particulars" of his assassination were triumphantly expatiated upon by Thiers in the National Assembly. With the elated vanity of a parliamentary Tom Thumb, permitted to play the part of a Tamerlane, he denied the rebels against his littleness every right of civilized warfare, up to the right of neutrality for ambulances. Nothing more horrid than that monkey allowed for a time to give full fling to his tigerish instincts, as foreseen by Voltaire. (See note, p. 35.) 5

After the decree of the Commune of the 7th April, ordering reprisals and declaring it to be its duty "to protect Paris against the cannibal exploits of the Versailles banditti, and to demand an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," Thiers did not stop the barbarous treatment of prisoners, moreover insulting them in his bulletins as follows:—"Never have more degraded countenances of a degraded democracy met the afflicted gazes of honest men,"—honest like Thiers himself and his ministerial ticket-of-leave men. Still the shooting of prisoners was suspended for a time. Hardly, however, 10 had Thiers and his Decembrist generals become aware that the Communal decree of reprisals was but an empty threat, that even their gendarme spies caught in Paris under the disguise of National Guards, that even sergents-de-ville taken with incendiary shells upon them, were spared,—when the wholesale shooting of prisoners was resumed and carried on uninterruptedly 15 to the end. Houses to which National Guards had fled were surrounded by gendarmes, inundated with petroleum (which here occurs for the first time in this war), and then set fire to, the charred corpses being afterwards brought out by the ambulance of the Press at the Ternes. Four National Guards having surrendered to a troop of mounted Chasseurs at Belle Epine, 20 on the 25th of April, were afterwards shot down, one after another, by the captain, a worthy man of ||15| Galliffet's. One of his four victims, left for dead, Scheffer, crawled back to the Parisian outposts, and deposed to this fact before a commission of the Commune. When Tolain interpellated the War Minister upon the report of this commission, the Rurals drowned his 25 voice and forbade Le Flô to answer. It would be an insult to their "glorious" army to speak of its deeds. The flippant tone in which Thiers' bulletins announced the bayonetting of the Federals surprised asleep at Moulin Saquet, and the wholesale fusillades at Clamart shocked the nerves even of the not oversensitive London *Times*. But it would be ludicrous to-day to attempt 30 recounting the merely preliminary atrocities committed by the bombarders of Paris and the fomenters of a slaveholders' rebellion protected by foreign invasion. Amidst all these horrors, Thiers, forgetful of his parliamentary laments on the terrible responsibility weighing down his dwarfish shoulders, boasts in his bulletins that *l'Assemblée siège paisiblement* (the Assembly 35 continues meeting in peace), and proves by his constant carousals, now with 40

The Civil War in France · III

Decembrist generals, now with German princes, that his digestion is not troubled in the least, not even by the ghosts of Lecomte and Clement Thomas.

III.

5 On the dawn of the 18th of March, Paris arose to the thunderburst of "Vive la Commune!" What is the Commune, that sphinx so tantalizing to the bourgeois mind?

"The proletarians of Paris," said the Central Committee in its manifesto of the 18th March, "amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, 10 have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs. ... They have understood that it is their imperious duty and their absolute right to render themselves masters of their own destinies, by seizing upon the governmental power." But the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made
15 State machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.

The centralized State power, with its ubiquitous organs of standing army, police, bureaucracy, clergy, and judicature—organs wrought after the plan of a systematic and hierarchic division of labour—originates from the days of absolute monarchy, serving nascent middle-class society as a mighty
20 weapon in its struggles against feudalism. Still, its development remained clogged by all manner of mediaeval rubbish, seigniorial rights, local privileges, municipal and guild monopolies and provincial constitutions. The gigantic broom of the French Revolution of the eighteenth century swept away all these relics of bygone times, thus clearing simultaneously the social soil of
25 its last hindrances to the superstructure of the modern State edifice raised under the First Empire, itself the offspring of the coalition wars of old semi-feudal Europe against modern France. During the subsequent *régimes* the Government, placed under parlia[16]mentary control—that is, under the direct control of the propertied classes—became not only a hotbed of huge
30 national debts and crushing taxes; with its irresistible allurements of place, pelf, and patronage, it became not only the bone of contention between the rival factions and adventurers of the ruling classes; but its political character changed simultaneously with the economic changes of society. At the same pace at which the progress of modern industry developed, widened, intensi-
35 fied the class-antagonism between capital and labour, the State power assumed more and more the character of the national power of capital over labour, of a public force organized for social enslavement, of an engine of class despotism. After every revolution marking a progressive phase in the

Karl Marx

class struggle, the purely repressive character of the State power stands out in bolder and bolder relief. The Revolution of 1830, resulting in the transfer of Government from the landlords to the capitalists, transferred it from the more remote to the more direct antagonists of the working men. The bourgeois Republicans, who, in the name of the Revolution of February, took the State power, used it for the June massacres, in order to convince the working class that "social" republic meant the republic ensuring their social subjection, and in order to convince the royalist bulk of the bourgeois and landlord class that they might safely leave the cares and emoluments of government to the bourgeois "Republicans." However, after their one heroic exploit of June, the bourgeois Republicans had, from the front, to fall back to the rear of the "Party of Order"—a combination formed by all the rival fractions and factions of the appropriating class in their now openly declared antagonism to the producing classes. The proper form of their joint-stock Government was the *Parliamentary Republic*, with Louis Bonaparte for its President. Theirs was a *régime* of avowed class terrorism and deliberate insult towards the "vile multitude." If the Parliamentary Republic, as M.Thiers said, "divided them (the different fractions of the ruling class) least," it opened an abyss between that class and the whole body of society outside their spare ranks. The restraints by which their own divisions had under former *régimes* still checked the State power, were removed by their union; and in view of the threatening upheaval of the proletariat, they now used that State power mercilessly and ostentatiously as the national war-engine of capital against labour. In their uninterrupted crusade against the producing masses they were, however, bound not only to invest the executive with continually increased powers of repression, but at the same time to divest their own parliamentary stronghold—the National Assembly—one by one, of all its own means of defence against the Executive. The Executive, in the person of Louis Bonaparte, turned them out. The natural offspring of the "Party-of-Order" Republic was the Second Empire.

The Empire, with the *coup d'état* for its certificate of birth, universal suffrage for its sanction, and the sword for its sceptre, professed to rest upon the peasantry, the large mass of producers not directly involved in the struggle of capital and labour. It professed to save the working class by breaking down Parliamentarism, and, with it, the undisguised subserviency of Government to the propertied classes. It professed to save the propertied classes by upholding their economic supremacy over the working class; and, finally, it professed to unite all classes by reviving for all the chimera of national glory. In reality, it was the only form of government possible at a time when the bourgeoisie had already lost, and the working class had not

The Civil War in France · III

yet acquired, the faculty of ruling the nation. It was acclaimed throughout the world as the saviour of society. Under its sway, bourgeois society, freed from political cares, attained a development unexpected even by itself. Its industry and commerce expanded to colossal dimensions; financial swindling celebrated cosmopolitan orgies; the misery of the masses was set off by a shameless display of gorgeous, meretricious, and debased luxury. The State power, apparently soaring high above society, was at the same time itself the greatest scandal of that society and the very hotbed of all its corruptions. Its own rottenness, and the rottenness of the society it had
5 saved, were laid bare by the bayonet of Prussia, herself eagerly bent upon transferring the supreme seat of that *régime* from Paris to Berlin. Imperialism is, at the same time, the most prostitute and the ultimate form of the State power which nascent middle-class society had commenced to elaborate as a means of its own emancipation from feudalism, and which full-grown
10 bourgeois society had finally transformed into a means for the enslavement of labour by capital.

The direct antithesis to the Empire was the Commune. The cry of "Social Republic," with which the revolution of February was ushered in by the Paris proletariat, did but express a vague aspiration after a Republic that
20 was not only to supersede the monarchical form of class-rule, but class-rule itself. The Commune was the positive form of that Republic.

Paris, the central seat of the old governmental power, and, at the same time, the social stronghold of the French working class, had risen in arms against the attempt of Thiers and the Rurals to restore and perpetuate that
25 old governmental power bequeathed to them by the Empire. Paris could resist only because, in consequence of the siege, it had got rid of the army, and replaced it by a National Guard, the bulk of which consisted of working men. This fact was now to be transformed into an institution. The first decree of the Commune, therefore, was the suppression of the standing army, and
30 the substitution for it of the armed people.

The Commune was formed of the municipal councillors, chosen by universal suffrage in the various wards of the town, responsible and revocable at short terms. The majority of its members were naturally working men, of acknowledged representatives of the working class. The Commune
35 was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time. Instead of continuing to be the agent of the Central Government, the police was at once stripped of its political attributes, and turned into the responsible and at all times revocable agent of the Commune. So were the officials of all other branches of the Administration. From the
40 members of the Commune downwards, the public service had to be done at *workmen's wages*. The vested interests and the representation allowances

Karl Marx

of the high dignitaries of State disappeared along ~~j~~ 1181 with the high dignitaries themselves. Public functions ceased to be the private property of the tools of the Central Government. Not only municipal administration, but the whole initiative hitherto exercised by the State was laid into the hands of the Commune.

5

Having once got rid of the standing army and the police, the physical force elements of the old Government, the Commune was anxious to break the spiritual force of repression, the "parson-power," by the disestablishment and disendowment of all churches as proprietary bodies. The priests were sent back to the recesses of private life, there to feed upon the alms 10 of the faithful in imitation of their predecessors, the Apostles. The whole of the educational institutions were opened to the people gratuitously, and at the same time cleared of all interference of Church and State. Thus, not only was education made accessible to all, but science itself freed from the fetters which class prejudice and governmental force had imposed upon it. 15

The judicial functionaries were to be divested of that sham independence which had but served to mask their abject subserviency to all succeeding governments to which, in turn, they had taken, and broken, the oaths of allegiance. Like the rest of public servants, magistrates and judges were to be elective, responsible, and revocable.

20

The Paris Commune was, of course, to serve as a model to all the great industrial centres of France. The communal *régime* once established in Paris and the secondary centres, the old centralized Government would in the provinces, too, have to give way to the self-government of the producers. In a rough sketch of national organization which the Commune had no time 25 to develop, it states clearly that the Commune was to be the political form of even the smallest country hamlet, and that in the rural districts the standing army was to be replaced by a national militia, with an extremely short term of service. The rural communes of every district were to administer their common affairs by an assembly of delegates in the central 30 town, and these district assemblies were again to send deputies to the National Delegation in Paris, each delegate to be at any time revocable and bound by the *mandat impératif* (formal instructions) of his constituents. The few but important functions which still would remain for a central government were not to be suppressed, as has been intentionally mis-stated, but 35 were to be discharged by Communal, and therefore strictly responsible agents. The unity of the nation was not to be broken, but, on the contrary, to be organized by the Communal constitution, and to become a reality by the destruction of the State power which claimed to be the embodiment of that unity independent of, and superior to, the nation itself, from which it 40 was but a parasitic excrescence. While the merely repressive organs of the

old governmental power were to be amputated, its legitimate functions were to be wrested from an authority usurping pre-eminence over society itself, and restored to the responsible agents of society. Instead of deciding once in three or six years which member of the ruling class was to misrepresent
5 the people in Parliament, universal suffrage was to serve the people, constituted in Communes, as individual suffrage serves every other employer in the search for the workmen and ||19| managers in his business. And it is well known that companies, like individuals, in matters of real business generally know how to put the right man in the right place, and, if they for
10 once make a mistake, to redress it promptly. On the other hand, nothing could be more foreign to the spirit of the Commune than to supersede universal suffrage by hierarchic investiture.

It is generally the fate of completely new historical creations to be mistaken for the counterpart of older and even defunct forms of social life,
15 to which they may bear a certain likeness. Thus, this new Commune, which breaks the modern State power, has been mistaken for a reproduction of the mediaeval Communes, which first preceded, and afterwards became the substratum of, that very State power—The communal constitution has been mistaken for an attempt to break up into a federation of small States,
20 as dreamt of by Montesquieu and the Girondins, that unity of great nations which, if originally brought about by political force, has now become a powerful coefficient of social production.—The antagonism of the Commune against the State power has been mistaken for an exaggerated form of the ancient struggle against over-centralization. Peculiar historical
25 circumstances may have prevented the classical development, as in France, of the bourgeois form of government, and may have allowed, as in England, to complete the great central State organs by corrupt vestries, jobbing councillors, and ferocious poor-law guardians in the towns, and virtually hereditary magistrates in the counties. The Communal Constitution would
30 have restored to the social body all the forces hitherto absorbed by the State parasite feeding upon, and clogging the free movement of, society. By this one act it would have initiated the regeneration of France.—The provincial French middle-class saw in the Commune an attempt to restore the sway their order had held over the country under Louis Philippe, and which,
35 under Louis Napoleon, was supplanted by the pretended rule of the country over the towns. In reality, the Communal Constitution brought the rural producers under the intellectual lead of the central towns of their districts, and there secured to them, in the working men, the natural trustees of their interests.—The very existence of the Commune involved, as a matter of
40 course, local municipal liberty, but no longer as a check upon the, now superseded, State power. It could only enter into the head of a Bismarck,

who, when not engaged on his intrigues of blood and iron, always likes to resume his old trade, so befitting his mental calibre, of contributor to *Kladderadatsch* (the Berlin *Punch*), it could only enter into such a head, to ascribe to the Paris Commune aspirations after that caricature of the old French municipal organization of 1791, the Prussian municipal constitution 5 which degrades the town governments to mere secondary wheels in the police-machinery of the Prussian State.—The Commune made that catch-word of bourgeois revolutions, cheap government, a reality, by destroying the two greatest sources of expenditure—the standing army and State functionarism. Its very existence presupposed the non-existence of monarchy, which, in Europe at least, is the normal incumbrance and indispensable cloak of class-rule. It supplied the Republic with the basis of really democratic institutions. But neither cheap government nor the "true Republic" was its ultimate aim; they were its mere concomitants.! 10

121 The multiplicity of interpretations to which the Commune has been 15 subjected, and the multiplicity of interests which construed it in their favour, show that it was a thoroughly expansive political form, while all previous forms of government had been emphatically repressive. Its true secret was this. It was essentially a working-class government, the produce of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political 20 form at last discovered under which to work out the economical emancipation of Labour.

Except on this last condition, the Communal Constitution would have been an impossibility and a delusion. The political rule of the producer cannot coexist with the perpetuation of his social slavery. The Commune 25 was therefore to serve as a lever for uprooting the economical foundations upon which rests the existence of classes, and therefore of class rule. With labour emancipated, every man becomes a working man, and productive labour ceases to be a class attribute.

It is a strange fact. In spite of all the tall talk and all the immense 30 literature, for the last sixty years, about Emancipation of Labour, no sooner do the working men anywhere take the subject into their own hands with a will, than uprises at once all the apologetic phraseology of the mouthpieces of present society with its two poles of Capital and Wage-slavery (the landlord now is but the sleeping partner of the capitalist), as if capitalist 35 society was still in its purest state of virgin innocence, with its antagonisms still undeveloped, with its delusions still unexploded, with its prostitute realities not yet laid bare. The Commune, they exclaim, intends to abolish property, the basis of all civilization! Yes, gentlemen, the Commune intended to abolish that class-property which makes the labour of the many the 40 wealth of the few. It aimed at the expropriation of the expropriators. It

The Civil War in France III

wanted to make individual property a truth by transforming the means of production, land and capital, now chiefly the means of enslaving and exploiting labour, into mere instruments of free and associated labour.—But this is Communism, "impossible" Communism! Why, those members of
5 the ruling classes who are intelligent enough to perceive the impossibility of continuing the present system—and they are many—have become the obtrusive and full-mouthed apostles of co-operative production. If co-operative production is not to remain a sham and a snare; if it is to supersede the Capitalist system; if united co-operative societies are to regulate national
10 production upon a common plan, thus taking it under their own control, and putting an end to the constant anarchy and periodical convulsions which are the fatality of Capitalist production—what else, gentlemen, would it be but Communism, "possible" Communism?

The working class did not expect miracles from the Commune. They have
15 no ready-made Utopias to introduce *par décret du peuple*. They know that in order to work out their own emancipation, and along with it that higher form to which present society is irresistibly tending by its own economical agencies, they will have to pass through long struggles, through a series of historic processes, transforming circumstances and men. They have no
20 ideals to realize, but to set free elements of the new society with which old collapsing bourgeois society itself is pregnant. ||211 In the full consciousness of their historic mission, and with the heroic resolve to act up to it, the working class can afford to smile at the coarse invective of the gentlemen's gentlemen with the pen and inkhorn, and at the didactic patronage of
25 well-wishing bourgeois-doctrinaires, pouring forth their ignorant platitudes and sectarian crotchets in the oracular tone of scientific infallibility.

When the Paris Commune took the management of the revolution in its own hands; when plain working men for the first time dared to infringe upon the Governmental privilege of their "natural superiors," and, under
30 circumstances of unexampled difficulty, performed their work modestly, conscientiously, and efficiently—performed it at salaries the highest of which barely amounted to one-fifth of what, according to high scientific authority, is the minimum required for a secretary to a certain metropolitan school-board,—the old world writhed in convulsions of rage at the sight of
35 the Red Flag, the symbol of the Republic of Labour, floating over the Hôtel de Ville.

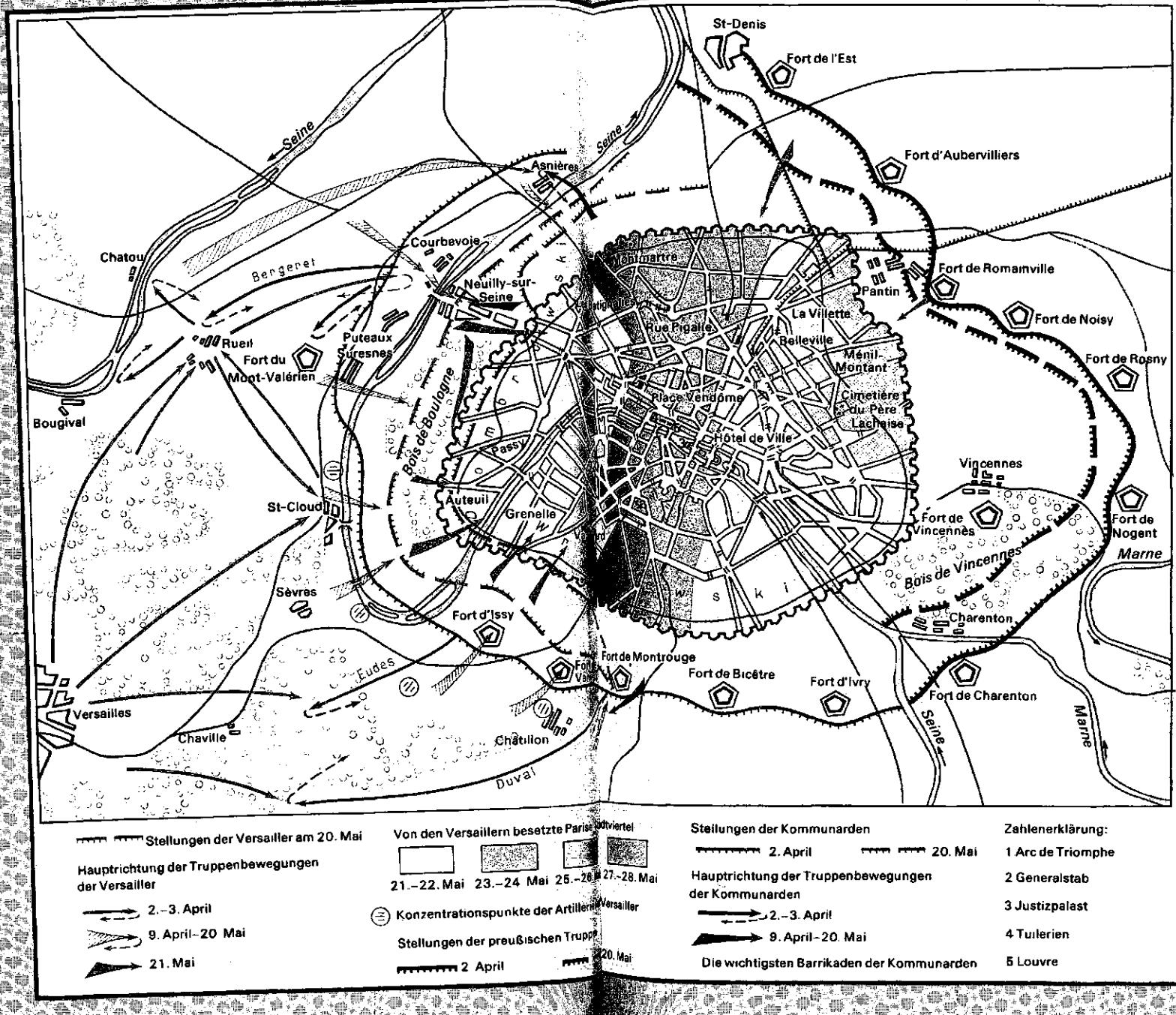
And yet, this was the first revolution in which the working class was openly acknowledged as the only class capable of social initiative, even by the great bulk of the Paris middle class—shopkeepers, tradesmen, merchants—the wealthy capitalists alone excepted. The Commune had saved them by a sagacious settlement of that ever-recurring cause of dispute

Karl Marx

among the middle classes themselves—the debtor and creditor accounts. The same portion of the middle class, after they had assisted in putting down the working men's insurrection of June, 1848, had been at once unceremoniously sacrificed to their creditors by the then Constituent Assembly. But this was not their only motive for now rallying round the working class. They felt that there was but one alternative—the Commune, or the Empire—under whatever name it might reappear. The Empire had ruined them economically by the havoc it made of public wealth, by the wholesale financial swindling it fostered, by the props it lent to the artificially accelerated centralization of capital, and the concomitant expropriation of their own ranks. It had suppressed them politically, it had shocked them morally by its orgies, it had insulted their Voltairianism by handing over the education of their children to the *frères Ignorantins*, it had revolted their national feeling as Frenchmen by precipitating them headlong into a war which left only one equivalent for the ruins it made—the disappearance of the Empire. In fact, after the exodus from Paris of the high Bonapartist and capitalist *Bohème*, the true middle-class Party of Order came out in the shape of the "Union Républicaine," enrolling themselves under the colours of the Commune and defending it against the wilful misconstruction of Thiers. Whether the gratitude of this great body of the middle class will stand the present severe trial, time must show.

The Commune was perfectly right in telling the peasants that "its victory was their only hope." Of all the lies hatched at Versailles and re-echoed by the glorious European penny-a-liner, one of the most tremendous was that the Rurals represented the French peasantry. Think only of the love of the French peasant for the men to whom, after 1815, he had to pay the milliard of indemnity! In the eyes of the French peasant, ||22j the very existence of a great landed proprietor is in itself an encroachment on his conquests of 1789. The bourgeois, in 1848, had burthened his plot of land with the additional tax of forty-five cents in the franc; but then he did so in the name of the revolution; while now he had fomented a civil war against the revolution, to shift on to the peasant's shoulders the chief load of the five milliards of indemnity to be paid to the Prussian. The Commune, on the other hand, in one of its first proclamations, declared that the true originators of the war would be made to pay its cost. The Commune would have delivered the peasant of the blood tax,—would have given him a cheap government,—transformed his present blood-suckers, the notary, advocate, executor, and other judicial vampires, into salaried communal agents, elected by, and responsible to, himself. It would have freed him of the tyranny of the *garde champêtre*, the gendarme, and the prefect; would have put enlightenment by the schoolmaster in the place of stultification by the

Die Pariser Kommune (8. März–28. Mai 1871)



priest. And the French peasant is, above all, a man of reckoning. He would find it extremely reasonable that the pay of the priest, instead of being extorted by the tax-gatherer, should only depend upon the spontaneous action of the parishioners' religious instincts. Such were the great immediate
5 boons which the rule of the Commune—and that rule alone—held out to the French peasantry. It is, therefore, quite superfluous here to expatiate upon the more complicated but vital problems which the Commune alone was able, and at the same time compelled, to solve in favour of the peasant, viz., the hypothecary debt, lying like an incubus upon his parcel of soil, the
10 *prolétariat fonder* (the rural proletariat), daily growing upon it, and his expropriation from it enforced, at a more and more rapid rate, by the very development of modern agriculture and the competition of capitalist farming.

The French peasant had elected Louis Bonaparte president of the
15 Republic; but the Party of Order created the Empire. What the French peasant really wants he commenced to show in 1849 and 1850, by opposing his maire to the Government's prefect, his schoolmaster to the Government's priest, and himself to the Government's gendarme. All the laws made by the party of order in January and February, 1850, were avowed measures
20 of repression against the peasant. The peasant was a Bonapartist, because the great Revolution, with all its benefits to him, was, in his eyes, personified in Napoleon. This delusion, rapidly breaking down under the Second Empire (and in its very nature hostile to the Rurals), this prejudice of the past, how could it have withstood the appeal of the Commune to the living
25 interests and urgent wants of the peasantry?

The Rurals—this was, in fact, their chief apprehension—knew that three months' free communication of Communal Paris with the provinces would bring about a general rising of the peasants, and hence their anxiety to establish a police blockade around Paris, so as to stop the spread of the
30 rinderpest.

If the Commune was thus the true representative of all the healthy elements of French society, and therefore the truly national Government, it was, at the same time, as a working men's Government, as the bold|
1231 champion of the emancipation of labour, emphatically international.
35 Within sight of the Prussian army, that had annexed to Germany two French provinces, the Commune annexed to France the working people all over the world.

The Second Empire had been the jubilee of cosmopolitan blackleggism, the rakes of all countries rushing in at its call for a share in its orgies and
40 in the plunder of the French people. Even at this moment the right hand of Thiers is Ganesco, the foul Wallachian, and his left hand is Markowski, the

Karl Marx

Russian spy. The Commune admitted all foreigners to the honour of dying for an immortal cause. Between the foreign war lost by their treason, and the civil war fomented by their conspiracy with the foreign invader, the bourgeoisie had found the time to display their patriotism by organizing police-hunts upon the Germans in France. The Commune made a German working-man its minister of labour. Thiers, the bourgeoisie, the Second Empire, had continually deluded Poland by loud professions of sympathy, while in reality betraying her to, and doing the dirty work of, Russia. The Commune honoured the heroic sons of Poland by placing them at the head of the defenders of Paris. And, to broadly mark the new era of history it was conscious of initiating, under the eyes of the conquering Prussians on the one side, and of the Bonapartist army, led by Bonapartist generals, on the other, the Commune pulled down that colossal symbol of martial glory, the Vendôme column.

The great social measure of the Commune was its own working existence. Its special measures could but betoken the tendency of a government of the people by the people. Such were the abolition of the nightwork of journeymen bakers; the prohibition, under penalty, of the employers' practice to reduce wages by levying upon their workpeople fines under manifold pretexts,—a process in which the employer combines in his own person the parts of legislator, judge, and executor, and filches the money to boot. Another measure of this class was the surrender, to associations of workmen, under reserve of compensation, of all closed workshops and factories, no matter whether the respective capitalists had absconded or preferred to strike work.

The financial measures of the Commune, remarkable for their sagacity and moderation, could only be such as were compatible with the state of a besieged town. Considering the colossal robberies committed upon the city of Paris by the great financial companies and contractors, under the protection of Haussmann, the Commune would have had an incomparably better title to confiscate their property than Louis Napoleon had against the Orleans family. The Hohenzollern and the English oligarchs who both have derived a good deal of their estates from Church plunder, were, of course, greatly shocked at the Commune clearing but 8,000f. out of secularisation.

While the Versailles Government, as soon as it had recovered some spirit and strength, used the most violent means against the Commune; while it put down the free expression of opinion all over France, even to the forbidding of meetings of delegates from the large towns; while it subjected Versailles and the rest of France to an espionage far surpassing that of the Second Empire; while it burned by its gendarme inquisitors ||24| all papers

The Civil War in France · III

printed at Paris, and sifted all correspondence from and to Paris; while in the National Assembly the most timid attempts to put in a word for Paris were howled down in a manner unknown even to the *Chambre introuvable* of 1816; with the savage warfare of Versailles outside, and its attempts at
5 corruption and conspiracy inside Paris—would the Commune not have shamefully betrayed its trust by affecting to keep up all the decencies and appearances of liberalism as in a time of profound peace? Had the Government of the Commune been akin to that of M. Thiers, there would have been no more occasion to suppress Party-of-Order papers at Paris than there was
10 to suppress Communal papers at Versailles.

It was irritating indeed to the Rurals that at the very same time they declared the return to the Church to be the only means of salvation for France, the infidel Commune unearthed the peculiar mysteries of the Picpus nunnery, and of the Church of Saint Laurent. It was a satire upon M. Thiers
15 that, while he showered grand crosses upon the Bonapartist generals in acknowledgment of their mastery in losing battles, signing capitulations, and turning cigarettes at Wilhelmshöhe, the Commune dismissed and arrested its generals whenever they were suspected of neglecting their duties. The expulsion from, and arrest by, the Commune of one of its
20 members who had slipped in under a false name, and had undergone at Lyons six days' imprisonment for simple bankruptcy, was it not a deliberate insult hurled at the forger, Jules Favre, then still the foreign minister of France, still selling France to Bismarck, and still dictating his orders to that paragon Government of Belgium? But indeed the Commune did not pretend
25 to infallibility, the invariable attribute of all governments of the old stamp. It published its doings and sayings, it initiated the public into all its shortcomings.

In every revolution there intrude, at the side of its true agents, men of a different stamp; some of them survivors of and devotees to past revolutions,
30 without insight into the present movement, but preserving popular influence by their known honesty and courage, or by the sheer force of tradition; others mere bawlers, who, by dint of repeating year after year the same set of stereotyped declamations against the Government of the day, have sneaked into the reputation of revolutionists of the first water. After the
35 18th of March, some such men did also turn up, and in some cases contrived to play pre-eminent parts. As far as their power went, they hampered the real action of the working class, exactly as men of that sort have hampered the full development of every previous revolution. They are an unavoidable evil; with time they are shaken off; but time was not allowed to the
40 Commune.

Wonderful, indeed, was the change the Commune had wrought in Paris!

Karl Marx

No longer any trace of the meretricious Paris of the Second Empire. No longer was Paris the rendezvous of British landlords, Irish absentees, American ex-slaveholders and shoddy men, Russian ex-serfowners, and Wallachian boyards. No more corpses at the Morgue, no nocturnal burglaries, scarcely any robberies; in fact, for the first time since the days of February, 1848, the streets of Paris were safe, and that without any police of any kind. "We," said a member of the Commune, "hear [J251] no longer of assassination, theft, and personal assault; it seems indeed as if the police had dragged along with it to Versailles all its Conservative friends." The 5
cocottes had refound the scent of their protectors—the absconding men of family, religion, and, above all, of property. In their stead, the real women of Paris showed again at the surface—heroic, noble, and devoted, like the women of antiquity. Working, thinking, fighting, bleeding Paris—almost forgetful, in its incubation of a new society, of the cannibals at its gates—10
radiant in the enthusiasm of its historic initiative! 15

Opposed to this new world at Paris, behold the old world at Versailles—that assembly of the ghouls of all defunct régimes, Legitimists and Orleanists, eager to feed upon the carcass of the nation,—with a tail of antediluvian Republicans, sanctioning, by their presence in the Assembly, the slaveholders' rebellion, relying for the maintenance of their Parliamentary 20
Republic upon the vanity of the senile mountebank at its head, and caricaturing 1789 by holding their ghastly meetings in the *Jeu de Paume*. There it was, this Assembly, the representative of everything dead in France, propped up to the semblance of life by nothing but the swords of the generals of Louis Bonaparte. Paris all truth, Versailles all lie; and that lie vented 25
through the mouth of Thiers.

Thiers tells a deputation of the mayors of the Seine-et-Oise,—"You may rely upon my word, which I have *never* broken!" He tells the Assembly itself that "it was the most freely elected and most Liberal Assembly France ever possessed"; he tells his motley soldiery that it was "the 30
admiration of the world, and the finest army France ever possessed"; he tells the provinces that the bombardment of Paris by him was a myth: "If some cannon-shots have been fired, it is not the deed of the army of Versailles, but of some insurgents trying to make believe that they are fighting, while they dare not show their faces." He again tells the provinces 35
that "the artillery of Versailles does not bombard Paris, but only cannonades it." He tells the Archbishop of Paris that the pretended executions and reprisals (!) attributed to the Versailles troops were all moonshine. He tells Paris that he was only anxious "to free it from the hideous tyrants who oppress it," and that, in fact, the Paris of the Commune was "but a handful 40
of criminals."

The Paris of M. Thiers was not the real Paris of the "vile multitude," but a phantom Paris, the Paris of the *francs-fileurs*, the Paris of the Boulevards, male and female—the rich, the capitalist, the gilded, the idle Paris, now thronging with its lackeys, its blacklegs, its literary *bohème*, and its *cocottes* 5 at Versailles, Saint-Denis, Rueil, and Saint-Germain; considering the civil war but an agreeable diversion, eyeing the battle going on through telescopes, counting the rounds of cannon, and swearing by their own honour and that of their prostitutes, that the performance was far better got up than it used to be at the Porte St. Martin. The men who fell were really dead; the 10 cries of the wounded were cries in good earnest; and, besides, the whole thing was so intensely historical.

This is the Paris of M. Thiers, as the Emigration of Coblenz was the France of M. de Calonne. |

1261 IV.

15 The first attempt of the slaveholders' conspiracy to put down Paris by getting the Prussians to occupy it, was frustrated by Bismarck's refusal. The second attempt, that of the 18th of March, ended in the rout of the army and the flight to Versailles of the Government, which ordered the whole administration to break up and follow in its track. By the semblance of peace-
20 negotiations with Paris, Thiers found the time to prepare for war against it. But where to find an army? The remnants of the line regiments were weak in number and unsafe in character. His urgent appeal to the provinces to succour Versailles, by their National Guards and volunteers, met with a flat refusal. Brittany alone furnished a handful of *Chouans* fighting under a
25 white flag, every one of them wearing on his breast the heart of Jesus in white cloth, and shouting "Vive le Roi!" (Long live the King!) Thiers was, therefore, compelled to collect, in hot haste, a motley crew, composed of sailors, marines, Pontifical Zouaves, Valentin's gendarmes, and Piétri's *sergents de ville* and *mouchards*. This army, however, would have been
30 ridiculously ineffective without the instalments of imperialist war-prisoners, which Bismarck granted in numbers just sufficient to keep the civil war a-going, and keep the Versailles Government in abject dependence on Prussia. During the war itself, the Versailles police had to look after the Versailles army, while the gendarmes had to drag it on by exposing them-
35 selves at all posts of danger. The forts which fell were not taken, but bought. The heroism of the Federals convinced Thiers that the resistance of Paris was not to be broken by his own strategic genius and the bayonets at his disposal.

Karl Marx

Meanwhile, his relations with the provinces became more and more difficult. Not one single address of approval came in to gladden Thiers and his Rurals. Quite the contrary. Deputations and addresses demanding, in a tone anything but respectful, conciliation with Paris on the basis of the unequivocal recognition of the Republic, the acknowledgment of the Communal liberties, and the dissolution of the National Assembly, whose mandate was extinct, poured in from all sides, and in such numbers that Dufaure, Thiers's Minister of Justice, in his circular of April 23rd to the public prosecutors, commanded them to treat "the cry of conciliation" as a crime! In regard, however, of the hopeless prospect held out by his campaign, Thiers resolved to shift his tactics by ordering, all over the country, municipal elections to take place on the 30th of April, on the basis of the new municipal law dictated by himself to the National Assembly. What with the intrigues of his prefects, what with police intimidation, he felt quite sanguine of imparting, by the verdict of the provinces, to the National Assembly that moral power it had never possessed, and of getting at last from the provinces the physical force required for the conquest of Paris.

His banditti-warfare against Paris, exalted in his own bulletins, and the attempts of his ministers at the establishment, throughout France, of a [27] reign of terror, Thiers was from the beginning anxious to accompany with a little byplay of conciliation, which had to serve more than one purpose. It was to dupe the provinces, to inveigle the middle-class element in Paris, and, above all, to afford the professed Republicans in the National Assembly the opportunity of hiding their treason against Paris behind their faith in Thiers. On the 21st of March, when still without an army, he had declared to the Assembly: "Come what may, I will not send an army to Paris." On the 27th March he rose again: "I have found the Republic an accomplished fact, and I am firmly resolved to maintain it." In reality, he put down the revolution at Lyons and Marseilles in the name of the Republic, while the roars of his Rurals drowned the very mention of its name at Versailles. After this exploit, he toned down the "accomplished fact" into an hypothetical fact. The Orleans princes, whom he had cautiously warned off Bordeaux, were now, in flagrant breach of the law, permitted to intrigue at Dreux. The concessions held out by Thiers in his interminable interviews with the delegates from Paris and the provinces, although constantly varied in tone and colour, according to time and circumstances, did in fact never come to more than the prospective restriction of revenge to the "handful of criminals implicated in the murder of Lecomte and Clement Thomas," on the well-understood premiss that Paris and France were unreservedly to accept M. Thiers himself as the best of possible Republics, as he, in 1830, had done with Louis Philippe. Even these concessions he not only took care to render

doubtful by the official comments put upon them in the Assembly through his Ministers. He had his Dufaure to act. Dufaure, this old Orleanist lawyer, had always been the judiciary of the state of siege, as now in 1871, under Thiers, so in 1839 under Louis Philippe, and in 1849 under Louis Bonaparte's 5 presidency. While out of office he made a fortune by pleading for the Paris capitalists, and made political capital by pleading against the laws he had himself originated. He now hurried through the National Assembly not only a set of repressive laws which were, after the fall of Paris, to extirpate the last remnants of Republican liberty in France; he foreshadowed the fate of 10 Paris by abridging the, for him, too slow procedure of courts-martial, and by a new-fangled, Draconic code of deportation. The Revolution of 1848, abolishing the penalty of death for political crimes, had replaced it by deportation. Louis Bonaparte did not dare, at least not in theory, to re-establish the *régime* of the guillotine. The Rural Assembly, not yet bold 15 enough even to hint that the Parisians were not rebels, but assassins, had therefore to confine its prospective vengeance against Paris to Dufaure's new code of deportation. Under all these circumstances Thiers himself could not have gone on with his comedy of conciliation, had it not, as he intended it to do, drawn forth shrieks of rage from the Rurals, whose 20 ruminating mind did neither understand the play, nor its necessities of hypocrisy, tergiversation, and procrastination.

In sight of the impending municipal elections of the 30th April, Thiers enacted one of his great conciliation scenes of the 27th April. Amidst a flood of sentimental rhetoric, he exclaimed from the tribune of the 25 Assembly: "There exists no conspiracy against the Republic but that of ||28| Paris, which compels us to shed French blood. I repeat it again and again. Let those impious arms fall from the hands which hold them, and chastisement will be arrested at once by an act of peace excluding only the small number of criminals." To the violent interruption of the Rurals he 30 replied: "Gentlemen, tell me, I implore you, am I wrong? Do you really regret that I could have stated the truth that the criminals are only a handful? Is it not fortunate in the midst of our misfortunes that those who have been capable to shed the blood of Clement Thomas and General Lecomte are but rare exceptions?"

35 France, however, turned a deaf ear to what Thiers flattered himself to be a parliamentary siren's song. Out of 700,000 municipal councillors returned by the 35,000 communes still left to France, the united Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists did not carry 8,000. The supplementary elections which followed were still more decidedly hostile. Thus, instead of getting 40 from the provinces the badly-needed physical force, the National Assembly lost even its last claim to moral force, that of being the expression of the

Karl Marx

universal suffrage of the country. To complete the discomfiture, the newly-chosen municipal councils of all the cities of France openly threatened the usurping Assembly at Versailles with a counter Assembly at Bordeaux.

Then the long-expected moment of decisive action had at last come for Bismarck. He peremptorily summoned Thiers to send to Frankfort plenipotentiaries for the definitive settlement of peace. In humble obedience to the call of his master, Thiers hastened to despatch his trusty Jules Favre, backed by Pouyer-Quertier. Pouyer-Quertier, an "eminent" Rouen cotton-spinner, a fervent and even servile partisan of the Second Empire, had never found any fault with it save its commercial treaty with England, prejudicial to his own shop-interest. Hardly installed at Bordeaux as Thiers's Minister of Finance, he denounced that "unholy" treaty, hinted at its near abrogation, and had even the effrontery to try, although in vain (having counted without Bismarck), the immediate enforcement of the old protective duties against Alsace, where, he said, no previous international treaties stood in the way. This man, who considered counter-revolution as a means to put down wages at Rouen, and the surrender of French provinces as a means to bring up the price of his wares in France, was he not *the one* predestined to be picked out by Thiers as the helpmate of Jules Favre in his last and crowning treason? 5

On the arrival at Frankfort of this exquisite pair of plenipotentiaries, bully Bismarck at once met them with the imperious alternative: Either the restoration of the Empire, or the unconditional acceptance of my own peace terms! These terms included a shortening of the intervals in which the war indemnity was to be paid, and the continued occupation of the Paris forts by Prussian troops until Bismarck should feel satisfied with the state of things in France; Prussia thus being recognized as the supreme arbiter in internal French politics! In return for this he offered to let loose, for the extermination of Paris, the captive Bonapartist army, and to lend them the direct assistance of Emperor William's troops. He pledged his good faith by making payment of the first instalment of the ||29| indemnity dependent on the "pacification" of Paris. Such a bait was, of course, eagerly swallowed by Thiers and his plenipotentiaries. They signed the treaty of peace on the 10th of May, and had it endorsed by the Versailles Assembly on the 18th. 10

In the interval between the conclusion of peace and the arrival of the Bonapartist prisoners, Thiers felt the more bound to resume his comedy of conciliation, as his Republican tools stood in sore need of a pretext for blinking their eyes at the preparations for the carnage of Paris. As late as the 8th May he replied to a deputation of middle-class conciliators—"Whenever the insurgents will make up their minds for capitulation, the gates of 15

The Civil War in France · IV

Paris shall be flung wide open during a week for all except the murderers of Generals Clement Thomas and Lecomte."

A few days afterwards, when violently interpellated on these promises by the Rurals, he refused to enter into any explanations; not, however, without giving them this significant hint—"I tell you there are impatient men amongst you, men who are in too great a hurry. They must have another eight days; at the end of these eight days there will be no more danger, and the task will be proportionate to their courage and to their capacities." As soon as MacMahon was able to assure him that he could shortly enter Paris, 10 Thiers declared to the Assembly that "he would enter Paris with the *laws* in his hands, and demand a full expiation from the wretches who had sacrificed the lives of soldiers and destroyed public monuments." As the moment of decision drew near he said—to the Assembly, "I shall be pitiless!"—to Paris, that it was doomed; and to his Bonapartist banditti, that 15 they had State license to wreak vengeance upon Paris to their hearts' content. At last, when treachery had opened the gates of Paris to General Douay, on the 21st May, Thiers, on the 22nd, revealed to the Rurals the "goal" of his conciliation comedy, which they had so obstinately persisted in not understanding. "I told you a few days ago that we were approaching 20 *our goal*; to-day I come to tell you *the goal* is reached. The victory of order, justice, and civilization is at last won!"

So it was. The civilization and justice of bourgeois order comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters. Then this civilization and justice stand forth as undisguised savagery 25 and lawless revenge. Each new crisis in the class struggle between the appropriator and the producer brings out this fact more glaringly. Even the atrocities of the bourgeois in June, 1848, vanish before the ineffable infamy of 1871. The self-sacrificing heroism with which the population of Paris—men, women, and children—fought for eight days after the entrance 30 of the Versaillese, reflects as much the grandeur of their cause, as the infernal deeds of the soldiery reflect the innate spirit of that civilization of which they are the mercenary vindicators. A glorious civilization, indeed, the great problem of which is how to get rid of the heaps of corpses it made after the battle was over!

35 To find a parallel for the conduct of Thiers and his bloodhounds we must go back to the times of Sulla and the two Triumvirates of Rome. The same wholesale slaughter in cold blood; the same disregard, in mas[30]sacre, of age and sex; the same system of torturing prisoners; the same proscriptions, but this time of a whole class; the same savage hunt after concealed leaders, 40 lest one might escape; the same denunciations of political and private enemies; the same indifference for the butchery of entire strangers to the feud.

Karl Marx

There is but this difference, that the Romans had no mitrailleuses for the despatch, in the lump, of the proscribed, and that they had not "the law in their hands," nor on their lips the cry of "civilization."

And after those horrors, look upon the other, still more hideous, face of that bourgeois civilization as described by its own press!

"With stray shots," writes the Paris correspondent of a London Tory paper, "still ringing in the distance, and unintended wounded wretches dying amid the tombstones of Père la Chaise—with 6,000 terror-stricken insurgents wandering in an agony of despair in the labyrinth of the catacombs, and wretches hurried through the streets to be shot down in scores by the mitrailleuse—it is revolting to see the *cafés* filled with the votaries of absinthe, billiards, and dominoes; female profligacy perambulating the boulevards, and the sound of revelry disturbing the night from the *cabinets particuliers* of fashionable restaurants." M. Edouard Hervé writes in the *Journal de Paris*, a Versaillist journal suppressed by the Commune:—"The way in which the population of Paris (!) manifested its satisfaction yesterday was rather more than frivolous, and we fear it will grow worse as time progresses. Paris has now *a fête* day appearance, which is sadly out of place; and, unless we are to be called the *Parisiens de la décadence*, this sort of thing must come to an end." And then he quotes the passage from Tacitus:—"Yet, on the morrow of that horrible struggle, even before it was completely over, Rome—degraded and corrupt—began once more to wallow in the voluptuous slough which was destroying its body and polluting its soul—alibi proelia et vulnera, alibi balneae popinaeque—(here fights and wounds, there baths and restaurants)." M. Hervé only forgets to say that the "population of Paris" he speaks of is but the population of the Paris of M. Thiers—the *francs-fileurs* returning in throngs from Versailles, Saint-Denis, Rueil, and Saint-Germain—the Paris of the "Decline."

In all its bloody triumphs over the self-sacrificing champions of a new and better society, that nefarious civilization, based upon the enslavement of labour, drowns the moans of its victims in a hue-and-cry of calumny, reverberated by a world-wide echo. The serene working men's Paris of the Commune is suddenly changed into a pandemonium by the bloodhounds of "order." And what does this tremendous change prove to the bourgeois mind of all countries? Why, that the Commune has conspired against civilization! The Paris people die enthusiastically for the Commune in numbers unequalled in any battle known to history. What does that prove? Why, that the Commune was not the people's own government, but the usurpation of a handful of criminals! The women of Paris joyfully give up their lives at the barricades and on the place of execution. What does this prove? Why, that the demon of the Commune has changed them into

Megaeras and Hecates ! The moderation of the Commune during two months of undisputed sway is equalled only by the ||311 heroism of its defence. What does that prove? Why, that for months the Commune carefully hid, under a mask of moderation and humanity, the blood-thirstiness of its fiendish 5 instincts, to be let loose in the hour of its agony!

- The working men's Paris, in the act of its heroic self-holocaust, involved in its flames buildings and monuments. While tearing to pieces the living body of the proletariat, its rulers must no longer expect to return triumphantly into the intact architecture of their abodes. The Government of 10 Versailles cries, "Incendiaryism!" and whispers this cue to all its agents, down to the remotest hamlet, to hunt up its enemies everywhere as suspect of professional incendiaryism. The bourgeoisie of the whole world, which looks complacently upon the wholesale massacre after the battle, is convulsed by horror at the desecration of brick and mortar!
- 15 When governments give state-licenses to their navies to "kill, *burn*, and destroy," is that a license for incendiaryism? When the British troops wantonly set fire to the Capitol at Washington and to the summer palace of the Chinese Emperor, was that incendiaryism? When the Prussians, not for military reasons, but out of the mere spite of revenge, burnt down, by the 20 help of petroleum, towns like Châteaudun and innumerable villages, was that incendiaryism? When Thiers, during six weeks, bombarded Paris, under the pretext that he wanted to set fire to those houses only in which there were people, was that incendiaryism?—In war, fire is an arm as legitimate as any. Buildings held by the enemy are shelled to set them on fire. If their 25 defenders have to retire, they themselves light the flames to prevent the attack from making use of the buildings. To be burnt down has always been the inevitable fate of all buildings situated in the front of battle of all the regular armies of the world. But in the war of the enslaved against their enslavers, the only justifiable war in history, this is by no means to hold 30 good! The Commune used fire strictly as a means of defence. They used it to stop up to the Versailles troops those long straight avenues which Haussmann had expressly opened to artillery-fire; they used it to cover their retreat, in the same way as the Versaillese, in their advance, used their shells Which destroyed at least as many buildings as the fire of the 35 Commune. It is a matter of dispute, even now, which buildings were set fire to by the defence, and which by the attack. And the defence resorted to fire only then, when the Versaillese troops had already commenced their wholesale murdering of prisoners—Besides, the Commune had, long before, given full public notice that, if driven to extremities, they would 40 bury themselves under the ruins of Paris, and make Paris a second Moscow, as the Government of Defence, but only as a cloak for its treason, had

Karl Marx

promised **to do**. For this purpose Trochu had **found** them the petroleum. The Commune knew that its opponents cared nothing for the lives of the Paris people, but cared much for their own Paris buildings. And Thiers, on the other hand, had given them notice that he would be implacable in his vengeance. No sooner had he got his army ready on one side, **and** the Prussians shutting up the trap on the other, than he proclaimed: "I shall be pitiless! The expiation will be complete, **and** ||32| justice will be stern!" If the acts of the Paris working men were **Vandalism**, it was the **vandalism** of defence in despair, not the vandalism of triumph, like that which the Christians perpetrated upon the really priceless art treasures of heathen antiquity; and even that vandalism has been justified by the historian as an unavoidable and comparatively trifling concomitant to the Titanic struggle between a new society arising and an old one breaking down. It was still less the vandalism of Haussmann, razing historic Paris to make place for the Paris of the sightseer!

5

10

15

But the execution by the Commune of the sixty-four hostages, with the Archbishop of Paris at their head! The bourgeoisie and its army in June, 1848, re-established a custom which had long disappeared from the practice of war—the shooting of their defenceless prisoners. This brutal custom has since been more or less strictly adhered to by the suppressors of all popular commotions in Europe and India; thus proving that it constitutes a real "progress of civilization"! On the other hand, the Prussians, in France, had re-established the practice of taking hostages—innocent men, who, with their lives, were to answer to them for the acts of others. When Thiers, as we have seen, from the very beginning of the conflict, enforced the humane practice of shooting down the Communal prisoners, the Commune, to protect their lives, was obliged to resort to the Prussian practice of securing hostages. The lives of the hostages had been forfeited over and over again by the continued shooting of prisoners on the part of the Versaillese. How could they be spared any longer after the carnage with which MacMahon's praetorians celebrated their entrance into Paris? Was even the last check upon the unscrupulous ferocity of bourgeois governments—the taking of hostages—to be made a mere sham of? The real murderer of Archbishop Darboy is Thiers. The Commune again and again had offered to exchange the archbishop, and ever so many priests into the bargain, against the single Blanqui, then in the hands of Thiers. Thiers obstinately refused. He knew that with Blanqui he would give to the Commune a head; while the archbishop would serve his purpose best in the shape of a corpse. Thiers acted upon the precedent of Cavaignac. How, in June, 1848, did not Cavaignac and his men of order raise shouts of horror by stigmatizing the insurgents as the assassins of Archbishop Affre! They knew perfectly well that the

20

25

30

35

40

The Civil War in France · IV

archbishop had been shot by the soldiers of order. M.Jaquemet, the archbishop's vicar-general, present on the spot, had immediately afterwards handed them in his evidence to that effect.

All this chorus of calumny which the party of order never fail, in their 5 orgies of blood, to raise against their victims, only proves that the bourgeois of our days considers himself the legitimate successor to the baron of old, who thought every weapon in his own hand fair against the plebeian, while in the hands of the plebeian a **Weapon** of any kind constituted in itself a crime.

10 The conspiracy of the ruling class to break down the Revolution by a civil war carried on under the patronage of the foreign invader—a conspiracy which we have traced from the very 4th of September down to 113] the entrance of MacMahon's praetorians through the gate of St. Cloud—culminated in the carnage of Paris. Bismarck gloats over the ruins of Paris, in which 15 he saw perhaps the first instalment of that general destructions of great cities he had prayed for when still a simple Rural in the Prussian *Chambre introuvable* of 1849. He gloats over the cadavres of the Paris proletariat. For him this is not only the extermination of revolution, but the extinction of France, now decapitated in reality, and by the French Government itself. With the 20 shallowness characteristic of all successful statesmen, he sees but the surface of this tremendous historic event. Whenever before has history exhibited the spectacle of a conqueror crowning his victory by turning into, not only the gendarme, but the hired bravo of the conquered Government? There existed no war between Prussia and the Commune of Paris. On the 25 contrary, the Commune had accepted the peace preliminaries, and Prussia had announced her neutrality. Prussia was, therefore, no belligerent. She acted the part of bravo, a cowardly bravo, because incurring no danger; a hired bravo, because stipulating beforehand the payment of her blood-money of 500 millions on the fall of Paris. And thus, at last, came out the 30 true character of the war, ordained by Providence as a chastisement of godless and debauched France by pious and moral Germany! And this unparalleled breach of the law of nations, even as understood by the old world lawyers, instead of arousing the "civilized" Governments of Europe to declare the felonious Prussian Government, the mere tool of the St. Peters- 35 burg Cabinet, an outlaw amongst nations, only incites them to consider whether the few victims who escape the double cordon around Paris are not to be given up to the hangman at Versailles!

That after the most tremendous war of modern times, the conquering and the conquered hosts should fraternize for the common massacre of the 40 proletariat—this unparalleled event does indicate, not, as Bismarck thinks, the final repression of a new society upheaving, but the crumbling into dust

Karl Marx

of bourgeois society. The highest heroic effort of which old society is still capable is national war; and this is now proved to be a mere governmental humbug, intended to defer the struggle of classes, and to be thrown aside as soon as that class struggle bursts out into civil war. Class rule is no longer able to disguise itself in a national uniform; the national Governments are one as against the proletariat ! 5

After Whit-Sunday, 1871, there can be neither peace nor truce possible between the working men of France and the appropriators of their produce. The iron hand of a mercenary soldiery may keep for a time both classes tied down in common oppression. But the battle must break out again and again 10 in ever-growing dimensions, and there can be no doubt as to who will be the victor in the end,—the appropriating few, or the immense working majority. And the French working class is only the advanced guard of the modern proletariat.

While the European Governments thus testify, before Paris, to the international character of class rule, they cry down the International Working Men's Association—the international counter-organization of labour against the cosmopolitan conspiracy of capital—as the head ||34| fountain of all these disasters. Thiers denounced it as the despot of labour, pretending to be its liberator. Picard ordered that all communications between the French 20 Internationals and those abroad should be cut off; Count Jaubert, Thiers'summified accomplice of 1835, declares it the great problem of all civilized governments to weed it out. The Rurals roar against it, and the whole European press joins the chorus. An honourable French writer, completely foreign to our Association, speaks as follows:—"The members of the 25 Central Committee of the National Guard, as well as the greater part of the members of the Commune, are the most active, intelligent, and energetic minds of the International Working Men's Association; _____ men who are thoroughly honest, sincere, intelligent, devoted, pure, and fanatical in the 30 good sense of the word." The police-tinged bourgeois mind naturally figures to itself the International Working Men's Association as acting in the manner of a secret conspiracy, its central body ordering, from time to time, explosions in different countries. Our Association is, in fact, nothing but the international bond between the most advanced working men in the various countries of the civilized world. Wherever, in whatever shape, and under 35 whatever conditions the class struggle obtains any consistency, it is but natural that members of our association should stand in the foreground. The soil out of which it grows is modern society itself. It cannot be stamped out by any amount of carnage. To stamp it out, the Governments would have to stamp out the despotism of capital over labour—the condition of their 40 own parasitical existence.

The Civil War in France · IV

Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail 5 to redeem them.

THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

M.J. Boon, Fred. Bradnick, G.H. Buttery, Caihil, Delahaye, William Hales,
A. Hermann, Kolb, Fred. Lessner, Lochner, J. P. MacDonnell, George Mil-
ner, Thomas Mottershead, Ch. Mills, Charles Murray, Pfander, Roach,
10 Rochat, Riihl, Sadler, A. Serraillier, Cowell Stepney, Alf. Taylor, William
Townshend.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES.

Eugène Dupont, for France.	P. Giovacchini, for Italy.
Karl Marx, for Germany and	Zévy Maurice, for Hungary.
15 Holland.	Anton Zabicki, for Poland.
Fred. Engels, for Belgium and Spain.	James Cohen, for Denmark.
Hermann Jung, for Switzerland.	J. G. Eccarius, for the United States.
HERMANN JUNG, Chairman.	GEORGE HARRIS, Financial Sec.
JOHN WESTON, Treasurer.	JOHN HALES, General Sec.

20 *Office-256, High Holborn, London, W. C,*
May 30th, 1871. |

135 J Notes.

I.

"The column of prisoners halted in the Avenue Uhrich, and was drawn up, four or five deep, on the footway facing to the road. General Marquis de Galliffet and his staff dismounted and commenced an inspection from the left of the line. Walking down slowly and eyeing the ranks, the General stopped here and there, tapping a man on the shoulder or beckoning him out of the rear ranks. In most cases, without further parley, the individual thus selected was marched out into the centre of the road, where a small supplementary column was, thus, soon formed. . . It was evident that there was considerable room for error. A mounted officer pointed out to General Galliffet a man and woman for some particular offence. The woman, rushing out of the ranks, threw herself on her knees, and, with outstretched arms, protested her innocence in passionate terms. The general waited for a pause, and then with most impassible face and unmoved demeanour, said, 'Madame, I have visited every theatre in Paris, your acting will have no effect on me' ('ce n'est pas la peine de jouer la comédie'). . . . It was not a good thing on that day to be noticeably taller, dirtier, cleaner, older, or uglier than one's neighbours. One individual in particular struck me as probably owing his speedy release from the ills of this world to his having a broken nose. . . Over a hundred being thus chosen, a firing party told off, and the column resumed its march, leaving them behind. A few minutes afterwards a dropping fire, in our rear commenced, and continued for over a quarter of an hour. It was the execution of these summarily-convicted wretches."—*Paris Correspondent "Daily News," June 8th.*-This Galliffet, "the kept man of his wife, so notorious for her shameless exhibitions at the orgies of the Second Empire," went, during the war, by the name of the French "Ensign Pistol."

The Civil War in France · Notes

"The *Temps*, which is a careful journal, and not given to sensation, tells a dreadful story of people imperfectly shot and buried before life was extinct. A great number were buried in the square round St. Jacques-la-Boucherie; some of them very superficially. In the daytime the roar of the 5 busy streets prevented any notice being taken; but in the stillness of the night the inhabitants of the houses in the neighbourhood were roused by distant moans, and in the morning a clenched hand was seen protruding through the soil. In consequence of this, exhumations were ordered to take place. ... That many wounded have been buried alive I have not the slightest 10 doubt. One case I can vouch for. When Brunei was shot with his mistress on the 24th ult. in the courtyard of a house in the Place Vendôme, the bodies lay there until the afternoon of the 27th. When the burial party came to remove the corpses, they found the woman living still, and took her to an ambulance. Though she had received four bullets she is now out of danger."—*Pans Correspondent "Evening Standard," June 8th.*

II.

The following letter appeared in the *Times* of June 13th:—

"To the Editor of the 'Times.'

"Sir,—On June 6, 1871, M.Jules Favre issued a circular to all the 20 European Powers, calling upon them to hunt down the International j 1361 Working-Men's Association. A few remarks will suffice to characterize that document.

"In the very preamble of our statutes it is stated that the International was founded 'September 28, 1864, at a public meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, 25 Long Acre, London.' For purposes of his own Jules Favre puts back the date of its origin behind 1862.

"In order to explain our principles, he professes to quote 'their (the International's) sheet of the 25th of March, 1869.' And then what does he quote? The sheet of a society which is not the International. This sort of 30 manœuvre he already recurred to when, still a comparatively young lawyer, he had to defend the *National* newspaper, prosecuted for libel by Cabet. Then he pretended to read extracts from Cabet's pamphlets while reading interpolations of his own—a trick exposed while the Court was sitting, and which, but for the indulgence of Cabet, would have been punished by Jules 35 Favre's expulsion from the Paris bar. Of all the documents quoted by him as documents of the International, not one belongs to the International. He says, for instance, 'The Alliance declares itself Atheist, says the General Council, constituted in London in July, 1869.' The General Council never

Karl Marx

issued such a document. On the contrary, it issued a document which quashed the original statutes of the 'Alliance'—L'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste at Geneva—quoted by Jules Favre.

"Throughout his circular, which pretends in part also to be directed against the Empire, Jules Favre repeats against the International but the police inventions of the public prosecutors of the Empire, and which broke down miserably even before the law courts of that Empire. 5

"It is known that in its two addresses (of July and September last) on the late war, the General Council of the International denounced the Prussian plans of conquest against France. Later on, Mr. Reitlinger, Jules Favre's 10 private secretary, applied, though of course in vain, to some members of the General Council for getting up by the Council a demonstration against Bismarck, in favour of the Government of National Defence; they were particularly requested not to mention the Republic. The preparations for a demonstration with regard to the expected arrival of Jules Favre in London 15 were made—certainly with the best of intentions—in spite of the General Council, which, in its address of the 9th of September, had distinctly forewarned the Paris workmen against Jules Favre and his colleagues.

"What would Jules Favre say if, in its turn, the International were to send a circular on Jules Favre to all the Cabinets of Europe, drawing their parti- 20 cular attention to the documents published at Paris by the late M. Minière? 25

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"JOHN HALES,

"Secretary to the General Council of the International

"Working Men's Association.

"256, High Holborn, W. C, June 12th."

In an article on "The International Society and its aims," that pious informer, the London *Spectator* (June 24th), amongst other similar tricks, quotes, even more fully than Jules Favre has done, the above document of the "Alliance" as the work of the International, and that eleven days after 30 the refutation had been published in the *Times*. We do not wonder at this. Frederick the Great used to say that of all Jesuits the worst are the Protestant ones.j

Friedrich Engels
Outline of an appeal to the Weavers' and Spinners'
Trade Unions of Manchester for assistance of the Spanish
textile workers' strike

/Messrs Batllo Brothers, Barcelona, own a large Cotton spinning and weaving concern and employ about 900 workpeople. Not only do they pay, by far, worse wages than any other firm in the trade, but they have also continually attempted to reduce wages still more by superseding men
5 by women and grown up people by children. Lately, they have without exception discharged all such hands as were suspected of belonging to the Trades' union of the United Carders, Spinners and weavers. On the 26th February a large meeting was held by the members of this Union to consider the state of things in Messrs Batllo's works. A new list of wages was
10 unanimously adopted which, although establishing a slight rise upon the prices hitherto paid, was still very much below the very lowest rates paid by others; and a deputation was appointed to demand the adoption of this list and in case of this being refused, the people employed at the mill were to strike work.
15 The deputation was not even received, Messrs B. refusing to receive any but a deputation from their own workmen. This fresh deputation submitted the new list of prices but met with a flat refusal. The whole of the workpeople at once struck, with the exception of about || 25, most of whom have since joined the strike. This took place on the 27th February, and
20 consequently, the hands have now been on strike for nearly nine weeks, and the funds at the disposal of the Union are beginning to run slow. The remaining branches of the International in Spain are doing their best to collect money for them, but they have just now a good many strikes to support. Not to mention minor affairs, the coopers of Santander and
25 the Tanners of Valencia are on strike because their masters insist upon their giving up their Trades' Unions as well as the International; and thus, there are altogether some 1500 men out at present in Spain whom the various branches of the International there have to support.
Barcelona and neighbourhood are the South Lancashire of Spain, there
30 are large and numerous Cotton Spinning and Weaving establishments there

Friedrich Engels

and the greater part of the population of this district lives upon the Cotton Trade. They have lately suffered much from the competition of English yarns and it would make a particularly good impression in Spain if the Lancashire Cotton Trade could do something in favour of the Cotton Spinners and Powerloom Weavers of Spain. The active and intimate commercial relation between the different countries of the world have led || to this, that every event affecting society in one country necessarily produces its effects upon all other countries; and it would not at all be astonishing if a general reduction of wages in the Spanish Cotton Trade (such as appears inevitable if this strike be unsuccessful) should in the long run contribute to keep 10 wages low in South Lancashire also./

5

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels
Resolution of the General Council
expelling Henri Louis Tolain from the
International Working Men's Association

I The General Council of the I. W. M. A.

Considering the resolution of the Federal Council of the Paris Sections expelling Citizen Tolain from the Association because after having been elected to the National Assembly as a representative of the Working Classes, he has deserted their cause in the most disgraceful manner; which resolution the General Council is called upon to confirm;

Considering that the place of every French member of the I. W. M. A. is undoubtedly on the side of the Commune of Paris and not in the usurpatory and counter-revolutionary Assembly of Versailles;

Confirms the resolution of the Paris Federal Council and declares that Citizen Tolain is expelled from the I. W. M. A. |

I The General Council was prevented from taking action in this matter sooner, by the fact that the above resolution of the Paris Federal Council was laid before them, in an authentic shape, on the 25th April only. |

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels
Résolution du Conseil général
sur l'expulsion de Henri Louis Tolain
de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs

Übersetzung aus dem Englischen von Friedrich Engels

L'Internationale.
Nr. 122, 14. Mai 1871

Conseil Général.

Londres, séance du 25 avril.

Le Conseil Général,

Vu la résolution du Conseil Fédéral des sections de Paris, par laquelle le citoyen Tolain est expulsé de l'Association parce que ce citoyen, ayant été élu à l'assemblée nationale pour y représenter la classe ouvrière, a trahi sa cause de la manière la plus lâche ; résolution que le Conseil Général est invité à confirmer ; 5

Considérant que la place de tout membre français de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs est, sans aucun doute, à côté de la Commune de Paris et non dans l'assemblée usurpatrice et contre-révolutionnaire de Versailles ; 10

Confirme la résolution du Conseil Fédéral de Paris et déclare le citoyen Tolain expulsé de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs.

Le Conseil Général n'ayant reçu communication authentique de cette résolution que le 21 avril, a été dans l'impossibilité de statuer plus tôt. 15

Pour extrait conforme,
Le secrétaire provisoire pour la Belgique,

F. ENGELS.

Friedrich Engels
Abermals „Herr Vogt“

Der Volksstaat. Nr. 38,
10. Mai 1871

Abermals „Herr Vogt“.

Seit der Augsburger Campagne von 1859, die ihm eine so gewaltige Tracht Prügel eingebracht hatte, schien Herr Vogt die Politik satt bekommen zu haben. Er wandte sich mit ganzer Energie den Naturwissenschaften zu,

5 in denen er bereits früher, wie er selbst sagt, so „staunenerregende“ Entdeckungen geleistet hatte. So hatte er — um dieselbe Zeit, wo durch Küchenmeister und Leuckart die höchst komplizierte Entwicklungsgeschichte der Eingeweidewürmer nachgewiesen und damit ein wirklich großer Fortschritt in der Wissenschaft gemacht wurde — die staunenerre-

10 gende Entdeckung gemacht, daß die Eingeweidewürmer aus zwei Klassen bestehen: Rundwürmer, welche rund, und Plattwürmer, welche platt sind. Jetzt stellte er dieser gewaltigen Errungenschaft eine noch größere zur Seite. Die Auffindung vieler fossilen Menschenknochen aus vorgeschichtlichen Zeiten hatte das vergleichende Studium der Schädel aus verschiedenen

15 Menschenrägen in die Mode gebracht. Man maß die Schädel in allen Richtungen, man verglich, man diskutirte, man kam zu keinem Resultat, bis Vogt endlich mit gewohnter Siegesgewißheit die Lösung des Räthsels verkündigte, daß sämmtliche Menschenschädel in zwei Klassen zerfallen: solche, welche länglich (Langköpfe, Dolichocephalen) und solche, welche

20 rundlich sind (Kurzköpfe, Brachycephalen). Was die genauesten und fleißigsten Beobachter durch langjährige, mühsame Arbeit nicht fertig gebracht hatten, Vogt brachte es zu Stande durch die einfache Anwendung seines Würmerprinzips. Stellen wir neben diese staunenerregenden Entdeckungen noch die Entdeckung einer neuen Species im Gebiet der poli-

25 tischen Zoologie, nämlich die Entdeckung der Schwefelbande, so wird auch der Unbescheidenste zugeben müssen, daß Vogt für ein Menschenleben genug geleistet hatte.

Aber der große Geist unseres Vogt hatte keine Ruhe. Die Politik behielt ihre unwiderstehlichen Reize für den Mann, der auch auf der Bierbank so

Friedrich Engels

Großes leistete. Die Tracht Prügel von Anno Sechzig war glücklich verwunden, der Marx'sche „Herr Vogt“ nicht mehr im Buchhandel zu haben, über alle die faulen Geschichten war aber und abermals Gras gewachsen, unser Vogt hatte unter dem Beifall des deutschen Philisters Vorlesungsreisen gehalten, hatte sich auf allen Naturforscherversammlungen, ethnographischen und antiquarischen Kongressen breit gemacht und an die wirklichen wissenschaftlichen Größen herangedrängt; er konnte sich also wieder einigermaßen „anständig“ vorkommen und berufen glauben, den deutschen Philister, den er naturwissenschaftlich eingepaukt, auch politisch einzupauken. Es gingen große Dinge vor: Napoleon der Kleine hatte bei Sedan kapitulirt, die Preußen standen vor Paris, Bismarck verlangte Elsaß und Lothringen. Da war es die höchste Zeit für Vogt, sein gewichtiges Wort zu sprechen.

Dies Wort nennt sich: Carl Vogts Politische Briefe an Friedrich Kolb, Biel 1870; es enthält zwölf Briefe, die zuerst in der Wiener „Tagespresse“ erschienen und außerdem in Vogts Moniteur, dem „Bieler Handelskourier“ abgedruckt wurden. Vogt erklärt sich gegen Annexion und gegen die Verpreußung Deutschlands, und es ärgert ihn schändlich, daß er hierin als reiner Nachtreter der verhaßten Sozialdemokraten, d.h. der „Schwefelbande“ dasteht. Auf den allgemeinen Inhalt des Pamphlets einzugehen, wäre überflüssig, da es ganz gleichgültig ist, wie ein Vogt über dergleichen Dinge denkt. Zudem sind die Argumente, die er vorbringt, nur die der gewöhnlichsten Bierphilister-Kannegießerei, nur daß Vogt diesmal nicht den deutschen, sondern den schweizer Philister zurückspiegelt. Uns interessiert nur die angenehme Persönlichkeit des Herrn Vogt selbst, wie sie sich durch ihre verschiedenen Wendungen und Wandlungen durchwindet.

Wir nehmen also das Broschürchen und legen daneben Vogts Unglücksbuch, die „Studien zur gegenwärtigen Lage Europas, 1859“, an deren Nachwehen er so schwer und so lange gelitten hat. Da finden wir, bei aller Geistesverwandtschaft, bei der ganz gleichen Lüderlichkeit der Schreibart — auf Seite 10 gewinnt Vogt seine „Anschaungen“ „mit eigenen Ohren“, was allerdings ganz eigne Ohren sein müssen — da finden wir, daß heute Herr Vogt gerade das Gegentheil von dem sagt, was er vor elf Jahren predigte. Die „Studien“ hatten den Zweck, den deutschen Philister zu überreden, daß Deutschland kein Interesse habe, sich in den Krieg zu mischen, den Louis Bonaparte damals gegen Oesterreich beabsichtigte. Zu diesem Zweck mußte Louis Bonaparte als ein völkerbefreiender „Schicksalsmensch“ dargestellt, mußte gegen die landläufigen Angriffe der Republikaner und selbst mancher bürgerlichen Liberalen in Schutz genommen werden, und der angebliche Republikaner Vogt ließ sich auch dazu herbei — mit arg sauersüßer Miene freilich und nicht ohne daß man ihm einiges

Abermals „Herr Vogt“

Bauchgrimmen ansah, aber er that es doch. Böse Zungen und Leute von der „Schwefelbande“ wollten behaupten, der brave Vogt unterziehe sich allen diesen Beschwerden und Grimassen, nur weil er von bonapartistischer Seite das erhalten habe, was die Engländer „Consideration“ nennen,

5 nämlich baares Geld. Es waren auch allerhand verdächtige Dinge vorgekommen. Vogt hatte verschiedentlichen Leuten Geld angeboten, wenn sie in seinem Sinn, d.h. in Anpreisung der völkerbefregenden Absichten des Louis Bonaparte, in der Presse wirken wollten. Herr Braß, dessen Tugend bekanntlich über allen Zweifel erhaben ist, seitdem er die „Norddeutsche

10 Allgemeine Zeitung“ leitet, selbst Herr Braß wies öffentlich „den französischen Futtertrog zurück, den Vogt ihm vorsetzen wollte“. Aber wir wollen von diesen unangenehmen Geschichten nicht weiter sprechen und zunächst annehmen, daß Vogt's Bauchgrimmen und Grimassen ihm erbeigenthümlich gehörten. Nun, seitdem ist das Unglück von Sedan

15 passirt, und damit ändert sich auch Alles für Herrn Vogt. Der völkerbefreiende Franzosenkaiser selbst wird noch mit einiger Zurückhaltung behandelt, es heißt von ihm blos, daß „die Revolution ihm schon auf dem Nacken saß. Auch ohne den Krieg hätte das Kaiserreich das Neujahr 1871 nicht in den Tuilerien gesehn“. (S. 3.) Aber seine Frau! Hören wir:

20 „Freilich, wenn Eugenie gesiegt hätte (denn sie steht oder stand vielmehr, diese ungebildete Spanierin, die nicht einmal orthographisch schreiben kann, im Felde mit dem ganzen Drachenschwanze fanatischer Pfaffen und Landbevölkerung hinter sich) wenn Eugenie gesiegt hätte, so wäre die Lage momentan noch schrecklicher geworden“, als nach den preußischen

25 Siegen etc.

Also: siegten die Franzosen 1859 über die Österreicher, so siegte der völkerbefreiende Bonaparte; siegten sie 1870 über die Preußen, so siegte die ungebildete Eugenie mit ihrem Drachenschwanz. Man sieht den Fortschritt.

30 Noch schlimmer geht es dem Drachenschwanz des Louis Bonaparte, denn es zeigt sich jetzt, daß auch er einen solchen hat. Gleich auf S. 4 ist die Rede von „den furchtbaren Verschleuderungen des Kaiserreichs“. S. 16 von dem „Gesindel, welches an der Spitze der kaiserlichen Armee und Verwaltung stand“. Diese Verschleuderungen und dieses Gesindel

35 standen bereits 1859 und lange vorher in voller Blüthe; Vogt, der damals keine Augen für sie hatte, sieht sie jetzt ganz genau: wieder ein Fortschritt. Damit nicht genug. Wenn auch Vogt selbst nicht geradezu seinen früheren Befreier anschimpft, so kann er doch nicht umhin, den Brief eines französischen Gelehrten zu citiren, worin es heißt: „wenn Sie irgend

40 einen Einfluß haben, so suchen Sie die ärgste Entehrung von uns abzuwenden — celle de ramener l'infâme (die, den *Ehrlosen* — Louis Bona-

Friedrich Engels

parte — zurückzuführen). Lieber Heinrich den V., die Orleans, einen Hohenzollern, lieber Alles als diesen *gekrönten Traupmann, der Alles vergiftete was er berührte.*" (S. 13.)

Wie schlimm indeß der Exkaiser und seine ungebildete Gattin nebst ihren respektiven Drachenschwänzen auch sein mögen, so tröstete uns Vogt doch damit, daß noch Einer in der Familie ist, der eine Ausnahme macht: der Prinz Napoleon, besser bekannt unter dem Namen Plonplon. Von ihm sagt Vogt S. 33., daß Plonplon zu Vogt selbst gesagt habe „er würde keinen Respekt vor den Süddeutschen haben, wenn sie anders handelten“ (d.h. wenn sie nicht mit gegen die Franzosen zögen), auch sei er von dem Unglücklichen Ausgänge des Krieges überzeugt gewesen und habe davon keinen Hehl gemacht. Wer wird nun noch Vogt des Undanks zeihen? Ist es nicht rührend anzusehn wie er, der „Republikaner“, dem „Prinzen“ auch im Pech noch die Bruderhand reicht und ihm ein Zeugniß ausstellt, worauf dieser sich berufen kann, wenn ja die große Konkurrenz ausgeschrieben werden sollte um einen Ersatzmann für den „Ehrlosen“?

In den „Studien“ wird Rußland und die russische Politik durchweg gelobt, dies Reich sei seit Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft „eher ein Genosse der freiheitlichen Bewegung als ein Gegner derselben“; Polen sei auf dem besten Wege, mit Rußland zu verschmelzen, (wie der Aufstand 1863 bewiesen hat!) und Vogt findet es ganz natürlich, daß Rußland „den festen Punkt bildet, um welchen sich die slavischen Nationalitäten mehr und mehr zu gruppieren streben“. Und daß damals, 1859 die russische Politik mit Louis Napoleon Hand in Hand ging, war natürlich in Vogts Augen ein enormes Verdienst. Jetzt ist das Alles anders — jetzt heißt es: „ich bin keinen Augenblick im Zweifel, daß ein Konflikt zwischen der slavischen und germanischen Welt bevorsteht ... und daß Rußland in diesem die Führerschaft auf der einen Seite übernehmen wird.“ (30. 31.) Und nun wird nachgewiesen, daß nach der Annexion des Elsaßes Frankreich in diesem Konflikt sofort sich auf Seite der Slaven stellen, ja den Ausbruch dieses Konflikts möglichst beschleunigen wird, um das Elsaß wieder zu gewinnen, so daß dieselbe russisch-französische Allianz, die 1859 ein Glück für Deutschland gewesen sein soll, ihm jetzt als Popanz und Schreckengespenst vorgehalten wird. Aber Vogt kennt seinen deutschen Philister. Er weiß, daß er ihm Alles bieten, sich zehnmal widersprechen darf. Wir fragen nun unwillkürlich, wie es kam, daß Vogt vor elf Jahren die Schamlosigkeit haben konnte, eine Allianz zwischen Rußland und dem bonapartistischen Frankreich als die beste Garantie der freiheitlichen Entwicklung Deutschlands und Europas auszuposaunen?

Und nun gar Preußen? In den „Studien“ wird Preußen deutlich zu verstehen gegeben, es möge Louis Napoleons Pläne gegen Oestreich indirekt

Abermals „Herr Vogt“

unterstützen, sich auf Vertheidigung des deutschen Bundesgebiets beschränken, und dann „bei späteren Friedensverhandlungen seinen Lohn in norddeutschen Flachlanden erhalten“. Die Gränzen des späteren Nordbundes — das Erzgebirge, der Main und das Meer — werden Preußen schon damals als Köder vorgehalten. Und im Nachwort zur zweiten Auflage, die während des italienischen Krieges erschienen, als das Feuer den Bonapartisten schon auf den Nägeln brannte und keine Zeit mehr zu verlieren war mit Umschweifen und Redensarten — da platzt auch Vogt direkt mit der Sprache heraus, fordert Preußen auf, einen Bürgerkrieg 5 in Deutschland zu beginnen zur Stiftung einer einheitlichen Centraigewalt, zur Einverleibung Deutschlands in Preußen — diese Einigung Deutschlands werde nicht so viel Wochen kosten wie der Krieg in Italien Monate. Nun gut. Genau sieben Jahre später, und ebenfalls im Einverständniß mit Louis Napoleon, handelt Preußen genau nach den von Vogt nachgeplapperten 10 bonapartistischen Einflüsterungen; es stürzt sich in einen Bürgerkrieg, holt sich einstweilen seinen Lohn in norddeutschen Flachlanden, schafft für den Norden wenigstens eine einheitliche Centralgewalt — und Herr Vogt? Herr Vogt kommt jetzt plötzlich und jammert uns vor, daß „der Krieg von 1870 die nothwendige unausbleibliche Folge desjenigen von 1866 war“! (S.3.) Er 15 lamentirt über die unersättliche Eroberungspolitik Preußens, die stets „auf eine angebotene Eroberung angebissen, wie der Haifisch auf ein Stück Speck“ (S.20); „nie und nirgends habe ich einen Staat und ein Volk gesehen, das besser diesen Namen (Raubstaat) verdiente als Preußen“ (S. 35). Er beklagt die Einverleibung Deutschlands in Preußen als das größte Unglück, 20 das Deutschland und Europa zustoßen konnte (8ter und 9ter Brief). Das hat nun Bismarck davon, daß er Vogt's Rath gefolgt ist, und das hat Vogt 25 davon, daß er Bismarck einen Rath gegeben hat.

Soweit schien indeß Alles noch gut für unsern Vogt zu gehen. Die alten anrüchigen Geschichten waren beim Philister wirklich vergessen, die 30 „Studien“ waren total verschollen, Vogt konnte sich wieder für einen anständigen Bürger und passablen Demokraten ausgeben, und sich etwas darauf zu Gute thun, daß diese seine „Politischen Briefe“ der banalen Philisterströmung in Deutschland entgegentrat. Selbst die fatale Uebereinstimmung in der Annexionsfrage mit den Sozialdemokraten konnte ihm nur zur 35 Ehre gereichen: da Vogt nicht zur Schwefelbande übergetreten war, so mußte nothwendig die Schwefelbande sich zu Vogt bekehrt haben! Da auf einmal fällt der Blick auf eine schmale dünne Zeile in den neuerdings veröffentlichten Verwendungslisten der geheimen Fonds von Louis Napoleon: „Vogt - il lui a été remis en Août 1859, fr. 40000.“
40 „Vogt — es sind ihm im August 1859 Übermacht worden 40 000 Franken.“
Vogt? Wer ist Vogt? Welch ein Unglück für Vogt, daß keine nähere Be-

Friedrich Engels

Zeichnung dabei steht! Ja, stände da, der Professor Karl Vogt in Genf, mit Straße und Hausnummer, so könnte Vogt sagen: Das bin ich nicht, das ist mein Bruder, meine Frau, mein ältester Sohn, Alles, nur ich nicht — aber so! Vogt kurzweg, ohne Signalement, Vornamen, Adresse, das kann nur der Eine Vogt sein, der weltberühmte Gelehrte, der große Entdecker der Rundwürmer und der Plattwürmer, der Langschädel und der Kurzschädel und der Schwefelbande, der Mann, dessen Renommée selbst bei den Polizisten der geheimen Fonds so bekannt ist, daß jede nähere Bezeichnung überflüssig wäre! Und dann — giebt es einen andern Vogt, der der bonapartistischen Regierung 1859 solche Dienste geleistet hätte, daß sie sie im 5 August jenes Jahres (und *Vogt war gerade damals in Paris*) mit 40 000 Franken bezahlte? Daß Sie die Dienste geleistet haben, Herr Vogt, ist notorisch; Ihre „Studien“ sind der Beweis dafür; diese „Studien“ erschienen in erster Auflage im Frühjahr, in zweiter im Sommer; daß Sie vom ersten April 1859 bis in den Sommer hinein Leute über Leute aufforderten, gegen Bezahlung 10 Ihrseits im bonapartistischen Interesse thätig zu sein, haben Sie selbst zugestanden; *im August 1859, nach Beendigung des Krieges, waren Sie in Paris* — und nun sollen wir glauben, daß der Vogt kurzweg, dem Bonaparte im August 1859 die 40 000 Franken auszahlen ließ, ein anderer, ganz unbekannter Vogt sei? Unmöglich. Wir schwören es bei allen Rundwürmern und 15 Plattwürmern: solange Sie uns nicht das Gegentheil beweisen, müssen wir annehmen, daß Sie der fragliche Vogt sind.

Aber, sagen Sie vielleicht, das ist ja eine Behauptung, die auf nichts beruht als auf dem Wort der jetzigen französischen Regierung, d.h. der Kommunalisten oder, was dasselbe ist, Kommunisten, die auch Schwefelbande heißen; wer wird solchen Menschen glauben? Hierauf wäre zu antworten, daß die Veröffentlichung der Correspondance et papiers de la famille impériale durch die „*Regierung der nationalen Verteidigung*“ erfolgte, deren *offizieller* Akt sie ist, für den sie einsteht. Und was hielten Sie von dieser Regierung, Jules Favre, Trochu u.s.w. — „Die Männer, 25 welche jetzt an die Spitze geschnellt worden sind, stehen Niemand nach an Intelligenz, Thatkraft und erprobter Gesinnung — aber das Unmögliche können sie nicht leisten“ — das sagen Sie von ihnen auf S. 52. Nein, Herr Vogt, das Unmögliche können sie nicht leisten, aber sie hätten doch wenigstens Ihren Namen unterdrücken können als Dank für diese warme 30 Anerkennung, die ihnen so selten zu Theil geworden!

Indeß, wie Sie selbst sagen, Herr Vogt, „Geld ist nun einmal das Aequivalent des Schadens, welchen das Individuum erleidet an seiner Person“ (S.24) und, wenn Ihre werthe Person durch Ihre politischen Sprünge von 1859 „Schaden“ — hoffentlich nur moralischen — erlitten 35 hat, so trösten Sie sich gefälligst mit dem „Aequivalent“.

Abermals „Herr Vogt“

Als der Kriegslärm vorigen Sommer losging, waren Sie „überzeugt, daß der ganze französische Regierungsspektakel nur dazu dienen sollte, in scheinbaren Rüstungen die furchtbaren Verschleuderungen des Kaiserreichs zu decken. Unter Louis Philippe thaten dies die *Holzwürmer* — die über den Etat gehenden geheimen Ausgaben wurden auf das Holzkonto der Marine geschrieben — unter dem Kaiserreich hätten alle Holzwürmer der Erde nicht genügt, die Ausfälle zu decken“. (S.4.) — Da sind wir also wieder bei den beliebten Würmern angekommen, und zwar bei den Holzwürmern. Zu welcher Klasse gehören diese, zu den Rundwürmern oder zu den Plattwürmern? Wer könnte das entscheiden? Nur Sie, Herr Vogt, und Sie entscheiden es in Wirklichkeit. Laut der Correspondance etc. gehören Sie selbst zu den „Holzwürmern“ und haben Sie „die über den Etat gehenden geheimen Ausgaben“ mit aufgegessen bis zum Belauf von 40000 Franken. Und daß Sie ein „Rundwurm“ sind, weiß Jeder, der Sie kennt.

Karl Marx
To the Editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette"
June 8, 1871

|To the Editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette."

Sir,

From the Paris correspondence of your yesterday's publication I see that while fancying to live at London, I was, in reality, arrested in Holland on the request of Bismarck-Favre. But, maybe, this is but one of the 5 innumerable sensational stories about the *International* which for the last two months the Franco-Prussian police has never tired of fabricating, the Versailles press of publishing, and the rest of the European press of reproducing.

I have the honour, Sir, to be 10
Yours obediently
Karl Marx.

1, Modena Villas, Maitland Park.
June 8, 1871-1

Friedrich Engels
Meeting of the Subcommittee of the
General Council June 11, 1871
Minutes

International Association of Working Men.
Meeting of the Sub Committee
of General Council
11th June 1871, at 122 Regent's Park Road.

- 5 The Subcommitte had been called to consider the propriety of issuing a reply to Jules Favre's Circular of June 6th respecting the International. Present Citizens Èccarius, Engels, Marx, Hales and Weston. Citizen Weston was appointed to the Chair and Cit. Engels secretary of the meeting.
- 10 Cit. Engels read a draft reply which was adopted unanimously. It was also resolved unanimously to send this reply to all the daily papers of London.
The Minutes of the meeting were read and adopted unanimously.
F. Engels. John Weston |

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels
Statement by the General Council on
Jules Favre's Circular

The Times. Nr. 27088,
13. Juni 1871

To the Editor of The Times.

Sir,—On June 6, 1871, M.Jules Favre issued a circular to all the European Powers, calling upon them to hunt down the International Working Men's Association. A few remarks will suffice to characterize that document.

In the very preamble of our statutes it is stated that the International was founded "September 28, 1864, at a public meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London." For purposes of his own Jules Favre puts back the date of its origin behind 1862. 5

In order to explain our principles, he professes to quote "their (the International's) sheet of the 25th of March, 1869." And then what does he quote? The sheet of a society which is not the International. This sort of manœuvre he already recurred to when, still a comparatively young lawyer, he had to defend the *National* newspaper, prosecuted for libel by Cabet. Then he pretended to read extracts from Cabet's pamphlets while reading interpolations of his own—a trick exposed while the court was sitting, and which but for the indulgence of Cabet, would have been punished by Jules Favre's expulsion from the Paris bar. Of all the documents quoted by him as documents of the International not one belongs to the International. He says, for instance, "The Alliance declares itself Atheist, says the General Council, constituted in London in July, 1869." The General Council never 10
issued such a document. On the contrary, it issued a document which quashed the original statutes of the "Alliance"—L'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste at Geneva—quoted by Jules Favre. 15
20

Throughout his circular, which pretends in part also to be directed against the Empire, Jules Favre repeats against the International but the police 25 inventions of the public prosecutors of the Empire, and which broke down miserably even before the law courts of that Empire.

It is known that in its two addresses (of July and September last) on the late war the General Council of the International denounced the

Statement by the General Council on Jules Favre's Circular

Prussian plans of conquest against France. Later on Mr. Reitlinger, Jules Favre's private secretary, applied, though of course in vain, to some members of the General Council for getting up by the Council a demonstration against Bismarck, in favour of the Government of National
5 Defence; they were particularly requested not to mention the Republic. The preparations for a demonstration with regard to the expected arrival of Jules Favre in London were made—certainly with the best of intentions—in spite of the General Council, which in its address of the 9th of September had distinctly forewarned the Paris workmen against Jules Favre and his
10 colleagues.

What would Jules Favre say if in its turn the International were to send a circular on Jules Favre to all the Cabinets of Europe, drawing their particular attention to the documents published at Paris by the late M. Milhere?

15 I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN HALES,
Secretary to the General Council of the International
Working Men's Association.

256, High Holborn, W. C., June 12.

Karl Marx
Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich
Adresse des Generalrats
der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation
an alle Mitglieder in Europa
und den Vereinigten Staaten

Übersetzung aus dem Englischen von Friedrich Engels

Der
Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich.

Adresse des Generalraths
der
Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation
an
alle Mitglieder in Europa und den
Vereinigten Staaten.

Separatdruck aus dem Volksstaat.

Leipzig.
Verlag der Expedition des Volksstaat.
1871.

**|I|An alle Mitglieder
der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation in Europa
und den Vereinigten Staaten.**

I.

5 Am 4. September 1870, als die Pariser Arbeiter die Republik proklamirten, der fast in demselben Augenblick ganz Frankreich ohne eine einzige Stimme des Widerspruchs zujubelte — da nahm eine Kabale stellenjagender Advokaten, mit Thiers als Staatsmann und Trochu als General, Besitz vom Hotel de Ville (Stadthaus). Diese Leute waren damals durchdrungen von
10 einem so fanatischen Glauben an den Beruf von Paris, in allen Epochen geschichtlicher Krisis Frankreich zu vertreten, daß, um ihre usurpierten Titel als Regenten Frankreichs zu rechtfertigen, es ihnen genügend schien, ihre verfallenen Mandate als Abgeordnete für Paris vorzuzeigen. In unserer zweiten Adresse über den letzten Krieg, fünf Tage nach dem Emporkommen
15 dieser Leute, sagten wir Euch, wer sie waren. Und dennoch, im Sturm der Ueberrumpelung, mit den wirklichen Führern der Arbeiter noch in Bonaparte's Gefängnissen, und mit den Preußen schon im vollen Marsch auf Paris, duldet Paris ihre Ergreifung der Staatsmacht; aber nur auf die ausdrückliche Bedingung hin, daß diese Staatsmacht dienen sollte einzig
20 und allein zum Zweck der nationalen Vertheidigung. Paris aber war nicht zu vertheidigen, ohne seine Arbeiterklasse zu bewaffnen, sie in eine brauchbare Kriegsmacht zu verwandeln und ihre Reihen durch den Krieg selbst einzuschulen. Aber Paris in Waffen, das war die Revolution in Waffen. Ein Sieg von Paris über den preußischen Angreifer wäre ein Sieg gewesen des
25 französischen Arbeiters über den französischen Kapitalisten ||2| und seine Staatsparasiten. In diesem Zwiespalt zwischen nationaler Pflicht und Klasseninteresse zauderte die Regierung der nationalen Vertheidigung

Karl Marx

keinen Augenblick, — sie verwandelte sich in eine Regierung des nationalen Verraths.

Das erste, was sie that, war, Thiers auf die Wanderung zu schicken, zu allen Höfen Europas, um dort Vermittlung zu erbetteln mit dem Angebot, die Republik gegen einen König auszutauschen. Vier Monate nach Beginn der Belagerung, als der Augenblick gekommen schien, das erste Wort von Kapitulation fallen zu lassen, redete Trochu, in Gegenwart von Jules Favre und andern Regierungsmitgliedern, die versammelten Maires (Bezirksbürgermeister) von Paris an wie folgt:

„Die erste Frage, die mir von meinen Kollegen noch am selben Abend des 4. Septembers vorgelegt wurde, war diese: Kann Paris, mit irgend welcher Aussicht auf Erfolg, eine Belagerung durch die preußische Armee aushalten? Ich zögerte nicht, dies zu verneinen. Mehrere meiner hier anwesenden Kollegen werden einstehn für die Wahrheit meiner Worte und für mein Beharren auf dieser Meinung. Ich sagte ihnen, in diesen selben Worten, daß, wie die Dinge lägen, der Versuch, Paris gegen eine preußische Belagerung zu halten, eine Thorheit sei. Ohne Zweifel, fügte ich hinzu, eine heroische Thorheit; aber das würde auch Alles sein — Die Ereignisse (die er selbst leitete) haben meine Voraussicht nicht Lügen gestraft.“ Diese nette kleine Rede Trochu's wurde nachher von einem der anwesenden Maires, Herrn Corbon, veröffentlicht.

Also: Am selben Abend, wo die Republik proklamirt wurde, war es Trochu's Kollegen bekannt, daß Trochu's „Plan“ in der Kapitulation von Paris bestand. Wäre die nationale Vertheidigung mehr gewesen, als ein bloßer Vorwand für die persönliche Herrschaft von Thiers, Favre und Kompagnie — die Emporkömmlinge des 4. September hätten am 5. abgedankt, hätten das Pariser Volk eingeweih in Trochu's „Plan“, und hätten es aufgefordert, entweder sofort zu kapituliren, oder sein eigenes Geschick in seine eigene Hand zu nehmen. Statt dessen aber beschlossen die ehrlosen Betrüger, die „heroische Thorheit“ von Paris durch Behandlung mit Hunger und blutigen Köpfen zu kuriren, und es inzwischen zum Narren zu halten durch großsprechende Manifeste, wie z.B.: „Trochu, der Gouverneur von Paris, wird nie kapituliren!“ und Jules Favre, der auswärtige Minister, „wird nicht einen Zollbreit unseres Gebiets und nicht einen Stein unserer Festungen abtreten.“ In einem Brief an Gambetta bekennt derselbe Jules Favre, j|3| daß das, wogegen sie sich „vertheidigten“, nicht die preußischen Soldaten waren, sondern die *Pariser Arbeiter*. Während der ganzen Belagerung rissen die bonapartistischen Gurgelabschneider, denen Trochu weislich das Kommando der Pariser Armee anvertraut hatte, in ihrer vertraulichen Korrespondenz schnöde Witze über den wohlverstandenen Hohn der Vertheidigung. Man sehe z.B. die Korrespondenz von Alphonse

Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich · I

- Simon Guiod, Oberkommandant der Artillerie der Pariser Armee, Großkreuz der Ehrenlegion, an Suzanne, Divisionsgeneral der Artillerie, welche Korrespondenz von der Kommune veröffentlicht wurde. Endlich, am 28. Januar 1871, ließen sie die Trugmaske fallen. Mit dem ganzen Heldenmuth der äußersten Selbsterniedrigung trat die Regierung der nationalen Vertheidigung in der Kapitulation von Paris hervor als *die Regierung Frankreichs durch Bismarcks Gefangene* — eine Rolle von solcher Niedertracht, daß selbst Louis Napoleon in Sedan vor ihr zurückgegeben war. Nach dem 18. März, in ihrer wilden Flucht nach Versailles, ließen die „Kapitulards“ den aktenmäßigen Beweis ihres Verraths in Paris zurück. Um diesen zu zerstören, sagt die Kommune in einem ihrer Manifeste an die Provinzen, „würden diese Leute nicht davor zurückschrecken, Paris in einen Trümmerhaufen zu verwandeln, bespült von einem Blutmeer.“
- Aber um einen solchen Ausgang herbeizuführen, dafür hatten mehrere der Hauptmitglieder der Vertheidigungs-Regierung außerdem noch ganz besondere Privatgründe.
- Kurz nach Abschluß des Waffenstillstandes veröffentlichte Minière, Abgeordneter für Paris zur Nationalversammlung, jetzt erschossen auf expressen Befehl von Jules Favre, eine Reihe authentischer gerichtlicher Aktenstücke zum Beweise, daß Jules Favre, jn wilder Ehe lebend mit der Frau eines in Algier wohnenden Trunkenbolds, durch eine höchst verwegene Anhäufung von Fälschungen, die sich über eine lange Reihe von Jahren erstrecken, im Namen der Kinder seines Ehebruchs eine große Erbschaft erschlichen und sich dadurch zum reichen Mann gemacht hatte; und daß, in einem von den rechtmäßigen Erben unternommenen Prozesse, er der Entdeckung nur entging durch die besondere Begünstigung der bonapartistischen Gerichte. Da über diese trockenen, gerichtlichen Aktenstücke nicht hinwegzukommen war, auch nicht mit noch so viel rhetorischen Pferdekräften, hielt Jules Favre zum ersten Male in seinem Leben den Mund, in aller Stille den Ausbruch des Bürgerkriegs erwartend, um dann das Pariser Volk wütend zu verlästern als eine Bande ||4| ausgebrochener Sträflinge, in hellem Aufruhr gegen Familie, Religion, Ordnung und Eigenthum. Und dieser selbe Fälscher war kaum zur Herrschaft gekommen, als er, gleich nach dem 4. September, Pic und Taillefer mitfühlend in Freiheit setzte, die Beide, sogar unter dem Kaiserreich, wegen Fälschung verurtheilt waren bei der Skandalgeschichte mit der Zeitung „L'Etandard.“ Einer dieser Edlen, Taillefer, hatte die Frechheit, unter der Kommune nach Paris hineinzugehen und wurde sofort wieder eingesteckt; und darauf rief Jules Favre von der Tribüne der Nationalversammlung in die Welt hinaus, daß die Pariser alle ihre Zuchthäusler freiließen!
- Ernest Picard, der Karl Vogt der Regierung der nationalen Vertheidigung,

Karl Marx

der sich selbst zum Minister des Innern der Republik ernannte, nachdem er vergeblich gestrebt hatte, der Minister des Innern des Kaiserreichs zu werden — ist der Bruder eines gewissen Arthur Picard, der als Schwindler von der Pariser Börse ausgestoßen (Bericht der Pariser Polizei-Präfektur vom 31. Juli 1867) und auf eigenes Geständniß überführt wurde eines Diebstahls von 300 000 Franken, begangen als Direktor eines Zweigbüreau der Société Générale, Rue Palestro Nr. 5 (Bericht der Polizei-Präfektur vom 11. Dezember 1868). Diesen Arthur Picard ernannte Ernest Picard zum Redakteur seines Blattes „L'Electeur Libre“. Während die gewöhnliche Sorte Börsenleute durch die offiziellen Lügen dieses Ministerialblattes irre geleitet wurden, lief Arthur Picard hin und her zwischen dem Ministerium und der Börse und verwandelte hier die Niederlagen der französischen Armeen in baaren Profit. Die ganze Geschäftskorrespondenz dieses biedern Brüderpaars fiel in die Hände der Kommune.

Jules Ferry, ein brotloser Advokat vor dem 4. September, brachte es fertig, als Maire von Paris während der Belagerung, aus der Hungersnoth ein Vermögen für sich herauszuschwindeln. Der Tag, an dem er sich wegen seiner Mißverwaltung zu verantworten haben wird, wird auch der Tag seiner Verurtheilung sein.

Diese Männer nun konnten ihre Tickets-of-leave* nur in den Ruinen von Paris finden; sie waren gerade die Leute, die Bismarck brauchte. Ein wenig Taschenspielerei — ||5| und Thiers, bisher der geheime Zuflüsterer der Regierung, erschien jetzt als ihre Spitze, mit den Ticket-of-leave-Männern als Ministern.

Thiers, diese Zwergmißgeburt, hat die französische Bourgeoisie mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert lang bezaubert, weil er der vollendetste geistige Ausdruck ihrer eignen Klassenverderbtheit ist. Ehe er Staatsmann wurde, hatte er schon seine Stärke im Lügen als Geschichtsschreiber dargethan. Die Chronik seines öffentlichen Lebens ist die Geschichte der Unglücke Frankreichs. Verbündet, vor 1830, mit den Republikanern, erhaschte er unter Louis Philippe eine Ministerstelle, indem er seinen Protektor Laffitte verrieth. Beim König schmeichelte er sich ein durch Anhetzung von Pöbelexcessen gegen die Geistlichkeit, während deren die Kirche Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois und der erzbischöfliche Palast geplündert wurden, und durch sein Benehmen gegen die Herzogin von Berry, bei der er zu gleicher Zeit den Minister-Spion und den Gefängniß-Geburtshelfer spielte. Sein Werk war die Niedermetzelung der Republikaner in der Rue Transnonain, sein Werk die darauf folgenden infamen Septembergesetze gegen Presse

* In England giebt man gemeinen Verbrechern nach Verbüßung des größeren Theils ihrer Haft häufig Urlaubsscheine, mit denen sie entlassen und unter Polizeiaufsicht gestellt werden. Diese Scheine heißen tickets-of-leave und ihre Inhaber ticket-of-leave-men.

Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich · I

und Assoziationsrecht. 1840, wo er als Ministerpräsident wieder auftauchte, setzte er Frankreich in Erstaunen mit seinem Plan, Paris zu befestigen. Den Republikanern, die diesen Plan als heimtückisches Komplott gegen die Freiheit von Paris anklagten, antwortete er in der Deputirtenkammer:

5 „Wie? Sie bilden sich ein, daß Festungswerke je die Freiheit gefährden könnten? Vor Allem verleumden Sie jede mögliche Regierung, wenn Sie voraussetzen, sie könnte je versuchen, sich durch ein Bombardement von Paris aufrecht zu erhalten... eine solche Regierung wäre nach ihrem Siege hundert Mal unmöglich als vorher.“ In der That, keine Regierung würde
10 je gewagt haben, Paris von den Forts zu bombardiren, außer der Regierung, die vorher diese selben Forts den Preußen ausgeliefert hatte.

Als König Bomba sich im Januar 1848 an Palermo versuchte, erhob sich Thiers, damals schon lange kein Minister mehr, abermals in der Kammer:
„Sie wissen, meine Herren, was in Palermo vorgeht. Sie alle erbeben vor
15 Schauder (im parlamentarischen Sinn), wenn Sie hören, daß achtundvierzig Stunden lang eine große Stadt bombardirt worden ist — von wem? Von einem fremden Feind in Anwendung des Kriegsrechts? Nein, meine Herren, von ihrer eignen Regierung. ||6| Und weißwegen? Weil die unglückliche Stadt ihre Rechte forderte. Und für die Forderung ihrer Rechte erhielt sie
20 achtundvierzig Stunden Bombardement... Erlauben Sie mir an die Meinung von Europa zu appelliren. Es heißt der Menschlichkeit einen Dienst erweisen, wenn man sich erhebt und von vielleicht der größten Tribüne Europas wiederhallen läßt einige Worte (jawohl, Worte!) der Entrüstung gegen solche Thaten. Als der Regent Espartero, der seinem Lande Dienste ge-
25 leistet hatte, (und das war mehr als Thiers je gethan) beabsichtigte, Barcelona zu bombardiren, zur Unterdrückung eines Aufstandes, da erhob sich von allen Enden der Welt ein allgemeiner Schrei der Entrüstung.“

Achtzehn Monate später befand sich Thiers unter den wütendsten Vertheidigern des Bombardements von Rom durch eine französische
30 Armee. Der Fehler des Königs Bomba scheint in der That nur darin gelegen zu haben, daß er sein Bombardement auf achtundvierzig Stunden beschränkte.

Wenige Tage vor der Februar-Revolution, unwirsch ob der langen Verbannung von Amt und Unterschleif, wozu Guizot ihn verurtheilt hatte, und
35 in der Luft eine herannahende Volksbewegung witternd, erklärte Thiers, in dem falschen Heldenstyl, der ihm den Spottnamen Mirabeau-mouche (Mirabeau-Fliege) einbrachte, der Deputirtenkammer:

„Ich gehöre zur Partei der Revolution, nicht allein in Frankreich, sondern in Europa. Ich wünsche, daß die Regierung der Revolution in den Händen
40 gemäßigter Männer bleiben möge:____aber sollte diese Regierung in die Hände heftiger Leute fallen, selbst in die von Radikalen, so werde ich

Karl Marx

darum doch meine Sache nicht im Stich lassen. Ich werde immer zur Partei der Revolution gehören."

Die Februar-Revolution kam. Statt das Ministerium Guizot durch das Ministerium Thiers zu ersetzen, wie das Männlein geträumt hatte, verdrängte sie Louis Philippe durch die Republik. Am ersten Tage des Sieges versteckte er sich sorgfältig, vergessend, daß die Verachtung der Arbeiter ihn vor ihrem Haß schützte. Dennoch hielt er sich, mit seinem altbekannten Muth, von der öffentlichen Bühne fern, bis die Juni-Metzeleien sie für seine Sorte Aktion freigelegt hatten. Dann wurde er der leitende Kopf der „Ordnungspartei“ mit ihrer parlamentarischen Republik, jenem anonymen Zwischenreich, in dem alle die verschiedenen Fraktionen der herrschenden Klasse *mit* einander konspirirten zur Unterdrückung des Volkes und | 71 gegen einander, jede zur Wiederherstellung ihrer eigenen Monarchie. Damals wie jetzt klagte Thiers die Republikaner an als das einzige Hinderniß der Befestigung der Republik; damals wie jetzt sprach er zur Republik, wie der Henker zu Don Carlos: „Ich werde Dich morden, aber zu Deinem eigenen besten.“ Jetzt wie damals wird er ausrufen müssen am Tage nach seinem Siege: „l'Empire est fait“ — das Kaiserreich ist fertig. Trotz seiner, heuchlerischen Predigten von „nothwendigen Freiheiten“ und seines persönlichen Aergers gegen Louis Bonaparte, der ihn gebraucht und den Parlamentarismus hinausgeworfen hatte, — und außerhalb der künstlichen Atmosphäre des Parlamentarismus schrumpft das Männlein, wie es wohl weiß, zu einem Nichts zusammen — trotz alledem hatte Thiers eine Hand in allen Infamien des zweiten Kaiserreichs, von der Besetzung Roms durch französische Truppen bis zum Kriege gegen Preußen, zu dem er aufhetzte durch seine heftigen Ausfälle gegen die deutsche Einheit — nicht als Deckmantel für den preußischen Despotismus, sondern als Eingriffe in das ererbte Anrecht Frankreichs auf die deutsche Uneinigkeit. Während seine Zwergsarme gern im Angesicht Europa's das Schwert des ersten Napoleon umherschwangen, dessen historischer Schuhputzer er geworden war, gipfelte seine auswärtige Politik stets in der äußersten Erniedrigung Frankreichs, von der Londoner Convention von 1840 bis zur Pariser Kapitulation von 1871 und zum jetzigen Bürgerkriege, worin er, mit hoher obrigkeitlicher Erlaubniß Bismarck's, die Gefangenen von Sedan und Metz gegen Paris hetzte. Trotz der Beweglichkeit seines Talents und der Veränderlichkeit seiner Zielpunkte ist dieser Mann sein ganzes Leben lang an die allerfossilste Routine gekettet gewesen. Es ist klar, daß ihm die tiefer liegenden Strömungen der modernen Gesellschaft ewig verborgen bleiben mußten; aber selbst die handgreiflichsten Veränderungen auf der gesellschaftlichen Oberfläche widerstreben einem Gehirn, dessen ganze Lebenskraft in die Zunge geflüchtet war. So wurde er nie müde, jede Abweichung von dem veralteten französischen Schutzzoll-

Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich · I

system als eine Heilighumsschändung anzuklagen. Als Minister Louis Philippe's versuchte er, die Eisenbahnen als ein hirnverbranntes Blendwerk niederzuschreien; in der Opposition unter Louis Bonaparte brandmarkte er als eine Entheiligung jeden Versuch zur Reform des verfaulten französischen Heerwesens. Niemals in seiner langen politischen Laufbahn hat er sich einer einzigen, auch nicht der geringsten Maßregel von |J8| praktischem Nutzen schuldig gemacht. Thiers war konsequent nur in seiner Gier nach Reichthum und in seinem Haß gegen die Leute, die ihn hervorbringen. Er trat in sein erstes Ministerium unter Louis Philippe arm wie Hiob; er verließ es als Millionär. Als sein letztes Ministerium unter demselben Könige (vom ersten März 1840) ihm in der Kammer öffentliche Anklagen wegen Unterschleif zuzog, begnügte er sich, durch Thränen zu antworten — ein Artikel, in dem er eben so flott „macht“, wie Jules Favre oder irgend ein anderes Krokodil. In Bordeaux war sein erster Schritt zur Rettung Frankreich's vom hereinbrechenden Finanzruin der, sich selbst mit drei Millionen jährlich auszustatten; es war dies das erste und letzte Wort jener „ökonomischen Republik“, worauf er seinen Pariser Wählern 1869 Aussicht gemacht hatte. Einer seiner früheren Kollegen aus der Kammer von 1830, selbst ein Kapitalist, — was ihn nicht verhinderte, ein aufopferndes Mitglied der Pariser Kommune zu sein — Herr Beslay, sagte neulich in einem Maueranschlage zu Thiers: „Die Knechtung der Arbeit durch das Kapital ist jederzeit der Eckstein Ihrer Politik gewesen, und seit Sie die Republik der Arbeit im Pariser Stadthaus eingesetzt sehen, haben Sie ohne Aufhören Frankreich zugerufen: „Seht diese Verbrecher!“ — Ein Meister kleiner Staatsschuf-
terei, ein Virtuose des Meineids und Verraths, ausgelernt in allen den niedrigen Kriegslisten, heimtückischen Kniffen und gemeinen Treulosigkeiten des parlamentarischen Parteikampfes; stets bereit, wenn vom Amte verdrängt, eine Revolution anzufachen, und sie im Blut zu ersticken, sobald er am Staatsruder; mit Klassenvorurtheilen an der Stelle von Ideen; mit Eitelkeit an der Stelle eines Herzens; sein Privatleben so infam, wie sein öffentliches Leben niederträchtig — kann er nicht umhin, selbst jetzt, wo er die Rolle eines französischen Sulla spielt, die Scheußlichkeit seiner Thaten zu erhöhen durch die Lächerlichkeit seiner Großthuerei.

Die Kapitulation von Paris, die den Preußen nicht nur Paris, sondern ganz Frankreich überlieferte, beschloß die langandauernden verrätherischen Intrigen mit dem Feinde, die die Usurpatoren des 4. Septembers, wie Trochu selbst gesagt, schon an diesem selben Tage begonnen. Andererseits eröffnete sie den Bürgerkrieg, den sie jetzt, mit preußischer Unterstützung, gegen die Republik und Paris zu führen hatten. Schon in dem Wortlaute der Kapitulation selbst war die Falle gelegt. Damals war über ein Drittel des Landes in den Händen des ||9| Feindes, die Hauptstadt war von den

Karl Marx

Provinzen abgeschnitten, alle Verkehrsmittel waren in Unordnung. Es war unmöglich, unter solchen Umständen eine wirkliche Vertretung Frankreichs zu erwählen, wenn nicht volle Zeit zur Vorbereitung gegeben wurde. *Gerade deßhalb* bedang die Kapitulation, daß eine Nationalversammlung innerhalb acht Tagen zu wählen sei, so daß in manchen Theilen Frankreichs die Nachricht von der vorzunehmenden Wahl erst den Tag vorher ankam. Ferner sollte die Versammlung, nach einem ausdrücklichen Artikel der Kapitulation, gewählt werden für den einzigen Zweck, über Krieg und Frieden zu entscheiden und vorkommenden Falles einen Friedensvertrag abzuschließen. Das Volk mußte fühlen, daß die Waffenstillstandsbedingungen die Fortführung des Krieges unmöglich machten, und daß, um den von Bismarck aufgenötigten Frieden zu bestätigen, die schlechtesten Leute in Frankreich gerade die besten seien. Aber, nicht zufrieden mit allen diesen Vorsichtsmaßregeln, hatte Thiers, schon ehe das Geheimniß des Waffenstillstandes den Parisern mitgetheilt worden, sich auf eine Wahlreise in die Provinzen begeben, um dort die legitimistische Partei ins Leben zurückzagalvanisiren, die jetzt mit den Orleanisten die Stelle der augenblicklich unmöglich gewordenen Bonapartisten auszufüllen hatte. Er hatte keine Angst vor ihnen. Unmöglich als Regierung des modernen Frankreichs, und daher verächtlich als Nebenbuhler, — welche Partei gab ein willkommeneres Werkzeug der Reaktion ab, als die Partei, deren Aktion, in Thiers' eigenen Worten (Deputirtenkammer, 5. Januar 1833) „sich immer beschränkt hatte auf die drei Hülfsquellen: auswärtige Invasion, Bürgerkrieg und Anarchie“? Sie aber, die Legitimisten, glaubten in Wahrheit an den Advent ihres rückwärts gewandten tausendjährigen Reichs. Da waren die Fersen auswärtiger Invasion, die Frankreich zu Boden traten; da war der Fall eines Kaiserreiches und die Gefangenschaft eines Bonaparte; und da waren sie selber wieder. Das Rad der Geschichte hatte sich offenbar zurückgedreht bis zu der Chambre introuvable (der Landraths- und Junkerkammer) von 1816. In den Versammlungen der Republik 1848 bis 1851 waren sie vertreten gewesen durch ihre gebildeten und eingeschulten parlamentarischen Führer; jetzt aber drängten sich die gemeinen Soldaten der Partei hervor — alle Pourceaughnacs von Frankreich.

Sobald diese Versammlung von Ruraux (Krautjunkern) in Bordeaux eröffnet war, machte Thiers es ihnen klar, daß sie ||10[die Friedenspräliminarien sofort anzunehmen hätten, selbst ohne die Ehrenbezeugung einer parlamentarischen Debatte, als einzige Bedingung, unter der Preußen ihnen erlauben werde, gegen die Republik und ihre feste Burg Paris den Krieg zu eröffnen. Die Contrerevolution hatte in der That keine Zeit zu verlieren. Das zweite Kaiserthum hatte die Staatsschuld verdoppelt und die großen Städte in schwere Lokalschulden gestürzt. Der Krieg hatte die Ansprüche an die

Nation furchtbar erhöht und ihre Hülfsquellen rücksichtslos verwüstet. Zur Vollendung des Ruins stand da der preußische Shylock mit seinem Schein für den Unterhalt einer halben Million seiner Soldaten auf französischem Boden, für seine Entschädigung von fünf Milliarden und Zinsen zu fünf

- 5 Prozent auf deren unbezahlte Raten. Wer sollte die Rechnung zahlen? Nur durch den gewaltsamen Sturz der Republik konnten die Aneigner des Reichthums hoffen, die Kosten eines von ihnen selbst herbeigeführten Krieges auf die Schultern der Hervorbringer dieses Reichthums zu wälzen. Und so spornte gerade der unermeßliche Ruin Frankreichs diese patriotischen 10 seien Vertreter von Grundbesitz und Kapital an, unter den Augen und der hohen Protektion des fremden Eroberers, den auswärtigen Krieg zu ergänzen durch einen Bürgerkrieg, eine Sklavenhalter-Rebellion.

Dieser Verschwörung stand im Wege Ein großes Hinderniß — Paris. Paris zu entwaffnen, war erste Bedingung des Erfolgs. Paris wurde daher von 15 Thiers aufgefordert, seine Waffen niederzulegen. Dann wurde Paris aufgehetzt durch die tollen antirepublikanischen Demonstrationen der Kraut-junkerversammlung und durch Thiers' eigene zweideutige Aussprüche über den rechtlichen Bestand der Republik; durch die Drohung, Paris zu enthaupten und enthauptstadten (*décapiter et décapitaliser*); die Ernennung 20 orleanistischer Gesandten; Dufaure's Gesetze wegen der verfallenen Wechsel und Hausmiethen, die den Handel und die Industrie von Paris mit dem Untergange bedrohten; Pouyer-Quertier's Steuer von 2 Centimen auf jedes Exemplar jeder nur möglichen Druckschrift; die Todesurtheile gegen Blanqui und Flourens; die Unterdrückung der republikanischen Blätter; die 25 Verlegung der Nationalversammlung nach Versailles; die Erneuerung des von Palikao erklärten und durch den 4. September vernichteten Belagerungszustandes; die Ernennung des Dezemberhelden Vinoy zum Gouverneur, des Gensdarmen Valentin zum Polizeipräfekten, ||11| und des Jesuitengenerals d'Aurelle de Paladines zum Ober-Kommandanten der Nationalgarde 30 von Paris.

Und nun haben wir an Herrn Thiers und an die Herren von der Nationalvertheidigung, seine Commis, eine Frage zu richten. Es ist bekannt, daß durch seinen Finanzminister Herrn Pouyer-Quertier, Thiers ein Anlehen von zwei Milliarden beantragt hatte, sofort zahlbar. Ist es nun wahr oder 35 nicht:

- 1) daß dies Geschäft so abgemacht wurde, daß eine Provision von mehreren hundert Millionen in die Privattaschen von Thiers, Jules Favre, Ernest Picard, Pouyer-Quertier und Jules Simon floß, und
2) daß keine Zahlung gemacht werden sollte, bis *nach* der „*Pacification*“ 40 von Paris?

In jedem Falle muß die Sache sehr dringlich gewesen sein, denn Thiers

und Jules Favre suchten ohne alle Scham im Namen der Versammlung in Bordeaux um Besetzung von Paris durch preußische Truppen nach. Das paßte aber nicht in Bismarck's Spiel, wie er, spöttisch und ganz öffentlich, den bewundernden Frankfurter Philistern bei seiner Rückkehr nach Deutschland erzählte.

5

II.

Paris war das einzige ernstliche Hinderniß auf dem Wege der contre-revolutionären Verschwörung. Paris mußte also entwaffnet werden. In Beziehung auf diesen Punkt war die Bordeauxer Versammlung die Aufrichtigkeit selbst. Wäre das rasende Gebrüll ihrer Krautjunker nicht hörbar genug 10 gewesen, die Ueberantwortung von Paris durch Thiers in die Hände des Triumvirats — Vinoy, der Dezembermörder, Valentin, der bonapartistische Gensd'arm, und Aurelle de Paladines, der Jesuitengeneral — hätte auch den letzten Zweifel unmöglich gemacht. Aber während die Verschwörer den wahren Zweck der Entwaffnung frech zur Schau stellten, forderten sie 15 Paris zur Waffenstreckung auf unter einem Vorwande, der die schreiendste, schamloseste Lüge war. Das Geschütz der Nationalgarde, sagte Thiers, gehört dem Staat und muß dem Staat wieder abgegeben werden. Die That-sache war diese: Von dem Tage der Kapitulation an, als Bismarck's Gefangene Frankreich ihm ausgeliefert, aber sich selbst eine zahlreiche Leib- 20 wache ausbedungen hatten zu dem ausdrücklichen Zwecke, Paris niederzuhalten — von dem Tage an stand Paris auf der Wacht. Die Nationalgarde reorj|l2|ganisierte sich und vertraute ihre Oberleitung einem Centraikomitee an, das durch ihre ganze Masse, einige der alten bonapartistischen Abtheilungen ausgenommen, erwählt war. Am Vorabend des Einmarsches der 25 Preußen in Paris besorgte das Centraikomitee den Transport nach Montmartre, la Villette und Belleville der von den Kapitulards verrätherischer Weise in und bei den von den Preußen zu besetzenden Stadttheilen zurück-gelassenen Kanonen und Mitrailleusen. Dies Geschütz war durch die Beiträge der Nationalgarde selbst beschafft worden. Als ihr Eigenthum war es amt- 30 lieh anerkannt in der Kapitulation vom 28. Januar, und in dieser besonderen Eigenschaft ausgenommen worden von der allgemeinen Ablieferung der der Regierung gehörenden Waffen an den Sieger. Und Thiers war so durch und durch bar eines jeden, auch des durchsichtigsten Vorwandes, um den Krieg mit Paris einzuleiten, daß er auf die platte Lüge angewiesen blieb: das 35 Geschütz der Nationalgarde sei Staatseigenthum!

Die Beschlagnahme des Geschützes sollte nur dienen als Vorspiel der allgemeinen Entwaffnung von Paris und damit der Revolution vom 4. Sep-

Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich • II

tember. Aber diese Revolution war der gesetzliche Zustand Frankreichs geworden. Die Republik, ihr Werk, war im Wortlaut der Kapitulation vom Sieger anerkannt. Nach der Kapitulation war sie anerkannt worden von allen fremden Mächten; in ihrem Namen war die Versammlung berufen. Die 5 Pariser Arbeiterrevolution vom 4. September war der einzige Rechtstitel der Nationalversammlung in Bordeaux und ihrer vollziehenden Gewalt. Ohne den 4. September hätte die Nationalversammlung sofort dem, 1869 unter französischer und nicht unter preußischer Herrschaft durch allgemeines Stimmrecht erwählten und gewaltsam von der Revolution zersprengten, 10 gesetzgebenden Körper Platz machen müssen. Thiers und seine Ticket-of-leave-Leute hätten verhandeln müssen wegen eines Geleitscheines, unterzeichnet von Louis Bonaparte, um einer Reise nach Cayenne zu entgehen. Die Nationalversammlung, mit ihrer Vollmacht, den Frieden mit Preußen abzumachen, war nur ein einzelner Zwischenfall in jener Revolution, deren 15 wahre Verkörperung noch immer das bewaffnete Paris war; Paris, das diese Revolution gemacht, das um ihretwillen eine fünfmonatliche Belagerung mit ihren Schrecken der Hungersnoth ausgehalten, und das in seinem trotz Trochu's „Plan“ verlängerten Widerstand die Grundlage eines hartnäckigen Vertheidigungskrieges in den Provinzen ge|113 |liefert hatte. Und Paris sollte 20 jetzt entweder seine Waffen niederlegen auf das beleidigende Geheisch der rebellischen Sklavenhalter von Bordeaux, und anerkennen, daß seine Revolution vom 4. September nur die einfache Uebertragung der Staatsmacht von Louis Bonaparte an seine königlichen Nebenbuhler bedeute; — oder es mußte vortreten als der selbstopfernde Vorkämpfer Frankreichs, 25 dessen Rettung vom Untergang und dessen Wiedergeburt unmöglich waren ohne den revolutionären Umsturz der politischen und gesellschaftlichen Bedingungen, die das zweite Kaiserthum erzeugt hatten und die unter seiner schützenden Obhut bis zur äußersten Fäulniß herangereift waren. Paris, noch abgezehrt von fünfmonatlicher Aushungerung, zauderte keinen Augenblick. Es beschloß heldenmüthig, alle Gefahren des Widerstandes gegen die französischen Verschwörer auszuhalten, trotzdem, daß noch immer preußische Kanonen von seinen eigenen Forts auf es herabgähnten. Dabei aber, in seinem Abscheu gegen den Bürgerkrieg, in den Paris hineingetrieben werden sollte, beharrte das Centraikomitee in einer vertheidigenden Haltung, trotz der Aufreizungen der Versammlung, der Eingriffe der vollziehenden Gewalt, und der drohenden Truppenzusammenziehungen in und um Paris.

Thiers eröffnete den Bürgerkrieg, indem er den Vinoy an der Spitze eines Haufens Polizeisergeanten und einiger Linienregimenter auf einen nächtlichen Raubzug gegen Montmartre ausschickte, um dort durch Ueberraschung das Geschütz der Nationalgarde wegzunehmen. Es ist bekannt,

Karl Marx

wie dieser Versuch scheiterte am Widerstand der Nationalgarde und an der Verbrüderung der Truppen mit dem Volk. Aurelle de Paladines hatte schon im Voraus seinen Siegesbericht gedruckt, und Thiers hielt die Maueranschläge bereit, die seine Staatsstreich-Maßregeln verkünden sollten. Beides mußte jetzt ersetzt werden durch Thiers' Aufrufe, worin er seinen großmütigen Entschluß verkündete, der Nationalgarde ihre Waffen zu lassen; er zweifte nicht, sagte er, sie werde sie benutzen, um sich gegen die Rebellen an die Regierung anzuschließen. Unter allen 300000 Nationalgarnisten entsprachen nur 300 diesem Aufruf des kleinen Thiers, sich, gegen sich selbst, an ihn anzuschließen. Die ruhmvolle Arbeiterrevolution des 18. März nahm unbestrittenen Besitz von Paris. Das Centraikomitee war ihre provisorische Regierung. Europa schien einen Augenblick zu zweifeln, ob seine neulichen erstaunlichen Haupt-, Staats- und Kriegsaktionen ir|| 14|gend welche Wirklichkeit besäßen, oder ob sie die Träume einer längst verschwundenen Vergangenheit seien. 15

Vom 18. März bis zum Eindringen der Versailler Truppen in Paris, blieb die proletarische Revolution so rein von allen den Gewaltthaten, von denen die Revolutionen, und noch mehr die Kontrarevolutionen der „höheren Klassen“ strotzen, daß die Gegner keine andern Handhaben für ihre Errüstung finden, als die Hinrichtung der Generale Lecomte und Clement Thomas und den Zusammenstoß auf der Place Vendôme. 20

Einer der bonapartistischen Offiziere, der bei dem nächtlichen Ueberfall auf Montmartre eine Rolle *spielte*, General Lecomte, hatte vier Mal dem 81. Linienregiment befohlen, auf einen unbewaffneten Haufen in der Place Pigalle zu feuern; als die Truppen sich weigerten, schimpfte er sie wüthend aus. Statt Weiber und Kinder zu erschießen, erschossen seine eigenen Leute ihn selbst. Die eingewurzelten Gewohnheiten, die den Soldaten unter der Zucht der Feinde der Arbeiter beigebracht worden, verlieren sich selbstredend nicht in demselben Augenblick, wo diese Soldaten zu den Arbeitern Übergehn. Dieselben Leute richteten auch Clement Thomas hin. 30

„General“ Clement Thomas, ein malkontenter Ex-Wachtmeister, hatte sich in der letzten Zeit Louis Philippe's bei der Redaktion des republikanischen Blattes „Le National“ anwerben lassen, wo er gleichzeitig die Posten eines verantwortlichen Strohmanns (gérant responsable, der das Absitzen der Gefängnißstrafe übernahm) und Duellanten bei diesem sehr kämpflustigen Blatt ausfüllte. Als nach der Februar-Revolution die Herren vom „National“ ans Ruder kamen, verwandelten sie diesen alten Wachtmeister in einen General. Es war dies am Vorabend der Junischlächterei, die er, wie auch Jules Favre, mitgeplant hatte, und bei der er eine der niederträchtigsten Henkerrollen übernahm. Dann verschwand er und seine Generalschaft auf lange Zeit, um wieder aufzutauchen am 1. November 1870. Den Tag vorher 35 40

Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich · II

hatte die Regierung der Vertheidigung im Stadthause Blanqui, Flourens und anderen Vertretern der Arbeiter ihr feierliches Wort gegeben, ihre usurpirte Gewalt in die Hände einer freigewählten Pariser Kommune niederzulegen. Statt ihr Wort zu halten, ließ sie gegen Paris die Bretonen Trochu's los, die 5 jetzt die Corsen Bonapartes vertraten. Der General Tamisier allein weigerte sich, seinen Namen mit einem solchen Wortbruch zu beflecken, und legte seinen Posten als Oberkommandant der Nationalgarde nieder. An seiner Stelle 1115j wurde jetzt Clement Thomas wieder ein General. Während seines ganzen Oberkommandos führte er Krieg, nicht gegen die Preußen, sondern 10 gegen die Pariser Nationalgarde. Er verhinderte ihre allgemeine Bewaffnung, hetzte die Bourgeoisbataillone gegen die Arbeiterbataillone, beseitigte die dem „Plan“ Trochu's feindlichen Offiziere, und löste, unter dem Brandmal der Feigheit, dieselben proletarischen Bataillone auf, deren Heldenmuth jetzt ihren erbittertsten Feinden Bewunderung abgerungen hat.

15 Clement Thomas war ordentlich stolz darauf, seinen alten Juni-Vorrang als persönlicher Feind des Pariser Proletariats wieder erobert zu haben. Noch einige Tage vor dem 18. März legte er dem Kriegsminister Le Flô einen eigenen Plan vor, zur „Ausrottung der Blüthe der Pariser Kanaille“. Nach Vinoy's Niederlage konnte er es sich nicht versagen, als Privatspion auf 20 dem Kampfplatz zu erscheinen. Das Centraikomitee und die Pariser Arbeiter waren ebenso verantwortlich für die Erschießung von Clement Thomas und Lecomte, wie die Prinzessin von Wales für das Geschick der bei ihrem Einzug in London im Gedränge zu Tode gequetschten Leute.

Die angebliche Schlächterei unbewaffneter Bürger in der Place Vendôme 25 ist ein Märchen, wovon Thiers und die Krautjunker in der Versammlung hartnäckig geschwiegen haben, und dessen Verbreitung sie ausschließlich der Bedientenstube der europäischen Tagespresse anvertrauten.

Die „Ordnungsmänner“, die Reaktionäre von Paris, zitterten bei dem Siege des 18. März. Für sie war er das Wahrzeichen der endlich hereinbrechenden Volksvergeltung. Die Gespenster der unter ihren Händen gemordeten Opfer, von den Junitagen 1848 bis zum 22. Januar 1871, stiegen vor ihren Augen empor. Ihr Schrecken war ihre einzige Strafe. Selbst die Polizeisergeanten, statt wie sich's gebührte, entwaffnet und eingesperrt zu werden, fanden die Thore von Paris weit geöffnet, um sicher nach Versailles 30 zu entkommen. Nicht allein, daß den Ordnungsmännern Nichts geschah, man erlaubte ihnen sogar, sich wieder zu sammeln und mehr als einen starken Posten mitten in Paris zu besetzen. Diese Nachsicht des Centraikomitees, diese Großmuth der bewaffneten Arbeiter, so sonderbar im Widerspruch mit den Gewohnheiten der Ordnungspartei, wurden von dieser Partei als 35 Zeichen bewußter Schwäche mißdeutet. Daher ihr alberner Plan, unter dem Deckmantel einer unbewaffneten Demonstration das noch einmal zu ver-

Karl Marx

suchen, was Vinoy mit seinen Kanonen und Mi||16|trailleusen nicht hatte erreichen können. Am 22. März setzte sich von den Stadtvierteln des Wohllebens ein Zug „feiner Herren“ in Bewegung, alle Stutzer in ihren Reihen, und an ihrer Spitze die wohlbekannten Stammgäste des Kaiserthums, die Heeckeren, Coëtlogon, Henri de Pêne usw. Unter dem feigen Vorwand einer friedlichen Demonstration, aber im Geheimen gerüstet mit den Waffen des Meuchelmörders, ordnete sich diese Bande, entwaffnete und mißhandelte die Posten und Patrouillen der Nationalgarde, auf die ihr Zug stieß, und, aus der Rue de la Paix in die Place Vendôme vordringend, versuchte sie, unter dem Ruf: „Nieder mit dem Centraikomitee! Nieder mit den Mördern! Es 5 lebe die Nationalversammlung!“ die dort aufgestellte Wache zu durchbrechen und so das dahinter gelegene Hauptquartier der Nationalgarde zu überrumpeln. Als Antwort auf ihre Revolverschüsse, wurden die regelmäßigen gesetzlichen Aufforderungen an sie gemacht; als diese wirkungslos blieben, kommandirte der General der Nationalgarde Feuer. Eine Salve 10 15 zerstreute in wilde Flucht die albernen Gecken, die erwartet hatten, die bloße Schaustellung ihrer „anständigen Gesellschaft“ werde auf die Pariser Revolution wirken wie die Trompeten Josuas auf die Mauern von Jericho. Sie ließen zurück zwei Nationalgarden todt, neun schwer verwundet (darunter ein Mitglied des Centraikomitees) und den ganzen Schauplatz 20 25 ihrer Großthat bestreut mit Revolvern, Dolchen und Stockdegen, zum Zeugniß des „unbewaffneten“ Charakters ihrer „friedlichen“ Demonstration. Als am 13. Juni 1849 die Pariser Nationalgarde eine wirklich friedliche Demonstration machte, um gegen den räuberischen Angriff französischer Truppen auf Rom zu protestiren — da wurde Changarnier, damals General 25 30 der Ordnungspartei, von der Nationalversammlung und besonders von Thiers als der Retter der Gesellschaft ausgerufen, weil er seine Truppen von allen Seiten auf diese waffenlosen Leute losgelassen hatte, um sie niederrzuschießen, niederzusäbeln und unter ihren Pferdehufen zu zertreten. Damals wurde Paris in Belagerungszustand erklärt; Dufaure hetzte neue 30 35 Unterdrückungsgesetze durch die Versammlung; neue Verhaftungen, neue Aechtungen, eine neue Schreckenherrschaft traten ein. Aber die „unteren Klassen“ machen das anders. Das Centraikomitee von 1871 ließ die Helden der „friedlichen Demonstration“ einfach laufen, und so waren sie, bereits zwei Tage später, im Stande, sich unter dem Admiral Saisset zu jener 35 bewaffneten Demonstration ||17| zusammenzufinden, die mit dem bewußten Ausreißen nach Versailles endigte. In seinem Widerstreben, den durch Thiers' nächtlichen Einbruch in Montmartre eröffneten Bürgerkrieg aufzunehmen, machte sich das Centraikomitee diesmal eines entscheidenden Fehlers dadurch schuldig, daß es nicht sofort auf das damals vollständig 40 hülftlose Versailles marschirte, und damit den Verschwörungen des Thiers

F

Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich · II

und seiner Krautjunker ein Ziel setzte. Statt dessen erlaubte man der Ordnungspartei nochmals ihre Stärke an der Wahlurne zu versuchen, als am 26. März die Commune gewählt wurde. An diesem Tage wechselten die Ordnungsmänner in den Bezirksbürgermeistereien wohlwollende Worte der
5 Versöhnung mit ihren zu großmütigen Siegern, gleichzeitig in ihren Herzen feierliche Gelübde knurrend, seiner Zeit blutige Rache zu nehmen.

Und jetzt schaut die Kehrseite der Medaille! Thiers eröffnete seinen zweiten Feldzug gegen Paris Anfangs April. Die erste Kolonne von Pariser Gefangenen, die nach Versailles hinein kam, wurde empörend behandelt,
10 während Ernest Picard, die Hände in den Hosentaschen, herumschlenderte und sie verhöhnte, und die Frauen von Thiers und Favre, in Mitte ihrer Ehren(?)damen, vom hohen Balkon herab die Schändlichkeiten des Versailler Pöbels beklatschten. Die gefangenen Liniensoldaten wurden einfach erschossen; unser tapferer Freund General Duval, der Eisengießer, wurde
15 ohne alle Form Rechtens gemordet. Galliffet, der „Louis“ seiner Frau, so notorisch durch die schamlose Schaustellung ihres Leibes bei den Gelagen des zweiten Kaiserthums, Galliffet prahlte in einer Proclamation, daß er die Ermordung einiger durch seine Reiter überraschten und entwaffneten Nationalgardisten, sammt ihrem Hauptmann und Lieutenant, befohlen
20 habe. Vinoy, der Ausreißer, wurde von Thiers zum Großkreuz der Ehrenlegion ernannt für seinen Tagesbefehl, worin er vorschrieb, jeden bei den Kommunalisten gefangen Liniensoldaten zu erschießen. Desmarests, der Gendarm, wurde dekorirt, weil er den hochherzigen und ritterlichen Flourens verrätherisch nach Metzgerart in Stücke zerhauen hatte, Flourens,
25 der am 31. Oktober 1870 der Vertheidigungsregierung ihre Köpfe gerettet hatte. Die „ermunternden Einzelheiten“ seiner Ermordung wurden von Thiers in der Nationalversammlung mit Behagen des Breiteren mitgetheilt. Mit der aufgeblasenen Eitelkeit eines parlamentarischen Däumlings, dem man erlaubt, die Rolle des Tamerlan zu spielen, verweigerte er den Rebellen
30 gegen seine Winzigkeit 11181 jedes Recht civilisirter Kriegsführung, selbst das der Neutralität für ihre Verbandplätze. Nichts Scheußlicheres als dieser Affe, schon von Voltaire vorgeahnt, der für eine kleine Zeit seinen Tiger-gelüsten freien Lauf lassen kann.

Nachdem die Commune (Dekret vom 7. April) Vergeltungsmaßregeln
35 angeordnet und es für ihre Pflicht erklärt hatte, „Paris gegen die kannibalischen Thaten der Versailler Banditen zu schützen und Aug' um Auge, Zahn um Zahn zu verlangen“ — stellte Thiers dennoch die grausame Behandlung der Gefangenen nicht ein; er beleidigte sie obendrein noch in seinen Berichten wie folgt: „Niemals ist der betrübte Blick ehrlicher Leute
40 auf so entwürdigte Gesichter einer entwürdigten Demokratie gefallen“ — ehrlicher Leute wie Thiers selbst und seine Ticket-of-Leave-Männer.

Karl Marx

Trotzdem wurde das Erschießen der Gefangenen für einige Zeit eingestellt. Kaum aber hatten Thiers und seine Dezembergenerale gefunden, daß das Vergeltungsdekret der Kommune nur eine leere Drohung war, daß selbst ihre Gendarmerie, die in Paris, als Nationalgardisten verkleidet, abgefangen waren, daß selbst Polizeisergeanten, Träger von Brandgranaten, 5 verschont blieben, — so fing auch das massenweise Erschießen der Gefangenen wieder an und wurde bis zum Ende durchgeführt. Häuser, in welche Nationalgardisten geflüchtet waren, wurden von Gendarmen umringt, mit Petroleum (das hier zum ersten Mal vorkommt) Übergossen und in Brand gesteckt; die halbverbrannten Leichen wurden später von der Ambulanz der Presse (in Les Ternes) herausgeholt. Vier Nationalgardisten, 10 die sich am 25. April bei Belle Epine einigen berittenen Jägern ergeben hatten, wurden nachher einer nach dem andern vom Rittmeister, einem würdigen Knecht Galliffets, niedergeschossen. Einer der Vier, Scheffer, für tot zurückgelassen, kroch zu den Pariser Vorposten und legte gerichtliches 15 Zeugnis ab über die Thatsache vor einem Ausschuß der Kommune. Als Tolain den Kriegsminister über den Bericht dieses Ausschusses interpellirte, erstickte das Geschrei der Krautjunker seine Stimme; sie verboten Le Flô zu antworten. Es wäre eine Beleidigung für ihr „ruhmvolles“ Heer, von seinen Thaten — zu sprechen. Der nachlässige Ton, in dem Thiers' Berichte die 20 Niedermetzelung der bei Moulin Saquet im Schlafe überraschten Nationalgardisten und die massenhaften Erschießungen in Clamart mitteilten, verletzte selbst die Nerven der wahrhaftig nicht überempfindlichen Londoner „Times“. Aber es wäre lächerlich, die bloß ein|| 19 (leitenden Scheußlichkeiten aufzählen zu wollen, begangen von den Bombardirern von Paris 25 und den Aufhetzern einer Sklavenhalter-Rebellion unter dem Schutz des fremden Eroberers. In Mitten aller dieser Schrecken, vergißt Thiers seinen parlamentarischen Jammer von wegen der furchtbaren Verantwortlichkeit, die auf seinen Zwergschultern lastet, prahlt, daß l'Assemblée siège paisiblement (die Versammlung tagt in Frieden weiter) und beweist durch seine 30 steten Festessen, heute mit Dezembergeneralen, morgen mit deutschen Prinzen, daß seine Verdauung nicht im Mindesten gestört ist, nicht einmal durch die Gespenster von Lecomte und Clement Thomas.

III.

Am Morgen des 18. März 1871 wurde Paris geweckt durch den Donnerruf: 35 „Es lebe die Kommune!“ Was ist die Kommune, diese Sphinx, die den Bourgeoisverstand auf so harte Proben setzt?
„Die Proletarier von Paris“, sagte das Centraalkomitee in seinem Manifest

Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich - III

vom 18. März, „in Mitten der Niederlagen und des Verraths der herrschenden Klassen, haben begriffen, daß die Stunde geschlagen hat, wo sie die Lage retten müssen, dadurch, daß sie die Leitung der öffentlichen Angelegenheiten in ihre eignen Hände nehmen____Sie haben begriffen, daß es 5 ihre höchste Pflicht und ihr absolutes Recht ist, sich zu Herren ihrer eigenen Geschicke zu machen und die Regierungsgewalt zu ergreifen.“ — Aber die Arbeiterklasse kann nicht die fertige Staatsmaschinerie einfach in Besitz nehmen und diese für ihre eignen Zwecke in Bewegung setzen.

Die centralisirte Staatsmacht, mit ihren allgegenwärtigen Organen — 10 stehende Armee, Polizei, Bureaucratie, Geistlichkeit, Richterstand, Organe geschaffen nach dem Plan einer systematischen und hierarchischen Theilung der Arbeit — stammt her aus den Zeiten der absoluten Monarchie, wo sie der entstehenden Bourgeoisgesellschaft als eine mächtige Waffe in ihren Kämpfen gegen den Feudalismus diente. Dennoch blieb ihre Entwicklung 15 gehemmt durch allerhand mittelalterlichen Schutt, grundherrliche und Adels-Vorrechte, Lokalprivilegien, städtische und Zunft-Monopole und Provinzialverfassungen. Der riesige Besen der französischen Revolution des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts fegte alle diese Trümmer vergangner Zeiten weg, und reinigte so gleichzeitig den gesellschaftlichen Boden von den 20 letzten Hindernissen, die dem Ueberbau des modernen Staatsgebäudes im Wege gestanden. Dies moderne Staatsgebäude erobt sich unter dem ersten Kaiserthum, ||20| das selbst wieder erzeugt worden war durch die Koalitionskriege des alten halbfeudalen Europa's gegen das moderne Frankreich. Während der nachfolgenden Herrschaftsformen wurde die Regierung unter 25 parlamentarische Kontrolle gestellt, d.h. unter die direkte Kontrolle der besitzenden Klassen. Einerseits entwickelte sie sich jetzt zu einem Treibhaus für kolossale Staatsschulden und erdrückende Steuern und wurde mit ihrer unwiderstehlichen Anziehungskraft, ihrer Amtsgewalt, ihren Einkünften, ihrer Stellenvergebung der Zankapfel für die konkurrirenden 30 Fraktionen und Abenteurer der herrschenden Klassen, — anderseits änderte sich ihr politischer Charakter gleichzeitig mit den ökonomischen Veränderungen der Gesellschaft. In dem Maß, wie der Fortschritt der modernen Industrie den Klassengegensatz zwischen Kapital und Arbeit entwickelte, erweiterte, vertiefte, in demselben Maß erhielt die Staatsmacht 35 mehr und mehr den Charakter einer öffentlichen Gewalt zur Unterdrückung der Arbeit, einer Maschine der Klassenherrschaft. Nach jeder Revolution, die einen Fortschritt des Klassenkampfs bezeichnet, tritt der rein unterdrückende Charakter der Staatsmacht offener und offener hervor. Die Revolution von 1830 übertrug die Regierung von den Grundbesitzern auf 40 die Kapitalisten und damit von den entfernteren auf die direkteren Gegner der Arbeiter. Die Bourgeoisrepublikaner, die im Namen der Februarrevo-

Karl Marx

lution das Staatsruder ergriffen, gebrauchten es zur Herbeiführung der Junischlächterei, um der Arbeiterklasse zu beweisen, daß die „soziale“ Republik weiter nichts bedeute, als ihre soziale Unterdrückung durch die Republik; und um der königlich gesinnten Masse der Bourgeois und Grundbesitzer zu beweisen, daß sie die Sorgen und die Geldvortheile der Regierung ruhig den Bourgeoisrepublikanern überlassen könnten. Nach dieser ihrer einzigen Heldenthat vom Juni blieb den Bourgeoisrepublikanern jedoch nur übrig, zurückzutreten aus dem ersten Glied ins letzte Glied der „Ordnungspartei“ — einer Koalition, gebildet aus allen konkurrierenden Fraktionen und Faktionen der aneignenden Klassen in ihrem jetzt offen erklärten Gegensatz zu den hervorbringenden Klassen. Die angemessene Form ihrer Gesamtregierung war die parlamentarische Republik mit Louis Bonaparte als Präsidenten; eine Regierung des unverhohlenen Klassen-terrorismus und der absichtlichen Beleidigung der „vile multitude“ (der schofien Menge). Wenn, wie Thiers sagte, die parlamentarische Republik die verschiedenen Fraktionen der herrschenden Klassen am ||211 wenigsten theilte, so eröffnete sie dagegen einen Abgrund zwischen dieser Klasse und dem ganzen, außerhalb ihren dünngesäeten Reihen lebenden Gesellschaftskörper. Die Schranken, die, unter früheren Regierungen, ihre eignen Spaltungen der Staatsmacht noch auferlegt hatten, waren durch ihre Vereinigung jetzt gefallen. Angesichts der drohenden Erhebung des Proletariats benutzte die vereinigte besitzende Klasse jetzt die Staatsmacht rücksichtslos und frech als das nationale Kriegswerzeug des Kapitals gegen die Arbeit. Aber ihr ununterbrochener Kreuzzug gegen die produzierenden Massen zwang sie nicht nur, die vollziehende Gewalt mit stets wachsender Unterdrückungsmacht auszustatten; er zwang sie auch, ihre eigene parlamentarische Zwingburg — die Nationalversammlung — nach und nach aller Vertheidigungsmittel gegen die vollziehende Gewalt zu entblößen. Die vollziehende Gewalt, in der Person des Louis Bonaparte, setzte sie vor die Thür. Der leibliche Nachkomme der Republik der „Ordnungspartei“ war 30 das zweite Kaiserthum.

Das Kaiserthum, mit dem Staatsstreich als Geburtsschein, dem allgemeinen Stimmrecht als Beglaubigung, und dem Säbel als Szepter, gab vor, sich auf die Bauern zu stützen, auf jene große Masse der Produzenten, die nicht unmittelbar in den Kampf zwischen Kapital und Arbeit verwickelt waren. Es gab vor, die Arbeiterklasse zu retten, indem es den Parlamentarismus brach und mit ihm die unverhüllte Unterwürfigkeit der Regierung unter die besitzenden Klassen. Es gab vor, die besitzenden Klassen zu retten durch Aufrechthaltung ihrer ökonomischen Hoheit über die Arbeiterklasse: und schließlich gab es vor, alle Klassen zu vereinigen durch die Wiederbelebung des Trugbilds des nationalen Ruhms. In Wirklichkeit war es



Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich · III

die einzige mögliche Regierungsform zu einer Zeit, wo die Bourgeoisie die Fähigkeit, die Nation zu beherrschen, schon verloren, und wo die Arbeiterklasse diese Fähigkeit noch nicht erworben hatte. Die ganze Welt jauchzte ihm zu als dem Retter der Gesellschaft. Unter seiner Herrschaft erreichte
5 die Bourgeoisiesellschaft, aller politischen Sorgen entbunden, eine von ihr selbst nie geahnte Entwicklung. Ihre Industrie, ihr Handel dehnten sich zu unermeßlichen Verhältnissen aus; der Finanzschwindel feierte kosmopolitische Orgien; das Elend der Massen hob sich grell ab gegenüber dem schamlosen Prunk eines gleißenden, überladenen und schuftigriechenden
10 Luxus. Die Staatsmacht, scheinbar hoch über der Gesellschaft schwebend, war dennoch ||22| selbst der skandalöseste Skandal dieser Gesellschaft und gleichzeitig die Brutstätte aller ihrer Fäulniß. Ihre eigne Verrottung und die Verrottung der von ihr geretteten Gesellschaft wurde bloßgelegt durch die Bajonette Preußens, das selbst vor Begierde brannte, den Schwerpunkt
15 dieses Regimes von Paris nach Berlin zu verlegen. Der Imperialismus ist die prostituirteste und zugleich die schließliche Form jener Staatsmacht, die die entstehende bürgerliche Gesellschaft ins Leben gerufen hatte als das Werkzeug ihrer eigenen Befreiung vom Feudalismus, und die die vollentwickelte Bourgeoisiesellschaft verwandelt hatte in ein Werkzeug zur Knechtung der
20 Arbeit durch das Kapital.

Der gerade Gegensatz des Kaiserthums war die Kommune. Der Ruf nach der „sozialen Republik“, womit das Pariser Proletariat die Februarrevolution einführte, drückte nur das unbestimmte Verlangen aus nach einer Republik, die nicht nur die monarchische Form der Klassenherrschaft
25 beseitigen sollte, sondern die Klassenherrschaft selbst. Die Kommune war die bestimmte Form dieser Republik.

Paris, der Mittelpunkt und Sitz der alten Regierungsmacht, und gleichzeitig der gesellschaftliche Schwerpunkt der französischen Arbeiterklasse, Paris hatte sich in Waffen erhoben gegen den Versuch des Thiers und seiner
30 Krautjunker, diese ihnen vom Kaiserthum überkommene alte Regierungsmacht wiederherzustellen und zu verewigen. Paris konnte nur Widerstand leisten, weil es in Folge der Belagerung die Armee los geworden war, an deren Stelle es eine hauptsächlich aus Arbeitern bestehende Nationalgarde gesetzt hatte. Diese Thatache galt es jetzt in eine bleibende Einrichtung zu
35 verwandeln. Das erste Dekret der Kommune war daher die Unterdrückung des stehenden Heeres und seine Ersetzung durch das bewaffnete Volk.

Die Kommune bildete sich aus den durch allgemeines Stimmrecht in den verschiedenen Bezirken von Paris gewählten Stadträthen. Sie waren verantwortlich und jederzeit absetzbar. Ihre Mehrzahl bestand selbstredend
40 aus Arbeitern oder anerkannten Vertretern der Arbeiterklasse. Die Kommune sollte nicht eine parlamentarische, sondern eine arbeitende

Karl Marx

Körperschaft sein, vollziehend und gesetzgebend zu gleicher Zeit. Die Polizei, bisher das Werkzeug der Staatsregierung, wurde sofort aller ihrer politischen Eigenschaften entkleidet und in das verantwortliche und jederzeit absetzbare Werkzeug der Kommune verwandelt. Ebenso die Beamten aller anderen Verwaltungszweige. Von den Mitgliedern der Kommune an abwärts, mußte der öffent||23|liche Dienst für *Arbeiterlohn* besorgt werden. Die erworbenen Anrechte und die Repräsentationsgelder der hohen Staatswürdenträger verschwanden mit diesen Würdenträgern selbst. Die öffentlichen Aemter hörten auf, das Privateigenthum der Handlanger der Centraliregierung zu sein. Nicht nur die städtische Verwaltung, sondern auch die ganze, bisher durch den Staat ausgeübte Initiative wurde in die Hände der Kommune gelegt.

Das stehende Heer und die Polizei, die Werkzeuge der materiellen Macht der alten Regierung einmal beseitigt, ging die Kommune sofort darauf aus, das geistliche Unterdrückungswerkzeug, die Pfaffenmacht, zu brechen; sie dekretirte die Auflösung und Enteignung aller Kirchen, soweit sie besitzende Körperschaften waren. Die Pfaffen wurden in die Stille des Privatlebens zurückgesandt, um dort, nach dem Bilde ihrer Vorgänger, der Apostel, sich von dem Almosen der Gläubigen zu nähren. Sämmtliche Unterrichtsanstalten wurden dem Volk unentgeltlich geöffnet und gleichzeitig von aller Einmischung des Staats und der Kirche gereinigt. Damit war nicht nur die Schulbildung für Jedermann zugänglich gemacht, sondern auch die Wissenschaft selbst von den ihr durch das Klassenvorurtheil und die Regierungsgewalt auferlegten Fesseln befreit.

Die richterlichen Beamten verloren jene scheinbare Unabhängigkeit, die nur dazu gedient hatte, ihre Unterwürfigkeit unter alle auf einander folgenden Regierungen zu verdecken, deren jeder sie, der Reihe nach, den Eid der Treue geschworen und gebrochen hatten. Wie alle übrigen öffentlichen Diener, sollten sie fernerhin gewählt, verantwortlich und absetzbar sein.

Die Pariser Kommune sollte selbstverständlich allen großen gewerblichen Mittelpunkten Frankreichs zum Muster dienen. Sobald die kommunale Ordnung der Dinge einmal in Paris und den Mittelpunkten zweiten Ranges eingeführt war, hätte die alte centralisirte Regierung auch in den Provinzen der Selbstregierung der Produzenten weichen müssen. In einer kurzen Skizze der nationalen Organisation, die die Kommune nicht die Zeit hatte, weiter auszuarbeiten, heißt es ausdrücklich, daß die Kommune die politische Form selbst des kleinsten Dorfs sein, und daß das stehende Heer auf dem Lande durch eine Volksmiliz mit äußerst kurzer Dienstzeit ersetzt werden sollte. Die Landgemeinden eines jeden Bezirks sollten ihre gemeinsamen Angelegenheiten durch eine Versammlung von Abgeordneten in der Bezirkshauptstadt verwalten, und diese Bezirksversammlungen dann

Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich · III

wieder Abgeordnete zur Nationaldelegation in Paris schicken; die Abgeordneten sollten jederzeit absetzbar und an die bestimmten Instruktionen ihrer Wähler gebunden sein. Die wenigen, aber wichtigen Funktionen, welche dann noch für eine Centrairegierung übrig blieben, sollten nicht, wie dies

5 absichtlich gefälscht worden, abgeschafft, sondern an kommunale, d.h. streng verantwortliche Beamte übertragen werden. Die Einheit der Nation sollte nicht gebrochen, sondern im Gegentheil organisirt werden durch die Kommunalverfassung; sie sollte eine Wirklichkeit werden durch die Vernichtung jener Staatsmacht, welche sich für die Verkörperung dieser Ein-

10 heit ausgab, aber unabhängig und überlegen sein wollte gegenüber der Nation, an deren Körper sie doch nur ein Schmarotzerauswuchs war. Während es galt, die bloß unterdrückenden Organe der alten Regierungsmacht abzuschneiden, sollten ihre berechtigten Funktionen einer Gewalt, die über der Gesellschaft zu stehen beanspruchte, entrissen und den verant-

15 wortlichen Dienern der Gesellschaft zurückgegeben werden. Statt Einmal in drei oder sechs Jahren zu entscheiden, welches Mitglied der herrschenden Klasse das Volk im Parlamente ver- und zertreten soll, sollte das allgemeine Stimmrecht dem in Kommunen konstituirten Volk dienen, wie das individuelle Stimmrecht jedem andern Arbeitgeber dazu dient, Arbeiter,

20 Aufseher und Buchhalter in seinem Geschäft auszusuchen. Und es ist bekannt genug, daß Gesellschaften ebensogut wie Einzelne, in wirklichen Geschäftssachen gewöhnlich den rechten Mann zu finden, und falls sie sich einmal täuschen, dies bald wieder gut zu machen wissen. Andrerseits aber konnte nichts dem Geist der Kommune fremder sein, als das allgemeine

25 Stimmrecht durch hierarchische Investitur zu ersetzen.

Es ist das gewöhnliche Schicksal neuer geschichtlicher Schöpfungen, für das Seitenstück älterer und selbst verlebter Formen des gesellschaftlichen Lebens versehen zu werden, denen sie einigermaßen ähnlich sehen. So ist diese neue Kommune, die die moderne Staatsmacht bricht, angesehen

30 worden für eine Wiederbelebung der mittelalterlichen Kommunen, welche jener Staatsmacht erst vorausgingen und dann ihre Grundlage bildeten. — Die Kommunalverfassung ist versehen worden für einen Versuch, einen Bund kleiner Staaten, wie Montesquieu und die Girondins ihn träumten, an die Stelle jener Einheit großer Völker zu setzen, die, wenn ursprünglich

35 durch Gewalt zu Stande gebracht, doch jetzt ein mächtiger Faktor der gesellschaftlichen Produktion geworden ist. — Der Gegensatz der Kommune gegen die Staatsmacht ist versehen worden für eine ||25| übertriebene Form des alten Kampfes gegen Uebercentralisation. Besondere geschichtliche Umstände mögen die klassische Entwicklung der Bourgeois-Regierungs-

40 form, wie sie in Frankreich vor sich gegangen, in anderen Ländern verhindert, und mögen gestattet haben, daß, wie in England, die großen centralen

Karl Marx

Staatsorgane sich ergänzen durch korrupte Pfarrerversammlungen (vestries),
geldschachernde Stadträthe und wuthschnaubende Armenverwalter in den
Städten, und durch tatsächlich erbliche Friedensrichter auf dem Lande.
Die Kommunalverfassung würde im Gegentheil dem gesellschaftlichen
Körper alle die Kräfte zurückgegeben haben, die bisher der Schmarotzer-
auswuchs „Staat“, der von der Gesellschaft sich nährt und ihre freie
Bewegung hemmt, aufgezehrt hat. Durch diese That allein würde sie die
Wiedergeburt Frankreichs in Gang gesetzt haben. — Die Mittelklasse der
Provinzialstädte sah in der Commune einen Versuch zur Wiederherstellung
der Herrschaft, die sie unter Louis Philippe über das Land ausgeübt hatte 1
und die unter Louis Bonaparte verdrängt wurde durch die angebliche Herr-
schaft des Landes über die Städte. In Wirklichkeit aber hätte die Kommunal-
verfassung die ländlichen Produzenten unter die geistige Führung der Be-
zirkshauptstädte gebracht und ihnen dort, in den städtischen Arbeitern, die
natürlichen Vertreter ihrer Interessen gesichert. — Das bloße Bestehen der 5
Commune führte, als etwas Selbstverständliches,' die lokale Selbstregierung
mit sich, aber nun nicht mehr als Gegengewicht gegen die, jetzt überflüssig
gemachte, Staatsmacht. Es konnte nur einem Bismarck einfallen, der, wenn
nicht von seinen Blut- und Eisen-Intrigen in Anspruch genommen, gern zu
seinem alten, seinem geistigen Kaliber so sehr zusagenden Handwerk als 10
Mitarbeiter am „Kladderadatsch“ zurückkehrt — nur einem solchen Kopf
konnte es einfallen, der Pariser Commune eine Sehnsucht unterzuschieben
nach jener Karikatur der alten französischen Städteverfassung von 1791,
der preußischen Städteordnung, die die städtischen Verwaltungen zu bloßen
untergeordneten Rädern in der preußischen Staatspolizei-Maschinerie er- 15
niedrigt. — Die Commune machte das Stichwort aller Bourgeoisrevolutionen
— wohlfeile Regierung — zur Wahrheit, indem sie die beiden größten
Ausgabequellen, die Armee und das Beamtentum, aufhob. Ihr bloßes
Bestehen setzte das Nichtbestehen der Monarchie voraus, die, wenigstens
in Europa, der regelrechte Ballast und der unentbehrliche Deckmantel der 20
Klassenherrschaft ist. Sie verschaffte der Republik die Grundlage wirklich
demokratischer Einrich||26|tungen. Aber weder „wohlfeile Regierung“,
noch die „wahre Republik“ war ihr Endziel; beide ergaben sich nebenbei
und von selbst. 25

Die Mannichfaltigkeit der Deutungen, denen die Commune unterlag, und 35
die Mannichfaltigkeit der Interessen, die sich in ihr ausgedrückt fanden,
beweisen, daß sie eine durch und durch ausdehnungsfähige politische Form
war, während alle früheren Regierungsformen wesentlich unterdrückend
gewesen waren. Ihr wahres Geheimniß war dies: sie war wesentlich eine
Regierung der Arbeiterklasse, das Resultat des Kampfes der hervorbrin- 40
genden gegen die aneignende Klasse, die endlich entdeckte politische

Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich · III

Form, unter der die ökonomische Befreiung der Arbeit sich vollziehen konnte.

Ohne diese letzte Bedingung war die Kommunalverfassung eine Unmöglichkeit und eine Täuschung. Die politische Herrschaft des Produzenten
5 kann nicht bestehen neben der Verewigung seiner gesellschaftlichen Knechenschaft. Die Kommune sollte daher als Hebel dienen, um die ökonomischen Grundlagen umzustürzen, auf denen der Bestand der Klassen und damit der Klassenherrschaft ruht. Einmal die Arbeit emanzipiert, so wird jeder Mensch ein Arbeiter, und produktive Arbeit hört auf, eine Klasseneigenschaft zu
10 sein.

Es ist eine eigenthümliche Thatsache: Trotz all des großen Geredes und der unermeßlichen Literatur der letzten sechzig Jahre über Emanzipation der Arbeit — kaum nehmen die Arbeiter irgendwo die Sache in ihre eigenen Hände, so ertönen auch sofort wieder alle die apologetischen Redensarten
15 der Fürsprecher der jetzigen Gesellschaft mit ihren beiden Polen: Kapital und Lohnsklaverei (der Grundbesitzer ist jetzt nur noch der stille Gesellschafter des Kapitalisten) — als ob die kapitalistische Gesellschaft noch im Stande reinster jungfräulicher Unschuld lebte, alle ihre Gegensätze noch unentwickelt, alle ihre Selbsttäuschungen noch unenthüllt, alle ihre prosti-
20 tuirte Wirklichkeit noch nicht bloßgelegt. Die Kommune, rufen sie aus, will das Eigenthum, die Grundlage aller Civilisation abschaffen! Jawohl, meine Herren, die Kommune wollte jenes Klasseneigenthum abschaffen, das die Arbeit der Vielen in den Reichthum der Wenigen verwandelt. Sie beabsichtigte die Enteignung der Enteigner. Sie wollte das individuelle Eigenthum
25 zu einer Wahrheit machen, indem sie die Produktionsmittel, den Erdboden und das Kapital, jetzt vor Allem die Mittel zur Knechtung und Ausbeutung der Arbeit, in bloße Werkzeuge der freien und associirten Ar||27|beit ver- wandelt. — Aber dies ist der Kommunismus, der „unmögliche“ Kommunismus! Nun, diejenigen Leute aus den herrschenden Klassen, die verständig
30 genug sind, die Unmöglichkeit der Fortdauer des jetzigen Systems einzusehen — und deren gibt es Viele — haben sich zu zudringlichen und vollmäßigen Aposteln der genossenschaftlichen Produktion aufgeworfen. Wenn aber die genossenschaftliche Produktion nicht eitel Schein und Schwindel bleiben, wenn sie das kapitalistische System verdrängen, wenn die Gesammtheit der
35 Genossenschaften die nationale Produktion nach einem gemeinsamen Plan regeln, sie damit unter ihre eigne Leitung nehmen, und der beständigen Anarchie und den periodisch wiederkehrenden Convulsionen welche das Fatum (unvermeidliche Schicksal) der kapitalistischen Produktion sind, ein Ende machen soll — was wäre das anderes, meine Herren, als der Kommu-
40 nismus, der „mögliche“ Kommunismus?

Die Arbeiterklasse verlangte keine Wunder von der Kommune. Sie hat

■

Karl Marx

keine fix und fertigen Utopieen durch Volksbeschuß einzuführen. Sie weiß,
daß, um ihre eigne Befreiung und mit ihr jene höhere Lebensform hervor-
zuarbeiten, der die gegenwärtige Gesellschaft durch ihre eigene ökonomi-
sche Entwicklung unwiderstehlich entgegenstrebt, daß sie, die Arbeiter-
klasse, lange Kämpfe, eine ganze Reihe geschichtlicher Prozesse durchzu-
machen hat, durch welche die Menschen wie die Umstände gänzlich um-
gewandelt werden. Sie hat keine Ideale zu verwirklichen; sie hat nur die
Elemente der neuen Gesellschaft in Freiheit zu setzen, die sich bereits im
Schooß der zusammenbrechenden Bourgeoisgesellschaft entwickelt haben. 5
Im vollen Bewußtsein ihrer geschichtlichen Sendung und mit dem Helden-
entschuß, ihrer würdig zu handeln, kann die Arbeiterklasse sich begnügen,
zu lächeln gegenüber den plumpen Schimpfereien der Lakaien von der
Presse, und gegenüber der lehrhaften Protektion wohlmeinender Bourgeois-
Doktrinäre, die ihre unwissenden Gemeinplätze und Sektirermarotten im
Orakelton wissenschaftlicher Unfehlbarkeit abpredigen. 10
15

Als die Pariser Kommune die Leitung der Revolution in ihre eigne Hand
nahm; als einfache Arbeiter zum ersten Mal es wagten, das Regierungsprivilegium
ihrer „natürlichen Obern“, der Besitzenden, anzutasten, und,
unter Umständen von beispielloser Schwierigkeit, ihre Arbeit bescheiden,
gewissenhaft, und wirksam verrichteten — sie verrichteten für Gehalte, 20
deren höchstes kaum ein Fünftel von dem war, was nach einem hohen
wissen||28|schaftlichen Gewährsmann (Professor Huxley) das Geringste ist
für einen Sekretär des Londoner Schulraths, — da wand sich die alte Welt
in Wuthkrämpfen beim Anblick der rothen Fahne, die, das Symbol der
Republik der Arbeit, über dem Stadthause wehte. 25

Und doch war dies die erste Revolution, in der die Arbeiterklasse offen
anerkannt war als die einzige Klasse, die noch einer gesellschaftlichen
Initiative fähig war; anerkannt selbst durch die große Masse der Pariser
Mittelklasse — Kleinhändler, Handwerker, Kaufleute — die reichen Kapi-
talisten allein ausgenommen. Die Kommune hatte sie gerettet durch eine 30
weise Erledigung jener immer wiederkehrenden Ursache des Streits unter
der Mittelklasse selbst, der Frage zwischen Schuldern und Gläubigern.
Derselbe Theil der Mittelklasse hatte sich 1848 bei der Unterdrückung des
Arbeiteraufstands vom Juni beteiligt; und unmittelbar darauf war er durch
die konstituierende Versammlung ohne alle Umstände seinen Gläubigern 35
zum Opfer gebracht worden. Aber dies war nicht der einzige Grund, weß-
wegen er sich jetzt an die Arbeiter anschloß. Er fühlte, daß es nur noch eine
Wahl gab: die Kommune, oder das Kaiserthum, gleichviel unter welchem
Namen. Das Kaiserthum hatte diese Mittelklasse ökonomisch ruinirt durch
seine Verschleuderung des öffentlichen Reichthums, durch den von ihm 40
großgezogenen Finanzschwindel, durch seine Beihilfe zur künstlich be-

Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich · III

schleunigten Centralisation des Kapitals, und die dadurch bedingte Enteignung eines großen Theils dieser Mittelklasse. Es hatte sie politisch unterdrückt, sie sittlich entrüstet durch seine Orgien, es hatte ihren Voltairianismus beleidigt durch Ueberlieferung der Erziehung ihrer Kinder an die „unwissenden Brüderlein“, es hatte ihr Nationalgefühl als Franzosen empört, indem es sie kopfüber in einen Krieg stürzte, der für alle die Verwüstung, die er anrichtete, nur einen Ersatz ließ — die Vernichtung des Kaiserthums. In der That, nach der Auswanderung der hohen bonapartistischen und kapitalistischen Zigeunerbande aus Paris, trat die wahre Ordnungspartei der Mittelklasse hervor als die „Union Républicaine“, stellte sich unter die Fahne der Commune und vertheidigte sie gegen Thiers' absichtliche Entstellungen. Ob die Dankbarkeit dieser großen Masse der Mittelklasse die jetzigen schweren Prüfungen bestehen wird, bleibt abzuwarten.

Die Commune hatte vollständig Recht, als sie den Bauern zurief: „Unser Sieg ist Eure einzige Hoffnung!“ Von allen den ||29| Lügen, die in Versailles ausgeheckt und von den ruhmvollen europäischen Preßzuaven weiterposaunt wurden, war eine der ungeheuerlichsten die, daß die Krautjunker der Nationalversammlung die Vertreter der französischen Bauern seien. Man denke sich nur die Liebe des französischen Bauern für die Leute, denen er, nach 1815, eine Milliarde Entschädigung zahlen mußte! In den Augen des französischen Bauern ist ja schon die bloße Existenz eines großen Grundbesitzers ein Eingriff in seine Eroberungen von 1789. Der Bourgeois hatte 1848 die Bodenparzelle des Bauern mit der Zuschlagssteuer von 45 Centim auf den Franken belastet, aber er that es im Namen der Revolution; jetzt hatte er einen Bürgerkrieg gegen die Revolution entzündet, um die Hauptlast der den Preußen bewilligten fünf Milliarden Kriegsentschädigung den Bauern aufzubürden. Die Commune dagegen erklärte gleich in einer ihrer ersten Proklamationen, daß die wirklichen Urheber des Krieges auch dessen Kosten tragen müßten. Die Commune würde dem Bauer die Blusteuer abgenommen, ihm eine wohlfeile Regierung gegeben, und seine jetzigen Blutsauger, den Notar, den Advokaten, den Gerichtsvollzieher und andere gerichtliche Vampyre, in besoldete Kommunalbeamte, von ihm selbst gewählt und ihm verantwortlich, verwandelt haben. Sie würde ihn befreit haben von der Willkürherrschaft des Flurschützen, des Gensdarmen und des Präfekten; sie würde an Stelle der Verdummung durch den Pfaffen die Aufklärung durch den Schullehrer gesetzt haben. Und der französische Bauer ist vor Allem ein Mann, der rechnet. Er würde es äußerst vernünftig gefunden haben, daß die Bezahlung des Pfaffen, statt durch den Steuereinnehmer eingetrieben zu werden, nur von der freiwilligen Bethätigung des Frömmigkeitstriebes seiner Gemeinde abhängen solle. Dies

Karl Marx

waren die großen unmittelbaren Wohlthaten, die die Herrschaft der Kommune — und sie allein — den französischen Bauern in Aussicht stellte. Es ist daher ganz überflüssig, hier näher einzugehen auf die verwickeiteren wirklichen Lebensfragen, die die Kommune allein fähig, und gleichzeitig gezwungen war, zu Gunsten des Bauern zu lösen — die Hypothekenschuld, die wie ein Alp auf seiner Parzelle lastete, das ländliche Proletariat, das täglich auf ihr heranwuchs, und seine eigne Enteignung von dieser Parzelle, die mit stets wachsender Geschwindigkeit durch die Entwicklung der modernen Ackerbauwissenschaft und die Konkurrenz des kapitalistischen Bodenbaues sich durchsetzte.

5

Der französische Bauer hatte Louis Bonaparte zum Prä||30|sidenten der Republik gewählt, aber die Ordnungspartei schuf das zweite Kaiserthum. Was der französische Bauer wirklich bedarf, fing er an 1849 und 50 zu zeigen, indem er überall seinen Maire dem Regierungspräfekten, seinen Schullehrer dem Regierungspfaffen und sich selbst dem Regierungsgensdarmen entgegen stellte. Alle von der Ordnungspartei im Januar und Februar 1850 erlassenen Gesetze waren eingestandene Zwangsmaßregeln gegen die Bauern. Der Bauer war Bonapartist, weil die große Revolution, mit all ihren Vortheilen für ihn, in seinen Augen in Napoleon verkörpert war. Diese Täuschung, die unter dem zweiten Kaiserthum rasch am Zusammenbrechen 20 war (und sie war ihrer ganzen Natur nach den Krautjunkern feindlich), dies Vorurtheil der Vergangenheit, wie hätte es bestehen können gegenüber dem Appel der Kommune an die lebendigen Interessen und dringenden Bedürfnisse der Bauern?

15

Die Krautjunker — dies war in der That ihre Hauptbefürchtung — 25 wußten, daß drei Monate freien Verkehrs zwischen dem kommunalen Paris und den Provinzen einen allgemeinen Baueraufstand zu Wege bringen würden. Daher ihre ängstliche Eile, Paris mit einer Polizeiblokade zu umgeben und die Verbreitung der Rinderpest zu hemmen.

Wenn sonach die Kommune die wahre Vertreterin aller gesunden Elemente der französischen Gesellschaft war, und daher die wahrhaft nationale Regierung, so war sie gleichzeitig, als eine Arbeiterregierung, als der kühne Vorkämpfer der Befreiung der Arbeit, im vollen Sinne des Wortes international. Unter den Augen der preußischen Armee, die zwei französische Provinzen an Deutschland annexirt hatte, annexirte die Kommune die 35 Arbeiter der ganzen Welt an Frankreich.

30

Das zweite Kaiserthum war das Jubelfest der kosmopolitischen Prellerei gewesen, die Hochstapler aller Länder waren auf seinen Ruf herzugestürzt, theilzunehmen an seinen Orgien und an der Ausplündерung des französischen Volkes. Selbst in diesem Augenblick noch ist Thiers' rechte Hand 40 Gancesco, der walachische Lump, und seine linke Hand Markowski, der

r

Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich · III

russische Spion. Die Kommune ließ alle Fremden zu zu der Ehre, für eine unsterbliche Sache zu fallen. — Zwischen dem durch ihren Verrath verlorenen auswärtigen Krieg und dem durch ihre Verschwörung mit dem fremden Eroberer entzündeten Bürgerkrieg hatte die Bourgeoisie die Zeit 5 gefunden, ihren Patriotismus durch die Organisation von Polizeijagden auf die Deutschen in 11311 Frankreich zu bethätigen. Die Kommune machte einen Deutschen zu ihrem Arbeitsminister. — Thiers, die Bourgeoisie, das zweite Kaiserthum, hatten Polen immerfort durch laute Verheißenungen der Theilnahme getäuscht, während sie in Wirklichkeit es an Rußland verriethen und 10 Rußlands schmutzige Arbeit verrichteten. Die Kommune ehrte die Helden-söhne Polens, indem sie sie an die Spitze der Vertheidiger von Paris stellte. Und, um ganz unverkennbar die neue geschichtliche Aera zu bezeichnen, die sie einzuleiten sich bewußt war, warf die Kommune, unter den Augen, hier der siegreichen Preußen, dort der von bonapartistischen Generalen 15 geführten bonapartistischen Armee, das kolossale Symbol des Kriegsruhms nieder, die Vendomesäule.

Die große soziale Maßregel der Kommune war ihr eignes arbeitendes Dasein. Ihre besonderen Maßregeln konnten nur die Richtung andeuten, in der eine Regierung des Volkes durch das Volk sich bewegt. Dahin gehören 20 die Abschaffung der Nachtarbeit der Bäckergesellen; das Verbot, bei Strafe, der bei Arbeitgebern üblichen Praxis, den Lohn her abzudrücken durch Auferlegung von Geldstrafen auf die Arbeiter unter allerlei Vorwänden, — ein Verfahren, wobei der Arbeitgeber in Einer Person Gesetzgeber, Richter und Vollstrecker ist und obendrein das Geld einsteckt. Eine 25 andere Maßregel dieser Art war die Auslieferung von allen geschlossenen Werkstätten und Fabriken an Arbeitergenossenschaften, unter Vorbehalt der Entschädigung, gleichviel ob der betreffende Kapitalist geflüchtet war oder aber vorzog, die Arbeit einzustellen.

Die finanziellen Maßregeln der Kommune, ausgezeichnet durch ihre 30 Einsicht und ihre Mäßigung, konnten sich nur auf solche beschränken, die mit der Lage einer belagerten Stadt verträglich waren. In Anbetracht der ungeheuren Diebstähle, begangen an der Stadt Paris durch die großen Finanzkompagnien und Bauunternehmer unter Haussmann's Herrschaft, hätte die Kommune ein weit größeres Recht gehabt, ihr Eigentum zu 35 konfisciren, als Louis Bonaparte das der Familie Orleans. Die Hohenzollern und die englischen Oligarchen, die Beide ein gutes Stück ihrer Besitzungen von geraubtem Kircheneigentum herleiten, waren natürlich höchst entrüstet über die Kommune, die aus der Säkularisation nur 8000 Franken profitirte.

40 Während die Versailler Regierung, sobald sie wieder zu etwas Muth und Stärke gekommen, die gewaltsamsten Mittel gegen die Kommune an-

Karl Marx

wandte; während sie die freie Meinungsäußerung über ganz Frankreich unterdrückte und sogar Versamm||32|lungen von Delegirten der großen Städte verbot; während sie Versailles und das übrige Frankreich einer Spionage, weit schlimmer als die des zweiten Kaiserthums, unterwarf; während sie durch ihre Gendarmen-Inquisitoren alle in Paris gedruckten Zeitungen verbrannte und alle Briefe von und nach Paris erbrach; während in der Nationalversammlung die furchtsamsten Versuche, ein Wort für Paris zu verlautbaren, niedergeheult wurden in einer, seihst in der Junkerkammer von 1816 unerhörten Weise; während der blutdürstigen Kriegsführung der Versailler außerhalb, und ihrer Versuche der Bestechung und Verschwörung innerhalb Paris — hätte da die Kommune nicht ihre Stellung schmählich verrathen, wenn sie alle Anstandsformen des Liberalismus, wie im tiefsten Frieden, beobachtet hätte? Wäre die Regierung der Kommune der Herrn Thiers verwandt gewesen, es wäre ebensowenig Veranlassung dagewesen, Ordnungsparteiblätter in Paris, wie Kommunalblätter in Versailles zu unterdrücken.

Es war in der That ärgerlich für die Krautjunker, daß gerade um die Zeit, wo sie die Rückkehr zur Kirche als einziges Mittel zur Rettung Frankreichs erklärten, die ungläubige Kommune die eigenthümlichen Geheimnisse des Nonnenklosters Picpus und der Kirche St. Laurent aufdeckte. Es war eine Satire auf Thiers, daß, während er Großkreuze auf die bonapartistischen Generale regnen ließ für ihre Meisterschaft im Schlachtenverlieren, Kapitulationsunterzeichnen und Wilhelmshöher Cigarettenrehren, die Kommune ihre Generale absetzte und verhaftete, sobald sie der Vernachlässigung ihres Dienstes verdächtig waren. Die Ausstoßung und Verhaftung eines Mitgliedes, das sich unter falschem Namen eingeschlichen, und früher in Lyon sechs Tage Gefängniß wegen einfachen Bankerotts erlitten hatte — war sie nicht eine vorbedachte Beleidigung, ins Gesicht geschleudert dem Fälscher Jules Favre, damals noch immer auswärtiger Minister Frankreichs, noch immer Frankreich verkaufend an Bismarck, noch immer Befehle diktirend jener unvergleichlichen belgischen Regierung? Aber, in der That, die Kommune machte keinen Anspruch auf Unfehlbarkeit, wie dies alle die alten Regierungen ohne Ausnahme thun. Sie veröffentlichte alle ihre Reden und Handlungen, sie weihte das Publikum ein in alle ihre Unvollkommenheiten.

In jeder Revolution drängen sich, neben ihren wirklichen Vertretern, Leute andern Gepräges vor. Einige sind die Ueberlebenden früherer Revolutionen, mit denen sie verwachsen sind; ||33| ohne Einsicht in die gegenwärtige Bewegung, aber noch im Besitz großen Einflusses auf das Volk durch ihren bekannten Muth und Charakter, oder auch durch bloße Tradition. Andre sind bloße Schreier, die, Jahrelang dieselben ständigen

F

Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich - III

Deklamationen gegen die Regierung des Tages wiederholend, sich in den Ruf von Revolutionären des reinsten Wassers eingeschlichen haben. Auch nach dem 18. März kamen solche Leute zum Vorschein und spielten sogar in einigen Fällen eine hervorragende Rolle. Soweit ihre Macht ging, hemmten sie die wirkliche Aktion der Arbeiterklasse, wie sie die volle Entwicklung jeder früheren Revolution gehemmt haben. Sie sind ein unvermeidliches Uebel; mit der Zeit schüttelt man sie ab; aber gerade diese Zeit wurde der Kommune nicht gelassen.

Wunderbar in der That war die Verwandlung, die die Kommune an Paris vollzogen hatte! Keine Spur mehr von dem buhlerischen Paris des zweiten Kaiserthums. Paris war nicht länger der Sammelplatz von britischen Grundbesitzern, irischen Absentees, amerikanischen Ex-Sklavenhaltern und Emporkömmlingen, russischen Ex-Leibeignenbesitzern und walachischen Bojaren. Keine Leichen mehr in der Morgue, keine nächtlichen Einbrüche, fast keine Diebstähle mehr; seit den Februartagen von 1848 waren die Straßen von Paris wirklich wieder einmal sicher, und das ohne irgend welche Polizei. „Wir“, sagte ein Mitglied der Kommune, „wir hören jetzt nichts mehr von Mord, Raub und Thätlichkeiten gegen Personen; es scheint in der That, als ob die Polizei alle ihre konservativen Freunde mit nach Versailles geschleppt habe.“ Die Cocotten hatten die Fährte ihrer Beschützer wiedergefunden — der flüchtigen Männer der Familie, der Religion und vor Allem des Eigenthums. An ihrer Stelle kamen die wirklichen Weiber von Paris wieder an die Oberfläche — heroisch, hochherzig und aufopfernd wie die Weiber des Alterthums. Paris, arbeitend, denkend, kämpfend, blutend, über seiner Vorbereitung einer neuen Gesellschaft fast vergessend der Kannibalen vor seinen Thoren, strahlend in der Begeisterung seiner geschichtlichen Initiative!

Und nun, gegenüber dieser neuen Welt in Paris, siehe da die alte Welt in Versailles — diese Versammlung der Ghuls aller verstorbenen Régimes, Legitimisten und Orleanisten, gierig, vom Leichnam der Nation zu zehren — mit einem Schwanz vorsündfluthlicher Republikaner, die durch ihre Gegenwart in der Versammlung der Sklavenhalter-Rebellion zustimmten, die Erhaltung ihrer parlamentarischen Republik von der Eitelkeit ||34| des bejahrten Pickelhärings an der Spitze der Regierung erhofften, und 1789 karrikirten durch Abhaltung ihrer gespensterhaften Versammlungen im Jeu de Paume (Ballspielhaus, wo die Nationalversammlung von 1789 ihre berühmten Beschlüsse faßte). Da war sie, diese Versammlung, die Vertreterin von allem, was abgestorben war in Frankreich, aufgestützt zur Positur scheinbaren Lebens durch Nichts als die Säbel der Generale von Louis Bonaparte. Paris ganz Wahrheit, Versailles ganz Lüge, und diese Lüge losgelassen durch den Mund von Thiers.

Karl Marx

Thiers sagt einer Deputation der Bürgermeister des Seine- und Oise-Departements: „Sie können sich auf mein Wort verlassen, das ich *nie* gebrochen habe!“ Der Versammlung selbst sagt er, sie sei „die freiestgewählte und liberalste Versammlung, die Frankreich je besessen“; seiner buntgemischten Soldateska, sie sei „die Bewunderung der Welt und die schönste Armee, die Frankreich je gehabt“; den Provinzen, das Bombardelement von Paris sei ein Mahrchen: „wenn einige Kanonenschüsse gefallen sind, so geschah das nicht durch die Versailler Armee, sondern durch einige Insurgenten, die glauben machen wollen, sie schlügen sich, wo sie sich doch nirgends zu zeigen wagen.“ Dann wieder sagt er den Provinzen: „Die Artillerie von Versailles bombardirt Paris nicht, sie kanoniert es bloß.“ Dem Erzbischof von Paris sagt er, die den Versailler Truppen nacherzählten Erschießungen und Repressalien (!) seien lauter Lügen. Er verkündet an Paris, er beabsichtige nur „es von den scheußlichen Tyrannen zu befreien, die es bedrücken“, und das Paris der Kommune sei in der That „nur eine Handvoll Verbrecher“. 5 10 15

Das Paris des Thiers war nicht das wirkliche Paris der „schoflen Menge“, sondern ein Phantasie-Paris, das Paris der Francs-Fileurs, das Paris der Boulevards, männlich wie weiblich, das reiche, das kapitalistische, das vergoldete, das faulenzende Paris, das sich jetzt mit seinen Lakaien, seinen 20 Hochstaplern, seiner literarischen Zigeunerbande und seinen Cocotten in Versailles, Saint Denis, Rueil und Saint Germain drängte; für das der Bürgerkrieg nur ein angenehmes Zwischenspiel war; das den Kampf durchs Fernglas betrachtete, die Kanonenschüsse zählte, und bei seiner eignen Ehre und der seiner Huren schwor, das Schauspiel sei unendlich besser 25 arrangirt, als es im Theater der Porte Saint Martin je gewesen. Die Gefallenen waren wirklich todt, das Geschrei der Verwundeten war kein bloßer Schein; und dann, wie welthistorisch war nicht die ganze Sache!|

j351 Dies ist das Paris des Herrn Thiers, ganz wie die Emigration von Coblenz das Frankreich des Herrn von Calonne war. — 30

IV.

Der erste Versuch der Sklavenhalter-Verschwörung zur Unterwerfung von Paris, wonach die Preußen es besetzen sollten, scheiterte an Bismarck's Weigerung. Der zweite Versuch, am 18. März, endigte mit der Niederlage der Armee und der Flucht der Regierung nach Versailles, wohin ihr die gesammte Verwaltungsmaschinerie folgen mußte. Durch Vorspiegelung von Friedensunterhandlungen mit Paris gewann Thiers jetzt die Zeit, den Krieg gegen Paris vorzubereiten. Aber woher eine Armee nehmen? Die 35

Ueberbleibsel der Linienregimenter waren schwach an Zahl und unsicher von Stimmung. Seine dringenden Aufrufe an die Provinzen, Versailles mit ihren Nationalgarden und Freiwilligen zu Hilfe zu eilen, stießen auf offene Weigerung. Nur die Bretagne sandte eine Handvoll Chouans, die unter der weißen Fahne fochten, Jeder mit dem Herzen Jesu in weißem Linnen auf der Brust, und deren Schlachtruf war: Vive le Roi! (Es lebe der König!) Thiers blieb also darauf angewiesen, in aller Eile eine buntscheckige Bande zusammen zu trommeln, Matrosen, Seesoldaten, päpstliche Zuaven, Valentine's Gensdarmen, Piétri's Stadtsergeanten und Mouchards (Spione). Diese Armee wäre jedoch bis zur Lächerlichkeit ungenügend gewesen, ohne die nach und nach eintreffenden imperialistischen Kriegsgefangenen, die Bismarck in Abschlagssendungen losließ, hinreichend einerseits, den Bürgerkrieg im Gang, und andererseits Versailles in kriechender Abhängigkeit von Preußen zu halten. Im Verlauf dieses Krieges selbst, hatte die Versailler Polizei der Versailler Armee aufzupassen, während die Gensdarmen diese Armee mit sich fortreißen mußten, indem sie sich überall an den gefährlichsten Posten zuerst aussetzten. Die Forts, welche fielen, wurden nicht genommen, sondern gekauft. Der Heldenmuth der Kommunalisten überzeugte Thiers, daß der Widerstand von Paris nicht durch sein eigenes strategisches Genie und die ihm verfügbaren Bajonette zu brechen war.

Gleichzeitig wurden seine Beziehungen zu den Provinzen immer schwieriger. Nicht eine einzige Billigungsadresse lief ein, um Thiers und seine Krautjunker aufzuheitern. Ganz im Gegentheil. Deputationen und Adressen strömten ein von allen Seiten und verlangten in einem keineswegs achtungsvollen Ton, ||36| Versöhnung mit Paris auf Grundlage der unzweideutigen Anerkennung der Republik, der Bestätigung der kommunalen Freiheiten und der Auflösung der Nationalversammlung, deren Mandat erloschen sei. In solchen Massen kamen sie an, daß Dufaure, Thiers' Justizminister, den Staatsanwälten in einem Cirkular vom 23. April befahl, „den Ruf nach Versöhnung“ als ein Verbrechen zu behandeln! Im Hinblick jedoch auf die hoffnungslose Aussicht, die ihm sein Feldzug eröffnete, beschloß Thiers, seine Taktik zu ändern und schrieb für das ganze Land Gemeinderatswahlen für den 30. April aus, auf Grund der neuen, von ihm der Nationalversammlung diktirten Gemeindeordnung. Mit den Intrigen seiner Präfekten hier, mit der Einschüchterung seiner Polizei dort, erwartete er ganz zuversichtlich, durch den Wahrspruch der Provinzen der Nationalversammlung die moralische Macht zu geben, die sie nie besessen hatte, und von den Provinzen die materielle Macht zu erhalten, deren er zur Besiegung von Paris bedurfte.

Seinen Räuberkrieg gegen Paris, verherrlicht in seinen eigenen Bulletins, und die Versuche seiner Minister, in ganz Frankreich eine neue Schreckens-

Karl Marx

herrschaft zu errichten, hatte Thiers gleich von Anfang für nötig gehalten durch eine kleine Versöhnungskomödie zu ergänzen, die mehr als Einem Zwecke dienen sollte. Sie sollte die Provinzen hinters Licht führen, die Mittelklassen in Paris anlocken, und vor Allem den angeblichen Republikanern der Nationalversammlung die Gelegenheit geben, ihren Verrath gegen Paris hinter ihrem Glauben an Thiers zu verbergen. Am 21. März, als er noch keine Armee besaß, hatte er der Versammlung erklärt: „Komme was da will, ich werde keine Armee nach Paris schicken.“ Am 27. März erhob er sich wieder: „Ich habe die Republik als vollendete Thatsache vorgefunden, und ich bin fest entschlossen, sie aufrecht zu erhalten.“ In Wirklichkeit unterdrückte er die Revolution in Lyon und Marseille im Namen der Republik, während das Gebrüll seiner Krautjunker die bloße Erwähnung ihres Namens in Versailles niederheulte. Nach dieser Heldenthat milderte er die vollendete Thatsache herab zu einer vorausgesetzten Thatsache. Die Orleansprinzen, die er vorsichtig aus Bordeaux wegbe- schieden hatte, durften jetzt, in offenem Gesetzesbruch, frei in Dreux intriguiren. Die Zugeständnisse, die Thiers in seinen endlosen Zusammenkünften mit den Delegirten von Paris und den Provinzen in Aussicht stellte — so sehr sie auch fortwährend in Ton und Färbung wechselten — liefen ||37| schließ- lich immer darauf hinaus, daß seine Rache sich voraussichtlich auf die „Handvoll Verbrecher, beteiligt beim Morde von Clement Thomas und Lecomte“ beschränken solle, unter der wohlverstandenen Bedingung, daß Paris und Frankreich den Herrn Thiers selbst rückhaltslos als die beste der Republiken anerkennen sollte, gerade wie er 1830 mit Louis Philippe gethan. Und selbst diese Zugeständnisse — nicht nur daß er Sorge trug, sie zweifei- haf t zu machen durch die offiziellen Erläuterungen, die seine Minister in der National-Versammlung dazu machten; nein, er hatte auch seinen Dufaure zum Handeln. Dufaure, dieser alte orleanistische Advokat, war jederzeit der Oberrichter des Belagerungszustandes gewesen, wie jetzt, 1871, unter Thiers, so 1839 unter Louis Philippe und 1849 unter Louis Bonaparte's Präsidentschaft. Wenn er nicht Minister war, bereicherte er sich, indem er für die Pariser Kapitalisten plaidirte und machte politisches Kapital, indem er gegen die von ihm selbst eingeführten Gesetze plaidirte. Jetzt, nicht zufrieden, eine Reihe Unterdrückungsgesetze durch die Nationalversamm- lung zu hetzen, die, nach dem Fall von Paris, die letzten Reste republika- nischer Freiheit in Paris ausrotten sollten — deutete er selbst das Geschick von Paris im Voraus an, indem er die, ihm noch zu langwierige, Verf ahrungsweise der Kriegsgerichte abkürzte und ein neugebackenes drakonisches Deportationsgesetz einbrachte. Die Revolution von 1848, welche die Todes- strafe für politische Verbrechen abschaffte, hatte sie durch Deportation ersetzt. Louis Napoleon wagte nicht, die Herrschaft der Guillotine wieder-

herzustellen, wenigstens nicht offen ausgesprochen. Die Junkerversammlung, noch nicht kühn genug, selbst nur anzudeuten, daß die Pariser nicht Rebellen, sondern Mörder seien, mußte deßhalb ihre vorweggenommene Rache gegen Paris auf Dufaure's neues Deportationsgesetz beschränken.

5 Unter allen diesen Umständen würde Thiers seine Versöhnungskomödie unmöglich weiter gespielt haben, hätte sie nicht, was er gerade wollte, das Wuthgeschrei der Krautjunker hervorgerufen, deren wiederkäuender Verstand weder das Spiel verstand, noch die Nothwendigkeit seiner Heuchelei, Falschheit und Hinhaltung.

10 Angesichts der bevorstehenden Gemeinderathswahlen vom 30. April führte Thiers am 27. eine seiner großen Versöhnungsscenen auf. Mitten in einer Fluth sentimentalen Redeergusses, rief er von der Tribüne der Nationalversammlung aus: „Die einzige Verschwörung gegen die Republik, die es gibt, ist die von Paris, die uns zwingt, französisches Blut zu jj381 vergießen. Ich wiederhole es aber und abermals: laßt diese ruchlosen Waffen fallen aus den Händen Derer, die sie führen, und die Strafe wird augenblicklich aufgehalten werden durch einen Friedensakt, der nur die kleine Zahl der Verbrecher ausschließt.“ Den heftigen Unterbrechungen der Krautjunker antwortete er: „Sagen Sie mir, meine Herren, ich bitte Sie inständigst, habe ich Unrecht? Thut es Ihnen wirklich leid, daß ich in Wahrheit sagen konnte, daß der Verbrecher nur eine Handvoll sind? Ist es nicht ein Glück inmitten all unseres Unglücks, daß die Leute, die fähig waren, das Blut von Clement Thomas und General Lecomte zu vergießen, nur seltene Ausnahmen bilden?“

15 25 Frankreich jedoch hatte nur taube Ohren für Thiers' Reden, in denen er sich schmeichelte, einen parlamentarischen Sirenengesang geleistet zu haben. Aus allen den 700000 Gemeinderäthen, gewählt in den 35000 noch bei Frankreich gebliebenen Gemeinden, setzten die vereinigten Legitimisten, Orleanisten und Bonapartisten nicht 8000 durch. Die nachfolgenden Ersatzwählen fielen noch feindseliger aus. Die Nationalversammlung, statt von den Provinzen die so sehr benötigte materielle Macht zu erhalten, verlor selbst den letzten Anspruch auf moralische Macht: den, der Ausdruck des allgemeinen Stimmrechts von Frankreich zu sein. Und um die Niederlage zu vollenden, bedrohten die neu gewählten Gemeinderäthe aller französischen Städte die usurpatorische Versammlung von Versailles mit einer Gegenversammlung in Bordeaux.

30 35 Damit war der langerwartete Augenblick zum entscheidenden Auftreten für Bismarck gekommen. Er befahl Thiers im Herrscherton, unverzüglich Bevollmächtigte für den endgültigen Friedensschluß nach Frankfurt zu senden. In demütigem Gehorsam gegen den Ruf seines Herrn und Meisters, beeilte sich Thiers, seinen bewährten Jules Favre, unterstützt von

Karl Marx

Pouyer-Quertier abzuschicken. Pouyer-Quertier, ein „hervorragender“ Baum Wollspinner von Rouen, ein glühender und selbst serviler Anhänger des zweiten Kaiserthums, hatte an diesem nie etwas Unrechtes entdeckt, außer dem Handelsvertrag mit England, der seinem eignen Fabrikanten-Interesse schadete. Kaum in Bordeaux zum Finanzminister von Thiers eingesetzt, klagte er auch schon diesen „unheiligen“ Vertrag an, machte Andeutungen, daß er bald abgeschafft werde, und hatte sogar die Unverschämtheit, wenn auch umsonst (da er seine Rechnung ohne Bismarck gemacht hatte) die sofortige Wiedereinführung der alten Schutz[39]zölle gegen das Elsaß zu versuchen, wo, wie er sagte, dem keine noch gültigen internationalen Verträge im Wege stünden. Dieser Mann, der die Contre-revolution als ein Mittel ansah, um den Arbeitslohn in Rouen herunterzudrücken, und die Abtretung französischer Provinzen als ein Mittel, den Preis seiner Waaren in Frankreich heraufzuschrauben — war er nicht schon im Voraus angezeigt als der würdige Genosse Jules Favre's, in seinem letzten, sein ganzes Werk krönenden Verrath?

Als dies fürtreffliche Paar von Bevollmächtigten nach Frankfurt kam, schnauzte Bismarck sie alsbald mit dem Kommando an: Entweder Wiederherstellung des Kaiserthums, oder unweigerliche Annahme meiner eigenen Friedensbedingungen! Diese Bedingungen enthielten eine Abkürzung der Zahlungsfristen für die Kriegsentschädigung, nebst fort dauernder Besetzung der Pariser Forts durch preußische Truppen, bis Bismarck mit dem Stand der Dinge in Frankreich sich zufrieden erkläre — so daß Preußen als höchster Schiedsrichter in den innern Angelegenheiten Frankreichs anerkannt wurde! Dagegen war er bereit, zur Ausrottung von Paris die gefangene bonapartistische Armee loszulassen und ihnen die direkte Unterstützung der Truppen des Kaisers Wilhelm zu leihen. Er verbürgte seine Ehrlichkeit dadurch, daß er die Zahlung der ersten Entschädigungsrate von der „Pacification“ von Paris abhängig machte. Solch ein Köder wurde natürlich von Thiers und seinen Bevollmächtigten gierig verschlungen. Sie unterschrieben den Vertrag am 10. Mai und besorgten seine Bestätigung durch die Nationalversammlung schon am 18.

In der Zwischenzeit vom Friedensschluß bis zur Ankunft der bonapartistischen Gefangenen, fühlte sich Thiers um so mehr verpflichtet, seine Versöhnungskomödie wieder aufzunehmen, als seine republikanischen Handlanger in äußerster Bedrängniß waren wegen eines Vorwands, um bei den Vorbereitungen zum Pariser Blutbad ein Auge zuzudrücken. Noch am 8. Mai antwortete er einer Deputation von versöhnlichen Mittelbürgern: „Sobald die Insurgenten sich zur Kapitulation entschließen, sollen die Thore von Paris eine Woche lang weit geöffnet werden für Alle, außer den Mör dern der Generale Clement Thomas und Lecomte.“

Einige Tage nachher, heftig von den Krautjunkern wegen dieser Zusage zur Rede gestellt, weigerte er alle Auskunft, fügte aber diesen bezeichnenden Wink hinzu: „Ich sage Ihnen, es gibt Ungeduldige unter Ihnen, die zu viel Eile haben. Sie ||40| müssen noch acht Tage warten; am Ende dieser 5 acht Tage wird keine Gefahr mehr sein und die Aufgabe wird dann ihrem Muth und ihren Fähigkeiten entsprechen.“ Sobald MacMahon im Stande war, zu versprechen, daß er bald in Paris einrücken könne, erklärte Thiers der Nationalversammlung, er „werde in Paris einziehen mit dem *Gesetz* in der Hand und volle Sühne verlangen von den Elenden, die das Leben von 10 Soldaten geopfert und öffentliche Denkmäler zerstört hätten“. Als der Augenblick der Entscheidung heranrückte, sagte er zur National-Versammlung: „ich werde ohne Barmherzigkeit sein“; zu Paris, sein Urtheil sei gesprochen; und zu seinen bonapartistischen Banditen, sie hätten Staatserlaubniß, an Paris ihre Rache nach Herzenslust auszuüben. Endlich, als am 15 21. Mai der Verrath dem General Douay die Thore von Paris geöffnet hatte, enthüllte Thiers, am 22., seinen Krautjunkern das „Ziel“ seiner Versöhnlichkeitsskomödie, die sie so hartnäckig mißverstanden hatten. „Ich habe Ihnen vor einigen Tagen gesagt, wir näherten uns dem Ziele; heute komme ich Ihnen zu sagen — das Ziel ist erreicht. Der Sieg der Ordnung, Gerechtigkeit und Civilisation ist endlich gewonnen.“ 20

Und das war er. Die Civilisation und Gerechtigkeit der Bourgeois-Ordnung tritt hervor in ihrem wahren, gewitterschwangern Licht, sobald die Sklaven in dieser Ordnung sich gegen ihre Herren empören. Dann stellt sich diese Civilisation und Gerechtigkeit dar als unverhüllte Wildheit und gesetzlose Rache. Jede neue Krisis im Klassenkampf zwischen dem Aneigner und dem Hervorbringer des Reichthums bringt diese Thatsache greller zum Vorschein. Selbst die Scheußlichkeiten der Bourgeois vom Juni 1848 verschwinden vor der unsagbaren Niedertracht von 1871. Der selbststopfernde Heldenmuth, womit das Pariser Volk — Männer, Weiber und Kinder — 25 acht Tage lang nach dem Einrücken der Versailler, fortkämpften, strahlt ebenso sehr zurück die Größe ihrer Sache, wie die höllischen Thaten der Soldateska zurückstrahlen den eingebornen Geist jener Civilisation, deren gemietete Vorkämpfer und Rächer sie sind. Eine ruhmvolle Civilisation in der That, deren große Aufgabe es ist, wie die Haufen von Leichen los 30 werden, die sie mordete, nachdem der Kampf vorüber war!

Um ein Seitenstück zu finden für das Benehmen des Thiers und seiner Bluthunde, müssen wir zurückgehen zu den Zeiten des Sulla und der beiden römischen Triumvirate. Dieselbe massenweise Schlägerei bei kaltem Blut; dieselbe Miß||41|achtung, beim Morden, von Alter und Geschlecht; 35 dasselbe System, Gefangne zu martern; dieselben Aechtungen, aber diesmal gegen eine ganze Klasse; dieselbe wilde Jagd nach den versteckten Führern,

Karl Marx

damit auch nicht Einer entkomme; dieselbe Angeberei gegen politische und
Privatfeinde; dieselbe Gleichgültigkeit bei der Niedermetzelung von dem
Kampf ganz fremden Leuten. Nur der eine Unterschied ist da, daß die
Römer noch keine Mitrailleusen hatten, um die Geächteten schockweise
abzuthun, und daß sie nicht „in ihren Händen das Gesetz“ trugen, noch 5
auf ihren Lippen den Ruf der „Civilisation“.

Und nach diesen Schandthaten, seht jetzt auf die andere, noch ekelhaftere
Seite dieser Bourgeois-Civilisation, beschrieben durch ihre eigene Presse!

„Während, schreibt der Pariser Correspondent eines Londoner Tory-
blattes, während noch einzelne Schüsse in der Ferne ertönen und unver- 10
pflegte Verwundete zwischen den Grabsteinen des Père la Chaise verenden,
während 6000 erschreckte Insurgenten im Todeskampf der Verzweiflung in
den Irrgängen der Katakomben sich verloren haben, und man Unglückliche
noch durch die Straßen treiben sieht, um von den Mitrailleusen schockweise
niedergeschossen zu werden — ist es empörend, die Cafés gefüllt zu sehen 15
mit Absinthtrinkern, Billard- und Dominospielern; zu sehen, wie weibliche
Verworfenheit sich auf den Boulevards breit macht, und zu hören, wie der
laute Schall der Schwelgerei aus den Privatzimmerchen vornehmer Re-
staurants die Nachtruhe stört.“ Herr Eduard Hervé schreibt im „Journal de
Paris“, einem von der Kommune unterdrückten Versaillistischen Journal: 20
„Die Art, wie die Pariser Bevölkerung (!) gestern ihre Befriedigung an den
Tag legte, war in der That mehr als frivol, und wir fürchten, das wird mit
der Zeit schlimmer werden. Paris hat jetzt ein festliches Aussehen, das
wahrlich nicht am Platze ist, und falls wir nicht ‚die Pariser des Verfalls‘
genannt zu werden wünschen, muß dem ein Ende gemacht werden.“ Und 25
dann citirt er die Stelle des Tacitus: „Und doch, den Morgen nach jenem
schrecklichen Kampf, und selbst, ehe er vollständig ausgefochten war,
begann Rom, erniedrigt und verderbt, von Neuem sich zu wälzen in jenem
Sumpf der Wollust, der seinen Leib zerstörte und seine Seele befleckte —
alibi proelia et vulnera, alibi balneae popinaeque (hier Kämpfe und Wunden, 30
dort Bäder und Restaurants).“ — Herr Hervé vergißt nur, daß die „Pariser
Bevölkerung“, von der er spricht, nur die Bevölkerung [42] des Paris von
Thiers ist, die Francs-Fileurs, die haufenweise von Versailles, Saint Denis,
Rueil und Saint Germain zurückkehren, in der That das „Paris des Verfalls“. 35

In jedem ihrer blutigen Triumphen über die selbstopfernden Vorkämpfer
einer neuen und besseren Gesellschaft, übertäubt diese, auf die Knechtung
der Arbeit gegründete, schmähliche Civilisation das Geschrei ihrer Schlacht-
opfer durch einen Hetzruf der Verläumding, den ein weltweites Echo
wiederholt. Das heitere Arbeiterparis der Kommune verwandelt sich plötz-
lich, unter den Händen der Bluthunde der „Ordnung“, in ein Pandämonium. 40
Und was beweist diese ungeheure Verwandlung dem Bourgeoisverstand

Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich • IV

aller Länder? Nichts, als daß die Kommune sich gegen die Civilisation verschworen hat! Das Pariser Volk opfert sich begeistert für die Kommune; die Zahl seiner Todten ist unerreicht in irgend einer früheren Schlacht. Was beweist das? Nichts, als daß die Kommune nicht des Volks eigne Regierung,
5 sondern die Gewalthandlung einer Handvoll Verbrecher war! Die Weiber von Paris geben freudig ihr Leben hin, an den Barrikaden wie auf dem Richtplatz. Was beweist das? Nichts, als daß der Dämon der Kommune sie in Megären und Hekaten verwandelt hat! Die Mäßigung der Kommune, während zweimonatlicher unbestrittener Herrschaft, findet ihres Gleichen
10 nur in dem Heldenmuth ihrer Vertheidigung. Was beweist das? Nichts, als daß die Kommune zwei Monate lang, unter der Maske der Mäßigung und Menschlichkeit, den Blutdurst ihrer teuflischen Gelüste sorgfältig verbarg, um sie in der Stunde ihres Todeskampfes loszulassen!

Das Paris der Arbeiter hat im Akt seiner heroischen Selbstopferung
15 Gebäude und Monamente mit in die Flammen gezogen. Wenn die Beherr-
scher des Proletariats seinen lebendigen Leib in Stücke reißen, dürfen sie nicht länger darauf rechnen, triumphirend in die unangetasteten Mauern ihrer Wohnsitze wieder einzuziehen. Die Versailler Regierung schreit:
Brandstiftung! und flüstert dies Stichwort allen ihren Handlangern zu bis
20 ins entfernteste Dorf, auf ihre Gegner überall Jagd zu machen als der gewerbsmäßigen Brandstiftung verdächtig. Die Bourgeoisie der ganzen Welt sieht der Massenschlächterei *nach* der Schlacht wohlgefällig zu, aber sie entsetzt sich über die Entweihung von Dach und Fach!

Wenn Regierungen ihren Kriegsflotten Staatsfreibrief geben, „zu tödten,
25 zu verbrennen und zu zerstören“, ist das **11431** ein Freibrief für Brandstiftung?
Als die britischen Truppen muthwillig das Kapitol in Washington und den Sommerpalast des Kaisers von China verbrannten, war das Brandstiftung?
Als Thiers sechs Wochen lang Paris bombardirte, unter dem Vorwand, daß er bloß solche Häuser anzünden wollte, in denen Leute seien, war das
30 Brandstiftung? — Im Krieg ist Feuer eine vollständig rechtmäßige Waffe.
Gebäude, vom Feinde besetzt, bombardirt man, um sie anzuzünden.
Müssen die Vertheidiger sie verlassen, so stecken sie selber sie in Brand,
damit die Angreifer sich nicht darin festsetzen können. Niedergebrannt zu werden, war stets das unvermeidliche Schicksal aller in der Schlachtfeld
35 aller regelmäßigen Armeen der Welt gelegenen Gebäude. Aber im Krieg der Geknechteten gegen ihre Unterdrücker, dem einzigen rechtmäßigen Krieg in der Geschichte, da soll dies bei Leibe nicht gelten! Die Kommune hat das Feuer, im strengsten Sinne des Worts, als Vertheidigungsmittel gebraucht.
Sie wandte es an, um den Versailler Truppen jene langen graden Straßen zu
40 versperren, die Haussmann absichtlich dem Artilleriefeuer offen gelegt hatte; sie wandte es an, um ihren Rückzug zu decken, grade wie die

Karl Marx

Versailler in ihrem Vordringen ihre Granaten anwandten, die mindestens ebensoviel Häuser zerstörten wie das Feuer der Kommune. Noch jetzt ist es streitig, welche Gebäude durch die Vertheidiger und welche durch die Angreifer angezündet wurden. Und die Vertheidiger nahmen Zuflucht zum Feuer erst dann, als die Versailler Truppen bereits mit ihrem Massenabmorden der Gefangenen begonnen hatten. — Zudem hatte die Kommune längst vorher öffentlich angekündigt, daß, wenn zum Aeußersten getrieben, sie sich unter den Trümmern von Paris begraben, und aus Paris ein zweites Moskau machen werde, wie die Vertheidigungsregierung, freilich nur als Deckmantel ihres Verraths, dies ebenfalls versprochen hatte. Gerade für diesen Zweck hatte Trochu das nötige Petroleum herbeigeschafft. Die Kommune wußte, daß ihren Gegnern Nichts lag am Leben des Pariser Volks, aber sehr viel an ihren eigenen Pariser Gebäuden. Und Thiers, seinerseits, hatte erklärt, er werde in seiner Rache unerbittlich sein. Sobald er erst seine Armee schlagfertig hatte auf der einen Seite, und auf der andern die Preußen den Ausgang absperren, rief er aus: „Ich werde erbarmungslos sein! Die Buße wird vollständig sein, die Justiz streng.“ Wenn die Thaten der Pariser Arbeiter Vandalismus waren, so waren sie der Vandalismus der verzweifelnden Vertheidigung, nicht der Vandalismus des Triumphs, wie der, dessen die Christen sich schuldig machten an den wirklich unschätzbarcn Kunstwerken des heidnischen Alterthums; und selbst dieser Vandalismus ist vom Geschichtschreiber gerechtfertigt worden als ein unumgängliches und verhältnißmäßig unbedeutendes Moment in dem Riesenkampf zwischen einer neuen, emporkommenden und einer alten zusammenbrechenden Gesellschaft. Noch weniger war es der Vandalismus Haussmann's, der das historische Paris wegfeatete, um dem Paris des Bummlers Platz zu schaffen.

Aber die Hinrichtung der vierundsechzig Geiseln, voran den Erzbischof von Paris, durch die Kommune! — Die Bourgeoisie und ihre Armee hatten im Juni 1848 eine längst aus der Kriegsführung verschwundene Sitte wieder eingeführt — das Erschießen ihrer wehrlosen Gefangenen. Diese brutale Sitte ist seitdem mehr oder weniger angewandt worden bei jeder Unterdrückung eines Volksaufstands in Europa und Indien, womit bewiesen ist, daß sie ein wirklicher „Fortschritt der Civilisation“ war! Andrerseits hatten die Preußen in Frankreich die Sitte wieder ins Leben gerufen, Geiseln zu nehmen — unschuldige Leute, die ihnen, mit ihrem Leben, für die Handlungen Anderer hafteten. Als Thiers, wie wir sahen, schon vom Anfang des Kampfes an die menschliche Sitte des Erschießens der kommunalistischen Gefangenen in Kraft setzte, blieb der Kommune nichts übrig, zum Schutz des Lebens dieser Gefangnen, als zur preußischen Sitte des Geiselingreifens ihre Zuflucht zu nehmen. Das Leben der Geiseln war aber und abermals

r

Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich · IV

verwirkt durch das anhaltende Erschießen von Gefangenen durch die Versailler. Wie konnte man ihrer noch länger schonen nach dem Blutbade, womit MacMahons Prätorianer ihren Einmarsch in Paris feierten? Sollte auch das letzte Gegengewicht gegen die rücksichtslose Wildheit der Bour-

- 5 geoisregierungen — die Ergreifung von Geiseln — zum bloßen Gespött werden? Der wirkliche Mörder des Erzbischofs Darboy ist Thiers. Die Kommune hatte aber und abermals angeboten, den Erzbischof und einen ganzen Haufen Pfaffen in den Kauf auszuwechseln, gegen den einzigen von Thiers festgehaltenen Blanqui. Thiers weigerte sich hartnäckig. Er wußte,
10 daß er der Kommune mit Blanqui einen Kopf geben werde, während der Erzbischof seinen Zwecken am besten dienen würde als — Leiche. Thiers ahmte hierin Cavaignac nach. Welchen Schrei des Entsetzens ließen nicht | |451 im Juni 1848, Cavaignac und seine Ordnungsmänner los, als sie die Insurgenten als Mörder des Erzbischofs Affre brandmarkten! Und doch wußten
15 sie ganz genau, daß der Erzbischof von den Ordnungssoldaten erschossen worden. Jacquemet, der Generalvikar des Erzbischofs, hatte ihnen unmittelbar nach der That sein dahin lautendes Zeugniß eingehändigt.

Dieser ganze Verleumdungschor, den die Ordnungspartei in ihren Blutfesten nie verfehlt gegen ihre Schlachtopfer anzustimmen, beweist bloß,
20 daß der heutige Bourgeois sich für den rechtmäßigen Nachfolger des ehemaligen Feudalherrn ansieht, der jede Waffe, in seiner eignen Hand, für gerechtfertigt hielt gegenüber dem Plebejer, während irgendwelche Waffe in der Hand des Plebejers von vornherein ein Verbrechen ausmachte.

Die Verschwörung der herrschenden Klasse zum Umsturz der Revolution
25 durch einen unter dem Schutz des fremden Eroberers geführten Bürgerkrieg — eine Verschwörung, deren Spuren wir gefolgt sind vom September bis herab zum Einmarsch der MacMahon'schen Prätorianer durch das St. Clouder Thor — gipfelte in dem Blutbade von Paris. Bismarck schaut mit vergnügten Sinnen auf die Trümmer von Paris, in denen er vielleicht die
30 „erste Rate“ jener allgemeinen Zerstörung der großen Städte sah, die er bereits erfleht hatte, als er noch ein einfacher Rural in der preußischen Chambre introuvable von 1849 war. Er schaut zufrieden auf die Leichen des Pariser Proletariats. Für ihn ist dies nicht nur die Austilgung der Revolution, sondern zugleich die Austilgung Frankreichs, das jetzt in Wirklichkeit ent-
35 hauptet ist, und durch die französische Regierung obendrein. Mit der, allen erfolgreichen Staatsmännern eignen, Seichtigkeit sieht er nur die Oberfläche dieses ungeheuren geschichtlichen Ereignisses. Wo hat je vorher die Geschichte das Schauspiel vorgeführt eines Siegers, der seinen Sieg damit krönt, daß er sich nicht nur zum Gensdarmen, sondern auch zum gemie-
40 theten Bravo der besieгten Regierung hergibt? Zwischen Preußen und der Kommune von Paris war kein Krieg. Im Gegentheil, die Kommune hatte die

Friedenspräliminarien angenommen und Preußen hatte seine Neutralität erklärt. Preußen war also keine kriegsführende Partei. Es handelte als Bravo; als feiger Bravo, weil es keinerlei Gefahr auf sich lud; als gemieteter Bravo, weil es im Voraus die Zahlung seines Blutgeldes von 500 Millionen von dem Fall von Paris abhängig machte. Und so kam denn endlich 5 an den Tag der wahre Charakter jenes Krieges, den die Vorsehung angeordnet hatte zur Züchtigung des gottlosen und liederlichen Frankreichs durch das fromme und sittliche Deutschland! Und dieser unerhörte Bruch des Völkerrechts, selbst wie es von den Juristen der alten Welt verstanden, statt die „zivilisierten“ Regierungen Europas aufzurütteln, daß sie dies rechtsbrüchige 10 Preußen, das bloße Werkzeug des Petersburger Kabinetts, in die Acht der Völker erklären — treibt sie nur zu der Erwägung, ob die wenigen Schlachtopfer, die der doppelten Postenkette um Paris entgehen, nicht auch noch dem Versailler Henker auszuliefern sind!

Daß nach dem gewaltigsten Krieg der neueren Zeit, die siegreiche und die 15 besiegte Armee sich verbünden zum gemeinsamen Abschlachten des Proletariats — ein so unerhörtes Ereigniß beweist, nicht wie Bismarck glaubt, die endliche Niederdrückung der sich emporarbeitenden neuen Gesellschaft, sondern die vollständige Zerbröckelung der alten Bourgeoisiegesellschaft. Der höchste heroische Aufschwung, dessen die alte Gesellschaft noch fähig 20 war, ist der Nationalkrieg, und dieser erweist sich jetzt als reiner Regierungsschwindel, der keinen andern Zweck mehr hat, als den Klassenkampf hinauszuschieben, und der bei Seite fliegt, sobald der Klassenkampf in Bürgerkrieg auflodert. Die Klassenherrschaft ist nicht länger im Stande, sich unter einer nationalen Uniform zu verstecken; die nationalen Regierungen sind Eins gegenüber dem Proletariat! 25

Nach Pfingstsonntag 1871 kann es keinen Frieden und keine Waffenruhe mehr geben zwischen den Arbeitern Frankreichs und den Aneignern ihrer Arbeitsergebnisse. Die eiserne Hand einer gemieteten Soldateska mag beide Klassen, für eine Zeitlang, in gemeinsamer Unterdrückung niederhalten. Aber der Kampf muß aber und abermals ausbrechen, in stets wachsender Ausbreitung, und es kann kein Zweifel sein, wer der endliche Sieger sein wird — die wenigen Aneigner, oder die ungeheure arbeitende Majorität. Und die französischen Arbeiter bilden nur die Vorhut des ganzen modernen Proletariats. 30 35

Während die europäischen Regierungen so, vor Paris, den internationalen Charakter der Klassenherrschaft betätigen, schreien sie Zeter über die Internationale Arbeiterassoziation — die internationale Gegen-Organisation der Arbeit gegen die weltbürgerliche Verschwörung des Kapitals — als Hauptquelle alles dieses Unheils. Thiers klagte sie an als den Despoten 40 der Arbeit, der sich als ihren Befreier ausgebe. Picard befahl alle Verbindung der französischen Internationalen mit denen des Auslandes abzu-

Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich · IV

schnieden; Graf Jaubert, der alte, zur Mumie gewordene Mitschuldige des Thiers von 1835, erklärte es für die Hauptaufgabe aller Regierungen, sie auszurotten. Die Krautjunker der National-Versammlung heulen gegen sie, und die gesammte europäische Presse stimmt ein in den Chor. Ein ehrenwerther 5 französischer Schriftsteller, der unsrer Assoziation durchaus fremd ist, spricht sich aus wie folgt: „Die Mitglieder des Centraikomitees der Nationalgarde, wie auch der größere Theil der Mitglieder der Commune, sind die thätigsten, einsichtigsten und energischsten Köpfe der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation. ... Leute, durchaus ehrlich, aufrichtig, einsichtig, voll 10 Hingebung, rein und fanatisch im *guten* Sinn des Wortes.“ Der polizeigefärbte Bourgeoisverstand stellt sich natürlich die Internationale Arbeiter-Assoziation vor als eine Art geheimer Verschwörung, deren Centraibehörde von Zeit zu Zeit Ausbrüche in verschiedenen Ländern befiehlt. Unsere Assoziation ist aber in der That nur das internationale Band, das die fort 15 geschrittensten Arbeiter in den verschiedenen Ländern der civilisierten Welt vereinigt. Wo immer, und in welcher Gestalt immer, und unter welchen Bedingungen immer der Klassenkampf irgend welchen Bestand erhält, da ist es auch natürlich, daß Mitglieder unserer Assoziation im Vordergrund stehen. Der Boden, aus dem sie emporwächst, ist die moderne Gesellschaft 20 selbst. Sie kann nicht niedergestampft werden durch noch so viel Blutvergießen. Um sie niederzustampfen, müßten die Regierungen vor Allem die Zwingherrschaft des Kapitals über die Arbeit niederstampfen — also die Bedingung ihres eigenen Schmarotzer-Daseins.

Das Paris der Arbeiter, mit seiner Commune, wird ewig gefeiert werden 25 als der ruhmvolle Vorbote einer neuen Gesellschaft. Seine Märtyrer sind eingeschreint in dem großen Herzen der Arbeiterklasse. Seine Vertilger hat die Geschichte schon jetzt an jenen Schandpfahl genagelt, von dem alle Gebete ihrer Pfaffen ohnmächtig sind, sie zu erlösen.

Der Generalrath:

30 M.J.Boon, Fred. Bradnick, G.H. Buttery, Caihil, William Haies, Kolb, Fred. Lessner, G. Milner, Thomas Mottershead, Charles Murray, Pfänder, Roach, Rühl, Sadler, Cowell Stepney, Alf. Taylor, W. Townshend. |

|48| Correspondirende Sekretäre:

Eugène Dupont, für Frankreich. — Karl Marx, für Deutschland und 35 Holland. — Friedrich Engels, für Belgien und Spanien. — Hermann Jung, für die Schweiz. — P. Giovacchini, für Italien. — Zévy Moritz, für Ungarn. — Anton Zabicki, für Polen. — J.Cohen, für Dänemark. — J.G.Eccarius, für die Vereinigten Staaten.

Hermann Jung, Vorsitzender. — John Weston, Schatzmeister.

Georg Harris, Finanz-Sekretär. — John Haies, General-Sekretär.

256, High Holborn, London, W.C., 30. Mai 1871. |

|49| Beilagen.

I. „Die Gefangenen-Kolonne machte Halt in der Avenue Uhrich, und wurde in vier oder fünf Gliedern auf dem Fußsteig aufgestellt, Front nach der Straße. Der General Marquis de Galliffet und sein Stab stiegen vom Pferd und inspicirten die Linie, vom linken Flügel anfangend. Der General ging langsam entlang, die Reihen besichtigend; hier und da hielt er, einen Mann an der Schulter berührend, oder ihn aus den hinteren Gliedern hervorwinkend. Die so Ausgesuchten wurden, meist ohne weitere Verhandlung, mitten in der Straße aufgestellt, wo sie bald eine kleine Sonder-Kolonne bildeten... Es war augenscheinlich, daß hierbei für Mißgriffe beträchtlicher Raum gelassen war. Ein berittener Offizier machte den General auf einen Mann und eine Frau wegen irgend einer besonderen Missethat aufmerksam. Die Frau, aus den Reihen hervorstürzend, fiel auf die Kniee und betheuerte mit ausgestreckten Armen heftig ihre Unschuld. Der General wartete eine Pause ab, und sagte dann, mit vollständig ruhigem Gesicht und unbewegter Haltung: Madame, ich habe alle Theater in Paris besucht, es ist nicht der Mühe werth, Komödie zu spielen (*il ne vaut pas la peine de jouer la Comédie*) ... Es war an jenem Tage nicht gut für Einen, wenn er merklich größer, schmutziger, reinlicher, älter, oder häßlicher als seine Nebenleute war. Von einem Manne fiel es mir besonders auf, daß er seine schleunige Erlösung aus diesem irdischen Jammerthal wohl nur seiner eingeschlagenen Nase verdankte____Ueber Hundert wurden so ausgesucht, ein Zug Soldaten zum Erschießen kommandirt, und 1150| die übrige Kolonne marschirte weiter, während Jene zurückblieben. Einige Minuten nachher fing hinter uns das Feuer an, das — mit kurzen Unterbrechungen — über eine Viertelstunde anhielt. Es war die Hinrichtung dieser summarisch verurtheilten Unglücklichen.“ — Pariser Korrespondent, Daily News vom 8.Juni. — Dieser Galliffet, „der Louis seiner Frau, so notorisch durch die schamlose Bloßstellung ihres Leibes bei den Gelagen des zweiten Kaiserthums“, war,

I

Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich · Beilagen

während des Kriegs, bekannt unter dem Namen des französischen *Fähndrich Pistol*.

„Der Temps, ein bedächtiges und keineswegs der Sensation ergebenes Blatt, erzählt eine schauerliche Geschichte von halbtodtgeschossenen und vor ihrem Tod begrabnen Leuten. Eine große Anzahl wurde auf dem Platz bei St. Jacques-la-Boucherie begraben, manche von ihnen nur leicht mit Erde bedeckt. Während des Tags überholt der Straßenlärm Alles, aber in der Stille der Nacht wurden die Bewohner der umliegenden Häuser geweckt durch fernes Stöhnen, und am Morgen sah man eine geballte Faust aus dem Boden ragen. In Folge dessen wurde die Wiederausgrabung der Leichen befohlen... Daß viele Verwundete lebendig begraben wurden, daran kann ich nicht im Mindesten zweifeln. Für einen Fall kann ich einstehen. Als Brunei mit seiner Geliebten am 24. Mai im Hofe eines Hauses des Vendômeplatzes erschossen worden, ließ man sie bis zum Nachmittag des 27. liegen. Als man dann endlich kam, die Leichen zu entfernen, fand man das Weib noch am Leben und nahm sie zu einem Verbandplatz. Obwohl von vier Kugeln getroffen, ist sie jetzt außer Gefahr.“ Pariser Korrespondent, Evening Standard vom 8. Juni.

II. Der folgende Brief erschien in der Londoner „Times“ vom 13. Juni:
„An den Redakteur der Times. — Mein Herr! — Am 6. Juni 1871 hat Herr Jules Favre ein Rundschreiben an alle Europäischen Mächte erlassen, worin er sie auffordert, die Internationale Arbeiter-Assoziation zu Tode zu hetzen. Einige Bemerkungen werden hinreichen, dies Aktenstück zu kennzeichnen.

Schon in der Einleitung zu unsren Statuten ist angegeben, daß die Internationale gegründet wurde „am 28. September 1864, auf einer öffentlichen Versammlung in St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London.“ Aus ihm selbst am besten bekannten Gründen verlegt Jules Favre das Datum ihres Ursprungs hinter das Jahr 1862 zurück. |

|51| Um unsre Grundsätze zu erläutern, gibt er vor, „ihre (der Internationalen) Druckschrift vom 25. März 1869“ anzuführen. Und was führt er an? Die Druckschrift einer Gesellschaft, die *nicht* die Internationale ist. Diese Sorte Manöver praktizierte er schon, als er, noch ein ziemlich junger Advokat, den „National“ ein Pariser Blatt, gegen Cabet's Verleumdungsklage vertheidigte. Damals gab er vor, Auszüge aus Cabet's Flugschriften vorzulesen, während er von ihm selbst eingeschobene Zwischensätze vorlas. Dies Taschenspielerstückchen wurde indeß vor vollem Gerichtshof bloßgelegt und, wäre Cabet nicht so nachsichtig gewesen, er wäre mit seiner Ausstellung aus dem Pariser Advokatenstand bestraft worden. Von allen Aktenstücken, die er als Aktenstücke der Internationalen anführte, gehört auch nicht Eins der Internationalen an. So sagt er: „Die Allianz erklärt sich für

Karl Marx

atheistisch, sagt der Generalrath, konstituirt in London, im Juli 1869.¹ Der Generalrath hat nie solch ein Aktenstück erlassen. Im Gegenthil, er erließ ein Aktenstück, das die Originalstatuten der ,Allianz' — L'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste in Genf —, die Jules Favre citirt, annullirte.

In seinem ganzen Circular, das theilweise auch gegen das Kaiserthum gerichtet zu sein vorgibt, wiederholt Jules Favre gegen die Internationale nur die Polizeimährchen der Staatsanwälte des Kaiserthums, die selbst vor den Gerichtshöfen desselben Kaiserthums sich in ihr elendes Nichts auflösten.

Es ist bekannt, daß der Generalrath der Internationalen in seinen beiden Adressen (vom Juli und September 1870) über den damaligen Krieg die preußischen Eroberungspläne gegen Frankreich anklagte. Später wandte sich Herr Reitlinger, Jules Favre's Privatsekretär, natürlich vergebens, an einige Mitglieder des Generalraths, damit der Generalrath eine antibismarck'sche Massenkundgebung zu Gunsten der Regierung der nationalen Vertheidigung veranstalte; es wurde besonders gebeten, dabei der Republik mit keinem Wort zu erwähnen. Die Vorbereitungen zu einer Massenkundgebung bei Gelegenheit der erwarteten Ankunft Jules Favre's in London wurden eingeleitet — gewiß in bester Absicht — gegen den Willen des Generalraths, der in seiner Adresse vom 9. September die Pariser Arbeiter ausdrücklich und im Voraus gegen Jules Favre und seine Kollegen gewarnt hatte.

Was würde Jules Favre sagen, wenn seinerseits der Generalrath der Internationalen ein Rundschreiben über Jules Favre an alle europäischen Cabinets erließ, um ihre besondere Aufmerksamkeit auf die durch den verstorbenen Herrn *Minière* in Paris veröffentlichten Aktenstücke zu lenken?

Ich bin, mein Herr, Ihr ergebener Diener,
John Haies,

Sekretär des Generalraths der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation. 30

256, High Holborn, W.C., London, 12. Juni 1871."

In einem Artikel über „die Internationale Assoziation und ihre Ziele“ citirt der Londoner Spectator als frommer Denunziant, unter andern ähnlichen Kunstgriffen, und noch vollständiger als Jules Favre gethan, das obige Aktenstück der „Alliance“ als das Werk der Internationalen, und das elf Tage nach Veröffentlichung obiger Widerlegung in der Times. Dies kann uns nicht wundern. Schon Friedrich der Große pflegte zu sagen, daß von allen Jesuiten die protestantischen die schlimmsten sind.|



Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels
Statement by the General Council
to the Editor of "The Times"

I To the Times.

The General Council of this Association has instructed me to state, in reply to your leader of June 19, 1871, on the "International" the following facts.

5 The pretended Paris manifestoes, published by the *Paris-Journal* and similar journals, manifestoes which you place on the same line as our Address on the Civil war in France, are mere fabrications of the Versailles police.

You say:

10 "The 'political notes' published by Professor Beesly, and quoted the other day in these columns, are quoted also, with entire approval, in the address of the Council, and we can now understand how justly the Ex-Emperor was entitled to be called the saviour of society."

Now, the Council, in its address, quotes nothing from the "political notes" except the testimony of the writer, who is a known and honourable 15 French *savant*, as to the personal character of the "*Internationals*" implicated in the last Paris revolution. What has this to do with the "Ex-Emperor" and the society saved by him! The "programme" of the Association was not, as you say, "prepared" by Mssrs Tolain and Odger "seven years ago". It was issued by the Provisional Council, chosen at the public 20 meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, on 28 September 1864. M. Tolain has never been a member of that Council, nor was he present at London, when the programme was drawn up.

You say that "Millière" was "one of the most ferocious members of the Commune". Millière has never been a member of the Commune.

25 "We", you proceed, "should also point out that Assi, lately President of the Association etc."

Assi has never been a member of the "International", and as to the dignity of "President of the Association", it has been abolished as long ago as 1867-1

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels
Statement by the General Council
to the Editor of "The Standard"

To the Editor of the "Standard".

In your leader on the "*International*" (of the 19. June) you say:

"Of the two programmes (that of London and that of Paris) recently issued in favour of the Commune that of the Paris branch has the merit of being the more honest and the more outspoken." 5

Unfortunately, the "Paris" manifesto has been issued not by our Paris Branch, but by the "Versailles Police".

You say:

"The London Internationalists insist no less earnestly than their Paris brethren that "the old society must perish and ought to perish". They speak 10 of the burning of the public buildings and the shooting of the hostages as "a gigantic effort to bring society down"—which, although unsuccessful once, will be persevered in until it succeeds."

Now the General Council of this Association summons you to quote the exact pages and lines of our Address where the words attributed by you to 15 us do occur!J

Friedrich Engels
Statement by the General Council
on George Jacob Holyoake's letter

I To the Editor of the Daily News

Sir

I am instructed by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to state, in reply to Mr Geo. Jacob Holyoake's Letter in Tuesday's Daily News—.

- 5 1. As to the insinuation that the address issued by the Council "may become a cause of death or deportation at Versailles", the Council thinks that its Paris friends are better judges than Mr Holyoake.
- 10 2. It is a rule with the Council that the names of all its members whether absent or present are appended to its public documents. On this occasion, however, an exception was made, and the consent of absent members was formally requested.

- 15 3. As to the statement that this address "cannot be an English production, though manifestly revised by some Saxon or Celtic pen", the Council begs to observe that, as a matter of course, the productions of an international Society cannot have any national character. However, the Council need not have any secrets in this matter. The address, like many previous publications of the Council, was drawn up by 11 the Corresponding Secretary for Germany, Dr Karl Marx, was adopted unanimously and "revised" by
- 20 nobody.

4. On the... 1870, Mr George Jacob Holyoake presented himself as a Candidate for membership of the Council but was not admitted.

I am Sir your obedient Servant.

Secretary to General Council I. W. M. A.|

Friedrich Engels
Letter from the General Council
to the Editor of the "Spectator" (resp. "Examiner")

**I To the Editor
of the Spectator (resp. Examiner)**

Sir

You will much oblige the General Council of the International Working Men's Association by giving publicity to the fact that all the pretended Manifestoes and other publications of the "Internationals" of Paris, with which the English Press is now teeming (and which all of them were first published by the notorious "Paris Journal") are without one exception pure fabrications of the Versailles Police.

I amj

15

2

S.G.

To the Editor of the Echo:

1404

In your leading article of Dec 19 you say
"If the Indian land owners of Lower Canada are to be
left there as they now are in the hands of the English,
let at least be remembered"

Ed. Marx

for the safety of these men half of us

"The Liver Nov 27th does not state anything of the
L. R. M. which is in the Weekly of Dec 26, 1837
which is however quite different
The Liver makes no reference to the W.R."
I am but one of the many who have

Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels: Entwürfe von Erklärungen an das „Echo“ und die „Pall Mall Gazette“

Karl Marx
To the Editor of the "Echo"
Probably June 20 or 21, 1871

I To the Editor of the "Echo."

Sir,

In your leading article of June 19 you say: "If the 'International' boasts of having caused this civil war and having directed the councils of its leaders, let it at least be known etc."/

Friedrich Engels
Statement by the General Council
to the Editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette"

/Editor Pall Mall Gazette

Sir

The Pall Mall Gazette of Tuesday says: Mr G.J.Holyoake etc

Now Mr. G. J. H[olyoake] does not state anything of the kind. He states,
in Tuesday's Daily News:

which is something quite different.

It is a rule (same as to Daily News N^r 2)

I am Sir etc J[ohn] H[ales]
Secretary to General Council I. W. M. A. I

The Eastern Post.

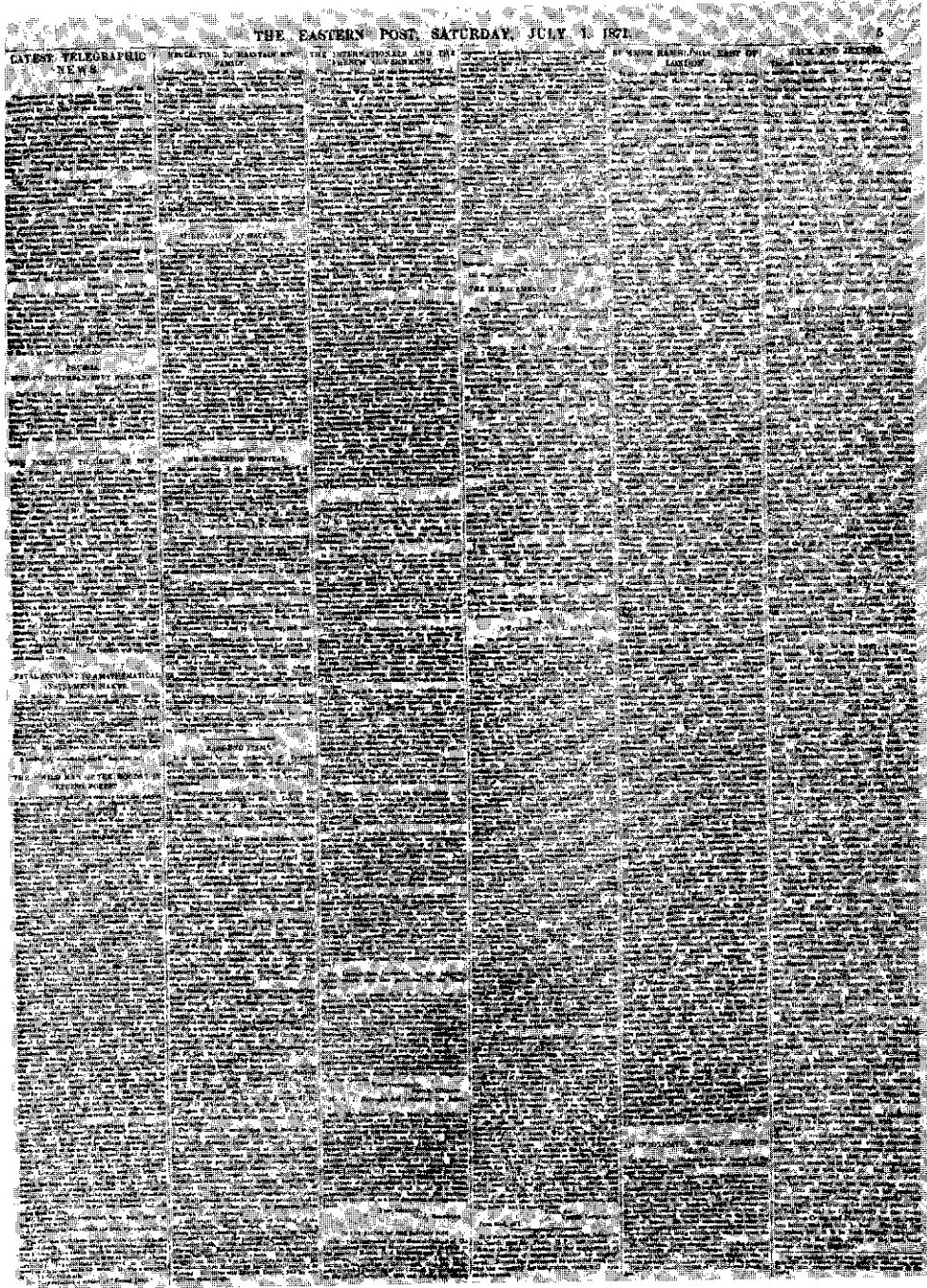
卷之三

LONDON SATURDAY JULY 1 1922

THE REVIEW

The Eastern Post. London. Nr. 144, 1. Juli 1871.

Titelblatt



Karl Marx: To the Editor of the "Daily News". June 26, 1871.
The Eastern Post. London. Nr. 144, I.Juli 1871. S.5

Karl Marx
To the Editor of the "Daily News"
June 26, 1871

The Eastern Post.
Nr. 144, 1. Juli 1871

Sir,—A Council consisting of more than thirty members cannot, of course, draw up its own documents. It must entrust that task to some one or other of its members, reserving to itself the right of rejecting or amending. The address on the "Civil War in France," drawn up by myself, was unanimously

5 *adopted by the General Council of the International, and is therefore the official embodiment of its own views. With regard however, to the personal charges brought forward against Jules Favre and Co., the case stands otherwise. On this point the great majority of the Council had to rely upon my trustworthiness. This was the very reason why I supported the motion*

10 *of another member of the Council that Mr. John Hales, in his answer to Mr. Holyoake should name me as the author of the address. I hold myself alone responsible for those charges, and hereby challenge Jules Favre and Co. to prosecute me for libel. In his letter Mr. Llewellyn Davies says, "It is melancholy to read the charges of personal baseness so freely flung by*

15 *Frenchmen at one another." Does this sentence not somewhat smack of that Pharisaical self-righteousness with which William Cobbett had so often taunted the British mind? Let me ask Mr. Llewellyn Davies which was worse, the French *petite presse*, fabricating in the service of the police the most infamous slanders against the Communals, dead, captive, or hidden,*

20 *or the English press reproducing them to this day, despite its professed contempt for the *petite presse*. I do not consider it a French inferiority that such serious charges for instance as those brought forward against the late Lord Palmerston, during a quarter of a century, by a man like Mr. David Urquhart, could have been burked in England but not in France.*

Friedrich Engels
Statement by the General Council on the letters
of George Jacob Holyoake and Benjamin Lucraft

[Manuscript]

I To the Editor Daily News

Sir-

I am instructed by the Council to state, in reply to the letters of Messrs G. J. Holy[oak]e and B.L[uCraft], in Monday's Daily News—

1. Mr Holyoake, in the course of last year, attended a meeting of the Council and, after he had retired, Mr John Weston declared that Mr George Jac. Holfyoake] wished to become a member of the Council principally with a view of appearing as a delegate at the next General Congress of the Association to be held in Paris September 1870. This communication was, however, received in such a manner that Mr Weston did not insist.

2. At the Meeting of the Council of the 23rd May, Mr Lucraft being present, it was officially announced that the draft of the Address on the Civil War in France would be read and discussed at the next ordinary meeting, May 30th. It was thus left entirely to Mr Lucraft to decide whether he would be present or absent on that day. At the meeting of Tuesday 20th June, Mr Lucraft was compelled to own that he had not even then read the address itself, and that all his impressions about it were derived from the statements of the Press only.

The resignations of Messr B. Lucraft and G.Odger have this day been accepted by the Council. |

Statement by the General Council on the letters of G.J. Holyoake and B. Lucraft

[Printed text]

The Daily News.
Nr. 7852, 29. Juni 1871

To the Editor of the Daily News.

Sir,—I am instructed by the General Council of the International Working Men's Association to reply to the letters of Messrs. G.J.Holyoake and B. Lucraft, which appeared in your issue of Monday last. I find, on referring to the minutes of the Council, that Mr. Holyoake attended a meeting of the Council, by permission, on the 16th of November, 1869, and during the sitting expressed his desire to become a member of the Council, and to attend the next General Congress of the International, to be held in Paris, September, 1870. After he had retired, Mr. John Weston proposed him as a candidate for membership, but the proposition was received in such a manner that Mr. Weston did not insist, but withdrew it. With regard to Mr. Lucraft's statement that he was not present when the address was voted upon, I may say that Mr. Lucraft was present at a meeting of the Council held on the 23rd of May, 1871, when it was officially announced that the draught of the address on the "Civil War in France" would be read and discussed at the next ordinary meeting of the Council, May the 30th. It was therefore left entirely to Mr. Lucraft to decide whether he would be present or absent upon that occasion, and not only did he know that it was the rule of the Council to append the names of all its members, present or absent, to its public documents, but he was one of the most strenuous supporters of that rule, and resisted on several occasions attempts made to dispense with it—on May 23, amongst others—and he then voluntarily informed the Council that "his entire sympathy was with the Commune of Paris." On Tuesday evening, June 20, at a meeting of the Council, Mr. Lucraft was forced to admit that he had not even then read the address itself, but that all his impressions about it were derived from the statements of the press. With respect to Mr. Odger's repudiation, all I can say is that he was waited upon personally and informed that the Council was about to issue an address, and was asked if he objected to his name appearing in connection with it, and he said "No." The public can draw its own conclusions. I may add that the resignations of Messrs. Lucraft and Odger have been accepted by the Council unanimously—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN HALES,

35

*Secretary to the General Council of the
International Working Men's Association.*

256, High Holborn, W. C.

Karl Marx
An die Redaktion der „Neuen Freien Presse“
30. Juni 1871

Neue Freie Presse. Morgen-
blatt. Nr. 2462,
4. Juli 1871

An die Redaction der „Neuen Freien Presse“.

Unter dem Titel: „Eine socialistische Soirée“, gezeichnet W., bringt die Wiener „Presse“ ein Feuilleton, worin ich die Ehre habe zu figuriren. W. traf mich, wie er sagt, in einer Soirée bei *Herzen*. Er erinnert sich sogar der Reden, die ich dort gehalten habe.

Ein entschiedener Gegner Herzen's, verweigerte ich stets mit ihm zusammenzukommen und habe den Mann daher *niemals* in meinem Leben gesehen.

Ich bezweifle, ob der phantasiereiche W. jemals in London war. Außer in Palästen gibt es dort keine „Marmortreppen“, die W. sogar in Herzen's „Cottage“ fand.

Ich fordere denselben W., den die Lorbeern des *Paris-Journal* und ähnlicher Polizei-Organe nicht schlafen lassen, hiemit auf, sich zu nennen.

London, 30. Juni 1871

KARL MARX

Friedrich Engels
"The Civil War in France"
und die englische Presse

Der Volksstaat. Nr.54,
5. Juli 1871

London, 30. Juni. Solange London steht, hat keine Druckschrift ein solches Aufsehen hervorgerufen, wie die Adresse des Generalraths der Internationalen. Die große Presse versuchte Anfangs ihr beliebtes Mittel des Todtschweigens; aber einige Tage reichten hin ihr zu beweisen, daß dies hier

5 nicht ging. „Telegraph“, „Standard“, „Spectator“, „Pall Mall Gazette“, „Times“ mußten sich nach einander bequemen, das „beachtenswerthe Dokument“ zu beleitartikeln. Dann kamen Briefe Dritter in den Blättern, die auf Dies und Jenes im Besondern aufmerksam machten. Dann wieder Leitartikel, und am Wochenschluß kamen die Wochenblätter abermals

10 darauf zurück. Die ganze Presse hat einstimmig bekennen müssen, daß die Internationale eine europäische Großmacht ist, mit der man rechnen muß, die man nicht beseitigt, indem man nicht von ihr spricht. Die stylistische Meisterschaft, mit der die Adresse abgefaßt ist — eine Sprache, so kraftvoll wie die William Cobbett's, sagt der „Spectator“ — mußten sie Alle

15 anerkennen. Daß diese Bourgeois presse über eine so energische Geltendmachung des proletarischen Standpunktes, eine so entscheidende Rechtfertigung der Pariser Kommune ziemlich einstimmig herfallen werde, war zu erwarten. Ebenso daß die von den Pariser Polizeiblättern fabrizirten Stieberiaden und die von Jules Favre der Internationalen in die Schuhe

20 geschobenen Schriftstücke einer ganz andern Gesellschaft (der Bakunin'schen Allianz der Sozialdemokratie), trotz des öffentlichen Widerspruchs des Generalraths, ihr zugeschrieben wurden. Indeß wurde doch schließlich selbst dem Philister der Lärm zu arg. „Daily News“ fing an, zu beruhigen und der „Examiner“, das einzige Blatt, das sich wirklich an-

25 ständig benahm, trat in einem eingehenden Artikel entschieden für die Internationale auf. Zwei englische Mitglieder des Generalraths, deren Einer (*Odger*) schon lange mit der Bourgeoisie auf einem viel zu guten Fuß gestanden, und der Andere (*Lucraft*) durch seine Wahl in den Londoner Schulrath bedeutend rücksichtsvoller gegen die Meinung „respektabler“

30 Leute geworden zu sein scheint, ließen sich durch den Zeitungslärm be-

Friedrich Engels

wegen, ihren Austritt zu erklären, der auch einstimmig angenommen wurde. Sie sind bereits durch zwei andere englische Arbeiter ersetzt und werden bald merken, was es auf sich hat, in der Stunde der Entscheidung das Proletariat zu verrathen.

Ein englischer Pfaffe Llewellyn Davies jammerte in der „Daily News“ 5 über die in der Adresse enthaltenen Schmähungen gegen Jules Favre und Consorten, und meinte, es sei doch wünschenswerth, daß die Wahrheit oder Unwahrheit dieser Anklagen festgestellt werde, meinetwegen durch einen Prozeß der französischen Regierung gegen den Generalrath. Am nächsten Tage erklärte Karl Marx im selben Blatt, er halte sich, als Verfasser der Adresse, persönlich verantwortlich für diese Anklagen; die französische Gesandtschaft scheint aber keinen Befehl zu haben, mit einer Verläumdungsklage gegen ihn vorzugehen. Schließlich erklärt dann die „Pall Mall Gazette“ das sei auch gar nicht nöthig, der Privatcharakter eines Staatsmannes sei immer heilig, und nur seine öffentlichen Handlungen 10 dürften angegriffen werden. Natürlich, wenn der Privatcharakter der englischen Staatsmänner vor die Oeffentlichkeit gezogen würde, so wäre der jüngste Tag der oligarchischen und bürgerlichen Welt gekommen. 15

Ein Artikel von und über den Lumpen Netschajeff hat aus dem „Wiener Wanderer“ die Runde der deutschen Presse gemacht, worin seine Thaten 20 verherrlicht werden, zusammen mit denen von Serebrenikoff und Elpidin. Sollte dies sich wiederholen, so werden wir auf dies saubere Kleeblatt näher zurückkommen. Für jetzt nur die Bemerkung, daß Elpidin ein notorischer russischer Spion ist.

Karl Marx
Letter to the Editor
of the "Pall Mall Gazette",
Frederick Greenwood

The Pall Mall Gazette.
Nr. 1992, 3.Juli 1871

*Haverstock-hill, N. W.,
June 30, 1871.*

*Sir,—I have declared in the *Daily News*—and you have reprinted in the *Pall Mall*—that I hold myself alone responsible for the charges brought forward against Jules "Favre and Co."*

*In your yesterday's publication you declare these charges to be "*libels*." I declare you to be a *libeller*. It is no fault of mine that you are as *ignorant* as *arrogant*. If we lived on the Continent, I should call you to account in another way.—Obediently,*

KARL MARX.

Friedrich Engels
Aufzeichnungen von einer Unterredung zwischen
Karl Marx und Robert Reid

IRobert Reid
Ex-Correspondent Daily Telegraph.
1.Juli 1871

Bower Correspondent Morning Advertiser im Restaurant Peters bei dem Arrest, wurde mit dem anderen Times-Correspondenten Dallas und einem Russischen Attaché freigelassen, ging aber wieder hinein um seine (englische) Dame zu holen, die aber grade mit einem anderen Herrn schön that he pitched into him assaulted him was taken in custody and locked up for that. 5

Diese 3 publiziert einen Brief in der Vérité der falsch war. 1) es seien Mitglieder der Commune im Café gewesen mit rothen und goldenen Schärpen und auch Huren im Café die ihre Karten vorgezeigt, und 2) daß der Bower verhaftet ohne Grund (es waren nur die Polizei-Commissare die mit rothen Schärpen aber ohne Goldfransen). 10

Im Telegraph Reid's Reports often altered. A very important letter was suppressed by them. 15

On 20th May hatte Wr[ight] die Zeitung. Telegraph 17 or 18th May Versailles Correspondent stated that Courbet had with a hammer destroyed objects of art in Louvre. Reid zeigte am 20. dies Telegramm dem Courbet. Folgender Brief von Courbet an den Editor des Telegraph: 20

Sir Not only have I not destroyed any works of art in the Louvre, but on the contrary it was under my care that all those which had been dispersed by various ministers in different buildings throughout the capital were collected, and restored to their proper places in the Museum. In like manner the Luxemburg was benefited. It was I who preserved and arranged all the 25 works of art removed from the house of M. Thiers. I am accused of having destroyed the Column Vendôme when the fact is on record that the decree for its destruction was passed 14th April and I was elected to the Commune

Γ

Aufzeichnungen von einer Unterredung zwischen Karl Marx und Robert Reid

on the 20, six days afterwards. I warmly urged the preservation of the bas-reliefs and proposed to form a Museum of them in the Court of the Invalides. Knowing the purity of the motives by [] which I have been actuated, I also know the difficulties one inherits in coming after a régime
5 such as the Empire.

Salut et fraternité
G. Courbet.

Hôtel de Ville 20 May 71.

Dieser Brief durch Reid an den Telegraph geschickt aber unterdrückt.
10 _____

Gegen 10./12. April s. Papers.

Tolain Correspondent der Times wünschte zu wissen was der General-Rath
dazu sagen würde — Times unterdrückt] unserren Beschuß.
15 _____

Reid war für den Telegraph engagiert Telegramme zu schicken und ist bereit
zu schwören daß sie zu Ungunsten der Commune abgeändert worden im
Abdruck.

20 Adolphus Smith Ex-Correspondent Daily News Vorlesung über Commune
Charing Cross Theatre 3/7/71.

Bei der Demonstration Rue de la Paix zugegen. Die Gewehre der National-Garde in Place Vendôme waren in Pyramiden zusammengestellt und ein Engländer den er nannte (Leatham?) und der in erster Reihe des Zugs
25 war, sprang auf sie los um sich einer Pyramide zu bemächtigen.

Jourde war im brennenden Finanzministerium bis zuletzt, rettete Bücher und Gelder. Und der soll's angesteckt haben! Ein gegenüber wohnender Engländer den er nennen kann, sah 2 Bomben durchs Dach einschlagen, platzen und bald drauf Rauch, dann Flamme, dann das ganze Gebäude
30 allmählich in Flammen.|

Karl Marx
Mr. Washburne,
the American Ambassador in Paris

I m l M r . Washburne,
The American Ambassador, in Paris.

**To the New York Central Committee
for the United States' Sections
of the International Working Men's Association.** 5

*Citizens,—*The General Council of the Association consider it their duty to communicate publicly to you evidence on the conduct, during the French Civil War, of Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador.

I. The following statement is made by Mr. Robert Reid, a Scotchman who 10 has lived for seventeen years in Paris, and acted during the Civil War as a correspondent for the London *Daily Telegraph* and the *New York Herald*. Let us remark, in passing, that the *Daily Telegraph*, in the interests of the Versailles Government, falsified even the short telegraphic despatches transmitted to it by Mr. Reid. 15

Mr. Reid, now in England, is ready to confirm his statement by affidavit. "The sounding of the general alarm, mingled with the roar of the cannon, continued all night. To sleep was impossible. Where, I thought, are the representatives of Europe and America? Can it be possible that in the midst of this effusion of innocent blood they should make no effort at conciliation? 20 I could bear the thought no longer; and knowing that Mr. Washburne was in town, I resolved at once to go and see him. This was, I think, on the 17th of April; the exact date may, however, be ascertained from my letter to Lord Lyons, to whom I wrote on the same day. Crossing the Champs Elysées, on my way to Mr. Washburne's residence, I met numerous ambulance-waggons 25 filled with the wounded and dying. Shells were bursting around the Arc de

MR. WASHBURN,

The American Ambassador, in Paris.

To the New York Central Committee for the United States' Sections of the International Working Men's Association.

CITIZENS.—THE General Council of the Association consider it their duty to communicate publicly to you evidence on the conduct, during the French Civil War, of Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador.

I. The following statement is made by Mr. Robert Reid, a Scotchman who has lived for seventeen years in Paris, and acted during the Civil War as a correspondent for the London *Daily Telegraph* and the *New York Herald*. Let us remark, in passing, that the *Daily Telegraph*, in the interests of the Versailles Government, falsified even the short telegraphic despatches transmitted to it by Mr. Reid.

Mr. Reid, now in England, is ready to confirm his statement by affidavit.

"The sounding of the general alarm, mingled with the roar of the cannon, continued all night. To sleep was impossible. Where, I thought, are the representatives of Europe and America? Can it be possible that in the midst of this effusion of innocent blood they should make no effort at conciliation? I could bear the thought no longer; and knowing that Mr. Washburne was in town, I resolved at once to go and see him. This was, I think, on the 17th of April; the exact date may, however, be ascertained from my letter to Lord Lyons, to whom I wrote on the same day. Crossing the Champs Elysées, on my way to Mr. Washburne's residence, I met numerous ambulance-waggons filled with the wounded and dying. Shells were bursting around the Arc de Triomphe, and many innocent people were added to the long list of M. Thiers's victims.

"Arriving at No. 95, Rue de Chaillot, I inquired at the Concierge for the United States Ambassador, and was directed to the second floor. The particular flight or flat you dwell in is, in Paris, an almost unerring indication of your wealth and position, a sort of social barometer. We find here a marquis on the first front floor, and an humble mechanic on the fifth back floor,—the stairs that divide them represent the social gulf between them. As I climbed up the stairs, meeting no stout funkeys in red breeches and silk stockings, I thought, 'Ah! the Americans lay their money out to the best advantage,—we throw ours away.'

"Entering the secretary's room, I inquired for Mr. Washburne. —Do you wish to see him personally?—I do.—My name having

Karl Marx: Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador in Paris.

Erste Seite des Flugblatts

Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador in Paris

Triomphe, and many innocent people were added to the long list of M. Thiers's victims.

"Arriving at No. 95, Rue de Chaillot, I inquired at the Concierge's for the United States' Ambassador, and was directed to the second floor. The 5 particular flight or flat you dwell in is, in Paris, an almost unerring indication of your wealth and position,—a sort of social barometer. We find here a marquis on the first front floor, and an humble mechanic on the fifth back floor,—the stairs that divide them represent the social gulf between them. As I climbed up the stairs, meeting no stout flunkeys in red breeches and 10 silk stockings, I thought, 'Ah! the Americans lay their money out to the best advantage,—we throw ours away.'

"Entering the secretary's room, I inquired for Mr. Washburne.—Do you wish to see him personally?—I do.—My name having ||2| been sent in, I was ushered into his presence. He was lounging in an easy-chair, reading 15 a newspaper. I expected he would rise; but he remained sitting with the paper still before him, an act of gross rudeness in a country where the people are generally so polite.

"I told Mr. Washburne that we were betraying the cause of humanity, if we did not endeavour to bring about a conciliation. Whether we succeeded 20 or not, it was at all events our duty to try; and the moment seemed the more favourable, as the Prussians were just then pressing Versailles for a definitive settlement. The united influence of America and England would turn the balance in favour of peace.

"Mr. Washburne said, '*The men in Paris are rebels. Let them lay down 25 their arms.*' I replied that the National guards had a legal right to their arms; but that was not the question. When humanity is outraged, the civilized world has a right to interfere, and I ask you to co-operate with Lord Lyons to that effect.—Mr. Washburne: 'These men at Versailles will listen to nothing.'—'If they refuse, the moral responsibility will rest with them.'— 30 Mr. Washburne: 'I don't see that. I can't do anything in the matter. You had better see Lord Lyons.'

"So ended our interview. I left Mr. Washburne sadly disappointed. I found a man rude and haughty, with none of those feelings of fraternity you might expect to find in the representative of a democratic republic. On two 35 occasions I had had the honour of an interview with Lord Cowley, when he was our representative in France. His frank, courteous manner formed a striking contrast to the cold, pretentious, and would-be-aristocratic style of the American Ambassador.

"I also urged upon Lord Lyons that, in the defence of humanity, England 40 was bound to make an earnest effort at reconciliation, feeling convinced that the British Government could not look coldly on such atrocities as

the massacres of the Clamart station and Moulin Saquet, not to speak of the horrors of Neuilly, without incurring the malediction of every lover of humanity. Lord Lyons answered me verbally through Mr. Edward Malet, his secretary, that he had forwarded my letter to the Government, and would willingly forward any other communication I might have to make on that subject. At one moment matters were most favourable for reconciliation, and had our Government thrown their weight in the balance, the world would have been spared the carnage of Paris. At all events, it is not the fault of Lord Lyons if the British Government failed in their duty.

5

"But, to return to Mr. Washburne. On Wednesday forenoon, the 24th of May, I was passing along the Boulevard des Capucines, ||3| when I heard my name called, and, turning round, saw Dr. Hossart standing beside Mr. Washburne, who was in an open carriage amidst a great number of Americans. After the usual salutations, I entered into a conversation with Dr. Hossart. Presently the conversation became general on the horrid scenes around; when Mr. Washburne, addressing me with the air of a man who knows the truth of what he is saying,—*All who belong to the Commune, and those that sympathize with them, will be shot,* ' Alas ! I knew that they were killing old and young for the crime of sympathy, but I did not expect to hear it semi-officially from Mr. Washburne; yet, while he was repeating this sanguinary phrase, there was still time for him to save the Archbishop."

15

20

II. "On the 24th of May, Mr. Washburne's secretary came to offer to the Commune, then assembled at the Mairie of the 11th Arrondissement, on the part of the Prussians, an intervention between the Versaillese and the Federals on the following terms:—

25

"Suspension of hostilities.

"Re-election of the Commune on the one side, and of the National Assembly on the other.

"The Versailles troops to leave Paris, and to take up their quarters in and around the fortifications.

30

"The National Guard to continue to guard Paris.

"No punishment to be inflicted upon the men serving or having served in the Federal Army.'

"The Commune in an extraordinary sitting, accepted the propositions, with the proviso that two months should be given to France in order to 35 prepare for the general elections of a Constituent Assembly.

"A second interview with the Secretary of the American Embassy took place. At its morning sitting of the 25th May, the Commune resolved to send five citizens—amongst them Vermorel, Delescluze, and Arnold—as plenipotentiaries to Vincennes, where, according to the information given by 40 Mr. Washburne's secretary, a Prussian delegate would then be found. That

Mr. Washburne, the American Ambassador in Paris

deputation was, however, prevented from passing by the National Guards on duty at the gate of Vincennes. Consequent upon another and final interview with the same American Secretary, Citizen Arnold, to whom he had delivered a safe conduct, on the 26th May, went to St. Denis, where he
5 was—not admitted by the Prussians.

"The result of this American intervention (which produced a belief in the renewed neutrality of, and the intended intercession between the belligerents, by the Prussians) was, at the most critical juncture, to paralyze the defence for two days. Despite the precautions taken to keep the negotiations secret, they became ||4| soon known to the National Guards, who then, full of confidence in Prussian neutrality, fled to the Prussian lines, there to surrender as prisoners. It is known how this confidence was abused by the Prussians, shooting by their sentries part of the fugitives, and handing over to the Versailles Government those who had surrendered.
10

15 "During the whole course of the civil war, Mr. Washburne, through his secretary, never tired of informing the Commune of his ardent sympathies, which only his diplomatic position prevented him from publicly manifesting, and of his decided reprobation of the Versailles Government."

This statement, No. II., is made by a member of the Paris Commune, who,
20 like Mr. Reid, will in case of need, confirm it by affidavit.

To fully appreciate Mr. Washburne's conduct, the statements of Mr. Robert Reid and that of the member of the Paris Commune must be read as a whole, as part and counterpart of the same scheme. While Mr. Washburne declares to Mr. Reid that the Communals are "rebels" who
25 deserve their fate, he declares to the Commune his sympathies with its cause and his contempt of the Versailles Government. *On the same 24th of May*, while, in presence of Dr. Hossart and many Americans, informing Mr. Reid that not only the Communals but even their mere sympathizers were irrevocably doomed to death, he informed, through his secretary, the
30 Commune that not only its members were to be saved, but every man in the Federal army.

We now request you, dear Citizens, to lay these facts before the Working Class of the United States, and to call upon them to decide whether Mr. Washburne is a proper representative of the American Republic.

35

THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION:—

M.J.Boon, Fred. Bradnick, G.H. Buttery, Caihil, William Hales, Kolb,
F. Lessner, George Milner, Thos. Mottershead, Chas. Murray, P. MacDonnell,
Pfander, John Roach, Rühl, Sadler, Cowell Stepney, Alfred Taylor,
40 W. Townshend.

Karl Marx

CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES:—

Eugène Dupont, for France; Karl Marx, for Germany and Holland; F. Engels, for Belgium and Spain; H. Jung, for Switzerland; P. Giovacchini, for Italy; Zévy Maurice, for Hungary; Anton Zabicki, for Poland; James Cohen, for Denmark; J. G. Eccarius, for the United States.

HERMANN JUNG, *Chairman.* GEORGE HARRIS, *Financial Sec.*
JOHN WESTON, *Treasurer.* JOHN HALES, *General Secretary.*

Office-256, High Holborn, London, W. C,
July 11th, 1871.1

Karl Marx
To the Editor of the "Morning Advertiser"
July 11, 1871

The Morning Advertiser.
Nr. 24997, 13. Juli 1871

To the Editor of the Morning Advertiser.

Sir,—In one of your leading articles of to-day you quote a string of phrases, such as, "London, Liverpool, and Manchester in revolt against odious capital," etc., with the authorship of which you are kind enough to credit me.

Permit me to state that the whole of the quotations upon which you base your article are forgeries from beginning to end. You have probably been misled by some of the fabrications which the Paris police are in the habit of issuing almost daily in my name, in order to procure evidence against the captive "Internationals" at Versailles.

I am, Sir, yours, etc.,
KARL MARX.

1, Modena-villas, Maitland Park, Haverstock-hill,
N.W., July 11, 1871.

Karl Marx
To the Editor of "The Standard"
July 13, 1871

The Standard.
Nr. 14651, 17. Juli 1871

To the Editor of The Standard.

*Sir,—In this morning's *Standard* your Paris correspondent translates from the *Gazette de France* a letter dated Berlin, April 28, 1871, and purporting to be signed by me. I beg to state that this letter is from beginning to end a forgery, quite as much as all the previous pretended letters of mine lately published in the *Paris Journal* and other French police papers. If the *Gazette de France* professes to have taken the letter from German papers, this must be a falsehood too. A German paper would never have dated that fabrication from Berlin.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,*

KARL MARX.

London, July 13.

Friedrich Engels
Notizen über Giuseppe Mazzini

|Mazzini Verfasser des Manifest und Statut, verworfen — war ganz central und *vulgärdemokratisch* und geheimgesellschaftlich. — D[ie] Italiener] und Wolff blieben bis zur Affaire Lefort, wo Wolff von der Sitzung ging, die anderen erst nach Le Lubez austraten, ca. 3 Monate nach Stiftung. Sie 5 wollten internationale Ass[oziation] der Friendly Societies und wunderten sich über das Mißverständniß, sie wollten was ganz andres als wir. Schon im Journal de Liège gegen Vésinier vom Centrai-Rath erklärt daß M[azzini] nie zur Assoziation gehört und daß seine Vorlage verworfen wurde.

10 Juni-Insurrektions-Brochure L. Bl[an]cs gegen Mazz[ini] der die Insurgenten ganz wie jetzt den Bourgeois denunzirte. |

Friedrich Engels
L'intervento di Giuseppe Mazzini contro
l'Associazione Internazionale degli Opérai
Übersetzung aus dem Englischen von Carlo Cafiero

Il Libero Pensiero.
Nr.9, 31. August 1871

Mazzini nel suo Indirizzo agli opérai italiani dice:

"Quest'Associazione fondata anni addietro in Londra ed alia quale io ricusai fin da principio la mia cooperazione . . . Un nucleo d'individui, che s'assuma di governare direttamente una vasta moltitudine d'uomini diversi per patria, tendenze, condizioni politiche, interessi economici, mezzi d'azione, finira sempre per non operare, o dovrà operare tirannicamente. Per questo io mi ritrassi e si ritrasse poco dopo la sezione operaia italiana ecc."

Ora ecco i fatti. Dopo la riunione del 28 settembre 1864 nella quale l'Associazione Internazionale degli Opérai fu fondata, tosto che il consiglio provvisorio eletto in quell'Assemblea si raduno, il maggiore L. Wolff présentó un manifesto ed un progetto di Statuti steso da Mazzini stesso. Nel qual progetto non solamente non si trovava difficoltà *a governare direttamente una moltitudine* ecc. non solamente non diceva che questo nucleo d'individui . . . *finira sempre per non operare, o dovrà operare tirannicamente*, ma al contrario gli statuti erano ispirati ad una centralizzata cospirazione, dando poteri *tirannici* al corpo centrale — Il manifesto era nello stile solito di Mazzini: la democrazia borghese che offriva *diritti politici* agli opérai, onde poter conservare i *privilegi sociali* delle classi medie e superiori.

Questo manifesto e progetto di statuto furono naturalmente rigettati. Gl'italiani rimasero membri sino a che alcune questioni non furono di nuovo messe fuori per causa di certi borghesi francesi, che volevano servirsi dell'Internazionale. Non essendo questi riusciti, Wolff dapprima e poscia gli altri si ritirarono. E così l'Internazionale la fece finita con Mazzini. Qualche tempo dopo il Consiglio centrale provvisorio, rispondendo ad un articolo di Vesinier, dichiarò nel „Journal de Liège" che Mazzini non era stato mai membro dell'associazione internazionale e che i suoi progetti, manifesti e statuti erano stati rigettati. Mazzini ha furiosamente attaccata la Comune di Parigi anche sulla stampa inglese. Questo è proprio ciò, che

Dear Mr. and Mrs. John C. Rich
I am sending you off some
samples of my work and
enclosed is a copy of my
catalogue that you can take
with you. I hope you will like
the work I have done.
I am enclosing a
copy of your letter to me
and I am sending you
a copy of my letter to you.
I am enclosing a copy of my
catalogue that you can take
with you. I hope you will like
the work I have done.
I am enclosing a copy of my
catalogue that you can take
with you. I hope you will like
the work I have done.

Friedrich Engels: Notizen über Giuseppe Mazzini

L'intervento di G.Mazzini contro l'Associazione Internazionale degli Opérai

egli ha sempre fatto, quando i proletari si sono sollevati; dopo l'insurrezione di Giugno 1848 egli fece lo stesso, denunciando i proletari insorti, tanto oltraggiosamente, che lo stesso Luigi Blanc scrisse un opuscolo contro di Lui. E Luigi Blanc ha diverse volte ripetuto in quel tempo che l'insurrezione 5 di Giugno era l'opéra di agenti bonapartisti!

Mazzini chiama Marx uomo *d'ingegno*. . . . *dissolvente*, *di tempra dominatrice* ecc. forse perché Marx ha saputo molto ben dissolvere la cabala ordita da Mazzini a danno dell'Internazionale, *dominando* talmente la mal dissimulata libidine di autorità del vecchio cospiratore, si di renderlo per 10 sempre innocuo all'Associazione. Se è così, l'Internazionale dev'esser ben lieta di possedere fra i suoi membri un *ingegno* ed una *tempra*, che in tal guisa *dissolvendo* e *dominando* l'ha tenuta in piedi per sette anni, lavorando più che ogni altro uomo per portarla alla sua attual superba posizione.

Riguardo alio smembramento dell'Associazione, che, secondo Mazzini, 15 è già cominciato in Inghilterra, il fatto è che due membri inglesi del Consiglio, che erano divenuti troppo intimi con la borghesia, trovarono „l'Indirizzo sulla guerra Civile" troppo spinto e si ritirarono. In loro vece quattro nuovi membri inglesi ed uno irlandese sono entrati a far parte del Consiglio Generale, il quale si stima con ciò più rafforzato di prima.

20 Invece di essere in uno stato di dissoluzione l'Internazionale è ora per la prima volta riconosciuta pubblicamente da tutta la stampa inglese come una grande potenza europea; e mai un piccolo opuscolo ha fatto in Londra tanta impressione quanto l'Indirizzo del Consiglio Generale sulla guerra civile in Francia, del quale si pubblicherà ora la terza edizione.

25 È mestieri che gli opérai italiani osservino che il grande cospiratore ed agitatore Mazzini non ha per essi altro consiglio che: *Educatevi, istruitevi come meglio potete* (come se ciò potesse esser fatto senza mezzi!) *adopratevi a creare più frequenti le società cooperatrici di consumo* (nemmeno di produzione!) — *E fidate nel Vavvenire l'U*

Friedrich Engels
To the Editor of "The Times"
August 7, 1871

I To the Editor of the Times

Sir—The remarks of *The Times* on the repeated postponement of the trial of the Communist prisoners at Versailles have undoubtedly hit the nail on the head and have expressed the feeling of the French public. The angry note of the *Journal Officiel* in reply to these remarks is but one of the many proofs of the fact. In consequence of the article in *the Times*, many reclamations have been addressed to the Paris press, reclamations which, under these circumstances, had no chance of being published. I have before me the letter of a Frenchman whose official position enables him to know the facts he is writing about, and whose testimony as to the motives of this unaccountable delay ought to have some value. Here are some extracts from this letter:

"Nobody as yet knows when the 3rd Court-martial will open its sittings. The cause of this appears to be that Captain Grimaï, *Commissaire de la République* (public accuser) has been superseded by another and more reliable man; it has been found out at the last moment, on perusal of his general report which was to be read in court, that he was perhaps a little bit of a republican, that he had served under Faïdherbe etc in the Army of the North etc—Well; all at once another officer presents himself at his office saying: here is my commission, I am your successor; the poor captain was so surprised that he went nearly mad. . . . || M. Thiers has the pretension to do everything by himself, this mania goes so far that not only has he called together, contrary to all rules of fairness, all the *juges d'instruction* in his cabinet, but he pretends even to regulate the composition of the public to be admitted into the Court; he himself, through M. B. St. Hilaire, distributes the tickets of admission_____

"In the mean time the prisoners at Satory die like flies—pitiless death works faster than the justice of these little statesmen... There is in the Versailles Cellular prison a big fellow who does not speak a word of

To the Editor of "The Times" August 7, 1871

French, he is supposed to be an Irishman. How he got into this trouble is still a mystery—Amongst the prisoners there is a very honest man called _____, he has been in his cell for two months and has not yet been examined. It is infamous."

I am Sir
Your obedient servant
Justitia.

London 7th August 1871./

Karl Marx
Au rédacteur de «L'International»
17 août 1871

IAu Rédacteur de l'International

Monsieur,

Dans un article intitulé «*La Société <L'Internationale>* » vous dites :

« En dehors de leurs dures économies, les ouvriers, infatigés d'eux-mêmes, fournissent aux membres du Conseil tout le confortable désirable pour vivre agréablement à Londres. »

Je vous ferai remarquer qu'à l'exception du Secrétaire général recevant un salaire de 10 shillings par semaine — tous les membres du conseil remplissent leurs fonctions et les ont toujours remplies *gratuitement*.

Je demande l'insertion de ces lignes dans votre prochain numéro.

Si votre journal continue à répandre des calomnies pareilles, il sera poursuivi judiciairement.

J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer

K. Marx |

Karl Marx
To the Editor of "Public Opinion"
August 19, 1871

Public Opinion. Nr. 518,
26. August 1871

To the Editor of "Public Opinion"

Sir,—In your publication of to-day you translate from the Berlin *National Zeitung*, a notorious organ of Bismarck's, a most atrocious libel against the International Working Men's Association, in which the following passage
5 occurs:—"Capital," says Karl Marx, 'trades in the strength and life of the workman;' but this new Messiah himself is not a step farther advanced; he takes from the mechanic the money paid him by the capitalist for his labour, and generously gives him in exchange a bill on a State that may possibly exist a thousand years hence. What edifying stories are told about
10 the vile corruption of Socialist agitators, what a shameful abuse they make of the money confided to them, and what mutual accusations they throw in each other's faces, are things we have abundantly learned by the Congresses and from the organs of the party. There is here a monstrous volcano of filth, from whose eruptions nothing better could issue than a Parisian
15 Commune."

In reply to the venal writers of the *National Zeitung*, I consider it quite sufficient to declare that I have *never* asked or received one single farthing from the working class of this or any other country.

Save the general Secretary, who receives a weekly salary of ten shillings, all the members of the General Council of the "International" do their work *gratuitously*. The financial accounts of the General Council, annually laid before the General Congresses of the Association, have always been sanctioned unanimously without provoking any discussion whatever.

25

I am, Sir, your obedient servant, KARL MARX.

Haverstock Hill, Aug. 19, 1871.

Karl Marx
Au rédacteur du «Gaulois»
24 août 1871

Le Gaulois. Nr. 1145,
27. August 1871

Brighton, 24^e août, 1871.

Au Rédacteur du Gaulois,

Monsieur,

Comme vous avez publié des extraits du compte rendu d'une conversation que j'ai eue avec un des correspondants du *New York Herald*, j'espère que vous publierez aussi la déclaration suivante que j'ai envoyée au *New York Herald*. Je vous communique cette déclaration dans sa forme originale, c'est-à-dire en anglais.

J'ai l'honneur d'être votre serviteur,
Karl Marx.

5

10

London, 17 August, 1871

To the Editor of the "New York Herald".

Sir,

In the *Herald* of August 3rd, I find a report of a conversation, I had with one of your correspondents. I beg to say that I must decline all and every responsibility for the statements attributed to me in that report, whether such statements refer to individuals connected with the late events in France, or to any political and economical opinions. Of what I am reported to have said, one part I said differently, and another I never said at all.

Yours obediently. 20
KARL MARX.

Karl Marx
Letter to the Editor of the "Sun", Charles Dana

The Sun.

9. September 1871

Brighton, August 23, 1871.

My dear Sir: In the first instance I must beg you to excuse my prolonged silence. I should have answered your letter long ago if I had not been quite overburdened with work, so much so that my health broke down, and my
5 doctor found it necessary to banish me for a few months to this sea-bathing place, with the strict injunction to do nothing.

I shall comply with your wish after my return to London when a favorable occasion occurs for rushing into print.

10 I have sent a declaration to the *New York Herald*, in which I decline all and every responsibility for the trash and positive falsehoods with which its correspondent burdens me. I do not know whether the *Herald* has printed it.

15 The number of the Communal refugees arriving in London is on the increase, while our means of supporting them is daily on the decrease, so that many find themselves in a very deplorable state. We shall make an appeal for assistance to the Americans.

To give you an inkling of the state of things that under the *République Thiers* prevails in France, I will tell you what has happened to my own daughters.

20 My second daughter, Laura, is married to Monsieur Lafargue, a medical man. They left Paris a few days before the commencement of the first siege for Bordeaux, where Lafargue's father lived. The latter, having fallen very ill, wanted to see his son, who attended him, indeed was at his sick bed until the time of his death. Lafargue and my daughter then continued to
25 stay at Bordeaux, where the former possesses a house. During the time of the Commune, Lafargue acted as Secretary to the Bordeaux branches of the International, and was also sent as a delegate to Paris, where he stayed six days to make himself acquainted with the state of things there. During all the time he was not molested by the Bordeaux police. Toward the middle
30 of May my two unmarried daughters set out for Bordeaux, and thence together with the family Lafargue to Bagnères de Luchon, in the Pyrenees,

Karl Marx

near the Spanish frontier... There the eldest daughter, who had suffered from a severe attack of pleurisy, took the mineral waters and underwent regular medical treatment. Lafargue and his wife had to attend to a dying baby, and my youngest daughter amused herself as much in the charming environs of Luchon as the family afflictions permitted. Luchon is a place of resort for patients and for the *beau monde*, and above all places the least fitted for political intrigue. My daughter Madame Lafargue had, moreover, the misfortune to lose her child, and shortly after its burial—in the second week of August—who should appear at the dwelling place? The illustrious Kératry, well known by the infamies he committed during the Mexican war, 5 and the equivocal part he played during the Franco-Prussian war, first as Prefect of Police at Paris, and later as a *soi-disant* General in Brittany, and now Prefect of the Haute-Garonne, and M. Delpech, Procureur General of Toulouse—both these worthies being accompanied by gendarmes.

Lafargue had received a hint the evening before, and had crossed the 15 Spanish frontier, having provided himself with a Spanish passport at Bordeaux.

Although the son of French parents, he was born in Cuba, and is therefore a Spaniard. A domiciliary visit was made at the dwelling place of my daughters, and they themselves were subjected to a severe cross examination 20 by the two mighty representatives of the République Thiers. They were charged with carrying on an insurrectional correspondence. That correspondence consisted simply in letters to their mother, the contents of which were of course not flattering to the French Government, and in copies of some London newspapers! For about a week their house was watched by 25 gendarmes. They had to promise to leave France, where their presence was too dangerous, as soon as they could make the preparations necessary for their departure, and in the mean time they were to consider themselves as people placed under the *haute surveillance* of the police. Kératry and Delpech had flattered themselves with the hope of finding them unprovided 30 with passports, but fortunately they were possessed of regular English passports. Otherwise they would have had to share the infamous treatment of the sister of Delescluze and other French ladies as innocent as themselves. They have not yet returned, and are probably waiting for news from Lafargue.

35

Meanwhile the Paris papers told the most incredible lies; the *Gaulois*, for instance, transforming my three daughters into three brothers of mine, well known and dangerous agents of the International Propaganda, though I have no brothers. At the same time that *La France*, a Paris organ of Thiers, gave a most varnished tale of the events at Luchon, and asserted 40 that Monsieur Lafargue might quietly return to France without incurring

Letter to the Editor of the "Sun", Charles Dana

- any danger, the French Government requested the Spanish Government to arrest Lafargue as a *member* of the *Paris Commune!* to which he had never belonged, and to which, as a resident of Bordeaux, he could not belong. Lafargue was in fact arrested, and under the escort of gendarmes
5 marched to Barbastro, where he had to take his night quarters in the town prison, thence to Huesca, whence the Governor, on telegraphic order from the Spanish Minister of the Interior, had to forward him to Madrid. According to the *Daily News* of the 24th August, he has at last been set free. The whole proceedings at Luchon and in the papers were nothing but shabby
10 attempts of Mr. Thiers & Co. to revenge themselves upon me as the author of the address of the General Council of the International on the Civil War. Between their revenge and my daughters stood the English passport, and Mr. Thiers is as cowardly in his relations to foreign powers as he is unscrupulous in regard to his disarmed countrymen.
15 As to Cluseret, I do not think that he was a traitor, but certainly he undertook to play a part for which he lacked the mettle, and thus he did great harm to the Commune. I know nothing as to his whereabouts. And now addio!

Your old friend.

KARL MARX.

Karl Marx
The Commune and Archbishop Darboy

The Examiner. Nr. 3318,
2. September 1871

The Commune and Archbishop Darboy.

Sir—The passage of the Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, "On the Civil War in France," which gave the signal to shouts of moral indignation on the part of the London press, was this: "The real murderer of the Archbishop is Thiers."

From the enclosed letter, addressed to M. Bigot, the counsel for M. Assi at the Versailles Court-martial, by M. Eugène Fondeville, who is ready to confirm his statements by affidavit, you will see that the Archbishop himself actually shared my view of the case. At the time of the publication of the "Address," I was not yet informed of the interview of M. Fondeville with M. Darboy, but even then the correspondence of the Archbishop with M. Thiers revealed his strange misgivings as to the good faith of the Chief of the French Executive. Another fact has now been placed beyond doubt—viz., that at the time of the execution of the hostages the Communal government had already ceased to exist, and ought, therefore, no longer be held responsible for that event.

I am, etc.,
KARL MARX.

London, August 29.

Londres, 19 Août, 1871.

Monsieur, — Je prends la liberté de vous écrire pour vous entretenir de l'existence de certains documents relatifs aux événements de la Commune et pour vous prier de vouloir bien user des priviléges de votre profession et de votre qualité de défenseur d'un accusé pour en obtenir la production dans les débats.

The Commune and Archbishop Darboy

Vers le 15 Avril un journal de Paris reproduisait une lettre écrite au *Times* dans laquelle un individu déclarait avoir visité les otages à Mazas, et accusait la Commune de procédés barbares envers eux. Voulant absolument me rendre compte de la véracité de pareilles assertions, je me rendis à cette 5 prison où je pus m'assurer du contraire. Ce jour-là je m'entretins avec MM. Darboy, Bonjean, Deguerry, et M. Petit, secrétaire de l'Archevêque, qui pourra puisqu'il existe vous donner des renseignements à ce sujet. Dans la suite je leur fis de fréquentes visites et quelques jours avant la chute de la Commune MM. Darboy et Bonjean me remirent des autographes 10 dont je vous donne ci-dessous à peu près la teneur.

Voici le résumé succinct du document Darboy. Il a pour titre, «Mon Arrestation, ma Détention, et mes Réflexions à Mazas.» Il en ressort qu'à part son arrestation dont il incrimine la Commune ; il rejette sur le gouvernement de Versailles toute la responsabilité de sa détention ; il 15 l'accuse surtout de sacrifier les otages pour se réservier une sorte de droit de représaille dans l'avenir. Il s'appuie en cela sur ses tentatives écrites d'une part et sur les démarches de ses amis auprès de M. Thiers, démarches et pourparlers qui n'ont abouti qu'à des refus, notamment celle de M. Lagarde. Il affirme que non seulement il a été question d'échanger les otages 20 contre Blanqui, mais encore contre le cadavre du général Duval. Il déclare en outre être bien traité, il loue longuement la conduite du citoyen Garau, directeur de Mazas. Déjà il prévoit sa mort et voici ce qu'il écrit à ce sujet : « Il est acquis que Versailles ne veut ni d'échange ni de conciliation, d'un autre côté si la Commune a eu le pouvoir de nous arrêter, elle n'a pas celui 25 de nous faire mettre en liberté ; car à cette heure notre mise en liberté sans échange ferait dans Paris une révolution qui renverserait la Commune. »

Quant à M. Bonjean, il me remit un long traité d'économie agricole qu'il avait composé en prison, deux lettres pour sa famille, et une espèce de 30 journal de sa détention. Quoique ce document n'ait pas la même valeur au point de vue de la défense que celui de M. Darboy, il prouve que les otages ont été traités à Mazas avec humanité.

Comme il est inutile d'insister sur l'importance de pareils documents, je vais maintenant vous expliquer par quels concours de circonstances j'en 35 ai été dépossédé.

Obligé de quitter le Ministère des Travaux Publics le lundi 22 Mai au matin, je dus me réfugier dans le seul établissement qui se trouvait ouvert, rue du Temple ; là je déposais ma malle et mes papiers. Le jeudi 25, les Versaillais s'étant emparés de ce quartier, je songeais avant de me retirer à 40 mettre ces documents en sûreté. Le maître de l'hôtel en qui j'avais cru pouvoir me confier, me cédait un placard d'une chambre du 2me étage dont

Karl Marx

j'emportais la clef. Outre les pièces citées plus haut, je déposais aussi cinq lettres de MacMahon qui m'avaient été remises à la Préfecture de Police, plusieurs documents officiels, parmi lesquels étaient ma commission de délégué à Neuilly pendant l'armistice du 25 Avril, deux billets de circulation, une lettre adressée de Londres à M. Thiers, et quelques photographies de divers membres de la Commune. 5

Le 27 Mai j'envoyais deux hommes rue du Temple, ils devaient me rapporter, en même temps que ma malle, les papiers déposés dans le placard. Le propriétaire de l'hôtel répondit à leur demande que plusieurs de ses voisins ayant dit à diverses reprises qu'un membre de la Commune 10 s'était réfugié chez lui, il avait cru prudent de forcer le placard et de brûler les papiers.

La malle me fut apportée, elle aussi avait été forcée, et mes papiers privés, tels que certificats et autres, m'avaient été soustraits. Maintenant et malgré que le maître de l'hôtel m'ait confirmé à moi-même la destruction de ces 15 pièces, je suis persuadé du contraire, et des avis qui m'arrivent de Paris m'assurent que celui à qui je les avais confiées les a encore en sa possession, ou les a remises depuis peu à la police.

Suit des renseignements pour se procurer les pièces désignées, et les salutations d'usage. La lettre a été envoyée à Bigot, le 19 Août 1871 20

*E. FONDEVILLE,
Propriétaire à St Macaire.*

Karl Marx
Au rédacteur de « La Vérité »
30 août 1871

International Working Men's Association,
256, High Holborn, London. - W . C
30 Août 1871

Monsieur le Rédacteur,

- 5 Ayant lu dans le *Daily News* d'aujourd'hui que M. Renaut attribue à l'*Internationale* un manifeste invitant les paysans français à brûler tous les châteaux possibles etc, M. John Haies, le secrétaire général du Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, a immédiatement envoyé à M. L. Bigot, le défenseur d'Assi, cette dépêche télégraphique :
- 10 « Proclamation incendiaire attribuée à l'Internationale est un faux. Sommes prêts à en faire déclaration assermentée devant magistrat anglais. »
- Maintenant, je me hâte d'avertir le public français par l'intermédiaire de votre honorable journal que *tous les manfestes, imprimés à Paris au nom de l'Internationale depuis l'entrée des troupes du gouvernement français dans Paris, que tous ces manfestes, sans exception aucune, sont des faux.*
- 15 Je vous fais cette déclaration non seulement sur ma parole d'honneur, mais je suis prêt à en faire la déclaration assermentée (*«the affidavit»*) devant un magistrat anglais.
- 20 J'ai raison de croire que ces productions infâmes n'émanent pas même directement de la police, mais de Monsieur B. d'un individu attaché à un de ces journaux parisiens que le *Standard* (journal Tory) désigne dans un de ses derniers numéros comme les organes du demi-monde.

25

Recevez, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma
parfaite considération
Karl Marx|

Karl Marx
To the Editor of the "Evening Standard"
September 4, 1871

The Evening Standard.
Nr. 14695, 6.September 1871

To the Editor.

Sir,—In your number of the 2d September, your Berlin correspondent publishes "the translation of an interesting article on the International, which has appeared in the *Cologne Gazette*," which article charges me with living at the expense of the working classes. Up to the 30th August, the date of your correspondent's letter, no such article appeared in the *Cologne Gazette*, from which paper, therefore, your correspondent could not translate it. On the contrary, the article in question appeared, more than a fortnight ago, in the Berlin *National Zeitung*; and an English translation of it, literally identical with the one given by your correspondent, figured in the 5 London weekly paper, *Public Opinion*, as far back as the 19th August. The next number of *Public Opinion* contained my reply to these slanders, and I hereby summon you to insert that reply, of which I enclose a copy, in the next number of your paper. The Prussian government have reasons of their own why they push, by every means in their power, the spreading of such 10 infamous calumnies through the English press. These articles are but the harbingers of impending government prosecutions against the "International."—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

KARL MARX.

Haverstock-hill, Sept. 4., 1871.

20



International Working Men's Association,

280, High Holborn, London, W.C.

30 August 1871

(Monseigneur le Révérend)

Je vous prie d'agréer dans le Derby-York l'assurance que je ferai tout
mon effort pour faire en sorte que les hommes
étrangers à l'Internationale ou manifestement favorisant les révoltes
étrangères ou contre leurs franchises, posséderont une forte
minorité au sein de la Société Internationale. J'ai fait de
l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, à cette
occasion, une déclaration à ce sujet, et je suis sûr qu'elle
vérifiera ma réclamation.

L'Association demandera à l'Assemblée Générale
une fois l'assurance obtenue à faire une déclaration
assez forte devant négocier un traité.

Il me semble que le public français juge
l'assurance de votre journal que tous les
membres, sans exception, sont internationaux depuis
longtemps, et que vous ne pouvez pas faire
de longs discours, sans exception aucune.

Je vous prie de faire cette déclaration non seulement sur mon
nom mais également sur celui de nos amis qui sont à nos côtés.

Karl Marx: Au rédacteur de la Vérité.

Erste Seite der Handschrift

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels
Propositions to the General Council concerning
preparations for the London Conference

I *Rechnungsablage.*

- 1) To find a room for the meetings of the Conference
- 2) To find an hotel where the members of the Conference can stay—propose the same as last, Leicester Square.
- 5 3) A Committee to be appointed to arrange these two points,
- 4) That the entire Council assist at the meetings of the Conference, with the right of taking part in the debate, but that a certain number of the Council only be delegated with the right of voting—such number to be fixed by the Council when the number of delegates to the Conference shall be known.
- 10 5) That the Frenchmen now resident in London who are acknowledged members of the International, provide for the representation of France at the Conference by three delegates,
- 6) That if the members of any Country should not be represented at the Conference, the Corresponding Secretary for that Country be appointed to
- 15 represent them.

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels
Propositions to be submitted to the
Conference by the General Council

I Propositions to be submitted to the Conference by the General Council

- 1) 1) That after the close of the Conference, no branch be acknowledged as belonging to the Association by the General Council and by the Central Councils of the various countries until its annual contribution of 1^d per head for the current year shall have been remitted to the General Council. 5
- 2) 2) a) For those countries in which the regular organization of the Association may for the moment become impossible by Government interference, the delegates of each Country are invited to propose such plans of organization as may be compatible with the peculiar circumstances of the Case, β) The Association may be re-formed under other names, γ) but all secret organizations are formally excluded. 10 15
- 3) 3) The General Council will submit to the Conference a report of its administration of the affairs of the International since the last Congress.
- 5) 5) The General Council will propose to the Conference to discuss the propriety of issuing a reply, to the various governments which have prosecuted and are now prosecuting the International; the Conference to name a Committee to be charged with drawing up this reply after its close. 20
- 4) 4) *Resolution of Congress of Basle to be inforced:*
That to avoid confusion the Central Councils of the various countries be instructed to designate themselves henceforth as *Federal Councils* with the name attached of the country they represent; and that the local branches or their Committees designate themselves as branches or Committees of their respective localities. 25

Propositions to be submitted to the Conference by the General Council

6) 6)

3) 7) That all delegates of the General Council appointed to distinct missions shall have the right to attend, and be heard at, all meetings of federal councils and local committees or branches, without however being thereby entitled to vote thereat,**j**

5 10 J 8) That the General Council be instructed to issue a fresh edition of the Statutes including the resolutions of the Congresses having relation thereto; and inasmuch as a mutilated French translation has hitherto been in circulation in France, and re-translated into Spanish and Italian, that it provide an authentic French translation which is to be forwarded to *Spain and Italy* also. *German-Holland.*

3 languages printed side by side. /

Friedrich Engels
Meeting of the Subcommittee of the
General Council September 9, 1871
Minutes

**I Meeting of Sub Committee 9th September,
8 o'clock.**

Longuet in the Chair.

Marx proposes that as to *Landeck* the General Council has nothing to do with the question [whether] he still belongs to the International or not, and that he be referred to the french Internationals in London to settle this—L. has, on the trial of the Internationals in Paris, eaten humble pie and promised not to belay to the International in future; but such questions cannot be settled by the Council. 5

Mottershead seconds. 10

Carried unanimously.

The Conference. Marx: a Conference is not composed of delegates of branches but of delegates of *countries* which come to confer *with* the Council under extraordinary circumstances and therefore very different from a Congress and has quite different powers. This has not to be forgotten. The first question will be the 15

1) the *money* questions, the contributions have not come in as they ought to do. The Conference has no power to change the Statutes but it can enforce them. Therefore proposal No. 1. branches to pay before admittance. 20

Jung seconds. Adopted unanimously.

Marx: 2) (Countries where the International is suppressed to propose their own plans, and to be allowed other names but *not secret.*)

Eccarius seconds. Adopted unanimously.

Marx: 3) That some member be appointed to draw up the Report of 25 Council to be submitted to Conference for last 2 years. Adopted as a matter of course.

Jung proposes, Eccarius seconds Marx to draw up the Report.

~~Engels' right to be present at the general meeting of the
Central Committee~~

Eight o'clock. Engels arrived.
Engels proposed that a resolution be passed that
the Central Committee, in view of the fact
of being invited together to be held in
London, be withdrawn by Marx & himself.
Marx replied that he had the right to leave
by the hand of another of divided councils of local bodies
and Central Committee. What had been done?
Engels replied that he had written to the
authorities in London and pointed out by facts of his
own that the meeting of the Central Committee was to be held
in Paris before publishing.
~~Engels' right to be present at the general meeting of the
Central Committee~~

Engels said that he proposed to send to the general
meeting of the Central Committee a resolution to a
general assembly of the workers of all countries
of the world to express their views on the same subject.
Any resolution which he received that forbids him
to do so would be rejected. He will do
the opposite to you he says from the proposed resolution
of the Central Committee.

Engels' right to be present at the general meeting of the
Central Committee

Engels' right to be present at the general meeting of the
Central Committee

Friedrich Engels: Meeting of the Subcommittee
of the General Council September 9, 1871. Minutes.

Zweite Seite der Handschrift

Meeting of the Subcommittee of the General Council September 9, 1871

Marx: 4) To enforce the resolution of Congress of Basel, that the Central Council to be called *Federal Council*, etc., etc.

Serraillier seconds. Adopted unanimously. |

I Marx 5) Reply to be issued to different governments to be drawn up
5 afterwards.

Engels seconds. Adopted unanimously.

6) In regularly organized countries regular reports of local and district taxation to be sent in.

This is withdrawn by Marx himself.

10 Marx: 7) All delegates of General Council to have the right to attend and be heard at meetings of district councils and local branches.

Serraillier seconds. Adopted unanimously.

Marx: 8) General Council to issue fresh edition of Statutes and authentic French and German version, printed side by side; and all other countries to
15 have their translations approved by General Council before publishing.

Jung seconds. Adopted unanimously.

20 *Mottershead*: That the Conference be asked to charge the General Council with enforcing Art. V. of the Statutes relative to a general statistics of the Working Classes and the resolution of the Congress of Geneva on the same subject. To carry this out it might be resolved that trades unions etc who refuse to give the information required, shall not be supported by the General Council in case of strike.

McDonnell seconds. Adopted unanimously!

Marx: That the Sub Committee meets at 8 at Marx's on Monday evening.

25 Adopted. I

Friedrich Engels
Meeting of the Subcommittee of the
General Council September 11, 1871
Minutes

I Meeting of Sub Committee
Monday 11th September 1871
at 1 Maitland Park

Serraillier in the Chair. Engels appointed Secretary.

Proposed by Engels, seconded by Hales that the Bill of Mr Truelove £25 11.6 be passed, reserving the question of the price of the handbills and the 5th Thousand copies. Adopted unanimously. 5

Proposed by Engels, seconded by Eccarius: that Mr Truelove be paid £ 10.—on account and the payment of the rest be delayed until he shall have handed in an account of copies sold. Adopted unanimously. 10

Proposed by Marx, seconded by Longuet: that the General Council be requested, to avoid all misunderstandings, to declare at the opening of the Conference: that a Conference is nothing but a meeting of delegates from various countries called to consult and decide together with the General Council, on administrative measures rendered necessary by extraordinary circumstances. 15

Hales proposed, Longuet seconded: That the General Council recommend the formation of an English Federal Council. Withdrawn to be submitted to General Council tomorrow.

Marx proposes, Jung seconds: That the formation of working women's sections be recommended. | 20

**Delegiertenkonferenz
der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation in London
17. bis 23. September 1871**

Friedrich Engels
Proposal on the meeting-places
and the opening of the sessions of the
London Conference

I That the Conference meet Monday at 10 at the Blue Post and that on the following days the Committee Meetings be held in the morning and Evening Meetings at 8 of the full Conference Tuesday at High Holborn and Wednesday and Thursday at the Blue Post.j

Friedrich Engels
Notizen von den Sitzungen der Londoner Konferenz

[Conference Meeting September 17]

Jung President	
Hales English—Rochat French—Engels Secretär für Redaction und Übersetzung der Resolutions.	
1) Fondeville to be admitted with consultative voice only.	5
2) To meet at 1 in the day and at 8 in the evening (Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday)	
3) To enforce the Resolution of the Congress of Basel reducing the speaking time to 5 minutes.	
4) Commission of 5 to be appointed to report on the Swiss difference on Wednesday Evening. Marx. McDonnell. Verrycken. Vaillant. Eccarius.	10
5) Commission of 6 to fix Order of the day. Lorenzo, Mottershead, Frankel. I	

[[2]] Conference Meeting 18thSeptember 2 o'clock.

Serraillier president. Mottershead English Secretary.	15
French minutes read and unanimously adopted. Rob[in] called. Martin 2 nd Secretary	
De Paepe Report of Commission] on order of the day.	
1) The Report of General Council to be presented when ready and the debate to be interrupted for it. Engels for financial Report	20
2) The Order of the day of the Committee adopted otherwise.	
Financial Control Committee appointed Lorenzo, Coenen, Fluse and Perret.	
Marx to commence at once with the proposals of the General Council for organization—adopted.	25
1) Names of Councils and Sections (but Committee or Council)	
2) Statutendruck in 3 Sprachen	

Friedrich Engels: Notizen von den Sitzungen der Londoner Konferenz.
Zweite Seite der Handschrift

March 19th Good Evening, will be added
tomorrow by Rude, he says
more of Molyneux & of the other papers
of course, in detail.
B. Kelly left for America at 20th, 10th it is
to be seen in London on Friday.
S. V. Volney left Boston on Friday.
March 20. Left 24th Boston
at 10th by boat for New Haven
Arrived at 11th a.m. by 10th
This is a great number of miles
from Boston and
I am not sure if I have got the right
direction, but I am going to go on.
England, Ireland, Scotland, & of course
most of the rest of Europe, & of course
of India, China, &c.
I am going to take a boat from New York
on Saturday morning, ^{10th} March
Frank C. London March 21st 1851
Evening news
First news of Com. or other in view accepted
Left Boston at 10th
Arrived at New Haven, Connecticut, about
12th noon.

Friedrich Engels: Notizen von den Sitzungen der Londoner Konferenz.
Dritte Seite der Handschrift

Notizen von den Sitzungen der Londoner Konferenz

Meeting 19th September 2.30 afternoon

Serraillier presides. Minutes read and adopted.

The Belgians: Cohn to give an account of his mission in Belgium.

Engels: that Hales write this to him and call on him to appear.

5 adopted

3) Marx—female sections and mixed sections—unanimously

4) Marx—Statistik, adopted unanimously.

Outine. Every branch to have a Statistical Committee and that the secretary of that Committee be paid (this to be recommended) adopted gegen 10 1 Stimme.

Outine. Motion d'ordre. Abstentions to be motived in writing and inserted in the minutes

De Paepe and Frankel—federal Councils to send once a year a statistical report, adopted

15 Herman and Fluse to fix the time of year when the statistical Reports shall be made. Marx proposes 1st of August.]

I[3]I Meeting 19th 9 o'clock. Evening, 256 High Holborn

Communications by Hales and Engels.

Marx: 5) Delegirte des General Council Zutritt zu den Sitzungen, adopted

20 6) Vorauszahlung vor Anerkennung.

In Belgien zahlt Jeder dem federal council 20^e, 10^e für ihn und 10^e für London. An Comm[ission] verwiesen.

Engels: Vorlage der Spanier wegen Organisation.

Meeting 20. September 3 Uhr. Blue Post

25 Outine's Vorschlag über die spanische Vorlage. Angenommen.

Verlesung der eingegangenen Allgemeinen Vorschläge

Marx: daß alle nur allgemeinen Vorschläge erst am Ende der ganzen Tagesordnung vorkommen. Angenommen.

Bastelica: solche einem Comité (Frankel, Serraillier und De Paepe) zu 30 überweisen. Angenommen.

Engels: Die Ordnung der 4 Propositions zu bestimmen.

Marx: 1) Delahaye. 2) Vaillant. 3) De Paepe and Verrycken 4) Outine.

Becker.—Adopted.

1) Delahaye's Proposition. Dagegen Frankel etc

Friedrich Engels

Evening Meeting.

Jung Chair.

Proposal of Comm[ittee] on getting in money. Adopted
Save the 6th Article.

Proposition Vaillant, xxxxxxx Serraillier and Frankel,
adjourned—J

[4] | *Meeting 22 September 6 Evening 6h Uhr.*

Serraillier chair. Proposition Vaillant and Outine, Frankel—Serraillier
Proposition Bastelica—Proposition Perret's
— Diese angenommen.—
— Belgian] Proposition wegen Cohen—auf Morgen—
— Marx Bericht über die Schweizer Spaltung.
Ks 1. Alliance angenommen 2.3 Ditto.

Meeting 23 September 11.35.

Serraillier Präsident — beim Protokoll Serraillier daß der Brief zurückgewie-
sen werde. —
Vaillant — Engels: daß der Brief zurückgenommen werde oder an den
Conseil Général gehe
angenommen
Finanzbericht. Angenommen und bessere Buchhaltung verlangt.
Proposition Verrycken. Auf dessen Wunsch reducirt und für den Congreß
zurückgezogen.
Andre Proposition Verrycken—De Paepe Ks 1 angenommen N°2 do.
Outine — erst Nachrichten einziehen vor Zulassung in Conseil Général.
Outine und Engels wegen Secretären.
De Paepe: Billigung der Zulassung der Communeleute

Nachmittags.

Becker's Proposition 1.2.4. Tagesordnung.
3. der Generalrat soll ein Circular erlassen und den Sectionen Berichte
über die Landbevölkerung für den Congreß vorbereiten.
Marx. Resolution des Conseil Général über Special organisations]

Notizen von den Sitzungen der Londoner Konferenz

- 1) Englischer Föderalrath. Einstimmig.
- 2) Organisation in den unterdrückten Ländern,
 - a Frankreich. Resolution Outine adopted
 - b Italien — Resolution Marx, adopted
 - 5 c Rußland — Resolution Marx und Utin adopted
 - d Spanien — Resolution Lorenzo. Tagesordnung und sein Einverständniß
 - e Deutschland. Dankvotum Utin und Rochat.
- Allgemeiner Beschuß des Generalrats (geheime Gesellschaften) ange-
- 10 nommen
- Marx: Manifest angenommen. Übersetzung deutsch und französisch, gleich wegzusenden deutsch und französisch —
- Russische Frage: 1) daß Utin übersetzt und dem Conseil Général einschickt, der Publication beschließt. ||[5]| Daß der Generalrat von den Reso-
- 15 lutionen der Konferenz veröffentlicht was er will.
- Daß der Generalrat das Recht hat eine Conferenz oder Congreß zu berufen
- Daß Herman den Cohn verfolgt.]

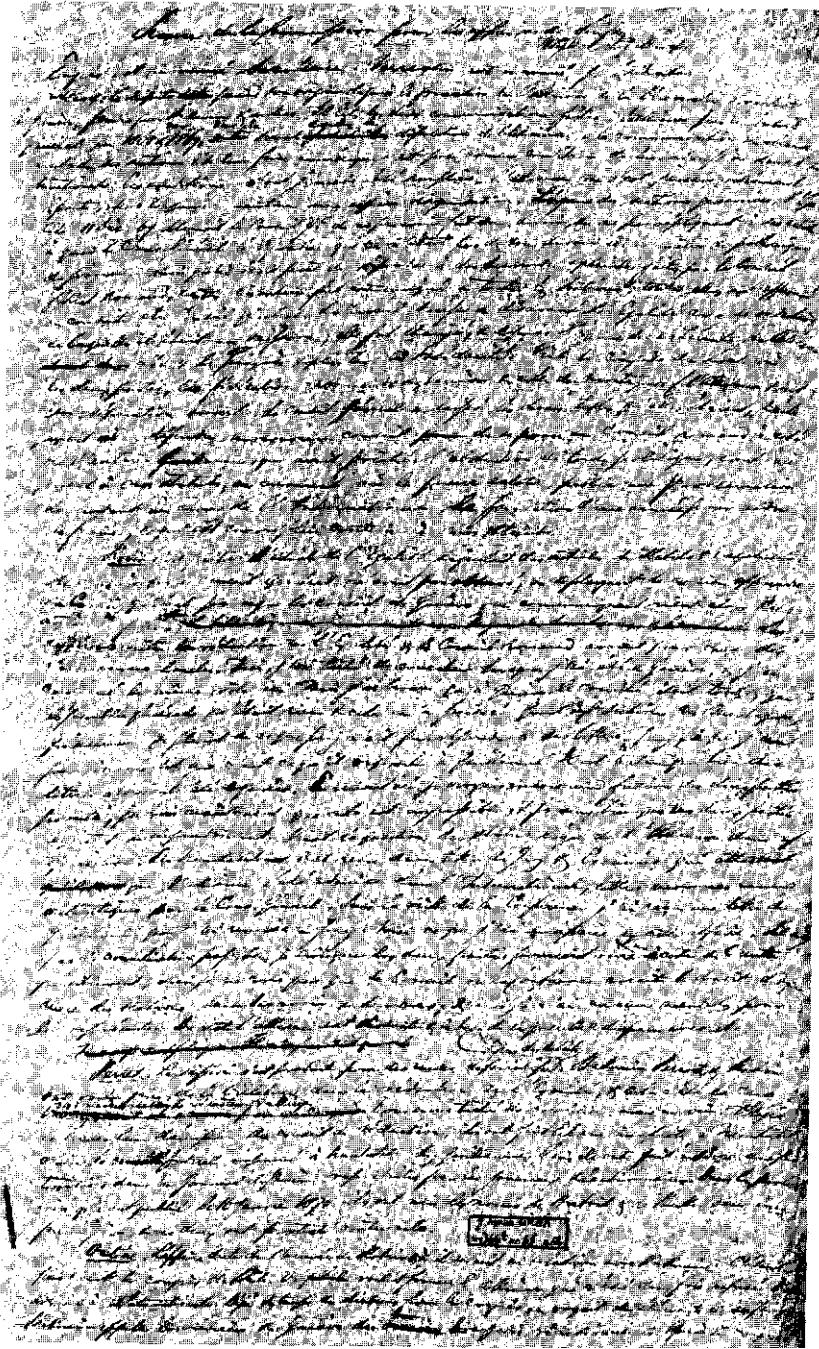
Friedrich Engels
Procès-verbal de la séance de la Commission
pour les affaires de Suisse du 18 septembre 1871

Séance de la Commission
pour les affaires de Suisse.

18 Septembre, chez Marx.

Engels est nommé Secrétaire. Verrycken est nommé président.

Marx: La dispute prend son origine depuis la formation de l'alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste à Genève, fondée par Bakunin et autres. Il lit les deux communications faites à l'alliance par le Conseil général en 1868 et Mars 1869, dans la seconde desquelles la dissolution de l'Alliance, et la communication du recensement de ses sections et de leur force numérique est posée comme condition de leur admission dans l'Internationale. Ces conditions n'ont jamais été remplies, l'Alliance ne s'est jamais réellement dissoute, elle a toujours maintenu une espèce d'organisation. L'organe des sections genevoises, l'Egalité, 11 Décembre 69, blâmait le Conseil Général de ne pas avoir fait son devoir, en ne pas répliquant à ses articles, à quoi le Conseil Général a répondu que ce n'était pas de son devoir de se mêler de polémique des journaux mais qu'il était prêt de répondre à des demandes et plaintes faites par le Conseil fédéral romand, et cette circulaire fut communiquée à toutes les Sections ; toutes, elles ont approuvé la conduite du Conseil Général. Le Conseil Suisse a désavoué l'Egalité avec la rédaction de laquelle il était en scission ; elle fut changée, et depuis l'organe des adhérents de l'Alliance, c'était le Progrès et plus tard la Solidarité. Vint le Congrès du Locle où les deux partis, la Fédération romande de Genève et celle des montagnes (l'Alliance) ont eu séparation ouverte. Le Conseil Général a laissé les choses telles qu'elles étaient, seulement il a défendu au nouveau conseil de se poser en Conseil romand à côté de l'autre. Guillaume, qui avait prêché l'abstention de toute politique, contrairement à nos statuts, au moment où la guerre éclata, publia une proclamation demandant au nom de l'Internationale la formation d'une armée pour aider la France, ce qui est encore plus contraire à nos statuts.



Friedrich Engels: Procès-verbal de la séance
de la Commission pour les affaires de Suisse du 18 septembre 1871.
Erste Seite der Handschrift

Procès-verbal de la Commission pour les affaires de Suisse du 18 septembre 1871

Robin doit partir : l'article de l'Egalité signalait des articles de statuts et résolutions du congrès que le Conseil Général n'avait pas observé ; on se plaignait de ne rien apprendre du Conseil Général parce que le Conseil de Genève ne communiquait rien et alors Cet article a paru. Les différends 5 entre la rédaction de l'Egalité et le Conseil romand avaient pour cause des circonstances locales. Moi, j'ai tâché de concilier lorsque j'ai été à Genève, et j'ai continué le même rôle ici. Mais j'ai trouvé qu'à Genève le comité était tout et que l'assemblée générale n'était rien et cela m'a froissé! Quant aux Sections des Montagnes, Guillaume se plaint de ce que Jung n'a pas 10 répondu à ses lettres ; Jung, à qui j'en parlais, me dit que c'est ce qu'il reproche à Guillaume. Il est certain que bien des lettres alors ont été égarées. En arrivant ici je croyais encore une fusion des deux partis possible, je vois maintenant que cela est impossible, et je veux bien que ces deux partis existent indépendamment. Vient la question du status légal de l'Alliance 15 dans notre association. Les Neuchâtelois ont reçu deux lettres de Jung et Eccarius qui attestent que l'alliance a été admise dans l'Internationale, lettres reconnues comme authentiques par le Conseil Général. Puis la veille de la Conférence j'ai reçu une lettre de Guillaume que j'ai remise à Jung. Voici ce que j'ai eu à faire en cette affaire. S'il n'y a pas de conciliation 20 possible, je crois que les deux partis pourront vivre l'un à côté de l'autre paisiblement, mais je ne crois pas que le Conseil ou la Conférence aurait le droit d'exclure des Sections sans les avoir entendues ; et moi je n'ai aucun mandat pour les représenter. Du reste l'alliance est dissoute et la base de la querelle a disparu avec elle.

25 *Perret.* La scission s'est produite pour des causes de principe et non pas des détails. Bakunin, Perron et Robin ont voulu faire de la Dictature dans la rédaction de l'Egalité, et cela a été la cause. Ils voulaient chasser le rédacteur Waehry. Nous avons tâché de concilier, mais en vain. Obligés de donner leur démission du conseil de rédaction, ils ont publié un manifeste 30 à Neuchâtel contre le comité fédéral, imprimé à Neuchâtel chez Guillaume. Puis ils ont fait insérer des protestations dans le Journal de Genève, reproduites par les journaux réactionnaires. Dans la protestation qu'ils ont publié le 16 Janvier 1870 ils ont mis les noms de Dutoit et de Becker sans leur permission, et ces deux ont protesté contre cela.

35 *Outine.* L'affaire date de l'arrivée de Robin, où il se mit en relation avec Bakunin. C'était peu avant le congrès de Bâle. On voulut former l'alliance qui a été deux fois refusée d'être admise à l'Internationale. Déjà du temps des élections pour le congrès on voyait des éléments de scission. Bakunin appela les ouvriers de Genève des bourgeois réactionnaires. Après le con- 40 grès ||[2]| Robin se fit tout à fait maître du journal, insérant ce qu'il voulait, sans se conformer aux règlements. Il se dit dans le journal ambassadeur des

Friedrich Engels

Sections Belges auprès du Conseil fédéral. Je traduisais alors des articles anglais et allemands pour le journal, à condition que l'on ne me parlât de Bakunin. Un jour Robin arrive avec une longue liste de griefs contre le Conseil Général et me demanda ma signature que je refusai. Dans mon absence à Berne, il a mis dans la partie étrangère du journal, contre sa promesse, et sans ma connaissance, un long article contre le Conseil Général. Puis il m'a dénoncé Waehry comme un intrigant, un mouchard presque ; et on voulait l'exclure du comité de rédaction, un de nos meilleurs hommes ; il me demanda mon assistance et m'offrit d'entrer dans la rédaction ; il ferait voir au comité fédéral qu'on ne pouvait se passer de lui et de Perron et qu'on leur donnerait plein pouvoir. J'étais alors pour eux, je les ai défendu à la Section centrale mais elle a décidé contre eux ; et le journal a paru sans eux et sans moi. Puis Robin a tâché de me persuader de ne pas leur donner la traduction de documents relatifs à la grève de Waldenburg parce que si on ne les soutenait pas, le journal serait ruiné ; c'est cela ce qui m'a ouvert les yeux sur ces hommes et j'ai continué d'écrire dans le journal. Du reste Robin, dans mes traductions, a fait des changements affectans le sens selon ses idées. Plus tard il m'a demandé de ne pas m'opposer à ce que le journal aussi bien que le Comité central soit transféré aux montagnes, j'ai avec indignation refusé de me mêler de ces intrigues. Puis il m'a dit qu'il fallait la dissolution et la réorganisation de toutes ces sections réactionnaires à Genève qui ne voulaient pas du grand Bakunin. Ce même Bakunin m'a écrit une lettre que j'ai dans laquelle il me dit que je pourrais faire en Russie tout ce que je voudrais mais qu'il ne voulait pas que je me mêlasse de l'Internationale qui était son domaine à lui. — A Genève on a depuis résolu que 1) le Journal restât à Genève, 2) le Comité Central aussi, 3) et que l'alliance ne soit jamais admise. Vint alors le Congrès de La Chaux-de-Fonds ; alors le *Progrès* prêcha l'abstention politique, chose qui ruinerait l'Internationale à Genève où l'action politique est tout pour nous. Au congrès, le parti Guillaume demanda l'admission des délégués de l'Alliance, non admise pour nous ; nous demandâmes l'ajournement parce que c'était une chose difficile et qui nous perdrait du temps, on insista ; nous déclarâmes d'être obligés de nous retirer en cas d'admission de l'Alliance, ayant mandat impératif sur ce point. Nous fûmes dans la minorité et nous nous sommes retirés. La majorité a été fabriquée par toutes sortes d'intrigues. Les autres avaient des mandats en blanc qu'ils donnaient à ceux qui promettaient de voter pour leurs propositions. (En parenthèse : le procès de Pétersbourg a dévoilé que Bakounine et Netchaïeff ont conté tout ce qu'ils savaient sur les conspirations en Russie à un mouchard Russe qui vint chez Bakunin avec Netchaïeff) Nous avons continué le congrès pour nous autres ; et à notre retour, toute l'Internationale de Genève nous a

Procès-verbal de la Commission pour les affaires de Suisse du 18 septembre 1871

unanimement soutenus, de sorte qu'il nous a même fallu défendre nos adversaires contre l'indignation de nos membres ;

Bastelica demande si l'on a donné en 1870 pour cause de cessation d'une grève à Genève que les ouvriers ne voulaient pas la continuer le jour d'une 5 fête nationale Suisse.

Outine déclare que cela a été émis par la société du Grutli et répété par les journaux réactionnaires et par Guillaume, mais c'était au commencement de la grève qui a continué et n'a été close que par la guerre de 1870. L'Internationale n'a été pour rien dans toute cette proposition qu'elle ne 10 s'est jamais appropriée. Guillaume a plus tard répété la calomnie du Journal de Genève que l'Internationale s'était mise de côté des radicaux quand elle avait fait tout le contraire.

Bastelica dit que Robin lui a dit que Grosselin avait dit dans un meeting qu'il n'était pas communiste, et enfin qu'il était bourgeois.

15 Perret et Outine disent que Grosselin est un des meilleurs d'entre eux, bien qu'ils ne partagent pas toutes ses opinions.

Marx dit que d'abord Bakounine n'est pas communiste lui-même et qu'il n'a pas été collectiviste depuis longtemps ; du reste on ne demande à personne dans l'Internationale un certificat de Communisme. Ce qu'il 20 faudrait éclaircir, ce sont les accusations portées contre le parti Bakounine d'avoir tâché de falsifier des mandats pour le congrès de Bâle.

Jung. Après le conflit il a été en relation plus ou moins continue avec Guillaume. Il donne le récit de sa correspondance avec Guillaume et de ses conversations avec lui aux congrès. Quant à ||[3]| Bakunin, jusqu'au Congrès 25 de Berne (paix) il n'était pas de l'Internationale ; après ce congrès où on rejeta sa proposition plus ou moins prudhonienne, il ne s'y joignit pas mais il forma une nouvelle association — l'Alliance. Voilà ce que j'ai dit à Guillaume et il n'a pas pu m'y répondre.

Bastelica, sur la demande de Marx : Les relations du Comité de Marseille 30 avec l'alliance, se bornent à une brochure adressée à nous par l'alliance et à une lettre que j'ai reçue de Bakunin (en Septembre 1870, où il était poursuivi), (à Vaillant) Nous n'avons pas reçu d'autres conseils de Bakunin sur la politique internationale ; seulement pendant la guerre Bakunin m'a dit qu'en France la politique d'abstention devait cesser parce que le peuple 35 français se trouvait dans une situation extraordinaire, et il était tellement dans le mouvement politique que nous n'avons pas même partagé ses vues.

Outine : Ceci était logique, il a toujours fait de la politique, mais il ne veut pas que les ouvriers en fassent parce qu'ils sont « bêtes, bourgeois et 40 réactionnaires ». L'affaire de Lyon que nous avons vu de près, et le rôle qu'il y a joué, en est la meilleure preuve ; nous y reviendrons. Je demande

Friedrich Engels

que Bastelica s'explique sur sa lettre dans la Solidarité où il approuve l'action des sécessionistes.

Bastelica. C'était en pleine période plébiscitaire, nous avions les mains pleines d'ouvrage, on me demanda de Lyon et Neuchâtel quelques mots de sympathie et j'ai écrit à la hâte quelques lignes — huit à dix — au crayon à 5 Richard disant : tu peux communiquer cela à Guillaume. Cette lettre n'était pas destinée à la publicité.

Lorenzo (sur la question de Outine) se rappelle que ce conflit a eu lieu, mais qu'il n'y a pu faire beaucoup d'attention. If anything has been published as an act of the Spanish Internationals in this question he does not recollect 10 it, il est possible que ce soit un acte des Barcelonais.

Perret constate qu'immédiatement après la scission de La Chaux-de-Fonds il y a eu une agitation organisée contre les Genevois pour les isoler ; on a écrit des lettres, entre autres à Aubry, dans ce sens ; personne, de Bruxelles, de Paris, d'Espagne, n'a jamais répondu à leurs lettres, il ne leur 15 restait que le Conseil Général.

Marx. On a essayé la même isolation pour le Conseil Général ; on l'a essayé partout où l'on a pu ; à Paris, en Espagne et en Italie.

Lorenzo. As far as Madrid is concerned I may affirm qu'il s'est passé bien du temps en Espagne après la fondation de l'Internationale en Espagne, 20 avant même qu'on ait connu le nom seul de Bakunin et il n'y a jamais eu aucune influence de l'Alliance en son pays. Du reste Fanelli (ami de Bakunin) a été fondateur de l'Internationale en Espagne et surtout à Barcelone.

Marx. Schily était présent à Paris lorsque des délégués espagnols y arrivaient, qui, tout en se disant Internationaux, se posaient comme les représentants spéciaux de l'Alliance. 25

Outine : Fanelli a été envoyé par Bakunin pour faire bien d'autres choses mais il ne les a pas faites, il a fondé des Sections de l'Internationale.

Après un intervalle de 10 minutes.

Outine sait que Robin a écrit à Guillaume qu'il y aurait une conférence, et 30 Robin n'a donc pas le droit de dire que l'on ne leur a pas communiqué. Malon a dit vendredi [il y a] huit jours devant témoins que Guillaume & Co lui ont proposé de les représenter à la Conférence.

Il donne ensuite des détails sur les faits qui se sont produits pendant les dernières deux années en Suisse. La grande politique de Guillaume & Co 35 était de séparer les ouvriers du bâtiment — étrangers, savoyards, et très ignorants — des ouvriers de la fabrique — citoyens suisses, et de se fonder sur le bâtiment, mais cela a échoué. Cela eût été le moyen le plus sûr de couler l'Internationale à Genève. Dans la dernière grève Guillaume a demandé que l'on ne s'occupe pas de pareilles bagatelles mais qu'on prenne 40 le fusil en main et fasse une révolution.

Procès-verbal de la Commission pour les affaires de Suisse du 18 septembre 1871

Après le 4 Septembre Guillaume a lancé son manifeste «aux armes», nous avons de suite répondu dans l'Egalité. Mais ce manifeste de Guillaume servait de prétexte pour cesser la publication de la Solidarité, rendue nécessaire pour des raisons de finance, sous le prétexte de poursuites 5 gouvernementales qui n'ont jamais existé. — En Septembre Bakunin, Richard etc. ont perdu tout à Lyon. Après la révolution du 18 Mars les Lyonnais | [[4]]| nous ont déclaré que depuis l'affaire de Septembre l'Internationale était devenue impossible à Lyon parce que les actions de Bakunin & Co étaient considérées comme celles de l'Internationale. Vers le 30 avril, jour 10 des élections en France, les Lyonnais ont demandé des hommes militaires que nous avons trouvé en Suisse, mais au moment décisif Albert Leblanc, Oseroff et Joukovsky ont déclaré que l'Internationale, c'était des réactionnaires, ils ont même fabriqué des résolutions avec des signatures d'hommes influents sans leur consentement, et ils ont ruiné tout le mouvement popu- 15 laire. De sorte que les Lyonnais en sont arrivés à dire que l'Internationale était payée par Bismarck et par Bonaparte et qu'il fallait les achever après avoir achevé les Versaillais. — Après la chute de la Commune c'est nous qui avons fait tout pour sauvegarder le droit d'asile, l'Alliance n'a rien fait, pas un seul meeting, rien que des phrases. Enfin, l'Alliance se dissout au 20 moment même que la Conférence doit décider sur sa position vis à vis de l'Internationale. |

Friedrich Engels
Propositions du Conseil général
adoptées par la Conférence

i Propositions
du Conseil Général adoptées par la Conférence.

- 1) Pour éviter tout malentendu, la résolution du Congrès de Bâle sera strictement observée, suivant laquelle les conseils centraux des divers pays, où l'Association est régulièrement organisée, se désigneront comme Conseils ou Comités fédéraux de leurs pays respectifs, et les sections ou comités locaux se désigneront comme sections ou comités de leur localités respectives. 5
- 2) La Conférence donne au Conseil Général l'instruction de publier une nouvelle édition des statuts, avec une traduction authentique en français 10 et en allemand imprimée en face du texte anglais. Toutes les traductions en d'autres langues doivent, avant leur publication, être approuvées, par le Conseil Général.]
- I 3) La Conférence, sur la proposition du Conseil général, recommande la formation de sections de femmes parmi les ouvrières. Il est entendu que ceci 15 ne touche en aucune manière l'existence des sections mixtes des deux sexes.
- 4) La Conférence invite le Conseil Général de mettre en force l'article 5 des Statuts ordonnant une statistique générale de la Classe ouvrière, et les résolutions du Congrès de Genève à ce même effet. Les sociétés d'ouvriers ou 20 les branches qui se refuseraient à donner les renseignements demandés, seront portées à la connaissance du Conseil Général qui en statuera.
- 5) Tous les délégués nommés par le Conseil Général à des missions spéciales, auront le droit d'assister et de se faire entendre à toutes les réunions de conseils fédéraux, comités || de districts ou locaux, et branches 25 locales, sans cependant ayant droit au vote.
- 6) Après la clôture de la Conférence, aucune branche ne sera considérée par le Conseil Général et les Conseils fédéraux comme appartenant à l'Association avant qu'elle n'ait payé au Conseil Général sa cotisation de 10 c. par tête pour l'année courante.| 30

Friedrich Engels
Document pour le rapport des finances du Conseil général

1 8 7 0 / 7 1

Recettes

Dépenses

	Septembre—fin Novembre	£ 13. 4.7	Septembre—fin Novembre	£ 12. 7.1
	Décembre	£ 11. 8.6	Décembre	£ 11. 8.6
5	moins solde	<u>» -.17.6</u>	moins solde	<u>.. 4.13.8</u>
		..10.11.-		.. 6.14.10-
	1871			
	Janvier	-.. 1.-	Janvier	£ 4.14.8
			moins solde	<u>.. -.12.7'/₂</u> » 4. 2,-
	Février	£ 6. 5.7 1/2	Février	£ 6. 5.7'/2
10	moins solde et		moins solde	<u>» 2.14.6V2</u> .. 3.11.1
	deposit fonds	<u>.. 5.12.7'/2</u>	0.13.-	
	Mars	£ 3. 3.7	Mars	£ 3. 3.7 » 3. 3.7
	moins solde	<u>- 2.14.6'/₂</u>	.. -. 9.0V2	
	Avril	£15. 1.-	Avril	£15. 1.-
15	moins deposit fonds	<u>» 12. -.-</u>	.. 3. 1.-	moins dûs au
				trésorier 5/-.">
				Solde I7/8V2 i 1. 2.8'/ ₂ .. I3.I8.3V2
	Mai	£ 6. 3.2'/2	Mai	£ 6. 3.2V2
20	moins deposit et solde	<u>.. 4.17.8V2</u>	moins solde	<u>» 1. 5.7V2</u> 4.17.7
	Juin	£23. 6.1V2	Juin	£23. 6.1V2
	Moins solde et		solde	<u>.. 6. 1.1</u> » 17. 5.-V2
	deposit fonds	<u>- 7. 5.7V2</u>	.. 16. -.6	
	Juillet	£ 7.18.8V2	Juillet	.. 7.18.8V2
25	Moins solde 6. 1.1.			
	déficit -.10.5V2	<u>.. 6.H.6V2</u>	1. 7.2	
	Août	£15. 9.2	Août	£15. 9.2
	moins deposit fonds	<u>-.13. 2.4</u>	.. 2. 6.10	moins dûs £ —10.5
	Donation et Intérêt		<u>»40. 2.4</u>	solde » 4.18.5 .. 5. 8.10 .. 10. -.4
30	Dépenses	£89. 2.-		£83.18.7
	devrait être en caisse	<u>..83.18.7</u>		
	Se trouve en caisse	£ 5. 3.5		
	Déficit	<u>£ 4.18.5</u>		
		5/-.(

Friedrich Engels
Résumé de la gestion financière du Conseil général
du 1^{er} septembre 1869 au 31 août 1870

**I Résumé de la gestion financière
 du Conseil Général
 du 1 Septembre 1869 au 31 Août 1870.**

<i>Recettes.</i>	5
Solde de l'année passée, en caisse	£ 15.—.1'/i
Contributions de sociétés :	
a. Anglaises : Dayworking Bookbinders	
relieurs	£ 2.—.—
Helvetia société Suisse	10
à Londres	—. 11.—
Tailleurs	---.10.—
Branche X» 1 Brick-	
layers — maçons	---. 2. 6
Arbeiter-Bildungsverein	15
Société Allemande Londres	»—. 4.—
Cigariers de Londres	« 2.18.—
Elastic Webmakers	
tisserands d'élastique	»—. 5.—
Boot Closers 6 mois	»—. 3. 6
Cordonniers du Kent	»—. 2. 6
Alliance Cabinet Makers	
(ébénistes)	» 2.—.—
National Reform ligue	
(société politique)	2. 6
West End Cabinet makers	
(ébénistes)	» 1.—.—
	20
	25

Résumé de la gestion financière du Conseil général du 1^{er} sept. 1869 au 31 août 1870

	Société des tailleur,	
	à-compte	»—.10.—
	Tottenham Court Road	
	Branch (section)	»—. 5.— «10.14.—
5 b.	étrangères : Saint Etienne et Lyon,	
	Sections	£ 6. 7.—
	Belges, en deux rémises	« 11.17. 8
	Paris, sections	» 4.—.— » 22. 4. 8
	Vente de publications	« 6.11.11
10	Contributions individuelles	»24.13. 3'/. £79. 4.—

Dépenses

	Salaire du Secrétaire 51 semaines	
	à 15/-	£38. 5.—
15	Loyer du local des séances	» 9. 9.—
	Frais d'imprimerie	» 18. 7.—
	Petits frais, porto de lettres, journaux etc	» 11.16.11 »77.17.11
		Solde à reporter £ 1. 6. 1

20 Approuvé par la Commission nommée par
la Conférence de Londres. 22 Septembre 1871
H. Perret Anselmo Lorenzo
Pierre Fluse de Verviers Ph. Coenen|

Friedrich Engeis
Gestion financière du Conseil général
pour l'année du 1^{er} septembre 1870 au 31 août 1871

I Gestion financière du Conseil Général
pour l'année
du 1^{er} Septembre 1870 au 31 Août 1871

Recettes.

5

1. Solde de l'année dernière	f 1. 6. 1
2. Contributions de branches et sociétés	
a. Angleterre. Relieurs de Londres	£ 1.10.—
Maçons » »	» 1.—.—
Tailleurs 2 ^{me} semestre 1870	» — . IC -
West End Boot	
Closers, 1870	»—. 3. 6
Conseil Général des	
Charpentiers Août 69/70	» 3.—.—
b. Etranger. Section d'Amsterdam	» 6. 3. 6
Conseil Central	
de New York	<u>£—. 8.—</u>
» 2.—.—	» 2. 8.—
3. Vente de publications	» 3. 0. 8
4. Contributions individuelles	» 63. 3. 9
5. Sommes remises au Conseil pour des	
objets spéciaux	
a. Contribution des doreurs	
(Londres) pour la grève des	
cigariers d'Anvers	£ 1.—.—
b) Contributions diverses pour les	
proscrits de la Commune	» 12.—.—
	» 13.—.—
Total Recettes	£ 89.2.—

Gestion financière du Conseil général pour l'année du 1^{er} sept. 1870 au 31 août 1871

Dépenses.

1.	Salaire du Secrétaire			
	37 semaines à 15/-	£27.15.—		
	15 do „ 10 / -	<u>„ 7.10.--</u>	£ 35.5.—	
5	2. Frais d'imprimerie		» 4.15. 6	
	3. Loyer du local		« 9. 9.—	
	4. Missions à Paris Sept. 1870 et Mars 1871		„ 6.—.—	
10	5. Secours aux proscrits de la Commune		» 7.10.—	
	6. Sommes reçues et appli- quées à des objets spéciaux			
	a. Remis aux Cigariers d'Anvers (grève)	£ 1.—.—		
15	b. Réfugiés de la Commune	,, 12.—.—	» 13.—.—	
	7. Petits frais, porto de lettres, journaux etc	» 7.19. 1		£ 83.18. 7
			Solde	£ 5. 3. 5
20			Déficit	"—• 5.—
	Solde entre les mains du Trésorier			£ 4.18. 5

Dettes à payer :

1. 6 mois de loyer £ 6. 6.—
2. Frais d'imprimerie „26

25 Approuvé par la Commission nommée par la Conférence de Londres. 22 Septembre 1871

H. Perret Anselmo Lorenzo

Pierre Fluse de Verviers Ph. Coenen

d'Anvers et de la Hollande.

Karl Marx
Notes sur la résolution Vaillant
(Extrait des notes de Marx à la Conférence de Londres)

/Résolution Vaillant.

- 1) *Lorenzo.* N'est pas une question d'organisation, mais question de principe.
Outine.
- | - 2) *Bastelica.* Nommer des députés, faire le 4 Septembre — faire le 18 Mars.
(Abstention has produced the 4 September and 18 March.) {Tolain et Fribourg.)
(Against the Deputies etc | Castiau. Potter.)
Question d'organisation.
- 4) Dans un moment où tous les Gouvernements poursuivent l'*Internationale*, les prolétaires de l'*Internationale* doivent l'opposer — c. à. d. de faire action politique.
- ✓ 5) *Le pouvoir de classe comme classe est leur pouvoir politique.*
- 3) *Révolution de février. 10 hours'bill.*
- 6) *Frankel et Vaillant.* \

Friedrich Engels
Über die politische Aktion der Arbeiterklasse.
Rededisposition für die Sitzung der Londoner Konferenz
am 21. September 1871

- 11) Lorenzo Prinzipienfrage — dies entschieden
- 2) Abstention unmöglich. Journalpolitik ist auch Politik; alle abstinenten Blätter greifen die Regierung an. Nur fraglich *wie* und wie weit sich in Politik mischen. Dies je nach Umständen und nicht vorzuschreiben.
- 2) Abstention widersinnig; man soll abstiniren weil schlechte Leute gewählt werden können — also keine Cotisation weil der Cassir durchbrennen kann. Also kein Journal haben weil der Redakteur sich verkaufen kann ebensogut wie der Deputirte.
- 3) Die politischen] Freiheiten] — besonders Associations-, Versamm-lungs- und Preßfreiheit — unsre Agitations-Mittel; ist es gleichgültig ob uns diese genommen oder nicht? und sollen wir uns nicht wehren wenn man sie angreift?
- 4) Abstention gepredigt weil man sonst das Bestehende anerkennt. Das Bestehende besteht und se fiche pas mal über unsere Anerkennung. Wenn wir die Mittel die uns das Bestehende gibt benutzen um gegen das Bestehende zu protestiren, ist das Anerkennung?
- 3) Abstention unmöglich. Die Arbeiter-Partei als politische Partei *existirt* und will politisch agiren, und ihr Abstention predigen heißt die Internationale ruiniren. Die einfache Anschauung der Verhältnisse, der politischen Bedrückung zu sozialen Zwecken *zwingt* die Arbeiter in die Politik, die Abstentions-Prediger treiben sie den Bourgeoispolitikern in die Arme. Nach der Commune, die die politische Action der Arbeiter auf die Tagesordnung gesetzt Abstention unmöglich.
- 4) Wir wollen die Abschaffung der Klassen. Einziges Mittel ist die politische Gewalt in den Händen des Proletariats — und wir sollen keine Politik machen? Alle Abstentionisten nennen sich revolutionär. — Die Revolution ist der höchste Act der Politik, und wer sie will muß auch die Mittel wollen, die die Revolution vorbereiten, die Arbeiter für sie erziehen, und sorgen daß er nicht am nächsten Tag wiedervon Favre und Pyat geprellt wird. Es kommt nur darauf an welche Politik — die *aus-schließlich proletarische, nicht als Schwanz der Bourgeoisie.* \

Friedrich Engels
Sur l'action politique de la classe ouvrière
Note manuscrite du discours prononcé à la séance du
21 septembre 1871 de la Conférence de Londres

I Le cit. Engels. L'abstention absolue en matière politique est impossible ; aussi tous les journaux abstentionnistes en font-ils de la politique. Il s'agit seulement comment on en fait, et laquelle. Du reste pour nous l'abstention est impossible. Le parti ouvrier existe déjà comme parti politique dans la plupart des pays. Ce n'est pas à nous de le ruiner en prêchant l'abstention. L'expérience de la vie actuelle et l'oppression politique qui leur est imposée par les gouvernements existants, pour des buts soit politiques, soit sociaux, force les ouvriers de s'occuper de la politique, qu'ils le veuillent ou non. Leur prêcher l'abstention, ce serait les pousser dans les bras de la politique bourgeoise. Le lendemain de la Commune de Paris surtout, qui a mis l'action politique du prolétariat à l'ordre du jour, l'abstention est tout à fait impossible.

Nous voulons l'abolition des Classes. Quel est le moyen d'y parvenir ? La domination politique du prolétariat. Et lorsque cela est convenu de toute part on nous demande de ne pas nous mêler de politique ! Tous les abstentionnistes se disent révolutionnaires, et même les révolutionnaires par excellence. Mais la révolution, c'est l'acte suprême de la politique ; qui la veut doit vouloir le moyen, l'action politique, qui la prépare, qui donne aux ouvriers l'éducation pour la révolution et sans laquelle les ouvriers, le lendemain de la lutte, seront toujours les dupes des Favre et des Pyat. Mais la politique qu'il faut faire, c'est la politique ouvrière ; il faut que le parti ouvrier soit constitué non comme la queue de quelque parti bourgeois, mais bien en parti indépendant qui a son but, sa politique à lui. — |

I Les libertés politiques, les droits de réunion et d'association et la liberté de la presse, voilà nos armes, et nous devrions croiser les bras et nous abstenir si l'on veut nous les ôter ? On dit que tout acte politique implique qu'on reconnaît l'état existant des choses. Mais lorsque cet état de choses nous donne des moyens pour protester contre lui, user de ces moyens, ce n'est pas reconnaître l'état existant. |

of change of money, pay his wifdom
of course, cutting him out of his
estate, he left him nothing but an
old fort, in which nothing but a few
hundred dollars, a gun, & powder.
3. May 1st - ~~He~~ ~~He~~ ~~He~~ ~~He~~ ~~He~~
John & his wife, William & old fort
go to Appomattox & take
leaving his infant daughter to
Hector, mother's husband going
back with John & a friend
to Appomattox town from where
they will return to Thomas. They
are anxious, he to get back before
the arrival of steamer of supplies
Aug. 1. Coming up
up the river & stop to rest. At the
middle of a great crowd in Appomattox
they stopped & were fully aware
that away, & the old fort became
by now, a & I have said, if it
possible but it failed, & was given up
as a total waste, the two old
men went with the cattle four
horses, & a pony & a cow
supplied by their own friends
left Appomattox & crossed
and when they had got to the other
old fort, called Appomattox.

Friedrich Engels: Über die politische Aktion der Arbeiterklasse.
Rededisposition für die Sitzung der Londoner Konferenz am 21. September 1871

r

Friedrich Engels
Projet de la résolution de la Conférence de Londres
relative à la lettre de Paul Robin à la Conférence

/Considérant que la lettre adressée à la Conférence par le c. Robin contient des assertions qui ne sont pas d'accord avec les faits et constituent une atteinte à l'honneur de la Commission nommée par la Conférence et à celui de la Conférence elle-même ;

5 Que la conférence ne peut donc admettre cette lettre ;

La Conférence invite le c. Robin de retirer cette lettre en le prévenant qu'au cas contraire l'incident sera remis au conseil général qui en statuera, t

Karl Marx
Complément à une proposition d'André Bastelica

I En accord avec les résolutions prises par la conférence sur un sujet analogue
Nous proposons

Que le Conseil Général soit également chargé de faire traduire, dans les différentes langues, toutes les résolutions prises dans les divers congrès ou conférences en dehors des statuts.

Bastelica
Marx

II est sous-entendu que les résolutions des Congrès qui ont rapport aux statuts seront insérées aux statuts.

Propositions générales |

On accorde avec les résolutions
prises par la conférence sur le
sujet analogue 2983
Nous proposons [APR 10 1911]
[n° 3665] à l'ordre du jour
que le Comité Général soit
également chargé de faire
travailler, dans la différence des
qui portent la résolution prise
dans le dixies congrès conférence
en dehors de l'atelier

D'André Bastelica

Marx

Il est très entendu que les résolutions
des Congrès doivent respecter aux ateliers
seront soumis aux ateliers.

Propositions générales

Karl Marx: Complément à une proposition d'André Bastelica.
Handschrift von Bastelica und Marx

Karl Marx
Résolution de la Conférence des délégués
de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs
relative au différend entre les fédérations
dans la Suisse romande

L'Égalité. Nr.20,
21. Oktober 1871

**[...] II. Différend entre les fédérations dans la
Suisse romande.**

Quant à ce différend :

1° La Conférence doit, de prime-abord, considérer les fins de non-recevoir mises en avant par le Comité fédéral des Sociétés des montagnes qui n'appartiennent pas à la Fédération romande (Voir la lettre du 4 septembre adressée à la Conférence par le Comité fédéral de cette section) :

Première fin de non-recevoir :

« Le Congrès général, dit-on, convoqué régulièrement, peut seul être compétent pour juger une affaire aussi grave que celle de la scission dans la Fédération romande. »

Considérant :

Que lorsque les démêlés s'élèveront entre les sociétés ou branches d'un groupe national, ou entre des groupes de différentes nationalités, le Conseil général aura le droit de décider sur le différend, sauf appel au Congrès prochain qui décidera définitivement (Voir art. VII des résolutions du Congrès de Bâle) ;

Que d'après la résolution VI du Congrès de Bâle le Conseil général a également le droit de suspendre jusqu'au prochain Congrès une section de l'Internationale ;

Que ces droits du Conseil général ont été reconnus, quoique seulement en théorie, par le Comité fédéral des branches dissidentes des montagnes : parce que le citoyen Robin, à différentes reprises, a sollicité le Conseil général, au nom de ce Comité, de prendre une résolution définitive sur cette question (Voir les procès-verbaux du Conseil général) ;

Que les droits de la Conférence, s'ils ne sont pas égaux à ceux d'un Congrès général, sont, en tout cas, supérieurs à ceux du Conseil général ;

Qu'en effet, ce n'est pas le Comité fédéral de la Fédération romande, mais bien le Comité fédéral des branches dissidentes des montagnes qui,

Karl Marx

par l'intermédiaire du citoyen Robin, a demandé la convocation d'une Conférence pour juger définitivement ce différend (Voir le procès-verbal du Conseil général du 25 juillet 1871).

Par ces raisons :

Quant à la première fin de non-recevoir la Conférence passe outre. 5

Deuxième fin de non-recevoir:

« Il serait, dit-on, contraire à l'équité la plus élémentaire que de se prononcer contre une fédération à laquelle on n'a pas procuré les moyens de défense... Nous apprenons aujourd'hui (le 4 septembre 1871) indirectement, qu'une Conférence extraordinaire est convoquée à Londres pour le 10 17 septembre. Il était du devoir du Conseil général d'en aviser tous les groupes régionaux, nous ignorons pourquoi il a gardé le silence à notre égard. »

Considérant :

Que le Conseil général avait instruit tous ses secrétaires de donner avis 15 de la convocation d'une conférence aux sections des pays respectifs qu'ils représentent ;

Que le citoyen Jung, secrétaire-correspondant pour la Suisse, n'a pas avisé le Comité des branches jurassiennes pour les raisons suivantes :

En violation flagrante de la décision du Conseil Général du 29 juin 1870, 20 ce Comité, comme il le fait encore dans sa dernière lettre adressée à la Conférence, continue à se désigner comme Comité de la *Fédération Romande*.

Ce Comité avait le droit de faire appel de la décision du Conseil Général 25 à un Congrès futur, mais il n'avait pas le droit de traiter la décision du Conseil Général comme non avenue.

Par conséquent, il n'existe pas légalement vis-à-vis du Conseil Général, et le citoyen Jung n'avait pas le droit de le reconnaître en l'invitant directement à envoyer des délégués à la Conférence ;

Le citoyen Jung n'a pas reçu de la part de ce Comité des réponses à des 30 questions faites au nom du Conseil Général ; depuis l'admission du citoyen Robin au Conseil Général les demandes du Comité sus-dit ont toujours été communiquées au Conseil Général par l'intermédiaire du citoyen Robin, et jamais par le secrétaire-correspondant pour la Suisse.

Considérant encore :

35

Qu'au nom du Comité sus-dit, le citoyen Robin avait demandé de référer le différend d'abord au Conseil Général et puis, sur le refus du Conseil Général, à une Conférence ; que le Conseil Général et son secrétaire-correspondant pour la Suisse étaient donc bien fondés à supposer que le citoyen Robin informerait ses correspondants de la convocation d'une conférence, 40 demandée par eux-mêmes ;

Résolution relative au différend entre les fédérations dans la Suisse romande

Que la commission d'enquête nommée par la Conférence pour étudier le différend Suisse a entendu le citoyen Robin comme témoin ; que tous les documents communiqués au Conseil Général par les deux parties ont été soumis à cette commission d'enquête ; qu'il est impossible d'admettre que 5 le Comité sus-dit ait seulement été informé le 4 septembre de la convocation de la conférence, attendu que déjà au courant du mois d'août il avait offert au citoyen M.... de l'envoyer comme délégué à la Conférence ;

Pour ces raisons :

Quant à la seconde fin de non-recevoir, la Conférence passe outre.

10 *Troisième fin de non-recevoir:*

«Une décision, — dit-on, — annulant les droits de notre Fédération aurait les plus funestes résultats, quant à l'existence de l'Internationale dans notre contrée. »

Considérant :

15 Que personne n'a demandé d'annuler les droits de la fédération sus-dite,
La conférence passe outre.

2) La conférence approuve la décision du Conseil Général du 29 juin 1870.

Considérant en même temps les poursuites auxquelles se trouve en butte
20 l'Internationale, la conférence fait appel à l'esprit de solidarité et d'union,
qui plus que jamais doit animer les travailleurs ;

Elle conseille aux braves ouvriers des sections des montagnes de se rallier aux sections de la Fédération Romande. Dans le cas où cette union ne pourrait se faire, elle décrète que la Fédération des sections des montagnes se nommera : Fédération Jurassienne.

Elle donne avis que désormais le Conseil Général sera tenu à dénoncer et à désavouer publiquement tous les journaux se disant organes de l'*Internationale* qui, en suivant l'exemple donné par le *Progrès* et la *Solidarité*, discuteraient dans leurs colonnes, devant le public bourgeois, des questions à traiter exclusivement dans le sein des comités locaux, des comités fédéraux et du Conseil Général, ou dans les séances privées et administratives des congrès, soit fédéraux, soit généraux.

Londres, 26 septembre, 1871.

Pour copie conforme :

35 Le secrétaire-correspondant pour la Suisse,
H. Jung.

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels
Résolutions des délégués de la Conférence
de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs
Réunie à Londres, du 17 au 23 septembre 1871
(Circulaire publiée par
le Conseil général de l'Association)

RÉSOLUTIONS

DES DÉLÉGUÉS DE LA CONFÉRENCE

DE

L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE

DES

TRAVAILLEURS

Réunie à Londres, du 17 au 23 Septembre 1871.

1. Circulaire publie par le Conseil Général de l'Association.

LONDRES

Imprimé pour l'Association, par l'Imprimerie Internationale.

1871.

Γ

|l| Résolutions

**votées par la Conférence des délégués
de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs,
réunie à Londres, du 17 au 23 Septembre 1871.**

I.

Composition du Conseil Général.

La Conférence recommande au Conseil Général de limiter le nombre des membres qu'il s'adjoint et d'éviter que ces adjonctions ne se fassent trop
10 exclusivement parmi des citoyens appartenant à une seule nationalité.

II.

*Dénominations des Conseils nationaux ou régionaux, des branches,
sections, groupes locaux et de leurs Comités respectifs.*

1. — Conformément à la résolution prise par le Congrès de Bâle (1869) les
15 conseils centraux des divers pays où l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs est régulièrement organisée, se désigneront à l'avenir sous le nom de *Conseils fédéraux*, ou *Comités fédéraux*, en y ajoutant les noms de leurs pays respectifs, la désignation de *Conseil Général* étant réservée au Conseil Central de *Vinternational*.
- 20** 2. — Les branches, sections ou groupes locaux et leurs comités se désigneront et se constitueront à l'avenir simplement et exclusivement comme branches, sections, groupes et comités de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs en ajoutant les noms de leurs localités respectives.

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels

3. — Il sera donc désormais défendu aux branches, sections et groupes de se désigner par des noms de secte, comme par exemple, les noms de branches positivistes, mutualistes, collectivistes, communistes, etc. ou de former des groupes séparatistes, sous le nom de « sections de propagande », etc. se donnant des missions spéciales en dehors du but commun poursuivi 5 par tous les groupes de *Vinternationale*.

4. — Toutefois, il est bien entendu que la résolution n. 2 ne s'applique pas aux Sociétés de Résistance (Trades' Unions) affiliées à *Vinternationale*.

III.

Délégués au Conseil Général.

10

Tous les délégués du Conseil Général, chargés de missions spéciales, auront le droit d'assister et de se faire entendre à toutes les réunions des Conseils ou Comités Fédéraux, des Comités de district ou locaux, et des branches locales sans cependant avoir le droit de vote.**j**

|2| IV.

15

Cotisation de 10 c. par membre à payer au Conseil Général.

1.— Le Conseil Général fera imprimer des timbres uniformes représentant la valeur de 10 cent, chacun, dont il enverra annuellement le nombre demandé aux conseils ou comités fédéraux.

2.— Les conseils ou comités fédéraux feront parvenir aux comités locaux ou à défaut aux sections de leur ressort le nombre de timbres correspondant au nombre des membres qui les composent. 20

3.— Ces timbres seront alors appliqués sur une feuille du livret disposée à cet effet ou sur l'exemplaire des statuts dont tout membre de l'association doit être muni. 25

4.— A la date du premier mars les Conseils Fédéraux des divers pays ou régions seront tenus d'envoyer au Conseil Général le montant des timbres employés et le solde des timbres leur restant en caisse.

5.— Ces timbres représentant la valeur des cotisations individuelles porteront le chiffre de l'année courante. 30

Γ

Résolutions des délégués de la Conférence de l'A. I.T.

V.

Formation de sections de femmes.

La Conférence recommande la formation de sections de femmes dans la classe ouvrière. Il est bien entendu que cette résolution ne porte nullement atteinte à l'existence et n'exclut en aucune façon la formation de sections composées de travailleurs des deux sexes.

VI.

Statistique générale de la classe ouvrière.

1. — La Conférence invite le Conseil Général à mettre à exécution l'article V des statuts originaux relatif à la statistique générale de la classe ouvrière et à appliquer les résolutions prises par le Congrès de Genève (1866) à ce même effet.
- 10 2. — Chaque section locale est tenue d'avoir dans son sein un Comité spécial de statistique qui sera toujours prêt dans la mesure de ses moyens à répondre aux questions qui pourront lui être adressées par le Conseil ou le Comité Fédéral du pays ou par le Conseil Général de l'Internationale. Il est recommandé à toutes les sections de rétribuer les secrétaires des comités de statistique, vu l'importance et l'utilité générale de leur travail pour la classe ouvrière.
- 15 3. — Au premier Août de chaque année les Conseils ou Comités Fédéraux enverront les documents recueillis au Conseil Général qui en fera un résumé à soumettre aux Congrès ou Conférences tenus au mois de Septembre.
- 20 4. — Le refus par une société de résistance ou une branche internationale de donner les renseignements demandés sera porté à la connaissance du Conseil Général qui aura à statuer à ce sujet.
- 25

VII.

Rapports internationaux des sociétés de résistance.

Le Conseil Général est invité à appuyer, comme par le passé, la tendance[3] croissante des sociétés de résistance d'un pays de se mettre en rapport avec les sociétés de résistance du même métier dans tous les autres pays. L'efficacité de sa fonction comme intermédiaire international entre les sociétés de résistance nationales dépendra essentiellement du concours que

ces sociétés elles-mêmes prêteront à la statistique générale du travail poursuivie par l'Internationale.

Les bureaux des sociétés de résistance de tous les pays sont invités à envoyer au Conseil Général leurs adresses.

VIII.

5

Les producteurs agricoles.

1. — La conférence invite le Conseil Général et les conseils ou comités fédéraux à préparer pour le prochain congrès, des rapports sur les moyens d'assurer l'adhésion des producteurs agricoles au mouvement du prolétariat industriel.

10

2. — En attendant, les conseils ou comités fédéraux des divers pays sont invités à envoyer des délégués dans les campagnes pour y organiser des réunions publiques, faire de la propagande pour *Vinternationale*, et fonder des sections agricoles.

IX.

15

L'action politique de la classe ouvrière.

Vu les considérants des *Statuts* originaux où il est dit : « L'émancipation économique des Travailleurs est le grand but auquel tout mouvement politique doit être subordonné *comme moyen* » ;

Vu l'Adresse *inaugurale* de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs (1864) qui dit : « Les seigneurs de la terre et les seigneurs du capital serviront toujours de leurs priviléges politiques pour défendre et perpétuer leurs monopoles économiques. Bien loin de pousser à l'émancipation du travail, ils continueront à y opposer le plus d'obstacles possibles... La conquête du pouvoir politique est donc devenue le premier devoir de la classe ouvrière ; »

20

Vu la *Résolution du Congrès de Lausanne* (1867) à cet effet : « L'émancipation sociale des Travailleurs est inséparable de leur émancipation politique ; »

Vu la déclaration du Conseil Général sur le prétendu complot des Internationaux français à la veille du plébiscite (1870) où il est dit : « D'après la teneur de nos statuts, certainement toutes nos sections en Angleterre, sur le continent et en Amérique, ont la mission spéciale, non-seulement de servir de centres à l'organisation militante de la classe ouvrière, mais aussi de soutenir dans leurs pays respectifs, tout mouvement politique tendant 30

25

35



Résolutions des délégués de la Conférence de l'A. I.T.

à l'accomplissement de notre but final : — l'émancipation économique de la classe ouvrière ; »

Attendu que des traductions infidèles des Statuts originaux ont donné lieu à des interprétations fausses qui ont été nuisibles au développement et 5 à l'action de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs ;

En présence d'une réaction sans frein qui étouffe violemment tout effort d'émancipation de la part des travailleurs, et prétend maintenir par la force brutale la distinction des classes, la domination politique des classes possédantes qui en résulte ;

10 Considérant en outre :

Que contre ce pouvoir collectif des classes possédantes le prolétariat ne peut agir comme classe qu'en se constituant lui-même en parti politique | 4| distinct, opposé à tous les anciens partis formés par les classes possédantes ;

15 Que cette constitution du prolétariat en parti politique est indispensable pour assurer le triomphe de la révolution sociale et de son but suprême : *l'abolition des classes* ;

Que la coalition des forces ouvrières déjà obtenue par les luttes économiques doit aussi servir de levier aux mains de cette classe dans sa lutte

20 contre le pouvoir politique de ses exploiteurs —

La Conférence rappelle aux membres de *l'Internationale* :

Que dans l'état militant de la classe ouvrière, son mouvement économique et son action politique sont indissolublement unis.

X.

25 *Résolution générale relative aux pays où l'organisation régulière de l'Internationale est entravée par les gouvernements.*

Dans les pays où l'organisation régulière de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs est momentanément devenue impraticable, par suite de l'intervention gouvernementale, l'Association et ses groupes locaux pourront se 30 constituer sous diverses dénominations, mais toute constitution de section internationale sous forme de société secrète est et reste formellement interdite.

XI.

Résolutions relatives à la France.

35 1. — La Conférence exprime sa ferme conviction que toutes les poursuites ne feront que doubler l'énergie des adhérents de *l'Internationale* et que les

branches continueront à s'organiser sinon par grands centres, au moins par ateliers et fédérations d'ateliers correspondant par leurs délégués.

2. — En conséquence, la Conférence invite toutes les branches à continuer sans relâche la propagande des principes de notre Association en France et à y importer le plus grand nombre possible d'exemplaires de toutes les publications et des statuts de l'Internationale. 5

XII.

Résolution relative à l'Angleterre.

La Conférence invite le Conseil Général à aviser les branches anglaises de Londres, de former un Comité Fédéral pour Londres, lequel, après s'être 10 mis en rapport avec les branches provinciales et les sociétés de résistance affiliées, et après avoir reçu leur adhésion, sera reconnu par le Conseil Général comme Conseil Fédéral anglais.

XIII.

Votes particuliers de la Conférence.

15

1. — La Conférence approuve l'adjonction des réfugiés de la Commune de Paris que le Conseil Général a admis dans son sein.

2. — La Conférence déclare que les ouvriers allemands ont rempli leur devoir pendant la guerre franco-allemande. |

|5| 3. — La Conférence remercie fraternellement les membres de la 20 Fédération Espagnole pour leur travail sur l'organisation de l'Internationale qui prouve une fois de plus leur dévouement à l'œuvre commune.

4. — Le Conseil Général fera immédiatement la déclaration formelle que l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs est absolument étrangère à la soi-disant conspiration *Netchaïeff*, lequel a frauduleusement usurpé et 25 exploité le nom de l'Internationale.

XIV.

Instruction au citoyen Outine.

Le citoyen Outine est invité à publier dans le journal *VEgalité* (Genève) un résumé du procès *Netchaïeff* d'après les journaux russes et d'en communiquer le manuscrit avant publication au Conseil Général. 30



Résolutions des délégués de la Conférence de l'A. I.T.

XV.

Convocation du prochain Congrès.

La Conférence laisse à l'appréciation du Conseil Général le soin de fixer,
selon les événements, la date et le siège du prochain congrès ou de la con-
5 férence qui le remplacerait.

XVI.

Alliance de la Démocratie socialiste.

Considérant :

Que «l'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste» s'est déclarée dissoute
10 (voir la lettre au Conseil Général d. d. Genève, 10 Août, 1871, signée par le
citoyen Joukowsky, secrétaire de l'Alliance);

Que dans sa séance du 18 Septembre (voir §. II de cette circulaire) la
conférence a décidé que toutes les organisations existantes de l'Association
Internationale des Travailleurs seront, conformément à la lettre et à l'esprit
15 des Statuts Généraux, désormais obligées à s'appeler et à se constituer
simplement et exclusivement, comme branches, sections etc., de l'Asso-
ciation Internationale des Travailleurs avec les noms de leurs localités
respectives attachés ; qu'il sera donc défendu aux branches et sociétés
existantes de continuer à se désigner par des noms de secte, c'est-à-dire
20 comme groupes mutualistes, positivistes, collectivistes, communistes, etc. ;

Qu'il ne sera non plus permis à aucune branche ou société déjà admise de
continuer à former un groupe séparatiste sous la désignation de « section de
propagande, » « Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste, » etc., se donnant des
missions spéciales en dehors du but commun poursuivi par la masse du
25 prolétariat militant réuni dans l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs ;

Qu'à l'avenir le Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale des
Travailleurs devra interpréter et appliquer dans ce sens la Résolution ad-
ministrative du Congrès de Bâle, Art. V. : « Le Conseil Général a le droit
d'admettre ou de refuser l'affiliation de toute nouvelle société ou groupe,
30 sauf l'appel au prochain congrès ; »

La Conférence déclare vidé l'incident de « l'Alliance de la Démocratie
socialiste. »

XVII.

Différend entre les deux fédérations de la Suisse Romande.

1. — Cet article rejette les fins de non-recevoir que le Comité Fédéral des ||6| sections des montagnes a fait valoir contre la compétence de la conférence. (L'article sera imprimé *in extenso* dans *L'Égalité* de Genève.) 5

2. — La Conférence :

Approuve la décision du Conseil Général du 29 juin 1870 ;

Néanmoins, considérant les poursuites auxquelles se trouve en butte l'*Internationale*, la Conférence fait appel à l'esprit de solidarité et d'union qui plus que jamais doit animer les travailleurs. Elle conseille aux braves ouvriers des sections des montagnes de se rallier aux sections de la fédération Romande. Dans le cas où cette union ne pourrait se faire, elle décide que la fédération des sections dissidentes se nommera à l'avenir « *Fédération Jurassienne* ». Elle donne avis que désormais le Conseil Général sera tenu à dénoncer et désavouer publiquement tous les journaux se disant 15 organes de l'*Internationale* lesquels, suivant l'exemple donné par le *Progrès* et la *Solidarité*, discuteraient dans leurs colonnes, devant le public bourgeois, des questions qu'on ne doit discuter que dans le sein des comités locaux, des comités Fédéraux, et du Conseil Général, ou dans les séances privées et administratives des congrès soit fédéraux soit généraux. 20

Note.

Les résolutions de la Conférence qui ne sont pas destinées à la publicité, seront communiquées aux conseils fédéraux des divers pays par les secrétaires correspondants du Conseil Général. 25

Par ordre et au nom de la Conférence,

LE CONSEIL GÉNÉRAL:

R. Applegarth, M. J. Boon, Fred. Bradnick, G. H. Buttery, Delahaye, Eugène Dupont (en délégation), W.Hales, G.Harris, Hurliman, Jules Johannard, 30 Fred. Lessner, Lochner, Ch. Longuet, C Martin, Z.Maurice, Henry Mayo, George Milner, Charles Murray, Pfander, John Roach, Rühl, Sadler, Cowell Stepney, Alf. Taylor, W. Townshend, E. Vaillant, John Weston.

Résolutions des délégués de la Conférence de l'A. I.T.

SECRÉTAIRES CORRESPONDANTS :

A. Serraillier,	pour la France.	Hermann Jung,	pour la Suisse.
Karl Marx, . . .	Allemagne et Russie.	Walery Wroblewski,....	Pologne.
F. Engels. . . .	Italie et Espagne.	T.Mottershead. . . .	Danemark.
5 A. Herman.	Belgique.	Ch. Rochat.	Hollande.
J.P.MacDonnell.	Irlande.	J. G. Eccarius.	Etats-Unis.
Le Moussu,... pour les branches françaises des Etats-Unis.		Leo Frankel.	Autriche et Hongrie

F. ENGELS, Président de la séance. HERMANN JUNG, Trésorier.

JOHN HALES, Secrétaire Général.

256, High Holborn, W. C.,

Londres, 17 Octobre 1871. |

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels
Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the
International Working Men's Association
Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871
(Circular issued by the General Council
of the Association)

RESOLUTIONS

OF THE CONFERENCE OF DELEGATES

of the

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION.

Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871.

(Circular issued by the General Council of the Association.)

LONDON

PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION

by the

International Printing Office.

1871.

|i| Resolutions

**of the Conference of Delegates
of the International Working Men's Association,
assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871.**

5

I.

Composition of General Council.

The Conference invites the General Council to limit the number of those members whom it adds to itself, and to take care that such adjunctions be
10 not made too exclusively from citizens belonging to the same nationality.

II.

Designations of National Councils, etc.

1.—In conformity with a Resolution of the Congress of Basel (1869), the Central Councils of the various countries where the *International* is
15 regularly organised, shall designate themselves henceforth as *Federal Councils* or *Federal Committees* with the names of their respective countries attached, the designation of *General Council* being reserved for the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association.

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.
20

3.—Consequently, no branches, sections, or groups will henceforth be allowed to designate themselves by sectarian names such as Positivists,

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels

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.

4.—Resolutions 1 and 2 do not, however, apply to affiliated *Trades' Unions.*

5

III.

Delegates of the General Council.

All delegates appointed to distinct missions by the General Council shall have the right to attend, and be heard at, all meetings of Federal Councils, or Committees, district and local Committees and branches, without, however, being entitled to vote thereat. 10

IV.

Contribution of Id. per member to the General Council.

1.—The General Council shall cause to be printed adhesive stamps representing the value of one penny each, which will be annually supplied, in the numbers to be asked for, to the Federal Councils or Committees. 15

2.—The Federal Councils or Committees shall provide the local Committees, or, in their absence, their respective sections, with the number of stamps corresponding to the number of their members. |

[2] 3.—These stamps are to be affixed to a special sheet of the *livret* or to the rules which every member is held to possess. 20

4.—On the 1st of March of each year, the Federal Councils or Committees of the different countries shall forward to the General Council the amount of the stamps disposed of, and return the unsold stamps remaining on hand. 25

5.—These stamps, representing the value of the individual contributions, shall bear the date of the current year.

V.

Formation of Working Women's branches.

The Conference recommends the formation of female branches among the working class. It is, however, understood that this resolution does not at all interfere with the existence or formation of branches composed of both sexes. 30

F

Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the I. W. M. A.

VI.

General Statistics of the Working Class.

- 1.—The Conference invites the General Council to enforce art. .5 of the original rules relating to a general statistics of the working class, and the 5 resolutions of the Geneva Congress, 1866, on the same subject.
- 2.—Every local branch is bound to appoint a special committee of statistics, so as to be always ready, within the limits of its means, to answer any questions which may be addressed to it by the Federal Council or Committee of its country, or by the General Council. It is recommended to 10 all branches to remunerate the secretaries of the committees of statistics, considering the general benefit the working class will derive from their labour.
- 3.—On the first of August of each year the Federal Councils or Committees will transmit the materials collected in their respective countries to the 15 General Council which, in its turn, will have to elaborate them into a general report, to be laid before the Congresses or Conferences annually held in the month of September.
- 4.—Trades' Unions and international branches refusing to give the information required, shall be reported to the General Council which will take 20 action thereupon.

VII.

International Relations of Trades' Unions.

- The General Council is invited to assist, as has been done hitherto, the growing tendency of the Trades' Unions of the different countries to enter 25 into relations with the Unions of the same trade in all other countries. The efficiency of its action as the international agent of communication between the national Trades' societies will essentially depend upon the assistance given by these same societies to the General Labour Statistics pursued by the *International*.
- 30 The boards of Trades' Unions of all countries are invited to keep the General Council informed of the directions of their respective offices.

VIII.
Agricultural Producers.

1.—The Conference invites the General Council and the Federal Councils or Committees to prepare, for the next Congress, reports on the means of |
|3| securing the adhesion of the agricultural producers to the movement of the industrial proletariat.

2.—Meanwhile, the Federal Councils or Committees are invited to send agitators to the rural districts, there to organize public meetings, to propagate the principles of the International and to found rural branches.

IX.
Political Action of the Working Class.

Considering the following passage of the preamble to the rules: "The economical emancipation of the working classes is the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate *as a means*;"

That the Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association (1864) states: "The lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies. So far from promoting, they will continue to lay every possible impediment in the way of the emancipation of labour... To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes;"

That the Congress of Lausanne (1867) has passed this resolution: "The social emancipation of the workmen is inseparable from their political emancipation;"

That the declaration of the General Council relative to the pretended plot of the French Internationals on the eve of the plebiscite (1870) says: "Certainly by the tenor of our statutes, all our branches in England, on the Continent, and in America have the special mission not only to serve as centres for the militant organisation of the working class, but also to support, in their respective countries, every political movement tending towards the accomplishment of our ultimate end—the economical emancipation of the working class;"

That false translations of the original statutes have given rise to various interpretations which were mischievous to the development and action of the International Working Men's Association;

In presence of an unbridled reaction which violently crushes every

r

Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the I. W. M.A.

effort at emancipation on the part of the working men, and pretends to maintain by brute force the distinction of classes and the political domination of the propertied classes resulting from it;

Considering, that against this collective power of the propertied classes
5 the working class cannot act, as a class, except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from, and opposed to, all old parties formed by the propertied classes;

That this constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in order to insure the triumph of the social Revolution and
10 its ultimate end—the abolition of classes;

That the combination of forces which the working class has already effected by its economical struggles ought at the same time to serve as a lever for its struggles against the political power of landlords and capitalists—

15 The Conference recalls to the members of the *International*:
That in the militant state of the working class, its economical movement and its political action are indissolubly united.

X.

General Resolution as to the countries where the regular organisation
20 of the International is interfered with by the Governments.

In those countries where the regular organisation of the *International* may |
[4] for the moment have become impracticable in consequence of government interference, the Association, and its local groups, may be reformed under various other names, but all secret societies properly so called are
25 and remain formally excluded.

XI.

Resolutions relating to France.

1.—The Conference expresses its firm conviction that all persecutions will only double the energy of the adherents of the *International*, and that
30 the branches will continue to organize themselves, if not by great centres, at least by workshops and federations of workshops corresponding with each other by their delegates.

2.—Consequently, the Conference invites all branches vigorously to persist in the propaganda of our principles in France and to import into their
35 country as many copies as possible of the publications and statutes of the *International*.

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels

XII.

Resolution relating to England.

The Conference invites the General Council to call upon the English branches in London to form a Federal Committee for London which, after its recognition by the provincial branches and affiliated' societies, shall be 5 recognised, by the General Council, as the *Federal Council for England*.

XIII.

Special votes of the Conference.

- 1.—The Conference approves of the adjunction of the members of the Paris Commune whom the General Council has added to its number. 10
- 2.—The Conference declares that German working men have done their duty during the Franco-German war.
- 3.—The Conference fraternally thanks the members of the Spanish Federation for the memorandum presented by them on the organisation of the International by which they have once more proved their devotion to our 15 common work.
- 4.—The General Council shall immediately publish a declaration to the effect that the International Working Men's Association is utterly foreign to the so-called conspiracy of Netschayeff who has fraudulently usurped its name. 20

XIV.

Instruction to citizen Outine.

Citizen Outine is invited to publish in the journal *l'Egalité* a succinct report, from the Russian papers, of the Netschayeff trial. Before publication, his report will be submitted to the General Council. 25

XV.

Convocation of next Congress.

The Conference leaves it to the discretion of the General Council to fix, according to events, the day and place of meeting of the next Congress or Conference. I 30

Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the I. W. M. A.

|5| XVI.

Alliance de la Démocratie socialiste.
(*The Alliance of Socialist Democracy.*)

Considering that the "Alliance de la Démocratie socialiste" has declared
5 itself dissolved (see letter to the General Council d. d. Geneva, 10th August
1871 signed by citizen N.Joukowsky, secretary to the "Alliance"),

That in its sitting of the 18th September (see Kail of this circular) the
Conference has decided that all existing organisations of the *International*
shall, in conformity with the letter and the spirit of the general rules,
10 henceforth designate and constitute themselves simply and exclusively as
branches, sections, federations, etc., of the International Working Men's
Association with the names of their respective localities attached;

That the existing branches and societies shall therefore no longer be
allowed to designate themselves by sectarian names such as Positivists,
15 Mutualists, Collectivists, Communists, etc., or to form separatist bodies
under the names of *sections of propaganda, Alliance de la Démocratie
socialiste*, etc., pretending to accomplish special missions distinct from the
common purposes of the Association;

That henceforth the General Council of the International Working Men's
20 Association will in this sense have to interpret and apply article 5 of the
administrative resolutions of the Basel Congress: "The General Council
has the right either to accept or to refuse the affiliation of any new section
or group," etc.;

The Conference declares the question of the "Alliance de la Démocratie
25 socialiste" to be settled.

XVII.

Split in the French-speaking part of Switzerland.

1.—The different exceptions taken by the Federal Committee of the
Mountain sections as to the competency of the Conference are declared
30 inadmissible. (This is but a resume of article 1 which will be printed in full
in the *Egalité* of Geneva.)

2.—The Conference confirms the decision of the General Council of
June 29th, 1870.

At the same time, in view of the persecutions which the *International* is
35 at present undergoing, the Conference appeals to the feelings of fraternity
and union which more than ever ought to animate the working class;

It invites the brave working men of the Mountain sections to rejoin the
sections of the Romand Federation;

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels

In case such an amalgamation should prove impracticable it decides that the dissident Mountain sections shall henceforth name themselves the "Jurassian Federation".

The Conference gives warning that henceforth the General Council will be bound to publicly denounce and disavow all organs of the International which, following the precedents of the *Progrès* and the *Solidarité*, should discuss in their columns, before the middle class public, questions exclusively reserved for the local or Federal Committees and the General Council, or for the private and administrative sittings of the Federal or General Congresses.

|6| Noiz'ce.

The resolutions not intended for publicity will be communicated to the Federal Councils or Committees of the various countries by the corresponding secretaries of the General Council. 15

By order and in the name of the Conference,

THE GENERAL COUNCIL:

R. Applegarth, M. J. Boon, Fred. Bradnick, G. H. Butterly, Delahaye, Eugène 20
Dupont (on mission), W. Hales, G. Harris, Hurliman, Jules Johannard,
Fred. Lessner, Lochner, Ch. Longuet, C. Martin, Z. Maurice, Henry Mayo,
George Milner, Charles Murray, Pfander, John Roach, RUM, Sadler, Cowell
Stepney, Alf. Taylor, W. Townshend, E. Vaillant, John Weston.

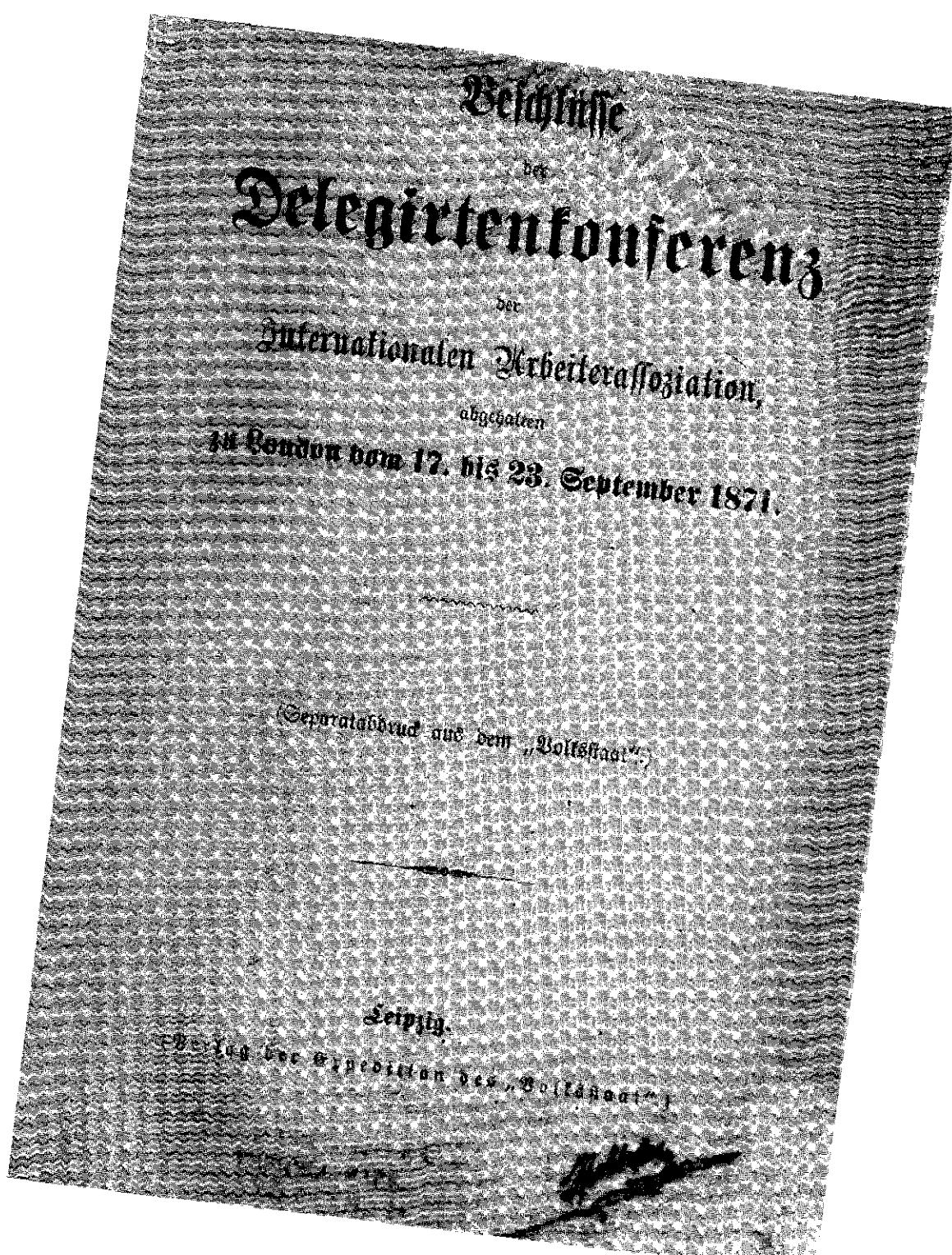
CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES.

<i>A. Serraillier.</i>	for France.	<i>Walery Wróblewski.</i>	for Poland.
<i>Karl Marx.</i>	Germany and Russia.	<i>Hermann Jung.</i>	for Switzerland.
<i>F. Engels.</i>	Italy and Spain.	<i>T. Mottershead.</i>	Denmark.
<i>A. Herman.</i>	Belgium.	<i>Ch. Rochat.</i>	Holland.
<i>J.P. MacDonnell.</i>	Ireland.	<i>J. G. Eccarius</i>	United States. 30
<i>Le Moussu.</i>	for the French branches of the United States.	<i>Leo Frankel.</i>	Austria and Hungary.

F. ENGELS, Chairman.-HERMANN JUNG, Treasurer
JOHN HALES, Gen. Secretary.

**Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels
Beschlüsse der Delegiertenkonferenz
der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation,
abgehalten zu London vom 17. bis 23. September 1871**

Auf der Grundlage der französischen
und der englischen Ausgabe bearbeitet



r

Beschlüsse der Delegiertenkonferenz der IAA

|2| / Zusammensetzung des Generalraths.

Die Konferenz ersucht den Generalrath, die Anzahl der Mitglieder, die er sich selbst befügt, zu beschränken, und vorzusehen, daß sie nicht zu ausschließlich einer und derselben Nationalität angehören.

5 II. Benennungen der nationalen Räthe, lokalen Zweige, Sektionen, Gruppen und ihrer Komitees.

1) Gemäß Beschlusses des Baseler Kongresses, 1869, haben die Centralräthe der Länder, wo die Internationale regelmäßig organisirt ist, sich in Zukunft zu bezeichnen als *Föderalräthe* oder *Föderalkomitees*, mit Beifügung der Namen ihrer respektiven Länder. Die Bezeichnung *Generalrath* ist dem Centrairath der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation vorbehalten.

2) Alle lokalen Zweige, Sektionen, Gruppen und deren Komitees sollen sich in Zukunft einfach und ausschließlich bezeichnen und konstituiren als Zweige etc. etc. der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation, mit Beifügung der Namen ihrer bezüglichen Oertlichkeit.

3) Demgemäß ist es den Zweigen, Gruppen und deren Komitees von nun an untersagt, Sektennamen anzunehmen, z.B. die Namen: Positivisten, Mutualisten, Collektivistern, Kommunisten u. s.w., oder Sonderkörper zu bilden, welche unter Bezeichnungen wie: Propagandasektionen u. s. w., eine besondere von den gemeinsamen Zwecken der Assoziation verschiedene Mission sich zuschreiben.

4) Art. 1 und 2 finden jedoch keine Anwendung auf die mit der Internationalen verbündeten Gewerkschaften.

III. Delegirte des Generalraths.

Alle vom Generalrath zu bestimmten Sendungen ernannte Delegirte haben das Recht, den Versammlungen der *Föderalräthe* oder -Komitees, der Distrikt- und Lokal-Komitees und Zweige beizuwollen und daselbst gehörig zu werden, ohne jedoch Stimmrecht zu haben. 5

IV. Beitrag von einem Penny (Groschen) per Mitglied an den Generalrath.

- 1) Der Generalrath wird anheftbare Marken, wovon jede den Werth eines Penny vorstellt, drucken und, in der verlangten Anzahl, jährlich den Föderalräthen oder -Komitees zukommen lassen. | 10
- |3| 2) Die Föderalräthe oder -Komitees werden den Lokalkomitees und, in deren Abwesenheit, den lokalen Zweigen eine der Anzahl ihrer Mitglieder entsprechende Anzahl von Marken übermachen.
- 3) Diese Marken sind alsdann auf das Exemplar der Statuten anzuheften, welches jedes Mitglied zu besitzen gehalten ist. 15
- 4) Am 1. März jedes Jahres haben die Föderalräthe oder -Komitees der verschiedenen Länder den Erlös aus den verkauften Marken dem Generalrath zu übermachen, und zugleich die unverkauften Marken zurückzusenden.
- 5) Diese Marken, die den Werth der Einzelbeiträge vorstellen, tragen das Datum des laufenden Jahres. 20

V. Bildung weiblicher Sektionen.

Die Konferenz empfiehlt die Bildung weiblicher Zweiggesellschaften innerhalb der Arbeiterklasse. Dieser Beschuß richtet sich selbstredend nicht gegen die Zusammensetzung von Zweiggesellschaften aus Arbeitern und 25 Arbeitern. 25

VI. Allgemeine Statistik der Arbeiterklasse.

- 1) Die Konferenz beauftragt den Generalrath, Art. 5 der Original-Statuten, soweit er sich auf eine allgemeine Statistik der Arbeiterklasse bezieht, in Kraft zu setzen, ebenso wie die Beschlüsse des Genfer Kongresses (1866) über denselben Gegenstand. 30

F

Beschlüsse der Delegiertenkonferenz der IAA

- 2) Jede lokale Gruppe ist verpflichtet zur Ernennung eines besondern statistischen Komitees, damit sie stets, soweit ihre Mittel es gestatten, bereit sei, vom Föderalrath ihres Landes oder vom Generalrath gestellte Fragen zu beantworten. Die Konferenz empfiehlt allen Gruppen, den
- 5 Sekretären der statistischen Komitees eine Vergütung zukommen zu lassen, in Anbetracht der allgemeinen Nützlichkeit ihres Werkes für die Arbeiterklasse.
- 3) Am 1. August jedes Jahres sollen die Föderalräthe oder -Komitees das in ihren bezüglichen Ländern gesammelte Material dem Generalrath über-
- 10 senden. Letzterer wird dasselbe seinerseits zu einem allgemeinen Bericht verarbeiten, der den jährlich im September stattfindenden Kongressen oder Konferenzen vorzulegen ist.
- 4) Gewerksgenossenschaften und internationale Zweige, welche die verlangte Auskunft verweigern, sind dem Generalrath zur weiteren Beschlus-
- 15 nähme anzuziegen.

VII. Internationale Beziehungen der Gewerksgenossenschaften.

- Die wachsende Tendenz der Gewerksgenossenschaften jedes ||4| Landes, sich mit den Genossenschaften desselben Gewerks in allen andern Ländern, in Verbindung zu setzen, wird der Generalrath, wie bisher, unterstützen.
- 20 Seine Wirksamkeit als internationaler Vermittler zwischen den nationalen Gewerksgenossenschaften hängt wesentlich von dem Beistand ab, den diese Gesellschaften selbst dem von der Internationalen unternommenen Werk einer allgemeinen Arbeiterstatistik angedeihen lassen.
- Die Vorstände der Gewerksgenossenschaften aller Länder werden er-
- 25 sucht, den Generalrath über die Adressen ihrer bezüglichen Geschäftslokale unterrichtet zu halten.

VIII. Ackerbauer.

- 1) Die Konferenz ersucht den Generalrath und die Föderalräthe oder -Komitees, für den nächsten Kongreß Berichte vorzubereiten über die geeigneten Mittel zur Sicherung des Anschlusses der Ackerbauer an die Bewegung des industriellen Proletariats.
- 30 2) Inzwischen werden die Föderalräthe oder -Komitees ersucht, Delegirte in die ländlichen Distrikte zu schicken, um dort öffentliche Versammlungen abzuhalten, die Prinzipien der Internationalen zu verbreiten und ländliche
- 35 Zweiggesellschaften zu stiften.



Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels

IX. Politische Wirksamkeit der Arbeiterklasse.

In Erwägung,

Daß es im Eingang der Statuten heißt: „Die ökonomische Emancipation der Arbeiterklasse ist der große Endzweck, dem jede politische Bewegung unterzuordnen ist als Mittel“;

5

Daß die Inaugural-Adresse der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation (1864) besagt: „Die Herren des Grund und Bodens, und die Herren des Kapitals werden ihre politischen Vorrechte stets ausbeuten zur Vertheidigung und Verewigung ihrer ökonomischen Monopole. So weit davon entfernt, die politische Emancipation der Arbeiter zu fördern, werden sie fortfahren, ihr jedes mögliche Hinderniß in den Weg zu legen____Die Eroberung der politischen Macht ist daher zur großen Pflicht der Arbeiterklasse geworden“;

10

Daß der Kongreß von Lausanne (1867) erklärt hat: „Die soziale Emanzipation der Arbeiter ist untrennbar von ihrer politischen Emanzipation“;

15

Daß die Erklärung des Generalraths über das angebliche Komplott der französischen Internationalen, am Vorabend des Plebiscits (1870) folgende Stelle enthält: „Nach dem Wort||5|laut unsrer Statuten haben alle unsre Zweige in England, auf dem Kontinent und in Amerika unzweifelhaft die ausdrückliche Aufgabe, nicht nur Mittelpunkte für die streitbare Organisation der Arbeiterklasse zu bilden, sondern in ihren bezüglichen Ländern ebenfalls jede politische Bewegung zu unterstützen, die zur Erreichung unsers Endziels dient, — der ökonomischen Emanzipation der Arbeiterklasse“;

20

Daß falsche Uebersetzungen der Originalstatuten Mißdeutungen veranlaßt haben, die der Entwicklung und der Wirksamkeit der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation schädlich waren;

25

In Anbetracht ferner:

Daß die Internationale einer zügellosen Reaktion gegenübersteht, welche jedes Emanzipationsstreben der Arbeiter schamlos niederdrückt, und durch rohe Gewalt den Klassenunterschied und die darauf gegründete politische Herrschaft der besitzenden Klassen zu verewigen sucht;

30

Daß die Arbeiterklasse gegen diese Gesammtgewalt der besitzenden Klassen nur als Klasse handeln kann, indem sie sich selbst als besondere politische Partei konstituiert, im Gegensatz zu allen alten Parteibildungen der besitzenden Klassen;

35

Daß diese Konstituirung der Arbeiterklasse als politische Partei unerlässlich ist für den Triumph der sozialen Revolution und ihres Endziels, — *Abschaffung der Klassen*;



Beschlüsse der Delegiertenkonferenz der IAA

Daß die Vereinigung der Einzelkräfte, welche die Arbeiterklasse bis zu einem gewissen Punkt bereits durch ihre ökonomischen Kämpfe hergestellt hat, auch als Hebel für ihren Kampf gegen die politische Gewalt ihrer Ausbeuter zu dienen hat; —

5 Aus diesen Gründen erinnert die Konferenz alle Mitglieder der Internationalen:

Daß, in dem streitenden Stand der Arbeiterklasse, ihre ökonomische Bewegung und ihre politische Bethätigung untrennbar verbunden sind.

10 X. Allgemeiner Beschluß, betreffend die Länder,
wo die regelmäßige Organisation der Internationalen
durch die Regierungen verhindert wird.

In den Ländern, wo die regelmäßige Organisation der Internationalen in Folge von Regierungseinmischung augenblicklich unausführbar ist, kann die Assoziation resp. ihre lokalen Gruppen sich unter irgend welchen andern
15 Benennungen rekonstituiren. Alle eigentlich sogenannten geheimen Gesellschaften sind und bleiben jedoch förmlich ausgeschlossen!.

(6) XI. Beschlüsse über Frankreich.

1) Die Konferenz spricht ihre feste Ueberzeugung aus, daß alle Verfolgungen die Energie der Anhänger der Internationalen nur verdoppeln, und
20 2) daß die Zweige fortfahren werden sich zu organisiren, wo nicht in großen Centren, doch mindestens nach Werkstätten und Verbindungen von Werkstätten, die sich durch ihre Delegirten miteinander in Verbindung setzen.
25 2) Die Konferenz fordert daher alle Zweige auf, in der Verbreitung unsrer Prinzipien in Frankreich unermüdlich fortzufahren, und in ihr Land eine möglichst große Anzahl der Druckschriften und Statuten der Internationalen einzuführen.

XII. Beschluß über England.

Der Generalrath wird die englischen Sektionen in London auffordern, ein Föderalkomitee für London zu bilden. Sobald dasselbe von den Zweigen in
30 den Provinzen und von den verbündeten Gewerksgenossenschaften anerkannt sein wird, wird der Generalrath es als den Föderalrath für England bestätigen.

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels

XIII. Besondere Beschlüsse der Konferenz.

- 1) Die Konferenz billigt die Beifügung der Flüchtlinge der Kommune, welche der Generalrath in seinen Schoß aufgenommen hat.
- 2) Die Konferenz erklärt, daß die deutschen Arbeiter während des französisch-deutschen Krieges ihre Pflicht erfüllt haben.
- 3) Die Konferenz dankt den Mitgliedern der spanischen Föderation für die Vorlage ihrer Denkschrift über die Organisation der Internationalen, die einen abermaligen Beweis ihres Eifers für unser Gesamtwerk bietet.
- 4) Der Generalrath wird sofort eine förmliche Erklärung veröffentlichen, des Inhalts, daß die Internationale Arbeiter-Assoziation durchaus nichts zu schaffen hat mit der sogenannten Verschwörung des Neschajeff, der ihren Namen betrüglich usurpiert und ausgebeutet hat.

XIV. Instruktion für den Delegirten Outine.

Der Delegirte Outine wird ersucht, einen gedrängten Bericht über den Prozeß Neschajeff, nach den russischen Quellen, in der Genfer Egalité zu veröffentlichen. Dieser Bericht ist vor der Veröffentlichung dem Generalrath mitzutheilen.

XV. Berufung des nächsten Kongresses.

Die Konferenz überläßt es der Entscheidung des Generalraths, je nach den Ereignissen, die Zeit und den Ort des ||7| nächsten Kongresses, oder der ihn etwa ersetzenen Konferenz, zu bestimmen.

XVI. Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste.

In Erwägung,

Daß die Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste sich selbst für aufgelöst erklärt hat (siehe den Brief des Sekretärs der Alliance N. Joukovsky, an den Generalrath, datirt 10. August 1871);

Daß die Konferenz in ihrer Sitzung vom 18. September (Siehe Nr. II. dieses Cirkulars) beschlossen hat, daß alle bestehenden Organisationen der Internationalen, übereinstimmend mit dem Buchstaben und dem Geist der allgemeinen Statuten, sich fernerhin einfach und ausschließlich zu bezeich-

Beschlüsse der Delegiertenkonferenz der IAA

nen haben als Zweige, Sektionen, Föderationen u.s.w. der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation, mit Zufügung des Namens ihrer bezüglichen Oertlichkeit;

- Daß es demnach den bestehenden Zweigen und Gesellschaften fernerhin nicht gestattet ist, Sektennamen anzunehmen, wie z.B. Positivisten, Mutualisten, Kollektivistischen, Kommunisten etc., oder Sonderkörper zu bilden, welche unter dem Namen von Propagandasektionen u. s. w. eine besondere, von den gemeinsamen Zwecken der Internationalen verschiedene Mission sich zuschreiben;
- 10 Daß der Generalrat in Zukunft Art. V. der Baseler administrativen Kongreßbeschlüsse, des Inhalts: „Der Generalrat hat das Recht, den Anschluß einer neuen Sektion oder Gruppe zuzulassen oder zu verweigern, vorbehaltlich des Appells an den nächsten Kongreß“ — in diesem Sinn zu deuten und anzuwenden hat; —
- 15 Erklärt die Konferenz die Frage der Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste für erledigt.

XVII. Spaltung in dem französisch-sprechenden Theil der Schweiz.

- 1) Die verschiedenen Einwendungen des Föderalkomitee's der Jurasektionen gegen die Kompetenz der Konferenz werden für unzulässig erklärt. (Vorstehendes ist nur ein Résumé des Art. 1., der in seinem Wortlaut in der Genfer „Egalité“ abgedruckt ist.)
- 2) Die Konferenz billigt den Beschuß des Generalraths vom 29. Juni 1870.
- Außerdem aber, in Anbetracht der Verfolgungen, denen die Internationale gegenwärtig ausgesetzt ist, ruft die Konferenz den Geist der Solidarität und der Einigkeit an, der jetzt, mehr als je, die Arbeiter durchdringen sollte. Sie ertheilt den ||8| braven Arbeitern der Jurasektionen den Rath, sich den Sektionen der romanischen Föderationen wieder anzuschließen. Falls diese Wiedervereinigung nicht thunlich, entscheidet sie, daß die Föderation der 30 ausgetretenen Sektionen den Namen: Föderation des Jura (Fédération Jurassienne) annehmen wird. Sie kündigt ferner an, daß von nun an der Generalrat gehalten sein wird, öffentlich anzuklagen und zu verleugnen alle angeblichen Organe der Internationalen, welche, nach dem Vorgang des Progrès und der Solidarité, in ihren Spalten vor dem Bourgeois-Publikum 35 Fragen besprechen sollten, die nur zur Debatte in den lokalen und föderalen Komitees, im Generalrat oder in den geschlossenen Verwaltungssitzungen der föderalen oder allgemeinen Kongresse geeignet sind.

Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels

Anmerkung.

Die nicht für die Oeffentlichkeit bestimmten Beschlüsse der Konferenz werden den Föderalräthen der verschiedenen Länder durch die korrespondirenden Sekretäre des Generalraths mitgetheilt werden.

Im Auftrag und Namen der Konferenz, der Generalrath: 5

R. Applegarth, M. J. Boon, Fred. Bradnick, G. H. Butterly, Delahaye, Eugène Dupont (abwesend als Emissär), William Hales, G. Harris, Hurlimann, Jules Johannard, Fred. Lessner, Lochner, Harriet Law, Charles Longuet, Constant Martin, Zévy Maurice, Henry Mayo, George Milner, Charles Murray, Pfänder, John Roach, Rühl, Sadler, Cowell Stepney, 10 Alfred Taylor, W. Townshend, E. Vaillant, John Weston.

Korrespondirende Sekretäre:

Alfred Herman, für Belgien. — Th. Mottershead, für Dänemark. — Karl Marx, für Deutschland und Rußland. — A. Serraillier, für Frankreich. — Ch. Rochat, für Holland. — J. P. MacDonnell, für Irland. — Friedrich Engels, 15 für Italien und Spanien. — Leo Frankel, für Oesterreich und Ungarn. — Walery Wroblewski, für Polen. — Hermann Jung, für die Schweiz. — J. G. Eccarius, für die Vereinigten Staaten. — C. Le Moussu, für die französischen Sektionen der Vereinigten Staaten.

F. Engels, Vorsitzender. — Hermann Jung, Schatzmeister. 20
John Haies, Generalsekretär.

256 High Holborn, W. C, London, 17. Oktober 1871.

Für Beglaubigung der Uebersetzung:

Der Sekretär für Deutschland: Karl Marx. \

Karl Marx
To the Editors of "Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly"
Covering letter to the letter
from Jenny Marx to "Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly"

Woodhull G Claflin's Weekly.
Nr.23/75, 21.Okttober 1871

London. N. W., September 23, 1871.

Mesdames: I have the honor to send you, for insertion in your *Weekly*—if you judge the contribution sufficiently interesting for your readers—a short relation of my daughter Jenny on the persecutions she and her sisters, during their stay at Bagnères de Luchon (Pyrenees), had to undergo at the hands of the French Government. This tragico-comical episode seems to me characteristic of the Republic-Thiers.

The news of my death was concocted at Paris by the *Avenir Liberal*, a Bonapartist paper.

Since Sunday last a private Conference of the delegates of the International Workingmen's Association is sitting at London. The proceedings will terminate to-day.

With my best thanks for the highly-interesting papers you had the kindness to send me,

I have the honor, Mesdames, to remain,
Yours most sincerely,
KARL MARX.

Karl Marx

**General Rules and Administrative Regulations
of the International Working Men's Association
Official edition, revised by the General Council**

GENERAL RULES

AND

ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS

OF THE

INTERNATIONAL WORKING-MEN'S
ASSOCIATION.

OFFICIAL EDITION, REVISED BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

LONDON.

Printed for the General Council by

EDWARD TRUELOVE, 266, HIGH HOLBORN.

1871.

| 3 | General Rules of the International Working Men's Association.

Considering,

- 5 That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class-rule;
- 10 That the economical subjection of the man of labour to the monopolizer of the means of labour, that is the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence;
- 15 That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means;
- That all efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labour in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries;
- 20 That the emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries;
- 25 That the present revival of the working classes in the most industrious countries of Europe, while it raises a new hope, gives solemn warning against a relapse into the old errors, and calls for the immediate combination of the still disconnected movements;

For these Reasons—

The International Working Men's Association has been founded.

Karl Marx

It declares:

That all societies and individuals adhering to it will acknowledge truth, justice, and morality, as the basis of their conduct towards each other and towards all men, without regard to colour, creed, or nationality; **j**

[4] That it acknowledges *no rights without duties, no duties without rights;* 5

And in this spirit the following rules have been drawn up.

1. This Association is established to afford a central medium of communication and co-operation between Working Men's Societies existing in different countries and aiming at the same end; viz., the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation of the working classes. 10

2. The name of the Society shall be "The International Working Men's Association."

3. There shall annually meet a General Working Men's Congress, consisting of delegates of the branches of the Association. The Congress will 15 have to proclaim the common aspirations of the working class, take the measures required for the successful working of the International Association, and appoint the General Council of the Society.

4. Each Congress appoints the time and place of meeting for the next Congress. The delegates assemble at the appointed time and place without 20 any special invitation. The General Council may, in case of need, change the place, but has no power to postpone the time of meeting. The Congress appoints the seat and elects the members of the General Council annually. The General Council thus elected shall have power to add to the number of its members. 25

On its annual meetings, the General Congress shall receive a public account of the annual transactions of the General Council. The latter may, in cases of emergency, convoke the General Congress before the regular yearly term.

5. The General Council shall consist of working men from the different 30 countries represented in the International Association. It shall from its own members elect the officers necessary for the transaction of business, such as a treasurer, a general secretary, corresponding secretaries for the different countries, etc.

6. The General Council shall form an international agency between the 35 different national and local groups of the Association, so that the working men in one country be constantly informed of the movements of their class in every other country: that an inquiry into the social state of the different countries of Europe be made simultaneously, and under a common direction; that the questions of general interest mooted in one society be 40 ventilated by all; and that when immediate practical steps should be

General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the I. W. M. A.

needed—as, for instance, in case of international quarrels—the action of the associated societies be simultaneous and uniform. Whenever it seems opportune, the General Council shall take the initiative of proposals to be laid before the different national or local societies. To facilitate the communications, the General Council shall publish periodical reports.

7. Since the success of the working men's movement in each country cannot be secured but by the power of union and combination, while, on the other hand, the usefulness of the International General Council must greatly depend on the circumstance whether it has to deal with a few national centres of working men's associations, or with a great [5] number of small and disconnected local societies; the members of the International Association shall use their utmost efforts to combine the disconnected working men's societies of their respective countries into national bodies, represented by central national organs. It is self-understood, however, that the appliance of this rule will depend upon the peculiar laws of each country, and that, apart from legal obstacles, no independent local society shall be precluded from directly corresponding with the General Council.

8. Every section has the right to appoint its own secretary corresponding with the General Council.

20 9. Everybody who acknowledges and defends the principles of the International Working Men's Association is eligible to become a member. Every branch is responsible for the integrity of the members it admits.

10. Each member of the International Association, on removing his domicile from one country to another, will receive the fraternal support of 25 the Associated Working Men.

11. While united in a perpetual bond of fraternal co-operation, the working men's societies joining the International Association will preserve their existent organizations intact.

12. The present rules may be revised by each Congress, provided that 30 two-thirds of the delegates present are in favour of such revision.

13. Everything not provided for in the present rules will be supplied by special regulations, subject to the revision of every Congress.

Administrative Regulations,

**Revised in accordance with the Resolutions
passed by the Congresses (1866 to 1869),
and by the London Conference (1871).**

5

I.

The General Congress.

1. Every member of the International Working Men's Association has the right to vote at elections for, and is eligible as, a delegate to the General Congress.

10

2. Every branch, whatever the number of its members, may send a delegate to the Congress.

3. Each delegate has but one vote in the Congress.

4. The expenses of the delegates are to be defrayed by the branches and groups which appoint them.

15

5. If a branch be unable to send a delegate, it may unite with other neighbouring branches for the appointment of one. |

|6| 6. Every branch or group consisting of more than 500 members may send an additional delegate for every additional 500 members.

7. Only the delegates of such societies, sections, or groups as form parts 20 of the International, and shall have paid their contributions to the General Council, will in future be allowed to take their seats and to vote at Congresses. Nevertheless, for such countries where the regular establishment of the International may have been prevented by law, delegates of trades' unions and working men's co-operative societies will be allowed to participate in Congress debates on questions of principle, but not to discuss, or to vote on, administrative matters.

25

8. The sittings of the Congress will be twofold—administrative sittings, which will be private, and public sittings, reserved for the discussion of, and the vote upon, the general questions of the Congress programme.

30

9. The Congress programme, consisting of questions placed on the order of the day by the preceding Congress, questions added by the General Council, and questions submitted to the acceptance of that Council by the different sections, groups, or their committees, shall be drawn up by the General Council.

General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the I.W. M.A.

Every section, group, or committee which intends to propose, for the discussion of the impending Congress, a question not proposed by the previous Congress, shall give notice thereof to the General Council before the 31st of March.

5 10. The General Council is charged with the organization of each Congress, and shall, in due time, through the medium of the Federal Councils or Committees, bring the Congress programme to the cognizance of the branches.

11. The Congress will appoint as many committees as there shall be
10 questions submitted to it. Each delegate shall designate the committee
upon which he may prefer to sit. Each Committee shall read the memorials
presented by the different sections and groups on the special question
referred to it. It shall elaborate them into one single report, which alone is
to be read at the public sittings. It shall moreover decide which of the
15 above memorials shall be annexed to the official report of the Congress
transactions.

12. In its public sittings, the Congress will, in the first instance, occupy
itself with the questions placed on the order of the day by the General
Council, the remaining questions to be discussed afterwards.

20 13. All resolutions on questions of principle shall be voted upon by division
(appel nominal).

14. Two months at latest before the meeting of the annual Congress,
every branch or federation of branches shall transmit to the General
Council a detailed report of its proceedings and development during the
25 current year. The General Council shall elaborate these elements into one
single report, which alone is to be read before Congress. |

|7| **Π-**

The General Council.

1. The designation of General Council is reserved for the Central Council
30 of the International Working Men's Association. The Central Councils of
the various countries, where the International is regularly organized, shall
designate themselves as Federal Councils, or Federal Committees, with the
names of the respective countries attached.

2. The General Council is bound to execute the Congress Resolutions.
35 3. As often as its means may permit, the General Council shall publish a
bulletin or report embracing everything which may be of interest to the
International Working Men's Association.

For this purpose it shall collect all the documents to be transmitted by the

Karl Marx

Federal Councils or Committees of the different countries and such others as it may be able to procure by other means.

The *bulletin*, drawn up in several languages, shall be sent gratuitously to the Federal Councils or Committees, which are to forward one copy to each of their branches.

5

In case the General Council should be unable to publish such *bulletins*, it shall every three months send a written communication to the different Federal Councils or Committees, to be published in the newspapers of their respective countries, and especially in the International organs.

4. Every new branch or society intending to join the International, is 10 bound immediately to announce its adhesion to the General Council.

5. The General Council has the right to admit or to refuse the affiliation of any new branch or group, subject to appeal to the next Congress.

Nevertheless, wherever there exist Federal Councils or Committees, the General Council is bound to consult them before admitting or rejecting 15 the affiliation of a new branch or society within their jurisdiction; without prejudice, however, to its right of provisional decision.

6. The General Council has also the right of suspending, till the meeting of next Congress, any branch of the International.

7. In case of differences arising between societies or branches of the 20 same national group, or between groups of different nationalities, the General Council shall have the right of deciding such differences, subject to appeal to the next Congress, whose decision shall be final.

8. All delegates appointed by the General Council to distinct missions shall have the right to attend, and be heard at, all meetings of Federal 25 Councils or Committees, district and local Committees, and local branches, without, however, being entitled to vote thereat.

9. English, French, and German editions of the General Rules and Regulations are to be reprinted from the official texts published by the General Council.

30

All versions of the General Rules and Regulations in other languages shall, before publication, be submitted to the General Council for approval. |

|8| π.

Contributions to be paid to the General Council.

1. An annual contribution of One Penny per member shall be levied 35 from all branches and affiliated societies for the use of the General Council. This contribution is intended to defray the expenses of the General Council,

¥

General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the I. W. M. A.

such as the remuneration of its General Secretary, costs of correspondence, publications, preparatory work for Congresses, etc. etc.

2. The General Council shall cause to be printed uniform adhesive stamps representing the value of one penny each, to be annually supplied, in the 5 numbers wanted, to the Federal Councils or Committees.

3. These stamps are to be affixed to a special sheet of the *livret* or to a copy of the Rules which every member of the Association is held to possess.

4. On the 1st of March of each year, the Federal Councils or Committees 10 of the different countries shall forward to the General Council the amounts of the stamps disposed of, and return the unsold stamps remaining on hand.

5. These stamps, representing the value of the individual contributions, shall bear the date of the current year.

15

IV.

Federal Councils or Committees.

1. The expenses of the Federal Councils or Committees shall be defrayed by their respective branches.

2. The Federal Councils or Committees shall send one report at least 20 every month to the General Council.

3. The Federal Councils or Committees shall transmit to the General Council every three months a report on the administration and financial state of their respective branches.

4. Any Federation may refuse to admit or may exclude from its midst 25 societies or branches. It is, however, not empowered to deprive them of their International character, but it may propose their suspension to the General Council.

V.

Local Societies, Branches, and Groups.

30 1. Every branch is at liberty to make rules and bye-laws for its local administration, adapted to local circumstances and the laws of its country. But these rules and bye-laws must not contain anything contrary to the General Rules and Regulations.

2. All local branches, groups, and their committees are henceforth to 35 designate and constitute themselves simply and exclusively as branches, groups, and committees of the International Working Men's Association, with the names of their respective localities attached. |

Karl Marx

- |9| 3. Consequently, no branches 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. 5
4. Art. 2 of this division does not apply to affiliated Trades' Unions.
5. All sections, branches, and working men's societies affiliated to the International are invited to abolish the office of President of their respective branch or society.
6. The formation of female branches amongst the working class is recommended. It is, however, understood that this resolution does not at all intend to interfere with the existence, or formation of branches composed of both sexes. 10
7. Wherever attacks against the International are published, the nearest branch or committee is held to send at once a copy of such publication to the General Council. 15
8. The addresses of the offices of all International Committees and of the General Council are to be published every three months in all the organs of the Association.

VI.
General Statistics of Labour.

1. The General Council is to enforce Article 6 of the Rules relating to general statistics of the working class, and the Resolutions of the Geneva Congress, 1866, on the same subject.
2. Every local branch is bound to appoint a special Committee of Statistics, so as to be always ready, within the limits of its means, to answer any question which may be put to it by the Federal Council or Committee of its country or by the General Council. 25
- It is recommended to all branches to remunerate the secretaries of the Committees of Statistics, considering the general benefit the working class will derive from their labour. 30
3. On the 1st of August of each year the Federal Councils or Committees will transmit the materials collected in their respective countries to the General Council, which, in its turn, is to elaborate them into a general report, to be laid before the Congresses or Conferences annually held in the month of September. 35
4. Trades' Unions and International branches refusing to give the information required, shall be reported to the General Council, which will take action thereupon.

F

General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the I.W. M.A.

5. The Resolutions of the Geneva Congress, 1866, alluded to in Article 1 of this division are the following:—

One great International combination of efforts will be a statistical inquiry into the situation of the working classes of all civilized countries to be 5 instituted by the working classes themselves. To act with any success, the materials to be acted upon must be known. By ||10| initiating so great a work, the working men will prove their ability to take their own fate into their own hands.

The Congress therefore proposes that in each locality where branches 10 of our Association exist, the work be immediately commenced, and evidence collected on the different points specified in the subjoined scheme of inquiry; the Congress invites the working men of Europe and the United States of America to co-operate in gathering the elements of the statistics of the working class; reports and evidence to be forwarded to the General 15 Council. The General Council shall elaborate them into a report, adding the evidence as an appendix. This report, together with its appendix, shall be laid before the next annual Congress, and after having received its sanction, be printed at the expense of the Association.

General scheme of inquiry, which may of course be modified by each 20 locality. 1. Industry, name of. 2. Age and sex of the employed. 3. Number of the employed. 4. Salaries and wages; (a) apprentices; (b) wages by the day or piece work; scale paid by middle men. Weekly, yearly average. 5. (a) Hours of work in factories, (b) The hours of work with small employers and in home work, if the business be carried on in those different 25 modes, (c) Nightwork and daywork. 6. Meal-times and treatment. 7. Sort of workshop and work; overcrowding, defective ventilation, want of sunlight, use of gaslight, cleanliness, etc. 8. Effect of employment upon the physical condition. 9. Moral condition. Education. 10. State of trade: whether season 30 trade, or more or less uniformly distributed over the year, whether greatly fluctuating, whether exposed to foreign competition—whether destined principally for home or foreign consumption, etc. |

n | Appendix.

35 The Conference held at London from 17th to 23rd September, 1871, has charged the General Council to issue a new, authentic and revised edition, in English, French, and German, of the "General Rules and Regulations of the International Working Men's Association," for the following reasons:—

I. General Rules.

The Geneva Congress (1866) adopted, with a few additions, the Provisional Rules of the Association, published at London in November, 1864. It also decided (see "Congrès ouvrier de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, tenu à Genève du 3 au 8 Septembre., 1866," Genève, 1866, p. 27, note), that the General Council should publish the official and obligatory text of the Rules as well as of the Regulations voted by the Congress. The General Council was prevented from executing this order by the seizure, on the part of the Bonapartist Government, of the minutes of the Geneva Congress on their transit through France. When at last, through the intercession of Lord Stanley, then British Foreign Secretary, the minutes were recovered, a French edition had already been issued at Geneva, and the text of the Rules and Regulations contained in it was at once reproduced in all French-speaking countries. This text was faulty in many respects.

1. The Paris edition of the London Provisional Rules had been accepted 15 as a true translation; but the Paris Committee to which this translation is due, had not only introduced most important alterations in the preamble of the Rules which, on the interpellation of the General Council, were represented as changes unavoidable under the existing political state of France. From an insufficient acquaintance with the English language, it 20 had also misinterpreted some of the articles of the Rules.

2. The Geneva Congress having to give a final character to the Provisional Rules, the Committee appointed for this purpose simply struck out all passages in which anything of a provisional nature was alluded to, without noticing that several of these passages contained most important matter of 25 no provisional character whatever. In the English edition published after the Lausanne Congress (1867) the same omissions are repeated.

II. Administrative Regulations.

The Administrative Regulations hitherto published conjointly with ||12| the Rules, are but those voted by the Geneva Congress (1866). It thus became 30 necessary to codify the further regulations voted by subsequent Congresses and by the late London Conference.

The following publications have been made use of for the present revised edition:—

"Address and Provisional Rules of the International Working Men's 35 Association," etc. London. 1864.

General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the I.W.M.A.

"Rules of the International Working Men's Association." London.
1867.

"Congrès ouvrier de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, tenu
à Genève du 3 au 8 Septbre., 1866." Genève. 1866.

5 "Procès-verbaux du Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs,
réuni à Lausanne, du 2 au 8 Septbre., 1867." Chaux-de-Fonds.
1867.

"Troisième Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs
(Brussels Congress) — Compte-rendu officiel." Bruxelles. 1868.

10 "The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the
Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868." London.
1869.

"Compte-rendu du 4me Congrès International, tenu à Bale en Septbre.,
1869." Bruxelles. 1869.

15 "Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working
Men's Association, held at Basel, 1869." Published by the General Council.
London. 1869.

"Quatrième Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs,
tenu à Bâle, 1869. Rapport du délégué des Sections de la Fabrique à Ge-
20 nève." Genève. 1869.

"Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working
Men's Association, assembled at London, 1871." London. 1871.

For the Basel Congress, the German report of the Congress proceedings,
published in fly-sheets at Basel, and the notes taken during the Congress by
25 the General Secretary, have also been consulted.

How these various sources have been made use of for the purposes of
the present revised edition will appear from the following statement.

General Rules.

Preamble— After the words, "For these reasons," there have been restored
30 the words, "the International Working Men's Association has beenf ounded." See Provisional Rules, p. 13.

The passage, "They hold it the duty of a man," etc., has been omitted,
because there exist two equally authentic versions of it, irreconcilable with
each other. The true meaning of it is, besides, already contained in the
35 passage immediately preceding, and in that immediately following: "No
rights without duties," etc.

Art. 3 is restored from Art. 3 of Provisional Rules.

Art. 4.—Part of Art. 3 and the whole of Art. 4 of Rules, London, 1867. |

Karl Marx

[13] Art. 5.—Introductory part of Art. 3, Rules, 1867. The words "a president" have been omitted, in agreement with Administrative Resolution I. of Basel Congress.

Art. 6.—Art. 5, Rules, 1867. The words "Co-operating Associations" have been changed into "national and local groups of the Association," because the expression, in some translations, has been misinterpreted as meaning co-operative societies.

Art. 7.-Art. 6, Rules, 1867.

Art. 8.-Art. 10, Rules, 1867.

Art. 10.-Art. 8, Rules, 1867.

Art. 12 forms Art. 13 of the Administrative Regulations in "Rules, 1867."

Art. 13.-Art. 12, Rules, 1867.

Art. 7, Rules, 1867, has been omitted, because its insertion was contrary to a resolution of the Lausanne Congress. See "Procès-verbaux du Congrès de Lausanne," p. 36.

Administrative Regulations.

I. The General Congress.

Art. 1.—Art. 11 of Regulations voted by Geneva Congress ("Congrès de Genève," Genève, 1866, p. 26, etc.); Art. 10, Rules, etc., 1867, which is incomplete.

Art. 2.-Art. 9, Congrès de Genève; Art. 6, Rules, etc., 1867.

Art. 3.-Art. 13, Congrès de Genève; Art. 11, Rules, etc., 1867.

Art. 4.—Art. 10, Congrès de Genève; Art. 9, Rules, etc., 1867.

Art. 5.—Art. 9, Congrès de Genève; Art. 7, Rules, etc., 1867.

Art. 6.—Art. 12, Congrès de Genève; Art. 8, Rules, etc., 1867.

Art. 7.—Basel Administrative Regulations, VIII.

Art. 8.—For this article the Guide pratique pour le Congrès de l'Internationale (Compte-rendu du Congrès de Bâle, Bruxelles, 1869) has been completed by the other materials on the Basel Congress, quoted above.

Art. 9.—First part as for Art. 8. Second part, Resolution of Lausanne Congress (Procès-verbaux, p. 74, 1).

Art. 10—Art. 1 b, Congrès de Genève; Art. 1 b, Rules, etc., 1867.

Art. 11.—Guide Pratique, Basel Congress, Art. 3 and 11.

Art. 12.—Guide Pratique, etc., Art. 10.

Art. 13.—Guide Pratique, etc., Art. 7.

Art. 14.—Guide Pratique, etc., Art. 4.

r

General Rules and Administrative Regulations of the I.W. M.A.

II. The General Council.

- Art. 1.—London Conference, 1871, II. 1.
- Art. 2.—Congrès de Genève, Art. 1; Rules, etc., 1867, Art. 1.
- Art. 3.—The two first Alineas, Art. 2 and Art. 1a; Congrès de Genève, |
[14] and Rules, etc., 1867. Third Alinea, Art. 3, Congrès de Genève. Last
Alinea, Lausanne Congress, Procès-verbaux, p. 37, Art. 2.
- Arts. 4 to 7.—Basel Administrative Resolutions, IV. to VII.
- Art. 8.—London Conference, III.
- Art. 9.—Resolution of London Conference, sittings of 18th and 22nd Sep-
tember.

III. Contributions to be Paid to the General Council.

- Art. 1.—First Alinea, Lausanne Congress, Procès-verbaux, p. 37, 3; and
Art. IX., Basel Administrative Resolutions. Second Alinea, Art. 4, Congrès
de Genève, and Rules, 1867.
- 15 Arts. 2 to 6.—London Conference, IV., 1 to 5.

IV. Federal Councils or Committees.

- Art. 1.—Art. 6, Congrès de Genève, and Rules, 1867.
- Art. 2.-Art. 5, ditto.
- Art. 3.—Brussels Congress, "Compte-rendu Officiel," p. 50, Appendice,
20 Séances Administratives, Resolution N°3.
- Art. 4.—Art. VI., Basel Administrative Resolutions.

V. Local Societies, Branches, and Groups.

- Art. 1.-Art. 14, Congrès de Genève; Art. 12, Rules, etc., 1867.
- Arts. 2 to 4.—London Conference, II., 2 to 4.
- 25 Art. 5.—Art. I., Basel Administrative Resolutions.
- Art. 6.—London Conference, V.
- Art. 7.—Art. II., Basel Administrative Resolutions.
- Art. 8.-Art. III., ditto.

Karl Marx

VI. General Statistics of Labour.

Arts. 1 to 4.—London Conference, VI., 1 to 4.

Art. 5.—Resolution of Geneva Congress (London edition of Geneva and Brussels Congress Resolutions, p. 4).

By order, and in the name of the London Conference, 1871,

THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

*R.Applegarth, M.J.Boon, Fred.Bradnick, G.H.Buttery, V.Delahaye,
Eugène Dupont (on mission), Wm. Hales, G. Harris, Hurliman, Jules
Johannard, Harriet Law, Fred. Lessner, Lochner, Ch. Longuet, C. Martin,
Zévy Maurice, Henry Mayo, George Milner, Ch. Murray, Pfander, John
Roach, Riihl, Sadler, Cowell Stepney, Alfred Taylor, W. Townshend,
E. Vaillant, John Weston. /*

1151 CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES.

*Leo Frankel, for Austria and Hungary; A. Herman, Belgium; T. Motters-
head, Denmark; A. Serrailier, France; Karl Marx, Germany and Russia;
Charles Rochat, Holland; J. P. McDonnell, Ireland; Fred. Engels, Italy and
Spain; Walery Wróblewski, Poland; Hermann Jung, Switzerland; J. G.
Eccarius, United States; Le Moussu, for French Branches of United States.*

CHARLES LONGUET, *Chairman.*
HERMANN JUNG, *Treasurer.*
JOHN HALES, *General Secretary.*

256, High Holborn, W. C, London,
24th October, 1871./

Karl Marx
Statuts généraux et règlements administratifs
de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs
Édition officielle, révisée par le Conseil général

Auf der Grundlage der englischen Ausgabe
bearbeitet von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels

STATUTS GÉNÉRAUX
ET
RÈGLEMENTS ADMINISTRATIFS
DE
L'ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE
DES
TRAVAILLEURS.

EDITION OFFICIELLE,
RÉVISÉE PAR LE CONSEIL GÉNÉRAL.

LONDRES,
IMPRIMERIE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ COOPÉRATIVE
TYPOGRAPHIQUE,
59, GREEKSTREET, SOHO, 59.

1871.

| 3 | Statuts généraux de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs.

5 *Considérant*

Que l'émancipation de la classe ouvrière doit être l'œuvre des travailleurs eux-mêmes ;

Que la lutte pour l'émancipation de la classe ouvrière n'est pas une lutte pour des priviléges et des monopoles de classe, mais pour l'établissement 10 de droits et de devoirs égaux, et pour l'abolition de tout régime de classe ;

Que l'assujettissement économique du travailleur aux détenteurs des moyens du travail, c'est-à-dire des sources de la vie, est la cause première de la servitude dans toutes ses formes, — la misère sociale, l'avilissement intellectuel et la dépendance politique ;

15 Que par conséquent l'émancipation économique de la classe ouvrière est le grand but auquel tout mouvement politique doit être subordonné comme moyen ;

|4| Que tous les efforts tendant à ce but ont jusqu'ici échoué, faute de solidarité entre les travailleurs des différentes professions dans le même 20 pays et d'une union fraternelle entre les classes ouvrières des divers pays ;

Que l'émancipation du travail, n'étant un problème ni local ni national, mais social, embrasse tous les pays dans lesquels existe la société moderne, et nécessite, pour sa solution, le concours théorique et pratique des pays 25 les plus avancés ;

Que le mouvement qui vient de renaître parmi les ouvriers des pays les plus industriels de l'Europe, tout en réveillant de nouvelles espérances,

Karl Marx

donne un solennel avertissement de ne pas retomber dans les vieilles erreurs et de combiner le plus tôt possible les efforts encore isolés ;

Pour ces raisons,
L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs a été fondée.

Elle déclare,

5

Que toutes les sociétés et individus y adhérant reconnaîtront comme base de leur conduite envers tous les hommes, sans distinction de couleur, de croyance et de nationalité, la *Vérité*, la *Justice* et la *Morale*.

Pas de devoirs sans droits, pas de droits sans devoirs.

C'est dans cet esprit que les statuts suivants ont été conçus :

10

Art. 1er. — L'Association est établie pour créer un point central de communication et de coopération entre les sociétés ouvrières des différents pays aspirant au même but, savoir : le concours mutuel, le progrès et le complet affranchissement de la classe ouvrière. |

|5| Art. 2. — Le nom de cette association sera : *Association Internationale des Travailleurs.* 15

Art. 3. — Tous les ans aura lieu un Congrès ouvrier général composé de délégués des branches de l'Association. Ce Congrès proclamera les aspirations communes de la classe ouvrière, prendra l'initiative des mesures nécessaires pour le succès de l'œuvre de l'Association Internationale, et en 20 nommera le Conseil général.

Art. 4. — Chaque Congrès fixera la date et le siège de la réunion du Congrès suivant. Les délégués se réuniront de plein droit aux lieu et jour désignés, sans qu'une convocation spéciale soit nécessaire. En cas d'urgence, le Conseil général pourra changer le lieu du Congrès, sans en remettre 25 toutefois la date.

Tous les ans, le Congrès réuni indiquera le siège du Conseil général, et en nommera les membres. Le Conseil général ainsi élu aura le droit de s'adoindre de nouveaux membres.

A chaque Congrès annuel, le Conseil général fera un rapport public de 30 ses travaux. Il pourra, au cas de besoin, convoquer le Congrès avant le terme fixé.

Art. 5. — Le Conseil général se composera de travailleurs appartenant aux différentes nations représentées dans l'Association Internationale. Il choisira dans son sein les membres du bureau nécessaires pour la gestion 35 des affaires, tels que trésorier, secrétaire général, secrétaires particuliers pour les différents pays, etc.

Art. 6. — Le Conseil général fonctionnera comme agent international entre les différents groupes nationaux et locaux, de telle sorte que les

Statuts généraux et règlements administratifs de l'A. I.T.

ouvriers de chaque pays soient constamment au courant des mouvements de leur classe dans les autres pays ; qu'une enquête sur l'état social soit faite simultanément et dans un même esprit ; — que les questions d'intérêt général, ||6| proposées par une société, soient examinées par toutes les 5 autres, et que, l'action immédiate étant réclamée, comme dans le cas de querelles internationales, tous les groupes de l'Association puissent agir simultanément et d'une manière uniforme.

Suivant qu'il le jugera opportun, le Conseil général prendra l'initiative des propositions à soumettre aux sociétés locales et nationales.

10 Pour faciliter ses communications, il publiera un bulletin périodique.

Art. 7. — Puisque le succès du mouvement ouvrier dans chaque pays ne peut être assuré que par la force résultant de l'union et de l'association ; — que, d'autre part, l'action du Conseil général sera plus efficace si, au lieu de correspondre avec une foule de petites sociétés locales, isolées les unes 15 des autres, il peut se mettre en rapport avec quelques grands centres nationaux des sociétés ouvrières ; — par ces raisons, les membres de l'Association Internationale devront faire tout leur possible pour réunir les sociétés ouvrières, encore isolées, de leurs pays respectifs, en associations nationales, représentées par des organes centraux.

20 Il va sans dire que l'application de cet article est subordonnée aux lois particulières à chaque pays et qu'abstraction faite d'obstacles légaux, chaque société locale indépendante aura le droit de correspondre directement avec le Conseil général.

Art. 8. — Chaque section a le droit de nommer ses secrétaires correspondants avec le Conseil général.

Art. 9. — Quiconque adopte et défend les principes de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs peut en être reçu membre. Chaque section est responsable pour l'intégrité de ses membres.

Art. 10. — Chaque membre de l'Association Inter||7|nationale, en changeant 30 de pays, recevra l'appui fraternel des membres de l'Association.

Art. 11. — Quoiqu'unies par un lien fraternel de solidarité et de coopération, toutes les sociétés ouvrières adhérant à l'Association Internationale conserveront intacte leur organisation particulière.

Art. 12. — La révision des statuts présents peut être faite à chaque Congrès 35 sur la demande des deux tiers des délégués présents.

Art. 13. — Tout ce qui n'est pas prévu par les présents statuts sera déterminé par des règlements spéciaux que chaque Congrès pourra réviser.

Règlements administratifs

**Révisés conformément aux résolutions
des congrès successifs (1866 à 1869)
et de la Conférence de Londres (1871).**

I. — Du Congrès général.

5

1. — Chaque membre de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs a le droit de voter aux élections pour le Congrès, et est éligible comme délégué.
2. — Chaque section, nombreuse ou non, a le droit d'envoyer un délégué au Congrès.
3. — Chaque délégué n'a qu'une voix au Congrès. 10
4. — Les délégués recevront une indemnité de la section ou du groupe qui les a nommés.
5. — Une section pourra s'unir avec des sections voisines pour la nomination d'un délégué commun. [
- |8| 6. — Chaque section ou groupe de sections qui compte plus de 500 membres a le droit d'envoyer un délégué additionnel pour 500 membres additionnels. 15
7. — A l'avenir, ne seront plus admis à siéger et à voter dans le Congrès que les délégués des sociétés, sections ou groupes affiliés à l'Internationale, et qui seront en règle avec le Conseil général pour le paiement de leurs cotisations. 20
- Toutefois, pour les pays où l'organisation de l'Association Internationale rencontre des difficultés légales, les délégués des Sociétés ouvrières corporatives seront admis à discuter les questions de principe, mais ne pourront discuter et voter les questions administratives. 25
8. — Les séances du Congrès seront de deux sortes ; les unes administratives et privées, les autres publiques. Dans les dernières, on discutera et on votera les questions générales proposées par le programme du Congrès.
9. — Le Conseil général rédigera le programme officiel du Congrès, lequel contiendra les questions mises à l'ordre du jour par le Congrès précédent, les questions que le Conseil général y aura ajoutées, et les questions soumises à ce Conseil par les différentes sections et groupes ou par leurs comités respectifs. 30
- Toute section qui voudra proposer à la discussion du prochain Congrès 35

Statuts généraux et règlements administratifs de l'A. I. T.

une question en dehors du programme adopté par le dernier Congrès, devra en prévenir le Conseil général avant le 31 mars.

10. — Le Conseil général est chargé d'organiser le Congrès et de communiquer son programme, en temps opportun, à toutes les sections par 5 l'intermédiaire des Conseils ou comités fédéraux.

11. — Le Congrès formera autant de commissions qu'il y aura de questions à l'ordre du jour. Chaque membre désignera la commission dont il veut faire partie. Les rapports présentés par les divers groupes ou sections seront lus dans la séance de la commission à laquelle ils auront été référés.

10 Elle en fera un rapport unique qui seul sera lu en séance publique, et elle désignera les rapports particuliers qui seront joints au compte rendu officiel.

12. — Dans les séances publiques, le Congrès s'occupera en premier lieu des questions mises à l'ordre du jour par le Conseil général ; toute autre 15 question sera discutée ensuite.

13. — Les votes sur les questions de principe auront lieu à l'appel nominal.

14. — Chaque section ou fédération de sections doit envoyer au Conseil général, au plus tard un mois avant le Congrès annuel, un rapport détaillé 20 sur sa marche et son développement pendant l'année.

De ces documents le Conseil général fera un rapport unique qui seul sera lu en séance du Congrès.

II — Du Conseil général.

1. — La désignation de *Conseil général* est réservée au Conseil central de 25 l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs.

Les Conseils centraux des divers pays où *Y Internationale* est régulièrement organisée, se désigneront sous le nom de *Conseil fédéral* ou *Comité fédéral*, en y ajoutant le nom de leur pays respectif.

2. — Le Conseil général est tenu d'exécuter les résolutions des Congrès.

30 3. — Aussi souvent que ses moyens le lui permettront, le Conseil général publiera un bulletin embrassant tout ce qui intéresse l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs.

Dans ce bulletin seront résumés tous les documents que les Conseils ou Comités fédéraux des divers pays lui auront envoyés, ou qu'il se sera 35 procurés par une autre voie.

Le bulletin, rédigé dans plusieurs langues, sera envoyé gratis aux Conseils ou Comités fédéraux, qui devront en communiquer un exemplaire à chacune de leurs sections.

Karl Marx

Dans le cas où le Conseil général ne pourrait publier ce bulletin, il sera remplacé par une communication écrite trimestrielle que les conseils ou comités fédéraux feront publier par les journaux de leur pays et surtout par les organes de l'Internationale.

4. — Toute section ou société qui se forme et qui veut faire partie de l'*Internationale*, doit annoncer immédiatement son adhésion au Conseil général. 5

5. — Le Conseil général a le droit d'admettre ou de refuser l'affiliation de toute nouvelle société ou groupe, sauf l'appel au Congrès.

Néanmoins, là où il existe des conseils ou comités fédéraux, le Conseil général, tout en réservant son droit de décision provisoire, les consultera avant d'admettre ou de refuser l'affiliation d'une nouvelle section ou société. 10 15

6. — Le Conseil général a également le droit de suspendre une section de l'Internationale jusqu'au prochain congrès. 15

7. — Si des différends s'élevaient entre des sociétés ou branches d'un groupe national, ou entre des groupes de différentes nationalités, le Conseil général aura le droit d'en statuer, sauf l'appel au Congrès dont la décision sera définitive. |

[11] 8. — Tous les délégués du Conseil général chargés de missions spéciales auront le droit d'assister et de se faire entendre à toutes les réunions des conseils ou comités fédéraux, des comités de district ou locaux et des branches locales, sans cependant avoir le droit de vote. 20

9. — Les éditions anglaise, française et allemande des statuts et règlements généraux doivent être réimprimées conformément au texte officiel publié 25 par le Conseil général.

Avant leur publication, les traductions des statuts et règlements généraux, dans les autres langues, doivent être soumises à l'approbation du Conseil général.

III. — Cotisations à payer au conseil général. 30

1. — Une cotisation annuelle de 10 centimes par membre sera perçue par le Conseil général sur toutes les sections et sociétés affiliées.

Cette cotisation est destinée à couvrir les diverses dépenses du Conseil général, telles que la rémunération du secrétaire général, les frais de correspondance, des publications, des travaux préparatoires pour les 35 Congrès, etc.

2. — Le Conseil général fera imprimer des timbres uniformes, représentant la valeur de 10 centimes chacun, dont le nombre demandé sera envoyé annuellement aux conseils ou comités fédéraux.

Statuts généraux et règlements administratifs de l'A. I.T.

3. — Les conseils ou comités fédéraux feront parvenir aux comités locaux ou, à défaut, aux sections de leur ressort le nombre de timbres correspondant au nombre de leurs membres respectifs.
4. — Ces timbres seront alors appliqués sur une ||12| feuille du livret ou 5 sur l'exemplaire des statuts dont tout membre de l'Association doit être muni.
5. — A la date du premier mars les Conseils fédéraux des divers pays ou régions seront tenus d'envoyer au Conseil général le montant des timbres employés et à lui rendre les timbres restants.
- 10 6. — Ces timbres, représentant la valeur des cotisations individuelles, porteront le chiffre de l'année courante.

IV. — Conseils ou comités fédéraux.

1. — Les frais d'administration des conseils ou comités fédéraux sont à la charge de leurs sections respectives.
- 15 2. — Chaque conseil ou comité fédéral doit au moins une fois par mois envoyer un rapport au Conseil général.
3. — Les conseils ou comités fédéraux sont tenus d'envoyer, chaque trimestre, au Conseil général, un rapport sur l'administration et l'état financier des sections de leur ressort.
- 20 4. — Toute fédération pourra refuser d'admettre ou exclure de son sein des sections ou sociétés, sans toutefois pouvoir les priver de leur caractère d'internationalité, mais elle pourra demander leur suspension au Conseil général.

V. — Sociétés, branches et groupes locaux.

- 25 1. — Chaque section a le droit de rédiger ses statuts et règlements particuliers adaptés aux circonstances locales et aux lois de son pays ; mais ils ne doivent être contraires en rien aux statuts et règlements généraux. | j X31 2. — Les branches, sections ou groupes locaux et leurs comités se désigneront et se constitueront à l'avenir simplement et exclusivement 30 comme branches, sections, groupes et comités de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs en ajoutant le nom de leur localité respective.
3. — Il est donc désormais défendu aux branches, sections et groupes de se désigner par des noms de secte, comme par exemple, les noms de branches positivistes, mutualistes, collectivistes, communistes, etc., ou de former 35 des groupes séparatistes, sous le nom de « sections de propagande », etc.,

Karl Marx

se donnant des missions spéciales en dehors du but commun poursuivi par tous les groupes de *l'Internationale*.

4. — Toutefois, il est bien entendu que l'article 2 ne s'applique pas aux Sociétés de Résistance (Trades' Unions) affiliées à *l'Internationale*.
5

5. — Toutes les sections et sociétés ouvrières affiliées à *l'Internationale* sont invitées à abolir l'office de président de section ou de société.
10

6. — La formation de sections de femmes, dans la classe ouvrière, est recommandée. Il est bien entendu que cet article ne porte nullement atteinte à l'existence, et n'exclut en aucune façon la formation de sections composées de travailleurs des deux sexes.
10

7. — Tous les journaux contenant des attaques contre l'Association doivent être immédiatement envoyés au Conseil général par les sections.

8. — Les adresses des bureaux et du Conseil général seront publiées tous les trois mois dans les journaux de l'Association. |

| 14 | VI. — *Statistique générale de la classe ouvrière.* 15

1. — Le Conseil général est tenu de mettre à exécution l'article V des statuts originaux relatif à la statistique de la classe ouvrière et à appliquer les résolutions prises par le Congrès de Genève (1866) à ce même effet.

2. — Chaque section locale est tenue d'avoir dans son sein un comité spécial de statistique qui sera toujours prêt dans la mesure de ses moyens 20 à répondre aux questions qui pourront lui être adressées par le conseil ou le comité fédéral du pays ou par le Conseil général de *l'Internationale*. Il est recommandé à toutes les sections de rétribuer les secrétaires des comités de statistique, vu l'importance et l'utilité générale de leur travail pour la classe ouvrière.
25

3. — Au premier août de chaque année, les conseils ou comités fédéraux enverront les documents recueillis au Conseil général qui en soumettra un résumé aux Congrès ou Conférences.

4. — Le refus par une société de résistance ou une branche internationale de donner les renseignements demandés sera porté à la connaissance du 30 Conseil général, qui aura à statuer à ce sujet.

5. — Les résolutions du Congrès de Genève, mentionnées dans l'article 1er, sont les suivantes :

Une grande combinaison d'efforts internationaux sera *l'enquête statistique*, faite par les ouvriers eux-mêmes, sur les conditions des classes 35 ouvrières des divers pays. Evidemment, pour agir avec quelque chance de succès, on doit connaître les matériaux sur lesquels ||15| on veut agir. En même temps, les travailleurs prouveront, par l'initiative d'une si grande

Statuts généraux et règlements administratifs de l'A.I.T.

œuvre, qu'ils sont capables d'être les maîtres de leurs propres destinées.
C'est pourquoi le Congrès propose :

Que dans chaque pays où il y a des branches de notre Association, le travail statistique soit commencé immédiatement, et les faits recueillis à 5 l'égard des différents sujets spécifiés dans le questionnaire ci-joint ;

Que tous les ouvriers de l'Europe et de l'Amérique collaborent à cette statistique du travail ;

Que les rapports et les pièces justificatives soient envoyés au Conseil général ;

10 Que le Conseil général les résume en un rapport unique suivi d'un appendice contenant les pièces justificatives ;

Que ce rapport et cet appendice soient soumis au Congrès annuel, et qu'après en avoir reçu la sanction, il soit publié aux frais de l'Association.

*Questionnaire, qui pourra être modifié selon
15 les besoins de chaque localité.*

1. — Industrie, son nom.
2. — Age et sexe des ouvriers.
3. — Nombre des employés.
4. — Salaires et gages : a. Apprentis ; b. Salaire à la journée ou à la pièce.
- 20 Echelle des salaires payés par les sous-entrepreneurs. Salaire moyen pour la semaine et l'année.
5. — a) Heures de travail dans les manufactures. — b) Heures de travail chez les petits patrons et à domicile. — c) Travail de jour et de nuit.
6. — Traitement et heures de repas. |
- 25 116| 7. — Description des ateliers et de la nature du travail. Encombrement, ventilation insuffisante. Privation de lumière. Emploi du gaz. Conditions de propreté, etc.
8. — Effets du travail sur l'état sanitaire.
9. — Condition morale. Education.
- 30 10. — Conditions de l'industrie ; si elle change avec les saisons ou si elle se distribue avec plus ou moins d'uniformité sur toute l'année ; s'il y a de grandes fluctuations de prospérité et de stagnation ; si l'industrie est exposée à la concurrence étrangère ; si elle produit principalement pour le marché intérieur ou pour les marchés étrangers.
- 35 11. — Lois particulières affectant les rapports entre l'ouvrier et le patron.

Appendice.

La Conférence tenue à Londres, du 17 au 23 septembre 1871, a chargé le Conseil général de publier, en anglais, en français, en allemand, une nouvelle édition authentique et révisée des statuts et règlements généraux de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs pour les raisons suivantes :

I. — Statuts généraux.

Le Congrès de Genève (1866) avait adopté, avec quelques petites additions, les statuts provisoires de l'Association, publiés à Londres en novembre 1864. Il avait aussi décidé que « le texte officiel et obligatoire des statuts et règlements serait publié par le Conseil [17] général de Londres dans son compte rendu du Congrès. » (Voir « Congrès ouvrier de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, tenu à Genève du 3 au 8 septembre 1866, » p. 27, note). Le gouvernement bonapartiste empêcha le Conseil général d'exécuter cet ordre, en saisissant les procès-verbaux du Congrès de Genève à leur transit par la France. Lorsque, grâce à l'intercession de lord Stanley, alors ministre des affaires étrangères de l'Angleterre, les procès-verbaux furent enfin restitués, une édition française en avait déjà été publiée à Genève, et le texte des statuts et règlements qui s'y trouvaient contenus fut immédiatement reproduit dans divers pays. Ce texte était défectueux sous bien des rapports.

20

1. L'édition française des statuts provisoires de Londres fut adoptée, à Genève, comme une traduction fidèle, mais le comité de Paris, d'où émanait cette traduction, avait introduit des changements importants dans les considérants des statuts. Sur l'interpellation du Conseil général, le comité les représenta comme des changements nécessités par l'état politique de la France. De plus, faute d'une connaissance suffisante de l'anglais, plusieurs paragraphes des statuts avaient été mal traduits.

25

2. — Le Congrès de Genève ayant à mettre dans une forme définitive les statuts provisoires, la commission, nommée à cet effet, retrancha purement tous les articles ayant trait à des mesures provisoires, sans s'apercevoir que ces articles contenaient des matières tout à fait indispensables. L'édition anglaise, publiée après le Congrès de Lausanne (1867), a reproduit le même défaut. I

r

Statuts généraux et règlements administratifs de l'A. I.T,

| 18 | IL — Règlements administratifs.

Jusqu'ici, on avait seulement publié les règlements administratifs votés par le Congrès de Genève (1866) conjointement avec les statuts. Il était donc devenu nécessaire de codifier les résolutions administratives de tous les

5 Congrès et de la récente conférence de Londres.

Pour cette édition révisée on s'est servi des publications suivantes :

«Address and provisional Rules of the International Working Men's Association, etc.» London, 1864.

«Rules of the International Working Men's Association.» London, 10 1867.

«Congrès ouvrier de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, tenu à Genève, du 3 au 8 septembre 1866.» Genève, 1866.

«Compte rendu du Congrès de Genève» (publié d'après les procès-verbaux par le Conseil général dans le *Courrier International*, Londres, 15 mars et avril 1867).

«Procès-verbaux du Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, réuni à Lausanne, du 2 au 8 septembre 1867.» Chaux-de-Fonds, 1867.

«Troisième Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs —

20 Compte rendu officiel.» Bruxelles, 1868.

«The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868.» London, 1868.

«Compte rendu du quatrième Congrès International, tenu à Bâle en

25 septembre 1869.» Bruxelles, 1869.

«Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held at Basel, ||19| 1869.» Published by the General Council. London, 1869.

«Quatrième Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs,

30 tenu à Bâle, 1869. Rapport du délégué des sections de la fabrique à Genève.» Genève, 1869.

«Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association, assembled at London. 1871.» London, 1871.

Quant aux résolutions du Congrès de Bâle, on a aussi consulté le compte

35 rendu quotidien allemand publié à Bâle durant le congrès, et les notes qui y furent prises par le secrétaire général.

Dans le compte rendu suivant, en face des articles des statuts et règlements présents, on trouve indiqués les articles correspondants des éditions antérieures, et les renseignements relatifs aux résolutions administratives,

Karl Marx

maintenant codifiées pour la première fois. Les changements dans le texte français pour le rendre conforme à l'original anglais, et qui ont été prescrits par une résolution de la conférence, ne sont pas indiqués dans ce compte rendu.

Statuts généraux.

Préambule. — Après les mots : «Pour ces raisons» — ont été restaurés les mots: «L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs a été fondée.» Voir Provisional Rules, p. 13.

Le paragraphe : « Le Congrès considère comme un devoir, etc., » a été 10 omis puisque il y en a deux versions également authentiques et négatives l'une de l'autre. D'ailleurs, le véritable sens de ce paragraphe est déjà contenu dans celui qui le précède et dans celui qui le ||20| suit immédiatement: «Pas de devoirs sans droits, etc.»

Art. 3. — est restauré de l'article 3 des statuts originaux, 1864. 15

Art. 4. — Une partie de l'article 3, et l'art. 4 de : Rules, London, 1867.

Art.5. — La première partie de l'art.3, Rules, 1867. Les mots: «un président» on été omis conformément à la résolution administrative I du Congrès de Bâle.

Art. 6. - Art. 5, Rules, 1867. 20

Art. 7. - Art. 6, Rules, 1867.

Art. 8. - Art. 10, Rules, 1867.

Art. 10. - Art. 8, Rules, 1867.

Art. 12. — Règlement administratif. Art. 15, Congrès ouvrier de Genève.

Art. 13. - Art. 12, Rules, 1867. 25

Règlement administratif.

I. — Du Congrès général.

Art. 1. — Art. 11, Règlement voté par le Congrès de Genève («Congrès de Genève,» Genève, 1866, p.26, etc.) Art. 10, Rules, etc., 1867, qui est 30 défectueux.

Art. 2. - Art. 9, Congrès de Genève ; Art. 6, Rules, etc., 1867.

Art. 3. — Art. 13, Congrès de Genève ; Art. 11, Rules, etc., 1867.

Art.4. - Art. 10, Congrès de Genève; Art.9, Rules, etc., 1867.

Statuts généraux et règlements administratifs de l'A. I.T.

Art. 5. — Art. 9, Congrès de Genève; Art. 7, Rules, etc., 1867.]

[21] Art. 6. - Art. 12, Congrès de Genève ; Art. 8, Rules, etc., 1867.

Art. 7. — Règlement administratif de Bâle, VIII.

Art. 8. — Pour cet article, le « Guide pratique pour le Congrès de l'Inter-

5 nationale » (Compte rendu du Congrès de Bâle, Bruxelles 1869), a été complété par les autres matériaux cités ci-dessus, relatifs au Congrès de Bâle.

Art. 9. — Premier alinéa, comme pour l'article précédent. Deuxième alinéa, résolution du Congrès de Lausanne (procès-verbaux, p. 74, 1).

Art. 10. - Art. 1 B, Congrès de Genève ; Art. 1 B, Rules, etc., 1867.

10 Art. 11. — Guide pratique, Congrès de Bâle, Art. 3 et 11.

Art. 12. - Guide Pratique, etc., Art. 10.

Art. 13. — Guide Pratique, etc., Art. 7.

Art. 14. — Guide Pratique, etc., Art. 4.

II. Du Conseil général.

15 Art. 1. — Conférence de Londres, 1871, II. 1.

Art. 2. — Congrès de Genève, Art. 1 ; Rules etc., 1867, Art. 1.

Art. 3. — Les deux premiers alinéas, Art. 2 et Art. 1 A, Congrès de Genève, et Rules, etc., 1867. Troisième alinéa, Art. 3, Congrès de Genève. Dernier alinéa, Congrès de Lausanne, procès-verbaux, p. 37, Art. 2.

20 Art. 4 à 7. — Résolutions administratives de Bâle, IV à VII.

Art. 8. — Conférence de Londres, III.

Art. 9. — Résolutions de la Conférence de Londres, séances du 18 et 22 septembre.I

|22J III. — Cotisations à payer au Conseil général.

25 Art. 1. — Premier alinéa, Congrès de Lausanne, procès-verbaux, page 37, 3 ; et résolutions administratives de Bâle, art. 9. Deuxième alinéa, art. 4, Congrès de Genève et Rules, etc., 1867.

Art. 2 à 6. — Conférence de Londres, IV, 1 à 5.

IV. — Des conseils ou comités fédéraux.

30 Art. 1. — Art. 6, Congrès de Genève, et Rules, 1867.

Art. 2. - Art. 5, dito.

Art. 3. — Congrès de Bruxelles. « Compte rendu Officiel, » page 50, appendice, séances administratives, résolution no 3.

Art. 4. — Art. VI, Résolutions administratives de Bâle.

Karl Marx

V. — Des sociétés, branches et groupes locaux.

Art. 1. — Art. 14, Congrès de Genève ; art. 12, Rules etc., 1867.
Art. 2 à 4. — Conférence de Londres, II, 2 à 4.
Art. 5. — Art. I, résolutions administratives de Bâle.
Art. 6. — Conférence de Londres, V. 5
Art. 7. — Art. II, résolutions administratives de Bâle.
Art. 8. - Art. III, dito.

VI. — Statistique générale de la classe ouvrière.

Art. 1 à 4. — Conférence de Londres, VI, 1 à 4.
Art. 5 — Résolution du Congrès de Genève (Edition anglaise des résolutions des Congrès de Genève et de Bruxelles, etc.).| 10

'23 Par ordre et au nom de la Conférence.

EN CONSEIL GÉNÉRAL :

R. Applegarth, Ant. Arnaud, M. 3. Boon, Fréd. Bradnick, G.H. Butterly,
F. Cournet, Delahaye, Eugène Dupont (en délégation), W. Haies, G. Harris, 15
Hurliman, Jules Johannard, Harriet Law, Fréd. Lessner, Lochner, Constant
Martin, Z. Maurice, Henry Mayo, George Milner, Charles Murray, Pfander,
John Roach, Rühl, Ranyier, Sadler, Cowell Stepney, Alf. Taylor, W. Townshend,
Ed. Vaillant, John Weston.

SECRÉTAIRES-CORRESPONDANTS : 20
Karl Marx, Allemagne et Russie ; Leo Frankel, Autriche et Hongrie ;
A. Herman, Belgique ; Th. Mottershead, Danemark ; J.G. Eccarius, Etats-Unis ;
Le Moussu, sections françaises des Etats-Unis ; Aug. Serraillier,
France ; Charles Rochat, Hollande ; J. P. MacDonnell, Irlande ; Fréd.
Engels, Italie et Espagne ; Walery Wroblewski, Pologne ; Hermann Jung, 25
Suisse.

CHARLES LONGUET, président de la séance.

HERMANN JUNG, trésorier.

JOHN HALES, secrétaire général.

256, High Holborn, W. C. Londres, le 24 octobre 1871. 30

Karl Marx
Allgemeine Statuten und Verwaltungsverordnungen
der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation
Amtliche deutsche Ausgabe,
revidiert durch den Generalrat

Auf der Grundlage
der englischen und der französischen Ausgabe
bearbeitet von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels

Allgemeine Statuten

Verwaltungs-Verordnungen

Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation.

Amtliche deutsche Ausgabe,

eröffnet durch den Generalsrat.

Leipzig.

Verlag der Expedition des „Volksstaat.“

Druk v. G. E. Müller.

|3| *In Erwägung,*

Daß die Emanzipation der Arbeiterklasse durch die Arbeiterklasse selbst erobert werden muß;

Daß der Kampf für die Emanzipation der Arbeiterklasse kein Kampf für 5 Klassenvorrechte und Monopole ist, sondern für gleiche Rechte und Pflichten und für die Vernichtung aller Klassenherrschaft;

Daß die ökonomische Unterwerfung des Arbeiters unter den Aneigner 10 der Arbeitsmittel, d. h. der Lebensquellen, der Knechtschaft in allen ihren Formen zu Grunde liegt — dem gesellschaftlichen Elend, der geistigen Ver-
io kümmerung und der politischen Abhängigkeit;

Daß die ökonomische Emancipation der Arbeiterklasse daher der große Endzweck ist, dem jede politische Bewegung, als Mittel, unterzuordnen ist;

Daß alle auf dieses Ziel gerichteten Versuche bisher gescheitert sind aus 15 Mangel an Einigung unter den mannichfachen Arbeitszweigen jedes Landes, und an der Abwesenheit eines brüderlichen Bundes unter den Arbeiterklassen der verschiedenen Länder;

Daß die Emanzipation der Arbeiterklasse weder eine lokale, noch eine nationale, sondern eine soziale Aufgabe ist, welche alle Länder umfaßt, in 20 denen die moderne Gesellschaft besteht, und deren Lösung vom praktischen und theoretischen Zusammenwirken der fortgeschrittensten Länder abhängt;

Daß die gegenwärtig sich erneuernde Bewegung der Arbeiterklasse in den industriellsten Ländern Europas, während sie neue Hoffnungen wachruft, zugleich feierliche Warnung ertheilt gegen einen Rückfall in die alten Irrthümer, und zur sofortigen Zusammenfassung der noch zusammenhangslosen, Bewegungen drängt;

Aus diesen Gründen ist die Internationale Arbeiter-Assoziation gestiftet worden.

Sie erklärt:

30 Daß alle Gesellschaften und Individuen, die sich ihr anschließen, Wahr-

Karl Marx

heit, Gerechtigkeit und Sittlichkeit anerkennen als die Regel ihres Verhaltens zu einander und zu allen Menschen, ohne Rücksicht auf Farbe, Glaube oder Nationalität; |

|4| *Keine Pflichten ohne Rechte, keine Rechte ohne Pflichten.*

Und in diesem Geist sind die nachfolgenden Statuten verfaßt. 5

Art. 1. Die gegenwärtige Assoziation ist gegründet zur Herstellung eines Mittelpunktes der Verbindung und des planmäßigen Zusammenwirkens zwischen den in verschiedenen Ländern bestehenden Arbeitergesellschaften, welche dasselbe Ziel verfolgen, nämlich: den Schutz, den Fortschritt und die vollständige Emanzipation der Arbeiterklasse. 10

Art. 2. Der Name der Gesellschaft ist: Internationale Arbeiter-Assoziation.

Art. 3. Es versammelt sich jährlich ein allgemeiner Arbeiterkongreß, bestehend aus Abgeordneten der Zweige der Assoziation. Der Kongreß verkündet die gemeinsamen Bestrebungen der Arbeiterklasse, ergreift die 15 für das erfolgreiche Wirken der Internationalen Assoziation nothwendigen Maßregeln, und ernennt den Generalrath der Gesellschaft.

Art. 4. Jeder Kongreß bestimmt Zeit und Ort für die Zusammenkunft des nächsten Kongresses. Die Abgeordneten versammeln sich zur bestimmten Zeit und Stelle, ohne daß dazu eine besondere Einladung erheischt wäre. 20 Der Generalrath kann im Nothfall den Ort der Zusammenkunft verlegen, aber nicht ihren Zeitpunkt aufschieben. Der Kongreß bestimmt jährlich den Sitz des Generalrathes und ernennt dessen Mitglieder. Der so ernannte Generalrath ist ermächtigt, sich neue Mitglieder beizufügen.

Auf seinen jährlichen Zusammenkünften erhält der Kongreß einen öffentlichen Bericht über die Jahresarbeit des Generalraths. Letzterer kann in dringenden Fällen den Kongreß vor dem regelmäßigen jährlichen Termin berufen. 25

Art. 5. Der Generalrath wird gebildet aus Arbeitern der verschiedenen, in der Internationalen Association vertretenen Länder. Er besetzt aus 30 seiner Mitte die zur Geschäftsführung nöthigen Stellen, wie die des Schatzmeisters, Generalsekretärs, der korrespondirenden Sekretäre für die verschiedenen Länder u. s. w.

Art. 6. Der Generalrath wirkt als internationale Agentur zwischen den verschiedenen nationalen und lokalen Gruppen der Association, so daß die 35 Arbeiter Eines Landes fortwährend unterrichtet bleiben über die Bewegungen ihrer Klasse in allen anderen Ländern; daß eine Untersuchung über den sozialen Zustand der verschiedenen Länder Europas gleichzeitig und unter gemeinsamer Leitung stattfindet, daß Fragen ||5j von allgemeinem Interesse, angeregt von Einer Gesellschaft, von allen andern aufgenommen 40 werden, und daß, im Fall der Nothwendigkeit sofortiger praktischer

Allgemeine Statuten und Verwaltungsverordnungen der IAA

Schritte — wie z. B. bei internationalen Zwisten — die verbündeten Gesellschaften sich gleichzeitig und gleichförmig betätigen können.

Bei jeder passenden Gelegenheit ergreift der Generalrath die Initiative der den verschiedenen nationalen oder lokalen Gesellschaften zu unterbreitenden Vorlagen.

Zur Erleichterung seines Verkehrs mit den Zweiggesellschaften veröffentlicht der Generalrath periodische Berichte.

Art. 7. Da einerseits der Erfolg der Arbeiterbewegung in jedem Lande nur gesichert werden kann durch die Macht der Einigung und Kombination, während anderseits die Wirksamkeit des internationalen Generalraths wesentlich dadurch bedingt ist, daß er mit wenigen nationalen Centren der Arbeitergesellschaften verhandelt, statt mit einer großen Anzahl kleiner und zusammenhangsloser lokaler Gesellschaften, — so sollen die Mitglieder der Internationalen Association alle ihre Kräfte aufbieten zur Vereinigung der zerstreuten Arbeitergesellschaften ihrer betreffenden Länder in nationale Körper, repräsentirt durch nationale Centraorgane.

Es versteht sich von selbst, daß die Anwendung dieses Artikels von den Sondergesetzen jedes Landes abhängt, und daß, abgesehen von gesetzlichen Hindernissen, keine unabhängige lokale Gesellschaft von direkter Korrespondenz mit dem Generalrath ausgeschlossen ist.

Art. 8. Jede Sektion hat das Recht, ihren eignen, mit dem Generalrath korrespondirenden Sekretär zu ernennen.

Art. 9. Jeder, der die Prinzipien der Internationalen Arbeiter-Association anerkennt und vertheidigt, ist wählbar als Mitglied derselben. Jede Zweiggesellschaft ist verantwortlich für die Unbescholtenheit der Mitglieder, die sie aufnimmt.

Art. 10. Bei Veränderung des Wohnsitzes von einem Land zum andern erhält jedes Mitglied der Internationalen Association die brüderliche Unterstützung der mitverbündeten Arbeiter.

Art. 11. Obgleich vereinigt zu einem ewigen Bund brüderlichen Zusammenwirkens, behalten Arbeitergesellschaften, welche sich der Internationalen Arbeiter-Association anschließen, ihre bestehende Organisation unversehrt.

Art. 12. Die gegenwärtigen Statuten können durch jeden Kongreß abgeändert werden, sobald zwei Drittel der anwesenden Delegirten sich dafür erklären. |

|6| Art. 13. Alles, was nicht in den vorstehenden Statuten vorgesehn ist, wird durch besondere Verordnungen ergänzt, welche der Revision jedes Kongresses unterliegen.

Verwaltungs-Verordnungen

**revidirt im Einklang mit den Beschlüssen der Kongresse
(1866—69) und der Londoner Konferenz 1871.**

1. Der allgemeine Kongreß.

5

1. Jedes Mitglied der Internationalen Arbeiter-Association ist stimmfähig und wählbar bei den Delegirtenwahlen zum allgemeinen Kongreß.
2. Jede Zweiggesellschaft, welches immer die Zahl ihrer Mitglieder, kann einen Delegirten zum Kongreß senden.
3. Jeder Delegirte hat nur Eine Stimme auf dem Kongreß. 10
4. Die Unkosten der Delegirten werden bestritten von den sie ernennenden Zweiggesellschaften oder Gruppen.
5. Ist eine Zweiggesellschaft außer Stande, einen Delegirten zu senden, so kann sie sich wegen Ernennung eines gemeinsamen Delegirten mit andern benachbarten Zweigen einigen. 15
6. Jede Zweiggesellschaft oder Gruppe von mehr als 500 Mitgliedern kann für jede 500 zuschüssige Mitglieder weitere Delegirten ernennen.
7. Sitz und Stimmrecht auf dem Kongreß wird in Zukunft nur den Delegirten solcher Gesellschaften, Zweige oder Gruppen gestattet, welche Bestandtheile der Internationalen bilden und ihre Beiträge dem Generalrath 20 entrichtet haben. Für solche Länder jedoch, wo die regelmäßige Organisation der Internationalen gesetzlich verhindert ist, werden Delegirte von Gewerksgenossenschaften und Arbeiter-Kooperativgesellschaften zugelassen zu den Kongreßdebatten über Prinzipfragen, aber nicht zur Debatte und Abstimmung über Verwaltungsangelegenheiten. 25
8. Die Sitzungen des Kongresses sind zweifach: geschlossene Verwaltungssitzungen, und öffentliche Sitzungen, denen die Debatte und Abstimmung über die allgemeinen Fragen des Kongreßprogramms vorbehalten ist.
9. Das Kongreßprogramm besteht aus den Fragen, die der vorhergehende Kongreß auf die Tagesordnung setzte, den Fragen, die der Generalrath zufügt und den Fragen, die ihm von den verschiedenen Sektionen, Gruppen, oder deren Komités zur Annahme unterbreitet worden sind. Es wird vom Generalrath redigirt. j 30
- |7| Jede Sektion, Gruppe oder deren Komité, welche der Debatte des 35

Allgemeine Statuten und Verwaltungsverordnungen der IAA

bevorstehenden Kongresses eine nicht vom vorigen Kongreß vorgeschlagene Frage unterbreiten will, hat dem Generalrath davon vor dem 31. März Kenntniß zu geben.

10. Der Generalrath ist beauftragt mit der Organisirung der Kongresse und soll den Zweiggesellschaften, vermittelst der Föderalräthe oder -Komités, das Kongreßprogramm rechtzeitig mittheilen.
11. Der Kongreß ernennt für jede ihm vorliegende Frage einen besonderen Ausschuß. Jeder Delegirte bezeichnet den Ausschuß, dem er anzugehören wünscht. Jeder Ausschuß liest die von den verschiedenen Sektionen und Gruppen eingereichten Denkschriften über die Frage, womit er befaßt ist. Er verarbeitet sie in einen Gesamtbericht, welcher allein in den öffentlichen Sitzungen zu verlesen ist. Er entscheidet außerdem, welche der erwähnten Denkschriften dem amtlichen Bericht über die Kongreßverhandlungen beizufügen sind.
- 15 12. In seinen öffentlichen Sitzungen beschäftigt sich der Kongreß zunächst mit den vom Generalrath auf die Tagesordnung gestellten Fragen. Demnächst erfolgt die Debatte über die übrigen Fragen.
13. Bei allen Beschlüssen über Prinzipienfragen findet namentliche Abstimmung statt.
- 20 14. Mindestens zwei Monate vor der Zusammenkunft des jährlichen Kongresses haben die Zweiggesellschaften oder deren Föderationen dem Generalrath einen ausführlichen Bericht über ihre Thätigkeit und Entwicklung während des laufenden Jahres zu erstatten. Der Generalrath hat das Material zu einem Gesamtbericht zu verarbeiten, der allein im Kongreß verlesen wird.

IL Der Generalrath.

1. Die Bezeichnung: Generalrath wird dem Centrairath der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation vorbehalten. Die Centralräthe der verschiedenen Länder, wo die Internationale regelmäßig organisirt ist, haben sich zu bezeichnen als Föderalräthe oder Föderalkomites mit Beifügung der Namen ihrer betreffenden Länder.
2. Der Generalrath ist gehalten, die Kongreßbeschlüsse auszuführen.
3. So oft seine Mittel es erlauben, wird der Generalrath einen Bericht veröffentlichen, der sich über Alles erstreckt, was von allgemeinem Interesse für die Internationale Arbeiter-Assoziation ist.
- Zu diesem Zweck sammelt er die ihm von den Föderal||8|räthen oder -Komités der verschiedenen Länder übersandten und auf andern Wegen ihm zukommenden Materialien.

Karl Marx

Der Bericht wird in verschiedenen Sprachen aufgesetzt und gratis an die Föderalräthe oder -Komités versandt, welche jeder ihrer Sektionen ein Exemplar davon übermachen.

Sollte der Generalrath außer Stand sein, den erwähnten Bericht zu veröffentlichen, so hat er alle drei Monate eine schriftliche Mittheilung an die verschiedenen Föderalräthe oder -Komités zu machen, welche diese ihrerseits in den Zeitungen ihrer betreffenden Länder und namentlich in den Organen der Internationalen veröffentlichen werden. 5

4. Jede neue Sektion oder Arbeitergesellschaft, welche den Anschluß an die Internationale beabsichtigt, hat den Generalrath sofort davon zu benachrichtigen. 10

5. Der Generalrath hat das Recht, den Anschluß jeder neuen Sektion oder Gruppe zuzulassen oder zu verweigern, vorbehaltlich der Berufung an den nächsten Kongreß.

Wo jedoch Föderalräthe oder -Komités bestehn, muß der Generalrath 15 sie zu Rathe ziehn vor Zulassung oder Verweigerung des Anschlusses einer neuen Sektion oder Gesellschaft innerhalb ihres Bereichs; unbeschadet jedoch seines Rechts der vorläufigen Entscheidung.

6. Der Generalrath hat ebenfalls das Recht, jede Sektion der Internationalen bis zum nächsten Kongreß zu suspendiren. 20

7. Im Fall von Zwistigkeiten zwischen Gesellschaften oder Sektionen derselben nationalen Gruppe, oder zwischen Gruppen verschiedener Nationalität, hat der Generalrath das Recht der Entscheidung, vorbehaltlich der Berufung an den nächsten Kongreß, der endgültig entscheidet.

8. Alle vom Generalrath zu bestimmten Sendungen ernannten Delegirten 25 haben das Recht, allen Versammlungen der Föderalräthe oder -Komités, Distrikts- und Lokalkomités und Lokalsektionen beizuwöhnen und daselbst gehört zu werden, ohne jedoch daselbst Stimmrecht zu haben.

9. Englische, französische und deutsche Ausgaben der allgemeinen Statuten und Anordnungen sind nach der amtlichen Ausgabe des Generalraths zu veranstalten. 30

Alle Uebersetzungen der allgemeinen Statuten und Verordnungen in andere Sprachen müssen, vor ihrer Veröffentlichung, dem Generalrath zur Genehmigung vorgelegt werden.

III. Beiträge zahlbar an den Generalrath.

35

1. Ein allgemeiner Beitrag von Einem Penny (Groschen) pro Mitglied an den Generalrath wird von allen Sektionen ||9| und verbündeten Gesellschaften erhoben. Dieser Beitrag ist bestimmt zur Deckung der Kosten

Allgemeine Statuten und Verwaltungsverordnungen der IAA

des Generalraths wie z.B. für die Besoldung des Generalsekretärs, Ausgaben für Korrespondenz, Druckschriften, Vorbereitungen für Kongresse u. s. w.

2. Der Generalrath läßt anheftbare Marken, wovon jede den Werth eines Penny vorstellt, drucken, und den Föderalräthen oder -Komités jährlich in der verlangten Anzahl zukommen.
- 5 3. Die Föderalräthe oder -Komités übermachen den Lokalkomités, und, in deren Abwesenheit, den lokalen Zweigen eine der Anzahl ihrer Mitglieder entsprechende Anzahl von Marken.
- 10 4. Diese Marken sind alsdann auf das Exemplar der Statuten anzuheften, welches jedes Mitglied zu besitzen gehalten ist.
5. Am 1ten März jedes Jahres haben die Föderalräthe oder -Komités der verschiedenen Länder den Erlös aus den verkauften Marken dem Generalrath zu übermachen, und zugleich die unverkaufen Marken zurückzusenden.
- 15 6. Diese Marken, die den Werth der Einzelbeiträge vorstellen, tragen das Datum des laufenden Jahres.

IV. Föderalräthe oder -Komités.

1. Die Ausgaben der Föderalräthe oder -Komités werden von ihren betreffenden Sektionen bestritten.
- 20 2. Die Föderalräthe oder -Komités haben mindestens monatlich einen Bericht an den Generalrath zu senden.
3. Sie haben dem Generalrath alle drei Monate Bericht über die Verwaltung und den Finanzzustand ihrer betreffenden Sektionen zu erstatten.
- 25 4. Jede Föderation kann Gesellschaften oder Sektionen zulassen, oder aus ihrer Mitte ausschließen. Sie ist jedoch nicht ermächtigt, sie ihres internationalen Charakters zu berauben, kann aber beim Generalrath ihre Suspension beantragen.

V. Lokal-Gesellschaften, Sektionen und Gruppen.

- 30 1. Jede Sektion hat das Recht, sich Sonderstatuten für ihre lokale Verwaltung, je nach den Lokalumständen und Landesgesetzen, zu geben. Die Sonderstatuten dürfen jedoch nichts den Allgemeinen Statuten und Verwaltungs-Verordnungen Widersprechendes enthalten.
2. Alle lokalen Zweige, Sektionen, Gruppen und deren Komités sollen 35 sich in Zukunft einfach und ausschließlich bezeichnen und konstituieren als

Karl Marx

Zweige u. s.w. der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation mit Beifügung
der Namen ihrer bezüglichen Oertlichkeit.

3. Demgemäß ist es den Zweigen, Gruppen und deren ||T0| Komités von nun an untersagt, Sektennamen anzunehmen, z.B. die NamenPositivisten, Mutualisten, Collektivisten, Kommunisten u. s.w., oder Sonderkörper zu bilden, welche unter Bezeichnungen wie: Propagandasektion u. s.w. sich eine besondere, von den gemeinsamen Zwecken der Assoziation verschiedene Mission zuschreiben. 5

4. Art. 2 findet jedoch keine Anwendung auf die mit der Internationalen verbündeten Gewerksgenossenschaften. 10

5. Alle Sektionen, Zweige, und mit der Internationalen verbündeten Arbeitergesellschaften sind eingeladen, das Präsidentenamt für ihre bezügliche Sektion oder Gesellschaft abzuschaffen.

6. Die Bildung weiblicher Zweiggesellschaften innerhalb der Arbeiterklasse wird anempfohlen. Dieser Artikel richtet sich selbstredend nicht 15 gegen die Zusammensetzung von Zweiggesellschaften aus Arbeitern und Arbeiterinnen.

7. Wo Angriffe gegen die Internationale veröffentlicht werden, ist die nächste Sektion oder ihr Komité gehalten, dem Generalrath sofort ein Exemplar solcher Druckschrift zu überschicken. 20

8. Die Adressen der Geschäftslokale aller internationalen Komités und des Generalraths sind alle drei Monate in den Organen der Assoziation zu veröffentlichen.

VII. Allgemeine Statistik der Arbeiterklasse.

1. Der Generalrath hat Art. 6 der Statuten, soweit er sich auf eine allgemeine Statistik der Arbeiterklasse bezieht, in Kraft zu setzen, ebenso wie die Beschlüsse des Genfer Kongresses (1866) über denselben Gegenstand.

2. Jede lokale Gruppe ist verpflichtet zur Ernennung eines besondern statistischen Komités, damit sie stets, soweit ihre Mittel gestatten, bereit sei, vom Föderalrath ihres Landes oder vom Generalrath gestellte Fragen zu beantworten.

Allen Gruppen wird empfohlen, den Sekretären der statistischen Komités eine Vergütung zukommen zu lassen, in Anbetracht der allgemeinen Nützlichkeit ihres Werks für die Arbeiterklasse.

3. Am 1. August jedes Jahres sollen die Föderalräthe oder -Komités das in ihren betreffenden Ländern gesammelte Material dem Generalrath über-senden. Letzterer wird dasselbe seinerseits zu einem allgemeinen Bericht

r

Allgemeine Statuten und Verwaltungsverordnungen der IAA

verarbeiten, der den jährlich im September stattfindenden Kongressen vorzulegen ist.

4. Gewerksgenossenschaften und internationale Zweige, welche die verlangte Auskunft verweigern, sind dem Generalrath zur weiteren Beschußnahme anzuseigen.|

5. Die in Art. 1 dieser Abtheilung erwähnten Beschlüsse des Genfer Kongresses 1866 sind folgende:

„Die statistische Untersuchung der Lage der arbeitenden Klasse aller zivilisierten Länder, unternommen von der Arbeiterklasse selbst, ist an sich schon ein großes internationales Werk. Um erfolgreich zu wirken, muß man das Material kennen, worauf man wirken will. Durch die Initiative eines so großen Werks beweisen die Arbeiter zudem ihre Fähigkeit, ihr eigenes Geschick in ihre Hand zu nehmen.

Der Kongreß schlägt daher vor, daß an jedem Ort, wo ein Zweig unserer 15 Gesellschaft besteht, das Werk sofort begonnen, und Material über die verschiedenen Punkte des angeführten Untersuchungsplanes gesammelt werde.

Er lädt die Arbeiter Europas und der Vereinigten Staaten Amerikas ein, für die Zusammentragung der Elemente einer Statistik der Arbeiterklasse 20 mitzuwirken, und ihre Berichte nebst Beweismaterial dem Generalrath einzusenden. Letzterer hat sie in einen Gesamtbericht zu verarbeiten, dem er das Beweismaterial als Anhang zufügt. Dieser Bericht, nebst Anhang, ist dem nächsten jährlichen Kongreß vorzulegen und nach dessen Genehmigung auf Kosten der Assoziation zu drucken.

25 *Untersuchungsschema*, je nach Umständen zu verändern und zu ergänzen:

1. Gewerk, Name.
2. Alter und Geschlecht der Arbeiter.
3. Zahl der beschäftigten Arbeiter.
- 30 4. Löhne: a. Lehrlinge und Gehülfen;
b. Tagelohn oder Stücklohn? Von Zwischenunternehmern
gezahlte Löhne. Wöchentlicher und jährlicher Durchschnitt.
5. a. Arbeitsstunden in Fabriken.
- b. Arbeitsstunden bei kleinen Meistern und in der Hausarbeit, falls 35 das Gewerbe in diesen verschiedenen Weisen betrieben wird.
- c. Nacht- und Tagesarbeit.
6. Mahlzeitsstunden und Behandlung.
7. Beschaffenheit der Werkstätten und der Arbeit, Ueberfüllung, mangelhafte Ventilation, Mangel an Tageslicht, Gasbeleuchtung, Reinlichkeit u. s. w.
- 40 8. Wirkung der Arbeit auf den Körperzustand.

Karl Marx

9. Moralitäts- und Bildungszustand, Erziehung.
10. Charakter des Geschäfts; ob mehr oder weniger gleichförmig für das ganze Jahr, oder an gewisse Jahreszeiten gebunden; ob großen Schwankungen ausgesetzt, ob fremder Konkurrenz unterworfen, ob hauptsächlich für den innern oder auswärtigen Markt arbeitend." 5
11. Besondere Gesetzgebung über das Verhältnis zwischen Arbeiter und Meister.
12. Nahrungs- und Wohnungszustände der Arbeiter.

Anhang. 10

Die in London vom 17.-23. September 1871 abgehaltene Konferenz hat den Generalrath beauftragt, in englischer, französischer und deutscher Sprache eine neue authentische und revidirte Ausgabe der Allgemeinen Statuten und Verwaltungs-Verordnungen der Internationalen Arbeiter-Assoziation zu veranstalten, und zwar aus folgenden Gründen: — 15

I. Allgemeine Statuten.

Der Genfer Kongreß (1866) nahm, mit wenigen Zusätzen, die zu London im November 1864 veröffentlichten provisorischen Statuten der Assoziation an. Er entschied ebenfalls (siehe: Congrès ouvrier de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, tenu à Genève du 3 au 8 Septembre 1866, 20 Genève 1866, p. 27, Anmerkung), daß der Generalrath den amtlichen und bindenden Text sowohl der Statuten als der vom Kongreß erlassenen Verwaltungs-Verordnungen veröffentlichen solle. Der Generalrath wurde verhindert an der Ausführung dieses Beschlusses durch die Beschlagnahme der Protokolle des Genfer Kongresses, während ihres Durchgangs durch 25 Frankreich, von Seiten der bonapartistischen Regierung. Als endlich die Protokolle, in Folge des Einschreitens des Lord Stanley, damals britischer Minister des Auswärtigen, nach London gelangten, war bereits ein französischer Kongreßbericht erschienen. Der Text der Statuten und Verwaltungsverordnungen, den er enthielt, wurde sofort in allen französisch 30 sprechenden Ländern wieder abgedruckt. Dieser Text war vielfältig fehlerhaft.

Allgemeine Statuten und Verwaltungsverordnungen der IAA

1. Die Pariser Ausgabe der Londoner provisorischen Statuten wurde als genaue Uebersetzung zu Grunde gelegt. Das Pariser Komité jedoch, von dem diese Uebersetzung ausging, hatte nicht nur die Erwägungsgründe der Statuten sehr eingreifend verändert, und, auf Interpellation des Generalraths, diese Veränderungen entschuldigt durch den bestehenden politischen Zustand Frankreichs. Es hatte auch, aus mangelhafter Kenntniß der englischen Sprache, Statutenartikel irrig übersetzt.
2. Der Genfer Kongreß hatte den provisorischen Statuten einen endgültigen Charakter zu geben. Sein zu diesem Zweck [13] ernanntes Komité strich einfach alle Stellen aus worin provisorische Maßregeln erwähnt wurden; es übersah, daß verschiedene dieser Stellen, neben ihrem bloß provisorischen Inhalt, dauernde Bestimmungen von der größten Wichtigkeit enthielten. Die nach dem Lausanner Kongreß (1867) veröffentlichte englische Ausgabe läßt diese Stellen ebenfalls aus.

15

II. Verwaltungs-Verordnungen.

Die bisher mit den Statuten gemeinsam veröffentlichten Verwaltungs-Verordnungen enthalten nur die Beschlüsse des Genfer Kongresses (1866). Es wurde daher nöthig, die von den späteren Kongressen und von der Londoner Konferenz (1871) erlassenen Verordnungen zu kodifiziren.

- 20 Für die gegenwärtige revidirte Ausgabe sind folgende Druckschriften benutzt worden:
- „Address and provisional Rules of the International Working Men's Association," etc. London. 1864.
- „Rules of the International Working Men's Association." London 1867.
- 25 „Congres ouvrier de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, tenu à Genève du 3 au 8 Septbre. 1866." Genève. 1866.
- „Proces-verbaux du Congrès de Genève, 1866. Rapport du Conseil Général". Publié dans le *Courrier International*, Mars et Avril, Londres 1867.
- 30 „Proces-verbaux du Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, réuni à Lausanne, du 2 au 8 Septbre. 1867." Chaux-de-Fonds. 1867.
- „Troisieme Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs (Brüsseler Kongreß) — Compte-rendu officiel." Bruxelles. 1868.
- „The International Working Men's Association. Resolutions of the 35 Congress of Geneva, 1866, and the Congress of Brussels, 1868." London. 1868.
- „Compte-rendu du 4me Congrès International, tenu à Bâle en Septbre. 1869." Bruxelles, 1869.

Karl Marx

„Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held at Basel, 1869. Published by the General Council." London 1869.

„Quatrième Congrès de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, tenu à Bâle, 1869. Rapport du délégué des Sections de la Fabrique à Genève." Genève 1869. 5

„Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the International Working Men's Association, assembled at London, 1871." London. 1871.|

[14] Für den Baseler Kongreß sind ferner der deutsche Kongreßbericht, veröffentlicht in Flugblättern, und die während des Kongresses vom Generalsekretär gemachten Notizen zu Rathe gezogen worden. 10

Die Art und Weise, wie diese verschiedenen Quellen für die gegenwärtige Ausgabe benutzt worden sind, ergibt sich aus nachfolgender Zusammenstellung.

Allgemeine Statuten.

15

Einleitung. — Nach den Worten: „Aus diesen Gründen" sind die Worte wieder hergestellt worden: „Ist die Internationale Assoziation gestiftet worden."

Die Stelle: „Sie erachteten es die Pflicht eines Jeden" u.s.w. ist weg-gelassen, weil zwei gleichmäßig authentische und mit einander unvereinbare 20 Texte derselben vorliegen. Außerdem ist ihr wirklicher Sinn enthalten in der ihr unmittelbar vorhergehenden Stelle und in der ihr unmittelbar folgenden: „keine Pflichten ohne Rechte" u. s.w.

Art. 3. ist wiederhergestellt nach Art 3 der provisorischen Statuten.

Art. 4. Theil von Art. 3 und der ganze Art. 4 in Rules, u. s. w. London 25 1867.

Art. 5. Einleitender Theil des Art. 3, Rules, 1867. Die Worte: „ein Präsident" sind weggelassen in Uebereinstimmung mit Verwaltungsbeschuß I. des Baseler Kongresses.

Art. 6. Art. 5, Rules, 1867. Die Worte: „Co-operating Associations" 30 (kooperirende Assoziationen) sind abgeändert in: „nationale und lokale Gruppen der Association", weil verschiedene Uebersetzungen den ursprünglichen Ausdruck irrthümlich durch: „Cooperativgesellschaften" wiedergaben.

Art. 7. Art. 6, Rules, 1867.

Art. 8. Art. 10, Rules, 1867.

Art. 12, bildet Art. 13 der Verwaltungs-Anordnungen in: Rules, 1867.

Art. 13. Art. 12, Rules, 1867.

35

Allgemeine Statuten und Verwaltungsverordnungen der IAA

Art. 7, Rules, 1867, ist weggelassen, weil er im Widerspruch mit einem Beschuß des Lausanner Kongresses eingefügt war. Siehe „Proces-verbaux du Congrès de Lausanne“ p.36.

Verwaltungs-Verordnungen.

5 *I. Der allgemeine Kongreß.*

- Art. 4. Art. 10, Congrès de Genève; Art. 9, Rules, etc., 1867.
Genève, Genève 1866, p. 26 und ff.); Art. 10, Rules, 1867; letzterer ist unvollständig.
- Art. 2. Art. 9, Congrès de Genève; Art. 6, Rules, etc., 1867. |
10 |15| Art. 3. Art. 13, Congrès de Genève; Art. 11, Rules, etc., 1867.
Art. 4. Art. 10, Congrès de Genève; Art. 9, Rules, etc., 1867.
Art. 5. Art. 9, Congrès de Genève; Art. 7, Rules, etc., 1867.
Art. 6. Art. 12, Congrès de Genève; Art. 8, Rules, etc. 1867.
Art. 7. Baseler Verwaltungsverordnungen, VIII.
- 15 Art. 8. Für diesen Artikel ist der Guide Pratique pour le Congrès de l'Internationale (Compte-rendu du Congrès de Bâle, Bruxelles 1869) vervollständigt worden durch die übrigen, obenangeführten Quellen für den Baseler Kongreß.
- Art. 9. Erster Theil wie für Art. 8. Zweiter Theil, Lausanner Kongreß-
20 beschluß (Procès-verbaux p. 74, 1)
Art. 10. Art. 1 b, Congrès de Genève; Art. 1 b, Rules, etc., 1867.
Art. 11. Guide Pratique, Baseler Kongreß, Art. 3 and 11.
Art. 12. Guide Pratique, etc., Art. 10.
Art. 13. Guide Pratique, etc., Art. 7.
25 Art. 14. Guide Pratique, etc., Art. 4.

II. Der Generalrath.

- Art. 1. Londoner Conferenz, 1871, II. 1.
Art. 2. Congrès de Genève, Art. 1; Rules, etc., 1867, Art. 1.
Art. 3. Die zwei ersten Absätze, Art. 2 und Art. 1 A., Congrès de Genève
30 und Rules u. s. w., 1867. Dritter Absatz, Art. 3, Congrès de Genève. Letzter
Absatz, Lausanner Kongreß, Procès-verbaux, p. 31, Art. 2.
Art. 4 bis 7. Baseler Verwaltungsbeschlüsse, IV. bis VII.
Art. 8. Londoner Konferenz, III.
Art. 9. Beschuß der Londoner Konferenz, Sitzungen vom 18. und 22. Sep-
35 tember.

Karl Marx

III. Beiträge zahlbar an den Generalrath.

Art. 1. Erster Absatz, Lausanner Kongreß, Procès-verbaux, p. 37, 3; und
Art. IX., Baseler Verwaltungsbeschlüsse. Zweiter Absatz, Art. 4, Congrès de Genève, und Rules, 1867.

Art. 2 bis 6. Londoner Konferenz, IV., 1 bis 5. 5

IV. Föderalräthe und Komités.

Art. 1. Art. 6, Congrès de Genève, und Rules, 1867.

Art. 2. Art. 5, ditto.

Art. 3. Brüsseler Kongreß, „Compte-rendu Officiel“, p. 50, Appendice, Séances Administratives, Résolution No. 3. | 10
[16] Art. 4. Art. VI. Baseler Verwaltungsbeschlüsse.

V. Lokale Gesellschaften, Zweige und Gruppen.

Art. 1. Art. 14, Congrès de Genève; Art. 12, Rules u.s.w., 1867.

Art. 2 bis 4. Londoner Konferenz, IL, 2 bis 4.

Art. 5. Art I., Baseler Verwaltungsbeschlüsse. 15

Art. 6. Londoner Konferenz, V.

Art. 7. Art. IL, Baseler Verwaltungsbeschlüsse.

Art. 8. Art. III., ditto.

VI. Allgemeine Statistik der Arbeiterklasse.

Art. 1 bis 4. Londoner Konferenz, VI., 1 bis 4. 20

Art. 5. Beschuß des Genfer Kongresses (Londoner Ausgabe der Genfer und Brüsseler Kongreßbeschlüsse, p. 4).

Auf Befehl und im Namen der Londoner Konferenz 1871,

DER GENERALRATH:

25

R. Applegarth, Ant. Arnaud, M. J. Boon, Fred. Bradnick, G. H. Buttery,
F. Cournet, V. Delahaye, Eugène Dupont, Wm. Hales, G. Harris, Hurliman,

Allgemeine Statuten und Verwaltungsverordnungen der IAA

Jules Johannard, Harriet Law, Fred. Lessner, Lochner, Constant Martin, Zévy Maurice, Henry Mayo, George Milner, Ch. Murray, Pfänder, Vitale Regis, G. Ran vier, John Roach, Riihl, Sadler, Cowell Stepney, Alfred Taylor, W. Townshend, Ed. Vaillant, John Weston.

5

KORRESPONDIRENDE SEKRETÄRE:

A.Herman, für Belgien. Th.Mottershead, für Dänemark. Karl Marx, für Deutschland und Rußland. Aug. Serraillier, für Frankreich. Ch. Rochat, für Holland. J. P. MacDonnell, für Irland. Friedrich Engels, für Italien und Spanien. Leo Frankel, für Oestreich und Ungarn. Walery Wroblewski, für 0 Polen. Hermann Jung, für die Schweiz. J. G. Eccarius, für die Vereinigten Staaten. Constant Le Moussu, für Französische Sektionen der Vereinigten Staaten.

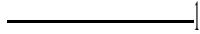
Ch. Longuet, Vorsitzender.

Herrn. Jung, Schatzmeister.

5

John Haies, Generalsekretär.

256, High Holborn, W.C. London, 24. Oktober 1871.



Friedrich Engels
Resolution of the General Council
expelling Gustave Durand
from the International Working Men's Association

/ The General Council having received full evidence that Gustave Durand, working Jeweller of Paris, ex-delegate of the jewellers to the Federal Chamber of Paris Working men, ex-chief of Battalion of the National Guards, ex-chief Cashier at the delegation of Finance under the Commune, passing as a refugee in London, has served, and is now serving, as a spy for the French Police upon the Communal Refugees and especially upon the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, and has already received 725 francs for his services. The said Gustave Durand is therefore branded as infamous and expelled from the International Association. This resolution to be published in all the organs of the International./

Friedrich Engels
Résolution du Conseil général
sur l'expulsion de Gustave Durand
de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs
Vermutliche Übersetzung aus dem Englischen

I Association Internationale
des Travailleurs.
Résolution du Conseil Général.
Séance du 7 Octobre 1871.

Le Conseil Général ayant acquis la preuve incontestable que Gustave Durand, de Paris, membre de l'Internationale, ouvrier bijoutier, ex-délégué des bijoutiers à la Chambre fédérale des ouvriers de Paris, ex-chef de bataillon de la garde nationale, ex-caissier en chef à la délégation des finances sous la Commune, vivant à Londres comme réfugié, a servi et sert encore la police française en espionnant les réfugiés de la Commune à Londres et surtout le Conseil Général de l'Internationale et qu'il a déjà reçu la somme de 725 francs pour ses services —
Pour ces motifs, ledit Gustave Durand est flétrui comme infâme et expulsé de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs.
Cette Résolution sera publiée dans tous les organes de l'Association.

Londres le 7 Octobre 1871.

Pour extrait conforme....
Secrétaire pour la Hollande. |

Friedrich Engels
Resolution des Generalrats
über den Ausschluß von Gustave Durand
aus der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation

Übersetzung aus dem Englischen von Karl Marx

Der Volksstaat. Nr. 83,
H.Oktober 1871

**Beschluß des Generalraths
der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation
vom 7. Oktober 1871.**

In Anbetracht, daß der Generalrath unwiderlegbare Beweise in Händen hat, daß *Gustav Durand* von Paris — Goldarbeiter, Ex-Delegirter der Goldarbeiter im Ausschuß der Pariser Gewerksgenossenschaften, Ex-Bataillonschef der Nationalgarde, Ex-Hauptkassirer des Finanzministeriums unter der Kommune, gegenwärtig Flüchtling zu London — der französischen Polizei *als Spion* gegen den Generalrath der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation sowie gegen die in London anwesenden Flüchtlinge der Kommune gedient hat und noch dient; daß er für diese Spionendienste bereits die Summe von 725 Frs. erhalten hat:

aus diesen Gründen wird besagter *Gustav Durand* als Verräther gebrandmarkt und aus der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation ausgestoßen.

Dieser Beschluß ist in allen Organen der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation bekannt zu machen.

London, 9. Oktober 1871.

Im Auftrag des Generalraths:
Karl Marx,
Sekretär für Deutschland.

Friedrich Engels
Risoluzione del Consiglio Generale sulla espulsione
di Gustave Durand
dall'Associazione Internazionale degli Opérai
Übersetzung aus dem Englischen, unter Berücksichtigung
der französischen Textfassung

La Plebe. Nr. 122,
19. Oktober 1871

**International Working Men's
Association.**

Londra, Il 13 ottobre.

5 Cittadino Direttore della *Plebe*.

Il Consiglio Generale m'ha incaricato d'indirizzarvi la acclusa risoluzione, con la preghiera di voler pubblicarla nelle colonne del vostro stimato giornale.

Aggradite i miei più distinti saluti.

10

FEDERICO ENGELS
Segretano per Vltalia.

15 **Deliberazione**
del Consiglio Generale.
(Seduta del 7 ottobre 1871.)

Il Consiglio Generale avendo la prova incontestabile che *Gustavo Durand* di Parigi, lavorante *bijoutier*, membro dell'Internazionale, ex delegato dei *bijoutiers* alla Comune fédérale degli opérai di Parigi, ex capo di battaglione della Guardia Nazionale, ex cassiere in capo alla delegazione delle finanze sotto la Comune, dimorante oggigiorno a Londra siccome rifugiato, ha servito e serve tuttora la polizia francese, spiando i rifugiati della Comune a Londra, e soprattutto il Consiglio Generale *ds\Y Internazionale*, e che a quest'ora egli ha già ricevuto la somma di L. 725 per questi suoi servigi; dichiara infame, ed espelle *dalV Associazione Internazionale degli opérai* 25 il nominato Gustavo Durand.

Per copia conforme
FEDERICO ENGELS.

Karl Marx
Declaration of the General Council
on Nечаев's misuse of the name
of the International Working Men's Association

/International Workingmen's Association.

The Conference of the Delegates of the International Workingmen's Association, assembled at London from the 17th to the 23rd September 1871, has charged the General Council to declare publicly:

That *Netschajeff* has never been a member or an agent of the International Workingmen's Association;

that his assertions to have founded a branch at Brussels and to have been sent by a Brussels branch on a mission to Geneva, are false;

that the above said *Netschajeff* has fraudulently used the name of the International Workingmen's Association in order to make dupes and victims in Russia.

14. October, 1871

By order of the General Council

etc I

Karl Marx
Déclaration du Conseil général sur l'usurpation
par Netchaïev du nom de
l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs

Vermutliche Übersetzung aus dem Englischen
von Friedrich Engels

I La Conférence des Délégués de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs réunie à Londres du 17 au 23 Septembre 1871 a chargé le Conseil Général de déclarer publiquement

Que Netschajeff n'a jamais été ni membre ni agent de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs.

Qu'il a menti en déclarant avoir fondé une branche à Bruxelles et avoir reçu d'une branche bruxelloise, une mission pour Genève.

Que le dit Netschajeff a usurpé et exploité le nom de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs pour faire des dupes et des victimes en Russie.I

Karl Marx
Résolution du Conseil général
sur les statuts de la Section française de 1871
adoptée à la séance du 17 octobre 1871

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION,
256, HIGH HOLBORN, LONDON. — W. C.

Résolution

Séance du Conseil Général du 17 Octobre 1871 5
Aux Citoyens membres de la Section française de 1871

Citoyens,

Vu les articles suivants des résolutions administratives votées par le Congrès de Bâle : Art. 4 « Chaque nouvelle section ou société qui se forme et veut faire partie de l'Internationale doit annoncer immédiatement son adhésion au Conseil Général » :

Article 5 « Le Conseil Général a le droit d'admettre ou de refuser l'affiliation de toute nouvelle société, groupe etc » :

Le Conseil Général confirme les Statuts de la Section française de 1871 avec les modifications suivantes : 15

I Que dans l'art. 2 soient rayés les mots «*Justifier de ses moyens d'existence*», et qu'on mette simplement: pour être reçu membre de la Section il faut présenter des garanties de moralité etc —

L'art. 9 des Statuts Généraux dit :

« Quiconque adopte et défend les principes de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs peut en être reçu membre. Chaque branche est responsable de l'intégrité des membres qu'elle admet. » (*Every branch is responsible for the integrity of the members it admits*).

Dans des cas douteux une section peut bien prendre des informations sur les moyens d'existence comme «garantie de moralité» tandis que dans d'autres cas, comme celui des réfugiés, des ouvriers en grève etc etc, l'absence de justification des moyens d'existence peut bien être une garantie de moralité. Mais demander aux candidats de justifier de leurs moyens d'existence comme Condition générale pour être admis dans l'Internationale serait une innovation bourgeoise contraire à la lettre et à l'esprit des Statuts Généraux. | 30

Résolution du Conseil général sur les statuts de la Section française de 1871

jII 1° Considérant que l'art. 4 des Statuts Généraux dit :

The Congress elects the members of the General Council with power to add to their number; (Le Congrès nommera les membres du Conseil Général en laissant à ce dernier le droit de s'adoindre de nouveaux membres) ;
5 que par conséquent les Statuts Généraux ne reconnaissent que deux modes d'élections pour les membres du Conseil Général, soit leur élection par le Congrès, soit leur nomination par le Conseil Général ; que le passage suivant de l'art. 11 des Statuts de la Section française de 1871 «Un ou plusieurs délégués seront envoyés au Conseil Général» est donc contraire aux Statuts
10 Généraux qui ne donnent à aucune branche, section, groupe ou fédération le *droit d'envoyer des délégués au Conseil Général*.

Que l'art. 11 du Règlement prescrit : «il est libre à chaque Section de rédiger ses Statuts particuliers et ses Règlements conformément aux circonstances locales et aux lois de son pays ; *mais ils ne doivent en rien être contraires aux Statuts Généraux*».

Pour ces motifs :

Le Conseil Général ne peut admettre le paragraphe susdit des Statuts de la «Section française de 1871».

2° Il est bien vrai que les différentes sections existant à Londres avaient été invitées à envoyer des délégués au Conseil Général qui pour ne pas enfreindre les Statuts Généraux a toujours procédé de la manière suivante :

Il a d'abord déterminé le nombre de délégués à envoyer par chaque Section au Conseil Général, se réservant le droit de les accepter ou de les refuser suivant qu'il les jugeait propres aux fonctions générales qu'il doit remplir. Ces délégués devenaient membres du Conseil Général non en vertu de la délégation qu'ils avaient reçue de leur section mais en vertu du droit que les Statuts Généraux donnent au Conseil de s'adoindre de nouveaux membres.

Ayant fonctionné jusqu'à la décision prise par la dernière Conférence et comme Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs et comme Conseil Central de l'Angleterre, le Conseil de Londres trouva utile d'admettre en dehors des membres qu'il s'adoignait directement des membres délégués en premier lieu par leur section respective.

On se tromperait étrangement en voulant assimiler le mode d'élection du Conseil Général de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs avec celui du Conseil fédéral de Paris lequel n'était même pas un Conseil national nommé par un Congrès national comme par exemple le Conseil fédéral de Bruxelles et le Conseil fédéral de Madrid.

Le Conseil fédéral de Paris n'étant qu'une délégation des sections parisiennes, les délégués de ces Sections pouvaient bien être investis du mandat impératif auprès d'un Conseil où ils avaient à défendre les intérêts

Karl Marx

de leur section. Le mode d'élection du Conseil Général est au contraire déterminé par les Statuts Généraux et ses membres ne sauraient accepter d'autre mandat impératif que celui des Statuts et règlements généraux.

3° Le Conseil Général est prêt à admettre deux délégués de « la Section française 1871 », sous les conditions prescrites par les Statuts Généraux et 5 jamais contestées par les autres sections existantes à Londres.

III Dans l'art. 11 des Statuts de « la Section française de 1871 » se trouve ce paragraphe : «*Tout membre de la section s'engage à n'accepter aucune délégation au Conseil Général autre que de sa section.*»

Littéralement interprété ce paragraphe pourrait être accepté puisqu'il 10 dirait seulement qu'un membre de «la Section française de 1871» ne devra pas se présenter au Conseil Général comme délégué d'une autre section.

Mais prenant en considération le paragraphe qui le précède il n'a d'autre sens que de changer complètement la composition du Conseil Général et d'en faire contrairement à l'art. 3 des Statuts Généraux une délégation des 15 sections de Londres, où l'influence des groupes locaux se substituerait à celle de toute *l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*.

Ce sens du paragraphe cité de l'art. 11 des Statuts de «la Section française de 1871» se trouve pleinement confirmé par l'obligation qu'il impose d'opter entre le titre de membre de la Section et la fonction de membre du 20 Conseil Général.

Pour ces motifs le Conseil Général ne peut admettre le susdit paragraphe comme contraire aux Statuts Généraux et comme le privant de son droit de recruter ses forces partout dans l'intérêt général de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs. 25

IV Le Conseil Général est convaincu que « la Section française de 1871 » comprendra la nécessité des modifications proposées et n'hésitera pas à conformer ses Statuts particuliers à la lettre et à l'esprit des Statuts et Règlements Généraux et qu'elle préviendra ainsi tout désaccord qui dans les circonstances actuelles ne pourrait qu'entraver le mouvement ascendant 30 de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs.

Au nom et par ordre du Conseil Général le secrétaire correspondant pour la France, salut et égalité

Auguste Serraillier. |

Friedrich Engels
On the progress of the International Working Men's Association
in Italy and Spain

The Eastern Post. Nr. 160,
21. Oktober 1871

- The news from Italy was of a most cheering character, the spread of the Association being really wonderful in that country. Three months ago Mazzini stated that there was only one town in Italy, where the International counted numerous adherents. Now, from one end of the country to the other, it is fully established. It is represented in the press by one, if not two, daily papers in Rome; a daily paper in Milan; a semi-weekly one in Turin; weekly papers in Ravenna, Lodi, Pavia, Girgenti, and Catania, besides a number of other papers published in smaller localities. These papers are subject to incessant Government prosecutions; one of them *The Proletario Italiano* of Turin had six consecutive numbers seized by the Police, and one or more actions at law brought against it for each number seized; nevertheless, these papers continue undaunted in their crusade against the Priests, the capitalists, and Mazzini, who has been attacking the International because it was not religious. The Government has dissolved two International sections in Florence and Naples, but the result has only been the immediate formation of new sections all over the country. In Girgenti, the new section has just published its rules, preceded by the translation of the Statutes, published by the General Council, in Ravenna six Republican and Workings Men's Societies, have organised themselves into sections of the International, with a common Council.
- Garibaldi's letters, in which he gives his adhesion to the Association are everywhere reprinted and commented on, and have evidently helped a great many waverers to make up their minds in favour of the International. The power of Mazzini over the workmen of Italy is thoroughly broken.
- In Spain the progress of the Association has been as rapid as in Italy. The Spanish trades' unions, having been created almost exclusively by the International form an essential part of its organisation. The trades' unions of each locality have a local trades' council, corresponding directly with the Spanish Federal Council at Madrid, on general matters relating to the International; while each trade all over the country again is under the

Friedrich Engels

direction of a Central Board, corresponding with the Spanish Federal Council on all matters relating to its trade.

This organisation, as finally settled by the Conference of Valencia, held from the 10th to the 18th of September, 1871, is now being carried out all over Spain. There is scarcely a single large town in Spain without its local "Trades' Council," and a great many small towns are organized upon the same principle. New sections are forming everywhere, and individual adhesions are coming in by hundreds. The Republican party, which only a short time ago attacked the International as a party of "Jesuits," has been made to feel its power acutely. The rising of the Commune in Paris had already split the Republican party in two camps. The middle class section took the side of Versailles, while the younger elements and the Republican working men, supported the Commune. This latter section has been drawn, naturally, nearer and nearer to the International, and will soon enter its ranks, thus strengthening it by the adhesion of numerous and valuable new elements. The Republican papers belonging to this section begin to advocate the nationalization of the land, and other socialistic tenets; to these belong *La Asociacion*, of Leon; *El Comunero*, of Madrid; *La Justicia*, of Malaga; *El Trabajo*, of Ferrol, and others. At a great Republican meeting, held in Madrid October 15th, the proposal for joint action with the International was cheered enthusiastically.

Karl Marx
Dichiarazione del Consiglio Generale sull'abuso del nome
dell'Associazione Internazionale degli Opérai da parte
di Neciaiev

Übersetzung aus dem Englischen, unter Berücksichtigung
der französischen Textfassung, von Friedrich Engels

Gazzettino Rosa.
Nr. 306, 3. November 1871

Nel processo, detto Netschajeff, giudicato mesi or sono davanti la Corte d'Assise di San Pietroburgo, si produssero delle asserzioni relative all'Associazione Internazionale dei Lavoratori, asserzioni che di natura attirarono sovra esse l'attenzione della Conferenza dei delegati di questa Associazione
5 sedente in Londra.

Per conseguenza la Conferenza prese la decisione seguente ordinandone la pubblicazione nei fogli organi deU'Internazionale.

La Conferenza dei delegati della Associazione Internazionale dei Lavoratori riunita a Londra dal 17 al 23 settembre 1871, ha incaricato il
10 Consiglio Generale di dichiarare pubblicamente:

- 1° Che Netschajeff giammai fu membro o agente deU'Internazionale.
- 2° Ch'esso menti dichiarando d'aver fondato una sezione a Bruxelles e d'aver ricevuto da un'altra sezione della medesima città un mandato per Ginevra.
- 15 3° Che il nominato Netschajeff usurpò ed adopero il nome dell'Associazione Internazionale dei Lavoratori per far delle vittime in Russia.

Londra, lì 20 ottobre 1871.

Per copia conforme
FEDERICO ENGELS
20 Segretario per l'Italia.

Karl Marx
Erklärung des Generalrats zum Mißbrauch des Namens
der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation durch Netschajew
Übersetzung aus dem Englischen

Der Volksstaat.
Nr.88, I.November 1871

Beschluß des Generalraths
der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation
vom 16. Oktober 1871

Die zu London vom 17. bis 23. September 1871 versammelte Delegirten-Konferenz der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation hat den Generalrath beauftragt, öffentlich zu erklären:

daß *Netschajeff* niemals Mitglied oder Agent der *Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation* war;

Daß seine (durch den politischen Prozeß zu St. Petersburg bekannt gewordenen) Versicherungen, er habe eine Sektion der *Internationalen* zu Brüssel gestiftet und von einer Brüsseler Sektion eine Mission nach Genf erhalten, Lügen sind;

Daß der besagte *Netschajeff* den Namen der *Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation* usurpiert und ausgebeutet hat, um in Rußland Betrogene und Opfer zu machen.

London, den 25. Oktober 1871.

Im Auftrag des Generalraths:
Karl Marx, Sekretair für Deutschland und Rußland.

Friedrich Engels
Statement by the General Council
concerning Alexander Baillie Cochrane's letter

The Eastern Post. Nr. 163,
 11. November 1871

To the Editor of the Eastern Post

Sir,—A letter appeared in the Times on October 31st on the International, signed Alexander Baillie Cochrane, which I ask space to reply to in your columns. In the first instant, Mr.A.B.C. is "ignorant whether Mr.Odger
 5 is still president of the English branch of this society". Ever since September, 1867, the office of president of the General Council of the International, which Mr. A. B. C. calls the English branch of this society, has been abolished. It is well-known that after the publication of our manifesto on the civil war in France (in June last) Mr. Odger withdrew from the General
 10 Council.

Having read some continental gossip about the composition of our conference of delegates, held in London last September, Mr. A. B. C. applies this information to the public meeting held in St. Martin's Hall, on the 28th September, 1864. At that meeting, as the writer in the Times of Octo-
 15 ber 27th correctly stated, the provisional council of the International Working Men's Association was elected, but not "Mr. Odger elected president, Mr. Cremer and Mr. Wheeler, Secretary" as Mr. A. B. C. says.

Mr. A. B. C. then proceeds to prove the trustworthiness of his information by the following "authentic document"—

20 Firstly—"The red flag is the symbol of universal love." This authentic document is nothing but the preamble of one of the innumerable forgeries, lately published, in the name of the International by the Paris police, and disowned at the time by the General Council.

Secondly—"The programme of Geneva, under the presidency (it is rather
 25 hard to make out how a programme can be under a presidency) of the Russian Michael Bakounine was accepted by the General Council of London, July 1869."

This programme of Geneva is nothing else but the statutes of the "Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste," of Geneva, already quoted in Jules Favre's

Friedrich Engels

circular on the International. Now, in reply to that circular I stated, (see the Times, of June 13th) the General Council never issued such a document. On the contrary, it issued a document which quashed the original statutes of the Alliance.

I may now add that the conference, lately held at London, has finally disposed of the Alliance, founded by Michael Bakounine, and that the Journal de Genève, this worthy representative of the party tenets of Mr. A. B. C, has taken up the defence of the Alliance against the International. 5

Thirdly—Mr. A. B. C. pulls out of his bundle of "authentic documents" some garbled extract from private letters written by our friend Eugène Dupont, long since published by the Bonapartist ex-procureur Oscar Testut. Before Mr. A. B. C. set out for the Continent in search of this "trustworthy information," it had already gone the round of the English Press. 10

Mr. Alexander Baillie Cochrane calls our society "infamous." How am I to call a society which instructs the business of law-making to that same Alexander Baillie Cochrane? 15

I am, Sir,

Yours obediently,

20

JOHN HALES,
General Secretary.

International Working Mens' Association.
256, High Holborn.

Karl Marx
Résolutions du Conseil général
sur la Section française de 1871

Init Association Internationale
des Travailleurs.
Résolutions du Conseil Général.
Séance du 7. Novembre 1871.

5

I. Remarques préliminaires.

Le Conseil Général considère comme n'ayant nullement trait à la question sur laquelle il est appelé à se prononcer les idées émises par la « Section française de 1871 » sur un changement radical à apporter dans les articles des Statuts Généraux, relatifs à la constitution du Conseil Général.

10 Quant aux insultes lancées par ladite Section contre le Conseil Général, elles seront appréciées à leur juste valeur par les conseils et comités fédéraux des divers pays.

Seulement le Conseil remarque :

Que depuis le Congrès de Bâle (tenu du 6. au 11. Septembre 1869) il 15 n'y a pas *trois ans* d'écoulés, comme l'affirme à dessein ladite Section ;

Qu'en 1870, à la veille de la guerre franco-allemande, le Conseil, dans une circulaire générale adressée à toutes les fédérations, y compris le Conseil fédéral de Paris, proposa d'éloigner de Londres le siège du Conseil Général ;

20 Que les réponses reçues furent unanimes pour maintenir le siège actuel du Conseil et pour la prorogation de ses pouvoirs ;

Qu'en 1871, aussitôt que les événements l'ont permis, le Conseil Général a convoqué une Conférence de délégués, seule convocation possible dans les circonstances données ;

25 Qu'à cette Conférence les délégués du Continent ont déclaré que dans leurs pays respectifs on craignait de voir compromis le caractère inter-

Karl Marx

national du Conseil Général par l'adjonction trop nombreuse de réfugiés français ;

Que la Conférence (voir ses « Résolutions etc. » XV.) a « laissé à l'appréciation du Conseil Général le soin de fixer, selon les événements, la date et le siège du prochain congrès ou de la conférence qui le remplacerait». 5

Quant à la prétention de la susdite Section de représenter exclusivement «l'élément révolutionnaire français» parce que parmi ses membres elle compte des ex-présidents de sociétés ouvrières parisiennes, le Conseil fait remarquer :

Avoir été président d'une société ouvrière peut bien être une considération pour le Conseil Général, ||2| mais dans aucun cas cela ne saurait être un titre d'admission «comme de droit» à y représenter «l'élément révolutionnaire». Car s'il en était ainsi, le Conseil aurait dû admettre comme membre le sieur Gustave Durand, lequel a été président de la société des bijoutiers de Paris et secrétaire à Londres de la Section française—D'ailleurs, 15 les membres du Conseil Général ont plutôt pour mission de représenter les principes de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs que les opinions et les intérêts de telle ou telle corporation.

*IL Objections présentées par la
«Section française de 1871 » 20
dans la séance du Conseil Général du 31. Octobre
contre ses Résolutions du 17. Octobre*

1.) Quant au passage suivant de l'article 2 de ses «Statuts» :

«Pour être reçu membre de la section, il faut justifier ses moyens d'existence, présenter des garanties de moralité etc. » 25

la Section remarque :

«Que les Statuts généraux rendent les sections responsables de la moralité de leurs membres et leur reconnaissent par conséquent le droit de prendre, *comme elles l'entendent*, leurs garanties.»

D'après cette manière de voir, une section internationale, fondée par des teetotalers pourrait insérer dans ses statuts particuliers un article à cet effet : « Pour être reçu membre de la section, il faut jurer de s'abstenir de toute boisson alcoolique. » En un mot, les conditions d'admission dans l'Internationale les plus absurdes et les plus disparates pourraient être imposées par les statuts particuliers des diverses sections, toujours sous le prétexte qu'elles « entendent de cette manière » couvrir leur responsabilité pour l'intégrité de leurs membres. 30 35

r

Résolutions du Conseil général sur la Section française de 1871

Le Conseil Général a dit dans sa résolution I du 17. Octobre qu'il y a des «cas où l'absence des moyens d'existence peut bien être une garantie de moralité.» Il croit que la Section aurait pu se dispenser de répéter cette sentence en disant que «les réfugiés» sont «défendus contre tout soupçon 5 par l'éloquent témoignage de leur misère».

À la phrase que «les moyens d'existence» des grévistes consistent dans «la caisse de grève», on peut répondre d'abord que cette «caisse» est souvent fictive.

D'ailleurs, les enquêtes officielles anglaises ont prouvé que la majorité 10 des ouvriers anglais qui, généralement parlant, sont mieux placés que leurs frères continentaux, est forcée — soit par les grèves ou par le manque de travail, soit par l'insuffisance des salaires ou par suite des termes de payement, et bien ||3| d'autres causes — d'avoir recours sans cesse aux monts-de-piétés et aux *dettes*, «moyens d'existence» dont on ne pourrait exiger la 15 justification ; sans s'immiscer d'une manière inqualifiable dans la vie privée des citoyens.

De deux choses l'une.

Ou la Section ne cherche dans «les moyens d'existence» que des «garanties de moralité», et alors la proposition du Conseil Général ainsi conçue : 20 «Pour être reçu membre de la section, il faut présenter des garanties de moralité» remplit ce but, puisqu'elle implique (Voir la Résolution I du 17. Octobre) que «dans des cas douteux une section pourra bien prendre des informations sur les moyens d'existence *comme garantie de moralité*».

Ou la Section, dans l'article 2 des ses Statuts, a intentionnellement parlé 25 de la justification des «moyens d'existence» comme condition d'admission en outre des «garanties de moralité» qu'elle a le droit d'exiger, et dans ce cas le Conseil Général affirme que «c'est une innovation bourgeoise, contraire à la lettre et à l'esprit des Statuts Généraux».

2) Au rejet par le Conseil Général de ce paragraphe de l'art. 11 des 30 «Statuts etc.» :

«Un ou plusieurs délégués seront envoyés au Conseil Général»

la Section répond :

«Nous n'ignorons point... que la lettre des Statuts Généraux lui (au Conseil Général) donnent le droit d'accepter ou de n'accepter pas les délégués.» 35

C'est prouver jusqu'à l'évidence que la lettre des Statuts Généraux n'est pas familière à la Section.

En effet, les Statuts Généraux ne reconnaissent que *deux* modes d'élection pour le Conseil Général — soit la nomination du Congrès, soit l'adjonction 40 par le Conseil lui-même —, il n'y est parlé *nulle part* de l'admission ou de la non-admission des délégués de sections ou de groupes.

Karl Marx

L'admission de délégués, proposés en premier lieu par les sections de Londres, n'a jamais été qu'une *mesure administrative* du Conseil Général qui en cela a fait une application particulière de son droit d'adjonction. (Voir Résolution II, 2, du Conseil Général du 17. Octobre.) Les circonstances exceptionnelles qui ont fait accepter au Conseil Général ce mode d'adjonction 5 ont été suffisamment expliquées dans ses Résolutions du 17. Octobre.

Dans les mêmes résolutions (II, 3) le Conseil se déclare prêt à admettre des délégués de la « Section française de 1871 » *sous les mêmes conditions* que les autres délégués des ||4| sections de Londres. Mais il ne saurait considérer comme sérieuse une demande constituant un privilège pour cette 10 Section au mépris des Statuts Généraux.

En introduisant dans l'article 11 de ses Statuts ce paragraphe :

« Un ou plusieurs délégués seront envoyés au Conseil Général » la « Section française de 1871 » revendique la délégation au Conseil Général comme un droit, fondé sur les Statuts Généraux. Elle affectait si bien d'être 15 convaincue de ce droit imaginaire que même avant d'être reconnue par le Conseil Général (voir l'art. VI des Résolutions Administratives du Congrès de Bâle), elle n'hésita point à envoyer « comme de droit », le 17.Octobre, au milieu du Conseil Général, deux délégués avec « mandats impératifs », sanctionnés par 20 votants. Enfin, dans sa dernière missive, elle insiste de 20 nouveau sur «le devoir et le pouvoir d'envoyer des délégués au Conseil Général».

La Section cherche dans la position du citoyen Herman au Conseil Général un précédent pour justifier ses prétentions. Elle feint d'ignorer que le citoyen Herman, sur la recommandation d'un *Congrès Belge*, a été adjoint 25 au Conseil Général et n'y représente nullement une section liégeoise.

3.) Au refus par le Conseil Général d'admettre le passage suivant des « Statuts de la Section etc. » :

«Tout membre de la section s'engage à n'accepter aucune délégation au Conseil Général autre que de sa section » 30

la Section répond :

«Nous nous bornerons à répondre que notre règlement nous est particulier ; nos conventions ne concernant et ne regardant que nous et cette prétention ne contredit en rien aux Statuts généraux qui sont muets à cet égard.» 35

Il semble difficile de comprendre comment des Statuts qui sont muets sur le droit de délégation au Conseil Général, pourraient être éloquents sur les conditions de cette délégation. Mais ce qui est plus facile à comprendre,

Tc'est que les règlements particuliers d'une section lui soient particuliers. Néanmoins, on ne peut pas admettre que les règlements particuliers d'une 40 section ne concernent et ne regardent qu'elle. Car, par exemple, l'article 11

r

Résolutions du Conseil général sur la Section française de 1871

du règlement de la « Section française de 1871 » étant admis par le Conseil Général, ce dernier serait forcé de l'admettre dans les règlements de toute autre section et, en se généralisant, cet article annulerait entièrement le droit d'adjonction, conféré au Conseil par les Statuts Généraux. —

5 Par ces raisons :

I.) Le Conseil Général maintient purement et simplement ses résolutions du 17. Octobre, 1871.

II.) Dans le cas où ces Résolutions ne seraient pas acceptées lors de la séance du Conseil du 21. Novembre, ses secrétaires correspondants seront 10 chargés de communiquer aux Conseils ou Comités Fédéraux des différents pays, et, à leur défaut, aux groupes locaux, les « Statuts de la Section française de 1871 », le mandat des délégués de ladite Section, communiqués au Conseil Général dans sa séance du 17. Octobre, les Résolutions du Conseil Général du 17.Octobre, la réponse de la «Section française de 1871», 15 communiquée au Conseil Général dans sa séance du 31. Octobre, et ces Résolutions finales du Conseil Général du 7. Novembre.

Londres, le 7. Novembre, 1871.

Au nom et par ordre du Conseil Général |

Friedrich Engels
Der Gründungsschwindel in England

Der Volksstaat.
Nr. 91, 11. November 1871

London, 4. Novbr. — Wir sind hier jetzt im vollen Schwung der Prosperität und der flotten Geschäfte — *wir, d. h.* das offizielle England, die großen Kapitalisten. Kapital ist im Ueberfluß auf dem Markt, und sucht überall nach profitablem Unterkommen; Schwindelgesellschaften zur Beglückung der Menschheit und zur Bereicherung der Unternehmer schießen wie Pilze aus dem Boden. Bergwerke, Asphaltgruben, Pferde-Eisenbahnen für große Städte, Eisenwerke scheinen jetzt am meisten in der Mode zu sein; Minen werden ausgeboten an der Wolga und in Neu-Mexiko; in Savoyen, im Jura, in Hannover sind Asphaltgruben aufgekauft; Lissabon und Buenos-Ayres sollen Pferde-Eisenbahnen erhalten u. s. w. Alle diese Aktien-5 gesellschaften haben natürlich bloß den Zweck, die Aktien für den Augenblick in die Höhe zu treiben, damit die Unternehmer sich ihres Antheils mit Gewinn entledigen können; was dann aus den Aktionären wird, geht sie weiter nichts an: „nach uns die Sündfluth!“ In drei, vier Jahren werden fünf Sechstel dieser Schwindelgesellschaften den Weg alles Fleisches10 gegangen sein, und mit ihnen das Geld der an der Leimruthe hängen gebliebenen Aktionäre — es werden, wie immer meist kleine Leute sein, die ihre Ersparnisse in diesen „äußerst soliden und vortheilhaften“ Unternehmungen anlegen und zwar grade dann, wenn die Aktien durch den Schwindel auf den höchsten Punkt getrieben sind — und geschieht ihnen Recht.15 Der Aktienschwindel ist eins der kräftigsten Mittel, um das angeblich, zum Theil auch wohl wirklich, selbsterworbene Vermögen der kleinen Leute in die Taschen der großen Kapitalisten zu spielen, damit es auch dem Dümmlsten klar werde, daß in der heutigen gesellschaftlichen Ordnung „selbst-erarbeitetes“ Kapital gar nicht möglich ist, daß vielmehr alles bestehende20 Kapital weiter nichts ist, als der ohne Bezahlung angeeignete Ertrag fremder Arbeit. Und wenn dieser Gründungsschwindel in der letzten Zeit auch in Deutschland und Oesterreich in vollen Schwung gekommen ist, wenn Fürsten und Juden, Reichskanzler und Pfäfflein gemeinsam auf die Ersparnisse der kleinen Leute Jagd machen, so kann uns das nur willkommen25 sein.30

Der Gründungsschwindel in England

Dieses Ueberströmen der Kapitalien auf dem Geldmarkt ist aber nur der Wiederschein der Blüthe der großen Industrie. In fast allen Zweigen der Produktion wird mit einer Flottheit gearbeitet, wie sie seit Jahren nicht mehr vorgekommen ist. Namentlich in den beiden Hauptindustrien Englands, in denen Eisen und Baumwolle die Rohstoffe bilden.

Die Spinner von Lancashire haben endlich einmal wieder Baumwolle genug, um ihre Fabriken massenhaft ausdehnen zu können; und sie lassen sich die Gelegenheit nicht entgehn. In dem kleinen Oldham allein sind fünfzehn neue Spinnereien im Bau, durchschnittlich zu fünfzig Tausend 10 Spindeln — zusammen 750000 Spindeln, fast eben soviel wie der ganze Zollverein (ohne-Elsaß) enthält! Dazu Webstühle im Verhältniß, und ebenso geht's in den andern Städten von Lancashire. Die Maschinenfabriken sind auf Monate, manche auf ein Jahr im Voraus engagirt, und erhalten jeden Preis bezahlt, wenn sie nur liefern können. Kurz, es sieht wieder aus wie 15 1844 nach der Eröffnung des chinesischen Markt's, wo die Fabrikanten nur die eine Angst hatten, daß sie genug liefern könnten: sie hatten ja, wie sie sagten, Kleider für 300 Millionen Menschen zu schaffen! Damals kam der Rückschlag von 1845 und 1847, wo sich auf einmal herausstellte, daß die 300 Millionen Chinesen ihre Kleider bisher gefälligst selbst gemacht hatten 20 und die überproduzierten englischen Waaren auf allen Märkten haufenweise, unverkäuflich da lagen, während die Fabrikanten und Spekulanten zu hunderten fallirten. Und so wird es auch jetzt wieder kommen; diese Leute lernen nichts und wenn sie auch etwas lernten, so zwingt sie doch das innere Gesetz der kapitalistischen Produktion, fortwährend den altbekann- 25 ten Kreislauf von Geschäftsaufschwung, Ueberproduktion und Krise zu wiederholen, in immer größerem Maßstab zu wiederholen, bis endlich die Erhebung des Proletariats die Gesellschaft von der Nothwendigkeit dieses abgeshmackten Kreislaufs befreit. —

Ein Herr *Schwitzguébel* verlangt im „Volksstaat“, im Namen eines mir 30 unbekannten Föderalkomitees der romanischen Schweiz, nähere Aufklärung über das, was ich im Volksstaat Betreffs des Herrn *Elpidin* veröffentlicht habe. Ich habe mit Herrn Schwitzguébel gar nichts zu thun und kann in dieser Sache einem beliebigen Dritten durchaus keine Rede stehn. Wenn aber Herr Elpidin selbst sich in dieser Sache an die Redaktion wen- 35 den sollte, so stehe ich ihm zu Diensten, und bitte die Redaktion des „Volksstaat“, in diesem Falle dem Herrn Elpidin meine Adresse mitzutheilen, damit er sich direkt an mich wenden kann.

Friedrich Engels

Giuseppe Garibaldi's statement and its effects on the Working Classes in Italy

The Eastern Post. Nr. 163,
11. November 1871

The news from Italy was of a peculiar interest, letters were received from a number of Italian cities, amongst whom were Turin, Milan, Ravenna, and Girgenti. These confirmed in every respect the immense strides with which the Association was advancing in Italy. The working-classes, in the towns at least, were rapidly abandoning Mazzini, whose denunciations of the International had no effect whatever upon the masses. But Mazzini's denunciations had produced one good effect; they had caused Garibaldi, not only to pronounce himself entirely in favour of our Association, but also, on this very question, to come to an open rupture with Mazzini. In a long letter addressed to M.Petroni, a Sardinian lawyer, who has been since elected president of the Italian Working Men's Congress, now sitting at Rome, Garibaldi expresses his indignation that the Mazzinians should venture to speak of him as of an old fool, who always had done what ever the men surrounding him, his satellites and flatterers, had persuaded him to do. Who were these satellites, he asks? Were they the men of his staff that came with him from South America in 1848, those be found at Rome in '49, or those of his staff of '59 and '60, or those who fought with him recently against the Prussians? If so, he maintains they were men whose names will for ever live in the memory of grateful Italy. But let them re-enter these satellites and flatterers. "I repeat it, you have not even the merit of originality, when you dig up again my satellites and flatterers have always led that grey-headed baby from Nice by the nose. And while you, Petroni, were suffering for eighteen years in the prisons of the Inquisition, the people of your sect (the Mazzinians) were the very men accused by the Royalists, of being my sattelites and followers. Read all the dynastic trash published especially since 1860, and there you will find Garibaldi might be good for something if he had not the misfortune of being led by Mazzini, and to be surrounded by the Mazzinians. This is all false, and you may ask those that have known me more closely and more intimately, whether they ever found a man more obstinate than myself when I had made up my mind

Garibaldi's statement and its effects on the Working Classes in Italy

to do something which I had recognised to be right. Ask Mazzini himself, whether he has found me to be easily persuaded whenever he attempted to draw me over to some of his impracticable realities. Ask Mazzini whether the origin of our disagreement is not this, that, in 1848,¹ I told him he was
5 doing wrong in holding back in the city, under one pretext or another, the youth of Milan, while our army was fighting the enemy on the Mincio. And Mazzini is a man who never forgives if any one touches his infallibility." Garibaldi then states that Mazzini, in 1860, did everything in his power to frustrate and to render abortive the general's expedition to Sicily, which
10 ended in the unification of Italy; that when Mazzini heard of Garibaldi's success, he insisted upon the latter proclaiming the Republic in Italy, a thing absurd and utterly foolish under the circumstances, and he finally reproaches "the great exile, whom everybody knew to be in Italy," with his meanness in bespattering the fallen of Paris, the only men who in this time
15 of tyranny, of lies, of cowardice and degradation have waved high, even while dying, the sacred banner of rights and justice. He continues, "You cry anathema upon Paris, because Paris destroyed the Vendôme Column and the house of Thiers. Have you ever seen a whole village destroyed by the flames for having given shelter to a volunteer, or a franc-tireur? And that
20 not only in France, the same in Lombardy, in Venetia. As to the palaces set fire to in Paris by petroleum, let them ask the priests who, from their intimate acquaintance with the hell-fire about which they preach, ought to be good judges, what difference there is between petroleum fire and those fires which the Austrians lit in order to burn down the villages in Lombardy
25 and Venetia, when those countries were still under the yoke of the men who shot Ugo Bassi, Ciceruacchio and his two sons, and thousands of Italians who committed the sacrilege of demanding a free Rome and a free Italy.

"When the light of day shall once have dispersed the darkness which covers Paris, I hope that you, my friend, will be more indulgent for the acts
30 caused by the desperate situation of a people which, certainly, was badly led, as it generally happens to nations, who allow themselves to be allured by the phraseology of the *doctrinaires*, but who, in substance, fought heroically for their rights. The detractors of Paris may say what they like, they will never succeed in proving that a few miscreants and foreigners—as
35 they said of us in Rome in 1849—have resisted for three months against a grand army, backed as it was by the most potent armies of Prussia."

"And the International? What need is there to attack an Association almost without knowing it? Is that Association not an emanation of the abnormal state of society all over the world? A society where the many
40 have to slave for bare subsistence, and where the few, by lies and by force, appropriate the greater portion of the produce of the many, without having

Friedrich Engels

earned it by the sweat of their brow, must not such a society excite the discontent, and the vengeance of the suffering masses."

"I wish that the International should not fare as did the people of Paris—that is to allow itself to be circumvented by the concoctors of doctrines which would drive it to exaggerations, and finally to ridicule; but that it should well study, before trusting them, the character of the men who are to lead it on the path of moral and material improvement." 5

He returns for a moment to Mazzini, "Mazzini and I, we are both old; but no one speaks of re-conciliation between him and me. Infallible people die, but they do not bend. Reconciliation with Mazzini? there is only one 10 possible way for it—to obey him; and of that I do not feel myself capable."

And finally the old soldier proves by referring to his past, that he has always been a true International, that he has fought for liberty everywhere and anywhere, first in South America, then offering his services to the Pope (aye, even to the Pope, when he played the liberal), then under Victor 15 Emanuel, lastly in France, under Trochu and Jules Favre—and he concludes, "I and the youth of Italy are ready to serve Italy, also side by side with you, the Mazzinians, if it should be necessary."

This crowning letter of Garibaldi's, coming as it does after a number of others, in which he has plainly expressed his sympathies for the Internatio- 20 nal, but abstained from speaking plainly as to Mazzini, has had an immense effect in Italy, and will induce many recruits to rally round our banner.

It was also announced that a full report of the working men's Congress at Rome, would be laid before the next meeting of the Council.

A N H A N G

**Artikel, Dokumente und Übersetzungen,
die unter Mitwirkung von Marx und Engels
verfaßt wurden. Aufzeichnungen von Reden**

Lettre au rédacteur du «Courrier de l'Europe»

Courrier de l'Europe.
Nr. 1620, 18. März 1871

Monsieur le Rédacteur,

Sous ce titre, (Le Grand Chef de *l'Internationale*,) *Paris Journal* ne craint pas d'affirmer que je viens de recevoir une lettre du citoyen Karl Marx qu'il fait insidieusement «habiter Berlin». D'après ce journal, le citoyen Karl Marx, qui 5 est «le grand chef de l'*Internationale*», «partage avec Blanqui, Flourens et consorts, l'honneur d'avoir été condamné à mort au moins une fois». Ajoutons que le citoyen compte en outre dans sa vie l'honneur d'avoir été expulsé successivement de Prusse en 1843 ; de France en 1844 et de Belgique en 1848 *sur la demande du gouvernement prussien*. Rentré en Prusse aux premiers événements, il en fut de 10 nouveau expulsé en mai 1849 et ayant cherché un refuge en France, il en fut expulsé une deuxième fois sur la demande de ce même gouvernement prussien en septembre 1849 sous les beaux jours de la présidence.

Il serait curieux de voir le citoyen Karl Marx, qui n'a pas cessé d'habiter Londres depuis cette époque, adresser de Berlin une lettre au «grand prêtre parisien» 15 Serraillier à Paris, lorsque celui-ci est de retour à Londres depuis le 22 février, où il est en rapport avec son «ami et frère Allemand, pire qu'Allemand, Prussien» ! auquel le conseil général n'a pas encore décerné le titre tout puissant de «grand chef» qui lui éviterait tout au moins de supplier «les membres Parisiens de ne pas perdre de vue le but unique de leur société en faisant trop de politique».

20 L'origine et la campagne de ce journal durant le siège de Paris indiquent assez la source des ces manœuvres couronnant bien les articles des «avant-postes» écrits au coin du feu et signés «un franc-tireur», qui n'était autre qu'un fourier du 7^e chasseur à pied, invité, parfois, à la table du général Schmitz, avant que le Siècle n'eût signalé au public, que les résolutions du conseil de guerre pour la défense étaient aussitôt connues des Prussiens que prises par l'état major... bonapartiste,

Chassez-moi ce Bismarck, il revient au galop.

Recevez, Monsieur le Rédacteur, les remerciements d'un des grands prêtres Parisiens de l'*Internationale*.

30

Londres le 16 mars 1871.

A. Serraillier.

Karl Marx

Aan de redactie van « De Werker »

Tussen 1 en 7 april 1871

Übersetzung aus dem Französischen

De Werker. Nr.23,
8. April 1871

London 31 Maart 1871.

Burger,

Mijne zoogezegde brief, aan de internationalen van Parijs gezonden, is alleenlijk gelijk ik **net** reeds in de «*Times*» **van** den 22^{ste} Maart verklaard heb, eene fabrikatie van het «*Paris Journal*» eene van die siechte bladen, *Journaux de mauvais lieu*, gebroeid uit het keizerlijk slijk. Overigens alle de **Organen** van de «goede pers» in Europa hebben **het** ordewoord ontvangen de *Vervalsching* te gebruiken als **nun** grootste krijgswapen tegen de *Internationale*. In de oogen van die eerlijke verdedigers **van den** Godsdienst, van de orde, van de familie en van **den** eigendom ligt in de misdaad **der** *Vervalsching* **geen het** minste kwaad.

Heil en broederschap,
KARL MARX.

**Account of an interview with Karl Marx
published in the "World"**

The World. Nr. 3622,
18. Juli 1871

THE CURTAIN RAISED.

**Interview with Karl Marx, the Head
of L'Internationale.**

REVOLT OF LABOR AGAINST CAPITAL.

The Two Faces of L'Internationale—Transformation
of Society—Its Progress in the
United States.

10

What the Association Had to Do With
the Commune,
etc., etc., etc.

15

(From our special correspondent.)

London, July 3.—You have asked me to find out something about the International Association, and I have tried to do so. The enterprise is a difficult one just now. London is indisputably the headquarters of the association, but the English people
20 *have got a scare, and smell international in everything as King James smelt gunpowder after the famous plot. The consciousness of the society has naturally increased with the suspiciousness of the public; and if those who guide it have a*

Account of an interview with Karl Marx published in the "World"

secret to keep, they are of the stamp of men who keep a secret well. I have called
on two of their leading members, have talked with one freely, and I here give you
the substance of my conversation. I have satisfied myself of one thing, that it is
a society of genuine working-men, but that these workmen are directed by social
and political theorists of another class. One man whom I saw, a leading member
of the council, was sitting at his workman's bench during our interview, and left
off talking to me from time to time to receive a complaint, delivered in no courteous
tone, from one of the many little masters in the neighborhood who employed him.
I have heard this same man make eloquent speeches in public inspired in every
passage with the energy of hate towards the classes that call themselves his rulers. 5
I understood the speeches after this glimpse at the domestic life of the orator. He
must have felt that he had brains enough to have organized a working-government,
and yet here he was obliged to devote his life to the most revolting task work of
a mechanical profession. He was proud and sensitive, and yet at every turn he had
to return a bow for a grunt and a smile for a command that stood on about the
same level in the scale of civility with a huntsman's call to his dog. This man
helped me to a glimpse of one side of the nature of the International, the result of 10

15

15

Labor against Capital,

of the workman who produces against the middleman who enjoys. Here was the
hand that would smite hard when the time came, and as to the head that plans, 20
I think I saw that, too, in my interview with Dr. Karl Marx.

Dr. Karl Marx is a German doctor of philosophy with a German breadth of knowl-
edge derived both from observation of the living world and from books. I should
conclude that he has never been a worker in the ordinary sense of the term. His
surroundings and appearance are those of a well-to-do man of the middle class. 25
The drawing-room into which I was ushered on the night of my interview would
have formed very comfortable quarters for a thriving stockbroker who had made
his competence and was now beginning to make his fortune. It was comfort
personified, the apartment of a man of taste and of easy means, but with nothing
in it peculiarly characteristic of its owner. A fine album of Rhine views on the table,
however, gave a clue to his nationality. I peered cautiously into the vase on the
side-table for a bomb. I sniffed for petroleum, but the smell was the smell of roses.
I crept back stealthily to my seat, and moodily awaited the worst. 30

30

He has entered and greeted me cordially, and we are sitting face to face. Yes,
I am tête-à-tête with the revolution incarnate, with the real founder and guiding
spirit of the International Society, with the author of the address in which capital
was told that if it warred on labor it must expect to have its house burned down
about its ears—in a word, with the 35

Account of an interview with Karl Marx published in the "World"

Apologist for the Commune

of Paris. Do you remember the bust of Socrates, the man who died rather than profess his belief in the gods of the time—the man with the fine sweep of profile for the forehead running meanly at the end into a little snub, curled-up feature like
5 a bisected pothook that formed the nose? Take this bust in your mind's eye, color the beard black, dashing it here and there with puffs of grey; clap the head thus made on a portly body of the middle height, and the Doctor is before you. Throw a veil over the upper part of the face and you might be in the company of a born vestryman. Reveal the essential feature, the immense brow, and you know at once
10 that you have to deal with that most formidable of all composite individual forces—a dreamer who thinks, a thinker who dreams.

Another gentleman accompanied Dr. Marx, a German, too, I believe, though from his great familiarity with our language I cannot be sure of it. Was he a witness on the doctor's side? I think so. The "Council," hearing of the interview, might hére-
15 after call on the Doctor for his account of it, for the *Revolution* is above all things suspicious of its agents. Here, then, was his evidence in corroboration.

I went straight to my business. The world, I said, seemed to be in the dark about the International, hating it very much, but not able to say clearly what thing it hated. Some, who professed to have peered further into the gloom than their neighbors,
20 declared that they had made out a sort of Janus figure with a fair, honest workman's smile on one of its faces, and on the other a murderous, conspirator's scowl. Would he light up the case of mystery in which the theory dwelt?

The professor laughed, chuckled a little I fancied, at the thought that we were so frightened of him. "There is no mystery to clear up, dear sir," he began, in a very
25 polished form of the Hans Breitmann dialect, "except perhaps the mystery of human stupidity in those who perpetually ignore the fact that our association is a public one and that the fullest reports of its proceedings are published for all who care to read them. You may buy our rules for a penny, and a shilling laid out in pamphlets will teach you almost as much about us as we know ourselves.

30 R—Almost—yes, perhaps so; but will not the something I shall not know constitute the all-important reservation? To be quite frank with you, and to put the case as it strikes an outside observer, this general claim of depreciation of you must mean something more than the ignorant ill-will of the multitude. And it is still pertinent to ask even after what you have told me, what is the International Society?

35 Dr.M—You have only to look at the individuals of which it is composed—workmen.

R—Yes, but the soldier need be no exponent of the statecraft that sets him in motion. I know some of your members, and I can believe that they are not of the stuff of which conspirators are made. Besides, a secret shared by a million men
40 would be no secret at all. But what if these were only the instruments in the hands of a bold, and I hope you will forgive me for adding, not over-scrupulous conclave.

Dr.M—There is nothing to prove it.

R.—The last Paris insurrection?

Account of an interview with Karl Marx published in the "World"

Dr. M.—I demand firstly the proof that there was any plot at all—that anything happened that was not the legitimate effect of the circumstances of the moment; or the plot granted, I demand the proofs of the participation in it of the International Association.

R.—The presence in the communal body of so many members of the association. 5

Dr. M.—Then it was a plot of the Freemasons, too, for their share in the work as individuals was by no means a slight one. I should not be surprised, indeed, to find the Pope setting down the whole insurrection to their account. But try another explanation. The insurrection in Paris was made by the workmen of Paris. The ablest of the workmen must necessarily have been its leaders and administrators; but the ablest of the workmen happen also to be members of the International Association. Yet the association as such may be in no way responsible for their action.

R.—It will still seem otherwise to the world. People talk of secret instructions from London, and even grants of money. Can it be affirmed that the alleged openness of the association's proceedings precludes all secrecy of communication? 15

Dr. M.—What association ever formed carried on its work without private as well as public agencies? But to talk of secret instruction from London, as of decrees in the matter of faith and morals from some centre of Papal domination and intrigue is wholly to misconceive the nature of the International. This would imply a centralized form of government for the International, whereas the real form is designedly that which gives the greatest play to local energy and independence. In fact the International is not properly a government for the working class at all. It is a bond of union rather than a controlling force. 20

R.—And of union to what end?

25

Dr. M.—The economical emancipation of the working class by the conquest of political power. The use of that political power to the attainment of social ends. It is necessary that our aims should be thus comprehensive to include every form of working class activity. To have made them of a special character would have been to adapt them to the needs of one section—one nation of workmen alone. But how could all men be asked to unite to further the objects of a few. To have done that the association must have forfeited its title of International. The association does not dictate the form of political movements; it only requires a pledge as to their end. It is a network of affiliated societies spreading all over the world of labor. In each part of the world some special aspect of the problem presents itself, and the workmen there address themselves to its consideration in their own way. Combinations among workmen cannot be absolutely identical in detail in Newcastle and in Barcelona, in London and in Berlin. In England, for instance, the way to show political power lies open to the working class. Insurrection would be madness where peaceful agitation would more swiftly and surely do the work. 35

In France a hundred laws of repression and a mortal antagonism between classes seem to necessitate the violent solution of social war. The choice of that solution is the affair of the working classes of that country. The International does not presume to dictate in the matter and hardly to advise. But to every movement it accords its sympathy and its aid within the limits assigned by its own laws. 40

45

Account of an interview with Karl Marx published in the "World"

R—And what is the nature of that aid?

Dr. M.—To give an example, one of the commonest forms of the movement for emancipation is that of strikes. Formerly, when a strike took place in one country it was defeated by the importation of workmen from another. The International
5 has nearly stopped all that. It receives information of the intended strike, it spreads that information among its members, who at once see that for them the seat of the struggle must be forbidden ground. The masters are thus left alone to reckon with their men. In most cases the men require no other aid than that. Their own subscriptions or those of the societies to which they are more immediately affiliated
10 supply them with funds, but should the pressure upon them become too heavy and the strike be one of which the association approves, their necessities are supplied out of the common purse. By these means a strike of the cigar-makers of Barcelona was brought to a victorious issue the other day. But the society has no interest in strikes, though it supports them under certain conditions. It cannot
15 possibly gain by them in a pecuniary point of view, but it may easily lose. Let us sum it all up in a word. The working classes remain poor amid the increase of wealth, wretched amid the increase of luxury. Their material privation dwarfs their moral as well as their physical stature. They cannot rely on others for a remedy.
It has become then with them an imperative necessity to take their own case in
20 hand. They must revise the relations between themselves and the capitalists and landlords, and that means they must transform society. This is the general end of every known workmen's organization; land and labor leagues, trade and friendly societies, co-operative stores and co-operative production are but means towards it. To establish a perfect solidarity between these organizations is the business of
25 the International Association. Its influence is beginning to be felt everywhere. Two papers spread its views in Spain, three in Germany, the same number in Austria and in Holland, six in Belgium, and six in Switzerland. And now that I have told you what the International is you may, perhaps, be in a position to form your own opinion as to its pretended plots.

30 R—I do not quite understand you.

Dr. M—Do you not see that the old society, wanting the strength to meet it with its own weapons of discussion and combination, is obliged to resort to the fraud of fixing upon it the imputation of conspiracy?

35 R.—But the French police declare that they are in a position to prove its complicity in the late affair, to say nothing of preceding attempts.

Dr. M.—But we will say something of those attempts, if you please, because they best serve to test the gravity of all the charges of conspiracy brought against the International. You remember the last "plot" but one. A plebiscite had been announced. Many of the electors were known to be wavering. They had no longer a keen
40 sense of the value of the imperial rule, having come to disbelieve in those threatened dangers of society from which it was supposed to have saved them. A new bugbear was wanted. The police undertook to find one. All combinations of workmen being hateful to them, they naturally owed the International an ill-turn. A happy thought inspired them. What if they should select the International for their bugbear, and
45 thus at one stroke discredit that society and curry favor for the imperial cause?

Account of an interview with Karl Marx published in the "World"

Out of that happy thought came the ridiculous "plot" against the Emperor's life—as if we wanted to kill the wretched old fellow. They seized the leading members of the International. They manufactured evidence. They prepared their case for trial, and in the meantime they had their plebiscite. But the intended comedy was too obviously but a broad, coarse farce. Intelligent Europe, which witnessed the spectacle, was not deceived for a moment as to its character, and only the French peasant elector was befooled. Your English papers reported the beginnings of the miserable affair; they forgot to notice the end. The French judges admitting the existence of the plot by official courtesy were obliged to declare that there was nothing to show the complicity of the International. Believe me, the second plot 5
is like the first. The French functionary is again in business. He is called in to account for the biggest civil movement the world has ever seen. A hundred signs of the times ought to suggest the right explanation—the growth of intelligence among the workmen, of luxury and incompetence among their rulers, the historical process now going on of that final transfer of power from a class to the people, the apparent fitness of time, place, and circumstance for the great movement of emancipation. But to have seen these the functionary must have been a philosopher, and he is only a *mouchard*. By the law of his being, therefore, he has fallen back upon the *mouchard*'s explanation—a "conspiracy." His old portfolio of forged documents will supply him with the proofs, and this time Europe in its scare will 10
believe the tale. 15
20

R.—Europe can scarcely help itself, seeing that every French newspaper spreads the report.

Dr. M.—Every French newspaper! See, here is one of them (taking up *La Situation*), and judge for yourself of the value of its evidence as to a matter of fact. 25
(Reads:) "Dr. Karl Marx, of the International, has been arrested in Belgium, trying to make his way to France. The police of London have long had their eye on the society with which he is connected, and are now taking active measures for its suppression." Two sentences and two lies. You can test the truth of one story by the evidence of your own senses. You see that instead of being in prison in Belgium I am at home in England. You must also know that the police in England are as powerless to interfere with the International Society as the society with them. Yet what is most regular in all this is that the report will go the round of the continental press without a contradiction, and could continue to do so if I were to circularize 30
every journal in Europe from this place. 35

R.—Have you attempted to contradict many of these false reports?

Dr. M.—I have done so till I have grown weary of the labor. To show the gross carelessness with which they are concocted I may mention that in one of them I saw Felix Pyat set down as a member of the International.

R.—And he is not so? 40

Dr. Marx—The association could hardly have found room for such a wild man. He was once presumptuous enough to issue a rash proclamation in our name, but it was instantly disavowed, though, to do them justice, the press of course ignored the disavowal.

R.—And Mazzini, is he a member of your body? 45

Account of an interview with Karl Marx published in the "World"

Dr. Marx (laughing)—Ah, no. We should have made but little progress if we had not got beyond the range of his ideas.

R.—You surprise me. I should certainly have thought that he represented the most advanced views.

5 Dr. M.—He represents nothing better than the old idea of a middle-class republic. We seek no part with the middle class. He has fallen as far to the rear of the modern movement as the German professors, who, nevertheless, are still considered in Europe as the apostles of the cultured democratism of the future. They were so at one time—before '48, perhaps, when the German middle class, in the English
10 sense, had scarcely attained its proper development. But now they have gone over bodily to the reaction, and the proletariat knows them no more.

R.—Some people have thought they saw signs of a positivist element in your organization.

15 Dr. M.—No such thing. We have positivists among us, and others not of our body who work as well. But this is not by virtue of their philosophy, which will have nothing to do with popular government, as we understand it, and which seeks only to put a new hierarchy in place of the old one.

R.—It seems to me, then, that the leaders of the new international movement have had to form a philosophy as well as an association for themselves.

20 Dr. M.—Precisely. It is hardly likely, for instance, that we could hope to prosper in our war against capital if we derive our tactics, say from the political economy of Mill. He has traced one kind of relationship between labor and capital. We hope to show that it is possible to establish another.

R.—And as to religion?

25 Dr. M.—On that point I cannot speak in the name of the society. I myself am an atheist. It is startling, no doubt, to hear such an avowal in England, but there is some comfort in the thought that it need not be made in a whisper in either Germany or France?

R.—And yet you make your headquarters in this country?

30 Dr. M.—For obvious reasons; the right of association is here an established thing. It exists, indeed, in Germany, but it is beset with innumerable difficulties; in France for many years it has not existed at all.

R.—And the United States?

35 Dr. M.—The chief centres of our activity are for the present among the old societies of Europe. Many circumstances have hitherto tended to prevent the labor problem from assuming an all absorbing importance in the United States. But they are rapidly disappearing, and it is rapidly coming to the front there with the growth as in Europe of a laboring class distinct from the rest of the community and divorced from capital.

40 R.—It would seem that in this country the hoped for solution, whatever it may be, will be attained without the violent means of revolution. The English system of agitating by platform and press until minorities become converted into majorities is a hopeful sign.

45 Dr. M.—I am not so sanguine on that point as you. The English middle class has always shown itself willing enough to accept the verdict of the majority so long as it

Account of an interview with Karl Marx published in the "World"

enjoyed the monopoly of the voting power. But mark me, as soon as it finds itself outvoted on what it considers vital questions we shall see here a new slave-owner's war."

I have here given you as well as I can remember them the heads of my conversation with this remarkable man. I shall leave you to form your own conclusions. Whatever may be said for or against the probability of its complicity with the movement of the Commune we may be assured that in the International Association the civilized world has a new power in its midst with which it must soon come to a reckoning for good or ill.

R.LANDOR.

10

R

**Resolution that the Conference of Delegates
from the local federations of the Spanish Region,
held at Valencia the 10th September 1871,
presents to the International Conference of London**

Von Friedrich Engels redigierte Übersetzung aus dem Spanischen

**I Resolution that the Conference of delegates
from the local federations of the Spanish Region,
held at Valencia the 10th September 1871,
presents to the International Conference of London.**

- 5 Considering that the great object to which the International Association aspires must be the result of an intelligent organization, where the activity of all workmen may be applied to fight with the evil existent, and establish at the same time the struggle existing evils, may bring forth from the principles accepted by the association;
- 10 Considering that the circumstances, in which, Work is developed because under Labour is now performed, of the economical conditions of present society, placing the in consequence place workman's subsistence at mercy of the changements of capital's interest the fluctuations of the interests of the capitalists; Considering that the social institutions that so heavily weigh on the working upon 15 classes, undermining our right, manifest themselves; 1st by the circumstances of rights, the work in the locality; 2nd by the same thing in the Region; 3rd by the influences Labour each each of the authority and capital in the place; 4th by the same thing in the Region; each locality each it becomes necessary that our efforts may be directed chiefly to each one of these be directed points, establishing the Union of them with reference to all the workmen of the 20 world;

Resolution "of the Conference of Delegates from the local federations of the Spanish Region

Considering that the Union can be obtained only by means of federations and
a federative
solidarity links, that join together all workmen excluding all divisions
bond joining workmen and freeing them from all the
in which we may be found,
divisions under which we now suffer,

We propose to the International Conference of London to discuss and adopt,
discuss
if they believe it convenient, the following subject of social organization to all 5
think organization of the

International working classes
whole working class.

All workmen of one trade or occupation in a place are gathered together to form
a Section.

All Sections of different trades in a place constitute the local Federation, having
a local Council, composed of delegates from each Section. 10

All trades Sections in one Region form a regional Federation of the trade, having
with
a council of trustees, named in a Congress of delegates from all the Sections of
central Trade council
the United trade.

All local Federations constitute a regional Federation, having a federal and
with regional
regional Council, named at a Congress of representatives of all local federations. 15
federal

All regional federations constitute the International Federation, having a general
Council, named at a Congress of representatives of all regional federations.

The trade's Federation forms all the Estatistics concerning the same,
a complete set of Statistics its trade
gathering all facts given by the sections, according to the state and special
the collected
circumstances of the place administers the caisse of resistance with the 20
each locality; it also strike fund formed by the
taxes of each Section,
contributions of all the Sections.

The local Federations reunite the Estatistics of all the Sections which compose
Federation forms similar Statistics
it, amplying it with all the facts, that a commission from its Council may
amplifying by such other as
gather. It has also a caisse of resistance formed of the taxes paid by the
collect. strike fund by the contributions
Sections to meet a sudden *Grève*.
provide for unexpected strikes. 25

Be 4430

b7g



Resolution that the Conference of delegates from
the local federations of the Spanish Region held at Valencia
the 10th of September 1871 presents to the International Confer-
ence of London,

Considering that the great object to which the International
Workingmen's Association aspires must be the result of an intelligent
organization, where the activity of all workmen may be applied to
the total welfare of the working class; the basis for
the work of the future, according to the culture and
~~and~~ principles accepted by the association.

Considering that the circumstances in which the workmen
are placed in the various countries of the world, are
the determining cause of the social condition of the
workmen in each of them.

Considering that the social institutions that prevail
in each country, the existing slaves, underdevelopment of labor, and
themselves, &c., by the circumstance of ~~the~~ the people of the world,
by the same thing in the ~~same~~ to the ~~same~~ as that with
land & capital in ~~the same~~; & by the same thing, it has become
necessary that our efforts may be directed chiefly to each
one of these points, establishing the union of the workmen
of the workmen of the world.

Considering that the Spanish workmen have
by means of federated & voluntary unions, formed together a distinct
organization, ~~all~~ ^{the} various districts ~~of the~~ ^{of} the country.

We propose to the International Conference of London
to accept & adopt, if they ~~will~~ ^{want} ~~can~~ ^{will} do so, the following
object of social organization for the workmen of the world.

All workers of every ~~the~~ occupation, no place or nation
to form a section.

All sections of different trades in a place constitute the branch.

Resolution that the Conference of Delegates from the local federations
of the Spanish Region, held at Valencia the 10th September 1871,

presents to the International Conference of London.

Von Friedrich Engels redigierte Übersetzung aus dem Spanischen.

Erste Seite der Handschrift von Nicoles Alonso Marselau mit Änderungen von
Engels' Hand

Resolution of the Conference of Delegates from the local federations of the Spanish Region

The federal and regional Council reunites all the estatistical notices given by
regional federal Statistical information
local federations and regional trades's federations,
furnished by the the
The Councils of trustees of the trade's federations have, in conse-
Central Trades's Councils of the various trade's federations
quence of this organization, an exact knowledge of the work in their trade
state of the labour market
5 with reference to offerings and demands, competition, introduction of machines,
supply demand, machinery,
hygiénique conditions etc.
sanitary
The local federative knows the relations of the work in the place with the special
federation state of the Labour market in its locality along
with the conditions of the same.
The regional Federations by means of its regional and federal Council has
Federation regional federal
10 positively before it the movement of the whole Region: knows minutely the
distinctly before its eyes minutely
importance of privileges, the ambition of capitalists, that of the authority and that
overreaching acts of capitalists, of the authorities and
of the science; knows also the working powers and shows
of power of the working class and will find out
with an infallible and mathematical security the points against which it may fight
certainty upon that power
with these powers to obtain a sure victory.
may be brought to bear in order to assure the certainty of success.
15 A *grève* asked by a Section is accomplished after, that the local Federation and
strike enforced the local
the regional one of the trade have informed according to the facts they know; the
federal Council approves it || when he sees the sure or very prob-
it foresees a certainty or a great probability
able triumph. All Unions or federations of trade have the duty of helping, if neces-
of triumph. trades
sary, that section in *grève* or *lock-out*, made the former according to rule or
every on strike if shall have been com-
20 provoked the latter by the
menced in accordance with these rules or if shall have been enforced by the
bourgeois. Thus Solidarity cannot be narrower; victory is sure; *all for one*.
bourgeois. closer
The Estatistics makes easy the movings of workmen, when it is convenient to
facilitate removal from one place to
the work in the localities, and helps to fight against the own-
another should the state of the labour market or the opportunity

Resolution of the Conference of Delegates from the local federations of the Spanish Region

ers of capital by means of leaving the work at convenient times. Today the Estatistics of a strike render that a thing convenient. Statistics and the Unions or trade federations are the war to the speculators; the social tistics

Liquidation. In the new society they are the work's Emancipation, the workmen's Solidarity and the establishment of the change of exchange of produce against produce.

The federal and regional Council has in hand, with this Estatistics, the movement, federal regional holds in its these Statistics 5
ment, riches and life of the Region,
the the whole

The federal and regional Councils putting themselves in correspondence with the general Council form the Universal Estatistics. This Council, forming Statistics. by condensing resolutions and comparisons, fulfils the work of the exact and comparing the materials furnished it, completes
social science,
science of society. 10

The Estatistics thus accomplished and published for the wellbeing of individuals and for the fulfilment of all duties, is the social Liquidation practical since the put in practice since the first day; it is the Revolution made with only having tried it.
very first day; accomplished by merely trying to carry it out.
The individual, developing his activity, is sustained with that of all the workmen in
of the world. 15

Valencia 12th September 1871.

The Commission

R. Farga Pellicer
Printer.

Juan Bargallo
sculptor.

Francisco Mora,
shoemaker

N. Alonso Marselau 20
apprentice of tisserand I

**Proposition présentée à la Conférence de Londres
par la Conférence de délégués de la fédération
espagnole à Valence, le 10 septembre 1871**

Übersetzung aus dem Spanischen von Friedrich Engels

**I Proposition présentée à la Conférence
de Londres par la Conférence de Délégués
de la fédération Espagnole à Valence,
le 10 Septembre 1871.**

5

Considérant que le grand but auquel aspire l'Internationale doit être le résultat d'une organisation intelligente donnant un libre essor à l'activité de tous les travailleurs pour combattre la société actuelle en posant, en même temps, les bases d'une société nouvelle conformément aux principes adoptés par l'Association ;

10 Que les circonstances dans lesquelles se meut actuellement le travail, en conséquence des conditions économiques de la société actuelle, placent la subsistance des travailleurs à la merci des oscillations de l'intérêt de l'exploiteur ;

Que les institutions sociales qui pèsent sur le prolétariat et qui portent atteinte à notre droit, se manifestent : 1) par les circonstances affectant un métier donné 15 dans chaque localité ; 2) par celles qui l'affectent dans tout un pays ; 3) par l'influence de l'autorité et de la propriété dans chaque localité ; 4) par celle dans tout un pays ; et qu'il devient donc nécessaire que nos efforts se dirigent principalement sur chacun de ces points et qu'ils achèvent l'union de tous ces travaux relativement à tous les ouvriers du monde —

20 Considérant que cette union ne peut s'accomplir qu'au moyen de liens fédératifs et solidaires, entourant les ouvriers et les sauvant de toutes les divisions que nous rencontrons encore —

Nous proposons à la Conférence Internationale de Londres de discuter et, si elle le juge à propos, d'adopter le projet suivant d'organisation de la classe 25 ouvrière :

Tous les ouvriers d'un métier, dans chaque localité, se réunissent pour former une section.

Toutes les sections de différents métiers d'une localité constituent la fédération locale, avec un conseil local, composé de délégués de chaque section.

30 Toutes les sections du même métier dans une région forment une fédération

Proposition de la Conférence de délégués de la fédération espagnole

régionale de ce métier avec un conseil supérieur nommé dans un Congrès de représentants de toutes les sections fédérées du métier.

Toutes les fédérations locales constituent une fédération régionale avec un conseil fédéral régional nommé dans un Congrès de représentants de toutes les fédérations locales. 5

Toutes les fédérations régionales constituent la fédération Internationale, avec un Conseil Général nommé dans le Congrès de représentants de toutes les fédérations régionales.

La fédération de chaque métier recueille et rédige toute la statistique relativement à ce métier, en réunissant toutes les données que lui fourniront les sections sur l'état et les circonstances spéciales de chaque localité; elle administre de même la caisse de résistance formée par les cotisations de toutes les sections. 10

La fédération locale recueille les données statistiques de toutes les sections qui la composent et les complète par les données que lui fournira de toute part une Commission nommée à cet effet dans le sein de son conseil local. Elle aussi 15 maintient une caisse de résistance formée des cotisations des sections locales et destinée pour les cas de grève imprévue.

Le Conseil fédéral recueille toutes les données statistiques que lui fournissent les fédérations locales et les fédérations régionales de métiers.

Les conseils supérieurs des fédérations de métiers, en conséquence de cette 20 organisation, tiendront une connaissance exacte du travail dans leurs métiers divers, relativement à l'offre et la demande, la concurrence, l'introduction de machines, les conditions hygiéniques, etc.

La fédération locale connaîtra les relations du travail dans sa localité et ses 25 conditions spéciales.

La fédération régionale, par son Congrès régional fédéral, pourra ainsi certainement surveiller, d'un seul coup d'œil, tout le mouvement de la région; elle connaîtra en détail l'importance des priviléges existants, l'accaparement de l'autorité, l'accaparement du capital, et celui de la science, elle connaîtra de même les forces ouvrières, et découvrira avec une régularité infaillible et mathématique les points où ces forces doivent porter l'attaque pour obtenir un triomphe assuré. 30

Une grève demandée par une section quelconque s'enforce dès que la fédération locale et la fédération régionale du métier en question l'auront confirmée sur les données qu'elles possèdent ; et le Conseil fédéral l'approuve s'il prévoit la victoire comme assurée ou très probable. Toutes les fédérations de métiers ont le devoir de venir en aide, en cas de besoin, à une grève ou un lock-out, si la première aura été faite suivant le règlement et si le second aura été provoqué par les bourgeois. Ainsi, la solidarité ne peut être portée plus loin et la victoire sera assurée : Tous pour Un. 35

La Statistique facilite les déplacements des ouvriers, comme ils paraîtront convenables selon que le travail hausse ou baisse dans les diverses localités, ou bien selon l'opportunité de porter des attaques contre les détenteurs du capital par l'abandon du travail en moment opportun. Aujourd'hui, la statistique et les fédérations de métiers sont des armes dans la guerre contre les exploiteurs pour obtenir la liquidation sociale. Dans la nouvelle société, elles assureront l'émancipation du 40
45

Proposition de la Conférence de délégués de la fédération espagnole

travail, la solidarité des travailleurs, et rétablissement de l'échange de produits contre produits. Avec cette statistique, le conseil fédéral régional tiendra en main le mouvement, les richesses, la vie de toute la région.

Les Conseils fédéraux régionaux en s'entendant avec le Conseil Général, fourniront 5 la statistique universelle. Ce conseil, en résumant et comparant les données régionales, complétera l'œuvre de la science sociale exacte.

La statistique complétée de cette sorte, par l'œuvre de tous ceux qui en ont été chargés, et mise à la portée de tous par la publication, sera en elle même la liquidation sociale mise en pratique dès le premier jour. Ce sera la révolution accomplie 10 par le seul fait de l'avoir intentée. L'individu, en développant son activité, sera appuyé de celle de tous les ouvriers du monde. |

Friedrich Engels
Traduction française de l'article **10** des
« Provisional Rules of the Association» de Karl Marx

I Bien qu'unies par un lien perpétuel de coopération fraternelle, les sociétés ouvrières qui s'associeront à l'Association Internationale, garderont intacte leur organisation actuelle. I

Jenny Marx
To the Editor of "Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly"
Not after September 23, 1871

Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly.
Nr.23/75, 21. Oktober 1871

To the Editor of Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly:

Madame: The following private letter (originally written to a friend) may serve the public interest, if by means of it some light is thrown upon the arbitrary proceedings of the present French Government, who, with supreme contempt for personal

5 security and liberty, do not scruple to arrest foreigners, as well as natives, on altogether false pretenses :

***Monsieur Lafargue, my brother-in-law, his wife and children, my youngest sister and myself, had spent the months of June and July at Bagnères de Luchon, where we intended remaining until the end of September. I hoped, by a prolonged

10 stay in the Pyrenees, and by a daily use of the mineral waters for which Luchon is famous, to recover from the effects of a severe attack of pleurisy. *Mais dans la République-Thiers l'homme propose et la police dispose.* On the first or second day in August, M. Lafargue was informed by a friend that he might daily expect a domiciliary visit of the police, when, if found, he would surely be arrested, on the

15 pretext that he had paid a short visit to Paris during the time of the Commune, had acted as emissary of the International in the Pyrenees, and last, but not least, because he is the husband of his wife, consequently the son-in-law of Karl Marx. Knowing that under the present government of lawyers the law is a dead letter, that persons are continually locked up, no reason whatever being assigned for

20 their arrest, Mr. Lafargue follows the advice given him, crosses the frontier, and settles down at Bosost, a small Spanish town. Several days after his departure, on the 6th of August, Mad. Lafargue, her sister Eleanor and I visit M. Lafargue at Bosost. Mad. Lafargue, finding that her little boy is not well enough to leave Bosost on the same day (she was very anxious on the child's account, having lost his

25 brother a few days before), resolved to remain with her husband for a day or two. My sister Eleanor and I therefore returned alone to Luchon.

Without accident we succeeded in getting along the rugged Spanish roads, and safely reached Fos. There the French custom-house officials ask us the usual questions and look into our carriage to see whether there are any contraband goods.

30 As we have nothing but our cloaks with us, I tell the coachman to drive on, when an individual—no other than the Procureur de la République, M. le Baron Desagarre—steps forward, saying: "In the name of the Republic, follow me." We leave our

Jenny Marx

carriage and enter a small room, where we find a forbidding-looking creature—a most unwomanly woman—waiting to search us. Not wishing to let this coarse-looking person touch us, we offer to take off our dresses ourselves. Of this the woman will not hear. She rushes out of the room, whither she soon returns, followed by the Procureur de la République, who in the most ungentlemanly manner thus apostrophizes my sister: "If you will not allow this woman to search you, I shall do so." My sister replies: "You have no right to come near a British subject. I have an English passport." Seeing, however, that an English passport does not count for much, that the bearer of such a passport does not inspire M. le Baron Desagarre with much respect, for he looks as though he were in good earnest, ready to suit his actions to his words, we allow the woman to have her way. She unpicks the very seams of our dresses, makes us take off even our stockings. I fancy I can still feel her spider-like fingers running through my hair. Having only found a newspaper on me and a torn letter on my sister, she runs with these to her friend and ally, M. le Baron Desagarre. We are reconducted to our carriage—our own coachman, who had acted as our "guide" during our whole stay in the Pyrenees, and had grown much attached to us, is forced away, replaced by another coachman, two officers are installed in the carriage opposite us, and thus we are driven off, a cart-full of custom-house officers and police agents following us. After a time, finding, no doubt, that after all we are not such very dangerous characters, that we do not make any attempts to murder our sentinels, our escort is left behind and we remain in the charge of the two officers in the carriage. Thus guarded, we are driven through village after village, through St. Béat, the inhabitants of which comparatively large town collect in crowds, evidently taking us to be thieves, or, at least, smugglers. At 8 o'clock, thoroughly tired out, we arrive at Luchon, cross the *Quinconces*, where hundreds of people are assembled to listen to the band, it being Sunday and the height of the season. Our carriage stops before the hotel of the Prefect, M. le Comte de Kératry. That personage not being at home, still guarded, we are kept waiting before his door for at least half an hour. At length orders are given for us to be taken back to our house, which we find surrounded by gendarmes. We at once go upstairs, wishing to refresh ourselves by washing our faces (we had been out since five o'clock in the morning), but as a gendarme and an agent in plain clothes follow us even into our bedroom, we return to the drawing-room, unrefreshed, to await the arrival of the Prefect. The clock strikes nine, ten; M. de Kératry has not come—he is listening to the band on the *Quinconces*, and, we hear, is determined to stay until the last chord of the music has died away. Meanwhile, quantities of *mouchards* drop in; they walk into the room as if it were their own and make themselves quite at home, settling down on our chairs and sofa. Soon we are surrounded by a motley crowd of police agents, which devoted servants of the Republic, it is easy to see, have served their term of apprenticeship under the Empire—they are masters of their honorable calling. They have recourse to impossible tricks and dodges to inveigle us into a conversation, but, finding all their efforts to do so are vain, they stare at us as only "professionals" can stare, until, at half-past ten, the Prefect puts in an appearance, flanked by the Procureur Général, M.Delpach, the Juge d'Instruction, Juge de Paix, the Commissaires of Toulouse 5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45

To the Editor of "Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly"

and Luchon, etc. My sister is told to step into an adjoining room; the Commissaire of Toulouse and a gendarme accompany her. My interrogatory commences. I refuse to give any information concerning my brother-in-law and other relatives and friends. With regard to myself, I declare I am under medical treatment, and have
5 come to Luchon to take the waters. For more than two hours M. de Kératry by turns exhorts, persuades and at length threatens me, that if I choose to persist in my refusal to act as a witness, I shall be looked upon as an accomplice. "To-morrow," he says, "the law will *compel* you to give your deposition on oath; for, let me tell you, M. Lafargue and his wife have been arrested." At this I felt alarmed, because
10 of my sister's sick child.

At length my sister Eleanor's turn comes. I am ordered to turn my back while she speaks. An officer is placed in front of me lest I should attempt to make some sign. To my annoyance I hear my sister is being led by degrees to say yes or no to the numberless questions put to her. Afterward I found out by what means she had
15 been made to speak. Pointing to my written declaration, M. de Kératry (I could not see his gestures, my back being turned,) affirmed the contrary of what I had really said. Therefore, anxious not to contradict me, my sister had not refuted the statements said to have been made by me. It was half-past two before her examination was ended. A young girl of 16, who had been up since five A.M., had traveled
20 nine hours on an intensely hot day in August, and only taken food quite early at Bosost, cross-examined until half-past two in the morning!

For the rest of that night the Commissaire of Toulouse and several gendarmes remained in our house. We went to bed, but not to sleep, for we puzzled our heads as how to get a messenger to go to Bosost to warn M. Lafargue, in case he had not
25 yet been arrested. We looked out of the window. Gendarmes were walking about in the garden. It was impossible to get out of the house. We were close prisoners—not even allowed to see our maid and landlady. On the following day, landlady and servants were examined on oath. I was again questioned for more than an hour by the Procureur Général, M. Delpech, and the Procureur de la République. That
30 tongue-valiant hero, M. le Baron Desagarre, read long extracts to me, pointing out the penalties I am liable to incur by persisting in my refusal to act as witness. The eloquence of these gentlemen was, however, lost on me. I quietly but firmly declared my resolution not to take the oath, and remained unshaken.

My sister's examination only lasted a few minutes this time. She also resolutely
35 refused to take the oath.

Before the Procureur Général left us, we asked for permission to write a few lines to our mother, fearing the news of our arrest might get into the papers and alarm our parents. We offered to write the letter in French, under the very eyes of M. Delpech. It was only to consist of a few sentences, such as we are
40 well, etc. The Procureur refused our request, on the pretext that we might have a language of our own; that the words—we are well—might convey some hidden meaning.

These magistrates outdid Dogberry and Verges. The following is another instance of their utter imbecility. Having found, as our maid told us, a quantity of commercial
45 letters, belonging to M. Lafargue, in which reference was made to the exportation

Jenny Marx

of sheep and oxen, they exclaimed: "Oxen, sheep, intrigues, intrigues; sheep-
Communists; oxen—Internationals."

For the remainder of that day and night we were again committed to the care of
several gendarmes, one of whom ever sat opposite us while we were dining.

On the following day, the 8th, we had a visit from the Prefect and a person
whom we supposed to be his Secretary. Of this interview a most inaccurate and
fantastical account appeared in the *France*, and was from thence transferred into
a great number of other papers. But to return to the Prefect.

M. de Kératry, after making a very lengthy preface, informed us most blandly
that the authorities had been mistaken; that it had been found that there was no
foundation for the charge made against M. Lafargue, who was innocent, and therefore
at liberty to return to France. "As for your sister and yourself," said M. de
Kératry, thinking, I suppose, that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush,
"there is much more against you than against M. Lafargue" (thus we were being
suddenly transformed from witnesses into the accused), "and in all likelihood you
will be expelled from France. However, an order from government for your libera-
tion will come in the course of the day." Then, assuming a paternal tone, he said,
"Anyhow, let me advise you to moderate your zeal in the future, *pas trop de zèle!*" 10
Upon which the supposed secretary said abruptly, "And the International is the
association powerful in England?" "Yes," I answered, "most powerful, and so it 15
is in all other countries." "Ah," exclaimed M. de Kératry, "the International is a
religion!" Before he made his exit, M. de Kératry once more assured us, on his
word of honor, that Paul Lafargue was free, and asked us at once to write to Bosost
to tell him so, and to invite him to return to France. Now, I fancied I could see the
red ribbon of the Légion d'Honneur adorning the buttonhole of De Kératry, and as 20
I have a notion that the honor of the Knights of the Légion d'Honneur must be
something very different to the honor of common mortals, I thought it best to be
prudent, and so instead of advising M. Lafargue to return to Luchon, I intended to do
the contrary, and begged of a friend to send him the means wherewith to travel
further into Spain. 25

Followed about by our shadows, the gendarmes, we waited in vain for the prom-
ised order for our release. At 11 o'clock at night, the Procureur de la République
walked into our room; but instead of bringing us the order for our liberation,
M. Desagarre asked us to get ready a trunk and to follow him into "*une maison*
particulière". I knew this proceeding was illegal—but what could we do? There were 30
only a few women in the house with us, whereas the Procureur was accompanied
by several gendarmes. Therefore, not wishing to afford the cowardly bully,
M. Desagarre, the satisfaction of using brute force, we gave orders to our weeping
maid to get ready our dresses, etc., and having attempted to console the daughter
of our landlady by telling her we should soon return, we got into a carriage occupied 35
by two gendarmes, in the dead of night, in a strange country, to be taken whither
we knew not.

The *gendarmerie* barracks proved to be our destination; a bedroom having been
shown us, our door having been duly barricaded outside, we were left alone. In
this place we remained the following day until past five o'clock, when, determined 40
45

To the Editor of "Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly"

to know what all this meant, I desired to have an interview with the Prefect. M. de Kératry came. I asked him how it was we had been taken to the *gendarmerie* after he had promised us our liberty.

"Thanks to my intercession," answered he, "you have been allowed to spend the
5 night at the *gendarmerie*. The government (M. Thiers) would have sent you to the prison of St. Godins, near Toulouse." Then M. de Kératry handed me a letter containing 2,000 francs, which had been sent to M. Lafargue by his banker at Bordeaux, and which he, M. de Kératry, had hitherto detained; declared we were free, were not to be expelled from France, but, like Mr. Lafargue, at liberty to
10 remain in the country.

This time we were imprudent enough to inform Mad. Lafargue of what M. de Kératry had said with regard to her husband.

On the 10th we received a *laissez-passer* to go over to Spain, but our English passport was not returned us. During ten days we applied for it in vain. M. de Kératry
15 wrote he had sent it to Paris, and could not get it back, though he had repeatedly written for it.

We now saw we had only been turned out of the small *gendarmerie* of Luchon to be locked up in that great *gendarmerie*, the Republic-Thiers. We were still prisoners. Without a passport there was no getting out of France, in which country
20 we were evidently to be kept, until some event or other should afford a pretext for again arresting us.

The police organs of Toulouse were daily accusing us of acting as emissaries of the International on the French and Spanish frontiers. "But," added they, "the Prefect is taking energetic measures in order to reassure (*pour rassurer*) the inhabitants of the Haute Garonne." Now, it is true, a *laissez-passer* to go over into Spain
25 had been given us, but the experience of Mad. Lafargue in that country was not of a nature to encourage us to seek a refuge in the land of El Cid.

The facts we learned from Madame Lafargue carry us back to the 6th of August.

I mentioned above that our coachman had been compelled to leave us at Fos.
30 Whereupon M. Desagarre, the Procureur de la République, and several "gentlemen" of the police, attempted to persuade him, in the most plausible manner, to return to Bosost, and on false pretenses to get M. Lafargue to go to Fos. Fortunately an honest man is more than a match for half a dozen police agents. The shrewd young fellow guessed there was some trick at the bottom of all this glib talk, and flatly refused
35 to fetch M. Lafargue; consequently gendarmes and douaniers, with the Procureur at their head, set out on an expedition to Bosost. M. le Baron Desagarre, whose discretion is the better part of his valor, had previously declared he would not go to Fos to capture M. Lafargue without a sufficient escort; that he could do nothing with one or two gendarmes against a man like M. Lafargue, most likely given to the
40 use of firearms. M. Desagarre was mistaken—not a bullet, but kicks and cuffs were reserved for him. On his return from Bosost he attempted to interfere with peasants celebrating their village feast. The brave mountaineers, who love their freedom as much as their own mountain air, gave the noble Baron a sound thrashing, and sent him about his business, a sadder if not a wiser man! But I am anticipating.

45 I was saying that M. Desagarre and his followers started for Bosost. They soon

reached that town, and soon found out the hotel at which the Lafargues were staying, for the inhabitants of Bosost only possess two hotels, or rather inns. They are not yet sufficiently civilized to have the orthodox number of public houses. Now, while M. Desagarre is standing before the front door of the Hotel Masse, M. Lafargue, aided by his good friends, the peasants, gets out of the house by the back gate, climbs the mountains and escapes along paths known only to guides, goats and English tourists—all the regular roads being guarded by Spanish carabiniers. The Spanish police had enthusiastically taken up the cause of their French brethren. Madame Lafargue is made to feel all the blessings arising from the International Association of the police. At 3 o'clock in the morning her bedroom is suddenly broken into, and in rush four Spanish officers, with their carbines pointed to the bed in which she and her child are sleeping. The poor sick baby, suddenly awakened, frightened, begins to scream; but that doesn't prevent the Spanish officers from looking in every hole and cranny of the room for M. Lafargue. Finally, convinced that their prey has escaped them, they declare they will carry off Madame Lafargue. At this the master of the hotel—a most worthy man—interferes, saying he is sure the Spanish government will not accord the extradition of a lady. He was right. Madame Lafargue was allowed to remain at Bosost, but was ever after subjected to the annoyance of being followed about by police agents. At the hotel a troop of spies established their headquarters. One Sunday even the Prefect and the Procureur de la République took the trouble to travel all the way from Luchon to Bosost for the purpose of seeing Madame Lafargue. As, however, they did not succeed in satisfying their curiosity, they consoled themselves by playing at *rouge et noir*, which, together with baccarat, forms the only serious occupation of the *petits gras* from Versailles, now staying at the Pyrenees.

But I must not forget to explain how it was that M. de Kératry had not succeeded in seeing Madame Lafargue. The fact is, that a French peasant from Luchon had informed some Spanish friends of his at Bosost of M. de Kératry's intended visit, and they, of course, at once warned Madame Lafargue.

The French and Spanish population of the Pyrenees form a league, offensive and defensive, against their respective governments. In our case they acted as spies upon the official spies of the Prefect—though repeatedly stopped at the French frontiers, they were untiring in their attempts to bring us news. At length M. de Kératry gave orders to the effect that no one, *not even guides*, should be allowed to cross over to Bosost, unless provided with a proper pass. This measure, of course, did not prevent our having messages brought us as heretofore; it only served to embitter still more the peasants of the Pyrenees, already so hostile to the rurals of Versailles.

In other parts of France I have since heard that the peasants are quite as much opposed to their *so-called* representatives, the governing rurals. M. Thiers fulfills a great revolutionary omission! By means of his prefects, priests, gardes champêtres and gendarmes he will before long provoke a general rising of the peasantry!

Of M. Lafargue's escape Madame Lafargue had informed us a few days after our release from the *gendarmerie*. Later on, we heard from a native of Bosost that M. Lafargue had been arrested at Huesca, and that the Spaniards had made the offer of his extradition to the French government. On the very day we received

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

40

45

To the Editor of "Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly"

this news our English passport was returned us by the Juge de Paix. So, in order to put an end to the state of anxiety in which we knew Madame Lafargue must be placed, tied down as she was to Bosost by her sick child, not knowing what had become of her husband, we at once made up our minds to travel to Huesca, in
5 order to beg the Governor of that district to let us know the real intentions of the Spanish government with respect to M. Lafargue. On reaching St. Sebastian we heard to our joy that M. Lafargue had been set at liberty. So we immediately returned to England.

I cannot conclude this letter without giving a short sketch of the treatment to
10 which Madame C—, our landlady, and the servant were subjected on the 6th of August, during our absence; for, compared with them, we had always been treated with great courtesy. At 11 o'clock in the morning, the Prefect, Procureur Général, Procureur de la République, etc., made a raid upon our house. Enraged at not being able to lay hands on M. Lafargue, they vented their wrath on Madame C—, an
15 invalid, suffering from heart disease in an advanced stage, and upon our maid. That poor girl was treated most roughly, because she would not tell where her master had gone.

This, the Prefect, however, succeeded in learning from a boy, employed by Madame C— as gardener, and whom he straightway sent up to Fos, there to lay
20 in wait for us behind a hedge, in order to give warning of our arrival to the Procureur de la République & Co.

If, during his campaign against the Prussians, M. de Kératry had employed the same art of protecting his flanks and rear from surprise, of surprising detachments of the enemy by establishing videttes and sending out scouts, things would have
25 gone better in Brittany—that is to say, if one may judge from the success of De Kératry's tactics at Fos!

Our landlady was not allowed to light a fire in her own kitchen; was ordered, instead of sleeping in her bed, to lie down on the floor. With the latter order she, however, refused to comply. Catching hold of her son, a child not three years of age,
30 the Prefect said he must be the son of M. Lafargue. Madame C— repeatedly declared he was mistaken—but in vain; at length, really anxious to prove her child's identity (she feared he might be carried off), she exclaimed: "Why, the boy only speaks the patois of the district." For a moment or two the Prefect looked as if even that argument had failed to convince him. Perhaps M. de Kératry, believing as he
35 does, that the "International is a religion," was pondering on the miracle of the cloven tongues descending on the apostles.

One of the reasons why Madame C— was so much ill-used, was because she had never in her life heard of the International, and therefore could not give an account of the doings of that mysterious society at Luchon, which, by the by, would have
40 been an impossible task for the best initiated member—at least previous to the period at which M. de Kératry commenced at Luchon his active propaganda for the International Association. Then Madame C— had been guilty of speaking of her tenant, M. Lafargue, in very high terms. But the head and front of her offending was in her inability to point out hidden bombs and petroleum.

45 Yes! it is a fact, bombs and petroleum were searched for in our house.

Jenny Marx

Taking up a small night lamp, used for warming the baby's milk, the assembled magistrates examined it; handling it with great caution, as if it were some diabolical machine, by means of which petroleum might have been discharged into the streets of Paris. From Luchon to Paris. Even Munchausen never indulged in such a stretch of imagination. The French government are *capable de tout*. They really believe in the truth of the wild petroleum fables—the coinage of their own distempered brains. They do think the women of Paris are "neither brute nor human, neither man nor woman"—but "pétroleuses"—a species of the Salamander, delighting in their native element—fire.

5

They almost come up to Henri de Pêne of the *Paris Journal*, their prophet and teacher, who, as I am told, now actually fancies that the famous letters, manufactured by himself in my father's name, have not been written by Henri de Pêne but by Karl Marx.

10

One could afford to treat with silent contempt a government run mad, and to laugh at the farces in which the pottering pantaloons employed by that government play their muddling and meddling parts, did not these farces turn out to be tragedies for thousands of men, women and children. Think only of the "pétroleuses" before the court-martial of Versailles, and of the women who, for the last three months, are being slowly done to death on the pontoons.

15

JENNY MARX. 20

London, Sept., 1871.

The Seventh Anniversary of the International Working Men's Association

Account of the celebrations held in London September 25, 1871

The World. Nr.3711,
15. Oktober 1871

The Reds in Session

Authentic Account of the Seventh Anniversary of the International in London.

5 (*Correspondence of the World.*)

London, September 26—The seventh anniversary of the International was celebrated last night by the members of the general council and a select company of friends, most of them members and officers of the Paris Commune. The festival commenced with a substantial repast of roast beef, veal, mutton, boiled ham, and 10 a boiled leg of mutton. The boiled leg of mutton occupied the place of honor in front of the chair. The juice of the grape was provided in its native purity, by a wine-grower of St. Macaire, a member of the Commune, occupied during the reign of the Commune in the Ministry of Public Works, and now, like many of his colleagues, a refugee in London. There was a plentiful supply, and ample justice was done to 15 it. When all was ready the question as to who was to preside was raised. "Karl Marx" was the reply. He asked the reason why? He could see but one reason, that he was the oldest man in the company (he is 53). He was answered that in consideration of the position he occupied as member of the council he was the man for the chair. His objection was that he could not carve. He can cut up a hostile cabinet or 20 government, but was afraid to lay hands on a boiled leg of mutton. The difficulty, however, was removed and he was voted in the chair by acclamation.

The Seats of Honor

were occupied, the right of the chair by General Wroblewski and the left by Colonel Dombrowski, brother of the fallen General Dombrowski, of the Commune. Next 25 to them sat the two Misses Marx. Colonel Dombrowski did the carving with a

The Seventh Anniversary of the I.W.M.A.

dexterity as if handling the carving-knife in a ham-and-beef shop was the occupation of his life. Both the revolutionary general and the colonel are young enough to live till all the existing governments shall have been finally overthrown, and they look and are the most unpresuming and pleasant young great men I have ever had the good fortune to be in company with, yet there is a determination in their expressions that convinces you at once that they are not to be trifled with. Amongst all the refugees present there is not a man as old as forty years, and many are under thirty years of age; it is, in reality, a young generation of revolutionists. 5

The Speech of the Chairman

was short but to the purpose. He modestly apologized for having consented to 10 occupy the chair, which he had only done because some one must occupy the chair, and being the oldest man present was the only reason why he had consented.

Concerning the International, he said that the great success which had hitherto crowned its efforts was due to circumstances over which the members themselves had no control. The foundation of the International itself was the result of these 15 circumstances, and by no means due to the efforts of the men engaged in it. It was not the work of any set of clever politicians: all the politicians in the world could not have created the situation and circumstances requisite for the success of the International. The International had not put forth any particular creed. Its task was to organize the forces of labor and link the various working-men's movements and 20 combine them. The circumstances which had given such a great development to the association were the conditions under which the work-people were more and more oppressed throughout the world, and this was the secret of the success. The events of the last few weeks had unmistakably shown that the working class must fight for its emancipation. The persecutions of the governments against the International were like the persecutions of ancient Rome against the primitive Christians. They, too, had been few in numbers at first, but the patricians of Rome had instinctively felt that if the Christians succeeded the Roman empire would be lost. The 25 persecutions of Rome had not saved the empire, and the persecutions of the present day against the International would not save the existing state of things. 30

What was new in the International was that it was established by the working men themselves and for themselves. Before the foundation of the International all the different organizations had been societies founded by some radicals among the ruling classes for the working classes, but the International was established by the working men for themselves. The Chartist movement in this country had been 35 started with the consent and assistance of middle-class radicals, though if it had been successful it could only have been for the advantage of the working class. England was the only country where the working class was sufficiently developed and organized to turn universal suffrage to its own proper account. He then alluded to the revolution of February as a movement that had been favored by a portion of the bourgeoisie against the ruling party. The revolution of February had only given promises to the working classes and had replaced one set of men of the ruling class 40

The Seventh Anniversary of the I. W.M.A.

by another. The insurrection of June had been a revolt against the whole ruling class, including the most radical portion. The working men who had lifted the new men into power in 1848 had instinctively felt that they had only exchanged one set of oppressors for another and that they were betrayed.

5

The Last Movement

was the Commune, the greatest that had yet been made, and there could not be two opinions about it—the Commune was the conquest of the political power of the working classes. There was much misunderstanding about the Commune. The Commune could not find a new form of class government. In destroying the
10 existing conditions of oppression by transferring all the means of labor to the productive laborer, and thereby compelling every able-bodied individual to work for a living, the only base for class rule and oppression would be removed. But before such a change could be effected a proletarian dictatorship would become necessary, and the first condition of that was a proletarian army. The working classes would
15 have to conquer the right to emancipate themselves on the battlefield. The task of the International was to organize and combine the forces of labor for the coming struggle.

**Resolution on the Central Committee
of the International's sections in the United States
Drawn up by the Subcommittee**

(Resolution of the Subcommittee.

Considering:

1, That every section in America has the right of being represented at the New York Federal Committee for the United States, which thereby receives the character of a truly representative body;

5

2, That the organisation and progress of the International in the United States is to a great extend due to the New York Federal Committee;

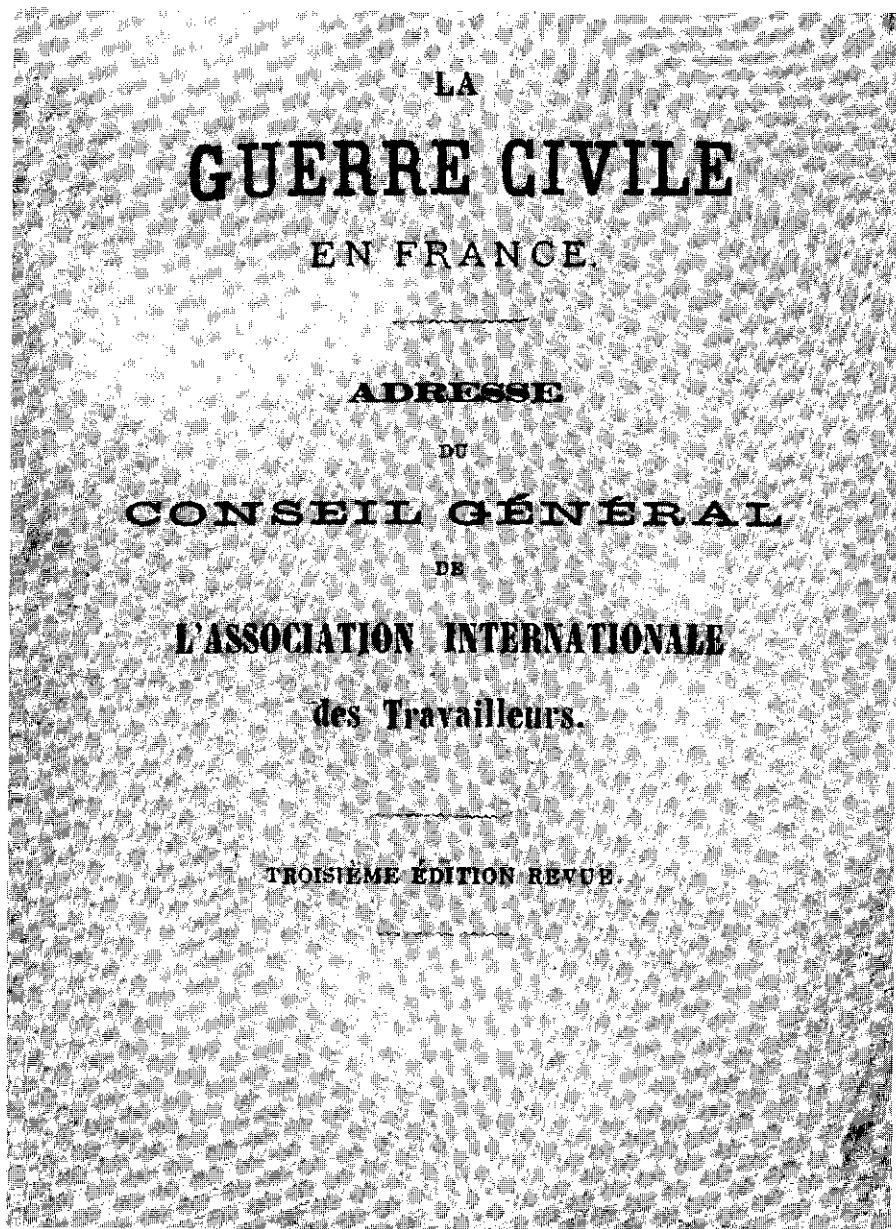
3, That there is nothing, either in the Rules of the Association or in the special organisation of the International in the United States to prevent any section from extending the Association amongst their own nationality;

10

The Council advises that the New York Central Committee for the United States be maintained until the extension of the International in America may render opportune the convocation of all the branches in the United States for the election of a new Federal Committee.]

Karl Marx
La Guerre civile en France
Adresse du Conseil général de
l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs

Von Karl Marx redigierte Übersetzung
aus dem Englischen



**[3] A tous les membres de l'Association
en Europe et aux Etats-Unis.**

Le 4 septembre 1870, quand les ouvriers de Paris proclamèrent la République,
5 aussitôt acclamée par toute la France sans une seule voix d'opposition, une bande
d'avocats affamés d'emplois, ayant Thiers pour homme d'Etat et Trochu pour
général, s'abattirent sur l'hôtel-de-ville. Us étaient à cette époque si imbus d'une foi
si fanatique dans la mission de Paris de représenter la nation à toutes les crises de
son histoire, que, pour légitimer leurs titres usurpés de gouverneurs de la France, ils
10 jugèrent très-suffisant de produire leurs mandats périmés de représentants de Paris.
Dans notre seconde adresse sur la dernière guerre, cinq jours après l'avènement de
ces hommes, nous vous avons dit ce qu'ils étaient. Cependant, dans la surprise et
le désarroi du premier moment, les véritables chefs de la classe ouvrière étant sous
les verroux bonapartistes et les Prussiens en marche sur Paris, Paris supporta leur
15 usurpation à la condition expresse que leur pouvoir serait exclusivement appliqué
à la défense nationale. Mais on ne pouvait défendre Paris sans armer ses ouvriers,
sans les organiser en une force effective, sans les discipliner enfin par la guerre
même. Or, Paris armé, c'était la révolution armée. La victoire de Paris sur l'agresseur
prussien, c'était la victoire de l'ouvrier français sur le capitaliste et ses parasites
20 d'Etat. Dans ce conflit entre les devoirs patriotiques et l'intérêt de classe, le gou-
vernement de la défense n'hésita pas une minute à se faire le gouvernement de la
défection nationale.

Ils débutèrent par envoyer Thiers en tournée dans toutes les cours de l'Europe
pour y mendier la médiation ; il offrait en 114| échange de troquer la République contre
25 un roi. Après quatre mois de siège, quand ils jugèrent le moment *psychologique*
venu, quand ils crurent qu'il était temps de laisser échapper le premier mot de
capitulation, Trochu, escorté de Jules Favre et d'autres de ses collègues, s'adressa
en ces termes aux maires de Paris réunis :

« La première question que me posèrent mes collègues le soir même du 4 septem-
bre fut celle-ci : Paris peut-il, avec quelque chance de succès, soutenir un siège
30 contre l'armée prussienne ? Je n'hésitai pas à répondre : non. Plusieurs de mes

Karl Marx

collègues ici présent garantiront la vérité de mes paroles et la persistance de mon opinion. Je leur dis en propres termes que, dans l'état de choses, ce serait une folie que de tenter de faire soutenir à Paris un siège contre l'armée prussienne. Sans doute, ajoutai-je, ce serait une folie héroïque ; mais voilà tout... Les événements (conduits par lui-même) n'ont pas démenti ma prévision. » Cette charmante petite 5
harangue de Trochu fut publiée plus tard par M. Corbon, un des maires présents.

Ainsi, le soir même de la proclamation de la République, les collègues de Trochu connaissaient que son « plan » était la capitulation de Paris. Si la défense nationale n'avait pas été un simple prétexte pour le gouvernement personnel de Thiers, Favre et C^e, les parvenus du 4 septembre auraient abdiqué le 5. Ils auraient initié le peuple 10
de Paris au plan de Trochu. Ils lui auraient dit : capitule sur l'heure ou conduis toi-même tes destinées. Loin de là, ces infâmes imposteurs résolurent de guérir l'héroïque folie des Parisiens par un régime de famine et de têtes emportées ; en même temps, ils les amusaient avec d'extravagants manifestes. Trochu y déclarait 15
que «le gouverneur de Paris ne capitulerait jamais» et Jules Favre, ministre des affaires étrangères, «qu'il ne céderait ni un pouce de notre territoire ni une pierre de nos forteresses». Dans une lettre adressée à Gambetta, ce même Jules Favre avoua que le gouvernement de la défense se défendait contre les travailleurs de Paris et non contre les soldats prussiens. Pendant toute la durée du siège, les coupe-jarrets 20
bonapartistes, investis par l'honnête Trochu du commandement de l'armée parisienne, échangeaient dans leurs correspondances intimes de cyniques plaisanteries sur cette comédie de la prétendue défense. On n'a pas oublié la correspondance entre Alphonse-Simon Guiod, commandant en chef de l'artillerie de l'armée de la défense de Paris et grand'croix de la légion d'honneur, et le Général d'ar||5|tillerie 25
Suzanne, correspondance publiée par le *Journal officiel* de la Commune. Enfin le 28 janvier 1871, ils jetèrent le masque d'imposture. Vrais héros d'abjection, les hommes de la défense nationale, par leur capitulation, donnèrent au monde ce spectacle étrange: la France gouvernée par les prisonniers de Bismarck, rôle si infâme que Louis Bonaparte, lui-même, à Sedan, avait hésité à l'accepter. Après les 30
événements du 18 mars, dans leur fuite effarée à Versailles, les capitulards abandonnèrent entre les mains de Paris la preuve écrite de leur trahison et pour les détruire, comme l'a dit la Commune dans son manifeste aux provinces, «ces hommes n'hésiteraient pas à faire de Paris un monceau de ruines noyé dans une mer de sang.»

Quelques-uns des principaux membres du gouvernement de la défense avaient 35
d'ailleurs des raisons toutes particulières pour souhaiter ardemment une telle catastrophe.

Peu après la conclusion de l'armistice, M. Minière, représentant de Paris à l'assemblée nationale, depuis fusillé par ordre exprès de Jules Favre, publia une série de documents légaux, authentiques, prouvant que Jules Favre, vivant en concubinage avec la femme d'un ivrogne demeurant à Alger, était parvenu par une série de faux les plus audacieux, embrassant plusieurs années, à mettre la main au nom de ses enfants adultérins, sur une succession considérable qui l'enrichit, et que, dans une poursuite intentée par les héritiers légitimes, ce même Jules Favre n'échappa au bagne que par la connivence des juges bonapartistes. Comme il n'y avait pas de rhétorique, fût-elle d'une force de mille chevaux, pour le débarrasser de ces documents secs 40
45

La Guerre civile en France · I

mais catégoriques, Jules Favre ne souffla mot pour la première fois de sa vie. Il attendit tranquillement l'explosion de la guerre civile et alors il dénonça frénétiquement le peuple de Paris comme un ramassis de forçats échappés en révolte ouverte contre la famille, la religion, l'ordre et la propriété. Après le 4 septembre, à 5 peine au pouvoir, ce même faussaire s'empressa de lâcher sur la société ses frères, Pic et Taillefer, condamnés pour faux, même sous l'empire, à la scandaleuse affaire de « *l'Etandard* ». Un de ces hommes, Taillefer, ayant osé revenir à Paris sous la Commune, fut aussitôt réintégré en prison ; et Jules Favre de s'écrier alors, du haut de la tribune de l'assemblée nationale, que Paris relâchait tous les gibiers de 10 potence.

Ernest Picard, le Falstaff du gouvernement de la défense nationale, qui se nomma lui-même ministre des finances de la République après s'être inutilement épousé à devenir, sous ||6| l'Empire, ministre de l'intérieur, est le frère d'un certain Arthur Picard, expulsé de la Bourse de Paris comme escroc, (Voir le rapport de la préfecture 15 de police daté du 31 juillet 1867), et convaincu sur son propre aveu d'un vol de 300000 francs pendant sa gérance d'une des succursales de la Société générale, rue Palestro, n° 5. (Voir le rapport de la préfecture de police, 11 décembre 1868). Cet Arthur Picard fut placé par son frère à la tête du journal *l'Electeur libre*. Pendant que le commun des Gogos étaient bernés par les mensonges de ce journal ministériel, 20 Arthur faisait la navette entre le ministère des finances et la Bourse où il escomptait les désastres de l'armée française. La correspondance financière de cette digne paire de frères tomba entre les mains de la Commune.

Jules Ferry, avocat sans causes avant le 4 septembre, réussit comme maire de Paris pendant le siège à se tailler une fortune dans la famine. Le jour de la reddition 25 de ses comptes serait pour lui le jour de sa condamnation.

Ainsi tous ces hommes ne pouvaient trouver leur verdict d'acquittement que dans les ruines de Paris. Ils étaient bien ceux-là qu'il fallait à Bismarck. Après quelques tours de passe-passe, Thiers, le secret inspirateur du Gouvernement, apparut alors comme son chef avec ces honorables grecs pour ministres.

30 Thiers, ce gnome monstrueux, est depuis près d'un demi siècle l'idole de la bourgeoisie française, parce qu'il est la représentation intellectuelle la plus fidèle de la corruption de cette classe. Avant de devenir homme d'Etat, il avait, comme historien, donné la mesure de sa puissance de mensonge. La chronique de sa vie publique n'est que le mémorial des malheurs de la France. Ligué avec les républicains avant 1830, sous Louis-Philippe il se faufila au pouvoir en trahissant son protecteur Laffitte. Pour gagner le cœur du roi il excitait contre le clergé des émeutes pendant lesquelles l'église de Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois et l'archevêché furent pillés ; il se fit ministre espion et geôlier-accoucheur de la duchesse de Berry. Le massacre des républicains, rue Transnonain, et à la suite les lois de septembre 40 contre la presse et le droit d'association furent son œuvre. Quand il reparut, de nouveau chef du cabinet en mars 1840, il étonna la France par son plan des fortifications de Paris. Aux républicains qui dénonçaient son projet comme un complot sinistre contre la liberté de Paris, il répondait du haut de la tribune de la Chambre des députés :

45 « Comment ! imaginer que des travaux de fortifications pourraient jamais mettre

Karl Marx

en danger la liberté ! D'abord, vous ||7| calomniez tout gouvernement possible en supposant qu'il pourrait un jour essayer de se maintenir en bombardant la capitale ; ...mais ce gouvernement serait cent fois plus impossible après sa victoire qu'auparavant. »

En effet quel gouvernement aurait jamais osé bombarder Paris de ses forts, sinon celui qui avait au préalable livré ces forts aux Prussiens. 5

Quand le roi Bomba pour son coup d'essai — qui fut un coup de maître—bombarda Palerme en janvier 1848, Thiers depuis longtemps éloigné du ministère prit la parole de nouveau à la Chambre. « Vous savez, messieurs, ce qui se passe à Palerme. Vous avez été agités des mêmes sentiments (*agitation toute parlementaire*) en 10 apprenant que durant quarante-huit heures une grande ville a été bombardée — par qui ? Etait-ce par un ennemi étranger qui exerçait les droits de la guerre ? Non, messieurs, c'était par son propre gouvernement. Et pourquoi ? Parce que cette ville infortunée demandait ses droits. Oui, pour avoir demandé ses droits elle a subi quarante-huit heures de bombardement... Permettez-moi d'en appeler à l'opinion de 15 l'Europe. C'est rendre service à l'humanité que de se lever et de faire retentir de cette tribune, qui est peut-être la plus grande de l'Europe, quelques paroles (rien que des paroles) d'indignation contre de tels actes... Quand le régent Espartero qui avait rendu des services à son pays (ce que M.Thiers n'a jamais fait) voulut bombarder Barcelone, afin d'y supprimer l'insurrection, il s'éleva de toutes les parties du monde 20 un grand cri d'indignation. »

Dix-huit mois plus tard, M.Thiers était un des plus acharnés défenseurs du bombardement de Rome par l'armée française. Le crime du roi Bomba était apparemment d'avoir bombardé Palerme seulement pendant quarante-huit heures.

Peu de jours avant la révolution de février, las de ce long exil du pouvoir et du budget, auquel Guizot l'avait condamné, sentant venir dans l'air une commotion populaire, Thiers, dans ce style pseudo-héroïque qui lui a valu le surnom de *Mirabeau mouche*, fit la déclaration suivante à la Chambre des députés : « Je suis du parti de la révolution non seulement en France, mais en Europe. Je désire que le gouvernement de la révolution reste entre les mains d'hommes modérés... mais si 25 ce gouvernement tombait entre les mains des esprits ardents, même de ceux qu'on appelle les radicaux, je ne déserterai pas pour cela ma cause. Je serai toujours du parti de la révolution. » Vint la révolution de février. Au lieu de remplacer le cabinet Guizot par un cabinet Thiers ||8| comme le petit homme l'avait rêvé, elle remplaça Louis-Philippe par la république. Pendant les premiers jours de la victoire populaire, 30 Thiers se cacha soigneusement, oubliant que le mépris des travailleurs le préservait de leur haine. Avec son courage légendaire il continua à déserter la scène politique jusqu'à ce que les massacres de juin faisant place nette lui permissent d'y exercer son action. Il devint alors l'inspirateur du « parti de l'ordre » et de sa république parlementaire, cet interrègne anonyme pendant lequel toutes les factions rivales des 35 classes gouvernantes conspirèrent ensemble pour écraser le peuple et conspirèrent l'une contre l'autre pour restaurer chacune sa monarchie. Alors comme aujourd'hui, Thiers dénonçait les républicains comme le seul obstacle à la consolidation de la République ; alors comme aujourd'hui il tenait à la République le langage du bourreau à Don Carlos : « Je vais t'assassiner, mais c'est pour ton bien. » Aujourd'hui après sa 40 45

victoire il pourra s'écrier comme alors : L'empire est fait ! Malgré ses homélies hypocrites sur les libertés nécessaires et son dépit personnel contre Bonaparte, qui l'a dupé et a balayé son parlementarisme (atmosphère factice en dehors de laquelle le petit homme sent bien qu'il ne peut que sécher sur pied et disparaître), Thiers

- 5 trempa dans toutes les infamies du second empire, depuis l'occupation de Rome par les troupes françaises, jusqu'à cette guerre de Prusse provoquée par ses invectives furibondes contre l'unité allemande, où ce chauvin suranné n'a jamais vu le masque du despotisme prussien, mais une atteinte au droit que s'étaient toujours arrogés les gouvernements français de tenir l'Allemagne désunie. Enragé de brandir, avec ses
- 10 bras de nain, à la face de l'Europe, l'épée du premier Napoléon dont il s'est fait le décrotteur historique, sa politique étrangère n'a jamais abouti qu'à l'humiliation de la France, depuis la convention de Londres en 1840 jusqu'à la capitulation de Paris en 1871, et à la présente guerre civile dans laquelle il lance contre Paris la meute des prisonniers de Metz et de Sedan avec la permission spéciale de Bismarck.

- 15 Cet homme au talent varié, mobile, aux résolutions inconstantes, n'en est pas moins demeuré toute sa vie incrusté, avec une ténacité de fossile, dans la routine la plus arriérée. Il va de soi que tout ce qui s'agit et bouillonne dans les profondeurs de la société moderne est resté pour lui lettre close ; mais même les changements les plus apparents qui ont lieu à la surface sont odieux à cette cervelle dont toute la
- 20 vitalité s'est réfugiée dans la langue. Jamais, par exemple, il ne s'est lassé de dénoncer ||9| comme un sacrilège toute déviation du vieux système protecteur français. Ministre de Louis-Philippe, il se moquait des chemins de fer comme d'une chimère folle, et député d'opposition sous Bonaparte, il flétrissait comme une profanation toute tentative de réformer le système corrompu de l'armée française.
- 25 Jamais, dans sa longue carrière politique, il n'a eu à se reprocher aucune mesure, même la moindre, d'utilité pratique. En une seule chose seulement Thiers s'est montré conséquent : dans son amour pour les richesses et dans sa haine pour ceux qui les produisent.

Entré au ministère sous Louis-Philippe, pauvre comme Job, il en sortit millionnaire.

- 30 Pendant son dernier ministère, sous le même roi (1^{er} mars 1840), accusé publiquement en pleine Chambre des députés de vol de deniers publics, il se contenta de répondre par des larmes, monnaie dont il paye aussi largement son monde que Jules Favre ou tout autre crocodile. A Bordeaux, sa première mesure pour sauver la France d'une ruine financière imminente fut de s'allouer trois millions par an,
- 35 premier et dernier mot de la République économique qu'il avait fait luire aux yeux de ses électeurs de Paris en 1869. Un de ses anciens collègues à la Chambre des députés en 1830, capitaliste lui-même et néanmoins membre de la Commune de Paris, M. Beslay, disait dernièrement dans une affiche à M. Thiers : « L'asservissement du travail par le capital a toujours été la pierre angulaire de votre politique, et
- 40 depuis le jour où vous avez vu la République du travail installée à l'hôtel-de-ville, vous n'avez jamais cessé de crier à la France : Ce sont des criminels ! » Passé maître dans les friponneries politiques, virtuose du parjure et de la trahison, rompu aux artifices, aux ruses basses ou perfides, à toute cette misérable stratégie de la guerre parlementaire ; n'hésitant jamais quand il n'est pas au pouvoir à souffler la Révolution et à la noyer dans le sang quand il est ministre ; remplaçant les idées par les
- 45



Karl Marx

préjugés de classe et le cœur par la vanité ; aussi infâme dans sa vie privée que dans sa vie publique, il ne peut s'empêcher, même aujourd'hui où il joue le rôle d'un Sylla français, de rehausser l'abomination de ses crimes par le ridicule de son ostentation.

La capitulation de Paris, en livrant à la Prusse non-seulement Paris, mais la France entière, ferma la longue série d'intrigues et de trahisons avec l'ennemi, inaugurée 5 par les usurpateurs du 4 septembre ce jour-là même de l'aveu de Trochu. D'autre part, elle portait le germe de la guerre civile qu'ils brûlaient d'entreprendre contre la République et contre Paris, ||10| avec l'aide des Prussiens. Le traquenard se trouvait dans les termes mêmes de la capitulation. A cette époque, plus du tiers de la France était aux mains de l'ennemi, la capitale coupée des provinces, tous les moyens de 10 communication désorganisés. Elire dans de telles circonstances une représentation réelle de la France était chose impossible ; au moins il eut fallu beaucoup de temps pour se préparer. Par contre, la capitulation stipulait l'élection de l'assemblée sous huit jours, de sorte que dans beaucoup d'endroits la nouvelle de l'élection n'arriva 15 que la veille du scrutin. En outre, cette assemblée, suivant une clause expresse de la capitulation, ne devait être élue que pour trancher la seule question de paix ou de guerre, et éventuellement pour conclure un traité de paix. La population sentait bien que les termes mêmes de l'armistice rendaient la continuation de la guerre impossible et que pour signer la paix imposée par Bismarck les plus tristes sires étaient ce qu'il 20 y avait de mieux. Non content de ces précautions, Thiers, *longtemps* avant que le bruit de l'armistice courut à Paris, se mit en campagne électorale. Il alla en province galvaniser le parti légitimiste qui devait maintenant, avec les Orléanistes, prendre la place des Bonapartistes devenus impossibles. Il ne le craignait pas. Impossible comme gouvernement de la France moderne, et par conséquent, rival méprisable, 25 quel parti pouvait fournir un meilleur instrument de contre-révolution que celui dont l'action, d'après les propres paroles de Thiers (Chambre des députés, 5 janvier 1833), était bornée à ces trois ressources : l'invasion étrangère, la guerre civile, l'anarchie ? Ces revenants croyaient en aveugles à l'avènement de leur millénaire si longtemps attendu. Le talon des envahisseurs écrasait la France, l'empire était par terre, un Bonaparte prisonnier ; eux ils étaient là. La roue de l'histoire avait évidemment 30 tourné à rebours pour s'arrêter à la Chambre introuvable de 1815. Dans les assemblées républicaines de 1848 et 1851, ils s'étaient fait représenter par leurs champions parlementaires, instruits et exercés ; c'était le troupeau du parti qui se ruait cette fois — tous les Pourceaugnacs de la France.

A peine réunis à Bordeaux, Thiers fit clairement comprendre aux ruraux qu'ils 35 devaient accepter tout de suite les préliminaires de paix, sans leur faire même l'honneur d'un débat parlementaire. A cette seule condition, la Prusse leur permettrait d'ouvrir la guerre contre la République et contre Paris son boulevard. La contre-révolution n'avait pas, en effet, de temps à perdre. Le second Empire avait plus que doublé la dette ||11| nationale et surchargé les grandes villes de dettes municipales 40 énormes. La guerre avait terriblement accru ces charges et ravagé sans pitié les ressources de la nation. Pour compléter la ruine, le Shylock prussien était là, son contrat à la main pour l'entretien d'un demi-million d'Allemands sur le sol français, son indemnité de cinq milliards avec les intérêts à 5 % sur les termes non échus. Qui allait payer la note ? Le renversement violent de la République pouvait seul donner 45

l'espoir aux accapareurs de richesses de rejeter sur les épaules des producteurs le fardeau de la guerre que ces accapareurs avaient eux-mêmes entreprise. Ainsi, l'immense ruine de la France ne faisait qu'aiguillonner l'ardeur des patriotiques représentants de la terre et du capital, pressés de greffer sous l'œil et le patronage 5 de l'envahisseur, sur la guerre étrangère, la guerre civile — une révolte d'esclavagistes.

Un grand obstacle, un seul, barrait le chemin aux conspirateurs ; c'était Paris. Désarmer Paris était la première condition du succès. En conséquence, Paris fut sommé par Thiers de déposer ses armes.

10 Puis on l'exaspéra par les démonstrations anti-républicaines des ruraux, les équivoques de Thiers sur la République «provisoire», la menace de décapiter et de décapitaliser Paris, la nomination d'ambassadeurs Orléanistes, la loi de Dufaure sur les échéances et les loyers qui ruinait le commerce et l'industrie parisiennes, le projet de Pouyer-Quertier d'imposer de deux centimes par exemplaire toute 15 publication de quelque nature qu'elle fût, la condamnation à mort de Blanqui et de Flourens, la suppression des journaux républicains, le transfert de l'assemblée nationale à Versailles, le renouvellement de l'état de siège déclaré par Palikao et expiré le 4 septembre, la nomination de Vinoy le décembriseur comme gouverneur de Paris, de Valentin le gendarme impérialiste comme préfet de police, et de 20 d'Aurelle de Paladines, le général jésuite, comme commandant en chef de la garde nationale.

Et maintenant, une question à M.Thiers et aux hommes de la défense nationale ses acolytes. On sait que, par l'intermédiaire de M. Pouyer-Quertier, son ministre des finances, Thiers avait contracté un emprunt de deux milliards. Maintenant, est-il 25 vrai, oui ou non :

Γ Que l'affaire avait été arrangée de manière à procurer quelques centaines de millions de bénéfice particulier à Thiers, Jules Favre, Ernest Picard, Pouyer-Quertier et Jules Simon ? |

|12| 2° Que cette somme ne devait être payée qu'après la *pacification* de Paris? 30 En tous cas, il devait y avoir quelque chose de bien pressant dans l'affaire, pour que Thiers et Jules Favre sollicitassent, au nom de la majorité de l'assemblée de Bordeaux, l'occupation immédiate de Paris par les troupes prussiennes. Mais, ce n'était pas là le jeu de Bismarck, comme il le dit en ricanant aux Philistins enthousiasmés de Francfort, lors de son retour en Allemagne.

Paris armé était le seul obstacle sérieux qui arrêtât le complot réactionnaire. Il fallait donc désarmer Paris. Sur ce point, l'assemblée de Bordeaux fut la sincérité même. Les grognements furieux des ruraux étaient déjà assez intelligibles ; mais en remettant Paris à la merci du triumvirat de Vinoy, le décembriseur, de Valentin, le 40 gendarme bonapartiste, et d'Aurelle de Paladines, le général jésuite, Thiers ne laissait plus l'ombre d'un doute. En même temps qu'ils affichaient de la manière la plus insolente le véritable motif du désarmement de Paris, les conspirateurs le sommèrent de

Karl Marx

mettre bas les armes sous un prétexte qui était le plus éclatant, le plus effronté des mensonges. L'artillerie de la garde nationale de Paris appartenait, disait Thiers, à l'Etat et devait être rendue à l'Etat.

Voici le fait. Dès le jour de la capitulation par laquelle les prisonniers de Bismarck avaient signé la reddition de la France, en se réservant une garde assez nombreuse dans l'intention formelle de mater Paris, Paris était en éveil. — La garde nationale se réorganisa et confia le contrôle suprême à un comité central élu par l'ensemble des bataillons, sauf un petit nombre de formation bonapartiste. La veille de l'entrée des Prussiens dans Paris, le comité central prit des mesures pour mettre en sûreté à Montmartre, Belleville et la Villette les canons et les mitrailleuses traîtreusement laissées par les capitulards dans les quartiers mêmes que les Prussiens devaient occuper. Cette artillerie provenait des souscriptions faites par la garde nationale. Elle avait été officiellement reconnue dans la capitulation du 28 janvier comme sa propriété particulière, et, à ce titre, exemptée de la livraison générale qui fut faite aux vainqueurs de toutes les armes du Gouvernement. Ainsi Thiers était tellement dépourvu de tout prétexte, même le plus [13] puéril, pour commencer la guerre contre Paris, qu'il dut recourir à ce mensonge notoire que l'artillerie de la garde nationale était la propriété de l'Etat.

La saisie de l'artillerie ne devait être évidemment que le préliminaire du désarmement général de Paris, et par là, de la révolution du 4 septembre. Mais cette révolution était devenue l'état légal de la France. La République son œuvre était reconnue par le vainqueur, dans les termes de la capitulation. Elle fut également reconnue après la capitulation par toutes les puissances étrangères et l'assemblée nationale avait été réunie en son nom. La révolution faite par les ouvriers de Paris, le 4 septembre, était le seul titre légal de l'assemblée nationale qui siégeait à Bordeaux et de son pouvoir exécutif. Sans cette révolution, l'assemblée nationale aurait dû immédiatement céder la place au Corps législatif élu en 1869 par le suffrage universel, sous la domination française et non prussienne, et renversé par le bras vigoureux de la révolution. Sans elle Thiers et ses grecs auraient dû encore capituler, mais cette fois pour obtenir de Louis Bonaparte des sauf-conduits, qui les auraient sauvé d'un voyage à Cayenne. L'assemblée nationale ayant procuration de régler les conditions de la paix avec la Prusse n'était qu'un incident de la révolution. — Son représentant véritable était toujours Paris armé, Paris qui l'avait proclamée ; Paris qui pour elle avait soutenu pendant cinq mois de siège les horreurs de la famine ; Paris qui, en dépit du plan de Trochu, avait fait de sa résistance prolongée la base d'une guerre défensive obstinée en province. Et maintenant Paris avait à choisir, ou rendre ses armes à la sommation insolente des esclavagistes de Bordeaux révoltés et reconnaître que sa révolution du 4 septembre n'était qu'un simple transfert de pouvoir de Bonaparte à ses royaux concurrents, ou se dresser comme le champion chevaleresque de cette France, pour laquelle il n'y avait ni salut, ni vie nouvelle, en dehors de l'anéantissement des conditions politiques et sociales d'où le second empire était né, et qui, soigneusement entretenues par lui, ont aujourd'hui atteint leur complète décomposition. Paris, amaigrí par cinq mois de famine, n'hésita pas un instant. Il résolut héroïquement de courir tous les hasards d'une résistance contre les conspirateurs français, même sous la gueule des canons prussiens

qui le menaçaient de ses propres forts. Et cependant, ayant horreur de la guerre civile à laquelle on excitait Paris, le comité central persista dans son attitude purement défensive, malgré les provocations de l'assemblée, les]|14| usurpations de l'exécutif et les menaçantes concentrations de troupes à Paris et aux environs.

- 5 Thiers commença la guerre civile en envoyant Vinoy à la tête d'une multitude de sergents de ville et de quelques régiments de ligne attaquer de nuit Montmartre et saisir par surprise l'artillerie de la garde nationale. On sait comment cette tentative avorta devant la résistance des gardes nationaux et la fraternisation de la ligne avec le peuple. Aurelle de Paladines avait imprimé d'avance ses bulletins de victoire, et
- 10 Thiers tenait tout prêt des placards annonçant le coup d'état. Il fallut alors les remplacer par des appels où Thiers voulait bien magnaniment laisser ses armes à la garde nationale qui, il en était certain, ne manquerait pas de se rallier autour du gouvernement contre les rebelles. Sur 300 000 gardes 300 seulement répondirent à l'appel de Thiers les invitant à se rallier autour de sa petite personne contre
- 15 eux-mêmes. La glorieuse révolution proléttaire du 18 mars devint aussitôt maîtresse incontestée de Paris. Le comité central fut son gouvernement provisoire. L'Europe parût un moment se demander s'il y avait quelque chose de réel dans toute cette récente mise en scène de pièces militaires à grand spectacle, dans ces drames à effet de la politique, ou si ce n'était pas le rêve d'un passé depuis longtemps évanoui.
- 20 Depuis le 18 mars jusqu'à l'entrée des troupes versaillaises, la révolution des prolétaires resta tellement pure des excès si fréquents dans les révoltes et surtout dans les contre-révoltes des « classes supérieures », que ses adversaires en furent réduits à jeter les hauts cris à propos de l'exécution des généraux Clément Thomas et Lecomte et de l'affaire de la place Vendôme.
- 25 Un des officiers bonapartistes engagé dans la tentative nocturne contre Montmartre, le général Lecomte, avait quatre fois ordonné au 81^e régiment de ligne de tirer sur la foule désarmée de la place Pigalle et, sur le refus des soldats, il les avait insultés ! Au lieu de fusiller des femmes et des enfants ses hommes le fusillèrent. Les vieilles habitudes du soldat discipliné et façonné par les ennemis des classes
- 30 ouvrières ne peuvent naturellement changer au moment même où il tourne casaque. Les mêmes hommes exécutèrent Clément Thomas.
- Le général Clément Thomas, ancien maréchal de logis mécontent, s'était dans les dernières années du règne de Louis-Philippe, enrôlé dans la petite troupe républicaine du *National*, en qualité de gérant responsable et de spadassin de ce journal ||15| très-
- 35 batailleur. Après la révolution de février, les hommes du *National* parvenus au pouvoir métamorphosèrent l'ancien maréchal de logis en général, la veille des journées de juin dont il fut comme Jules Favre un des sinistres machinateurs et où il se montra un des plus impitoyables bourreaux. Il disparut ensuite lui et son généralat pendant longtemps et revint sur l'eau le premier novembre 1870. La veille, le
- 40 gouvernement de la défense, prisonnier à l'hôtel-de-ville, avait solennellement engagé sa parole à Blanqui, à Flourens et aux autres mandataires des ouvriers, qu'il abdiquerait son pouvoir usurpé entre les mains d'une Commune librement élue par les Parisiens. Au lieu de tenir son serment, il lâcha sur Paris les Bretons de Trochu, qui remplaçaient alors les Corses de Bonaparte. Seul le général Tamisier refusa de
- 45 souiller son nom par ce manque de foi ; il résigna le commandement en chef de la

Karl Marx

garde nationale ; nommé à sa place, Clément Thomas redevint général. Pendant toute la durée de son commandement, il se battit non contre les Prussiens, mais contre la garde nationale. Il en empêcha l'armement général, excita les bataillons bourgeois contre les bataillons ouvriers, cassa les officiers hostiles au «plan» de Trochu et licencia, en les stigmatisant du mot de lâches, ces mêmes bataillons de prolétaires dont l'héroïsme a depuis étonné leurs ennemis les plus endurcis. Clément Thomas s'enorgueillit d'avoir reconquis la première place qu'il avait prise en juin, comme ennemi personnel de la classe ouvrière. Quelques jours seulement avant le 18 mars, il soumit au ministre de la guerre Le Flô un plan de son crû pour en finir avec la «fine fleur» de la «canaille» de Paris. Après la déroute de Vinoy, il éprouva le besoin de reparaître sur le champ de bataille comme espion-amateur. Le Comité central fut aussi peu responsable de la mort de Clément Thomas et de Lecomte, que la princesse de Galles pouvait l'être de la mort des personnes écrasées le jour de son entrée à Londres.

Le massacre des citoyens sans armes à la place Vendôme est une fable que M. Thiers et les ruraux ont toujours affecté d'ignorer à l'Assemblée, abandonnant à leur antichambre, à la valetaille du journalisme européen le soin de la propager. La victoire du 18 mars avait fait trembler «les hommes d'ordre» les réactionnaires de Paris. Ils comprenaient que pour eux l'heure de la justice populaire avait sonné. Devant eux se dressaient les spectres des victimes égorgées par leurs mains depuis juin 1848 jusqu'au 22 janvier 1871. Leur peur couarde fut leur seul châtiment. Les sergents de ville eux-^{||16|}mêmes, au lieu d'être désarmés et mis sous clef, comme la prudence ordonnait de le faire, trouvèrent les portes de Paris grandes ouvertes et purent chercher une retraite sûre à Versailles. Non-seulement les hommes d'ordre conservèrent leurs armes, mais on leur permit même de se rallier et de prendre tranquillement possession de plusieurs postes importants au cœur de Paris. Quand le parti de l'ordre vit l'indulgence du Comité central, la magnanimité des prolétaires armés, il interpréta cette attitude si étrangement différente de ses procédés habituels comme un signe de faiblesse. De là, leur sorte entreprise de tenter sous le masque d'une démonstration sans armes ce que Vinoy n'avait pu accomplir avec ses canons et ses mitrailleuses. Le 22 mars, une populace bruyante de gandins partit des quartiers riches ; les familiers bien connus de l'Empire, les Heeckeren, les Coëtlogon, les Henri de Pêne marchaient en tête de ces bataillons de petits crevés. Sous le lâche prétexte de démonstration pacifique, cette racaille, cachant sous ses vêtements ses armes d'assassin, s'avança en colonnes, frappant et désarmant les patrouilles détachées ainsi que les sentinelles de la garde nationale qu'elle rencontrait. Elle déboucha rue de la Paix aux cris de «à bas le Comité central ! à bas les assassins ! vive l'Assemblée nationale !» et trouvant devant elle une ligne de gardes nationaux essaya de la forcer, afin de surprendre le quartier-général de la place Vendôme. En réponse à leurs coups de pistolet on fit les sommations d'usage et comme elles restaient sans effet le général de la garde nationale commanda le feu. Une seule volée dispersa comme des lièvres nos petits maîtres qui s'étaient flattés qu'il suffisait aux gens comme il faut de se montrer pour produire sur la révolution de Paris le même effet que les trompettes de Josué sur les murs de Jéricho. Les fuyards laissèrent derrière eux deux gardes nationaux tués, neuf gravement blessés (parmi lesquels un

membre du Comité central) et le théâtre de leurs exploits jonché de revolvers, de poignards, de cannes à épée, comme preuve du caractère *pacifique* de leur démonstration sans *armes*.

Le 13 juin 1849, quand la garde nationale fit réellement une démonstration pacifique pour protester contre l'odieuse attaque de Rome par les troupes françaises, Changarnier, alors général du parti de l'ordre, fût acclamé par l'Assemblée nationale et surtout par M. Thiers, comme le sauveur de la société parce qu'il avait lancé de tous côtés ses troupes contre des hommes désarmés, pour les fusiller, les sabrer et les fouler ||17| aux pieds des chevaux. Paris fût aussitôt placé en état de siège, Dufaure bâcla aussitôt et se hâta de faire voter à l'Assemblée de nouvelles lois de répression. Nouvelles arrestations, proscriptions nouvelles, un nouveau règne de terreur. Mais les «basses classes» font autrement les choses. Le Comité central de 1871 ne voulût pas connaître les héros de la «démonstration pacifique», si bien que deux jours plus tard à peine ils purent se réunir sous les ordres de l'amiral Saisset, pour cette démonstration armée qui fut consommée par leur fameuse fuite à Versailles. Dans sa répugnance à continuer la guerre civile commencée par la tentative nocturne de Thiers contre Montmartre, le Comité central commit même la faute capitale de ne pas marcher immédiatement sur Versailles, alors sans aucune défense, lorsqu'il aurait pu ainsi terminer d'un coup la conspiration de Thiers et ses ruraux. Au contraire le parti de l'ordre put encore essayer sa force au scrutin du 26 mars, jour de l'élection de la Commune. Alors, dans les mairies de Paris, les réactionnaires échangèrent d'hypocrites paroles de conciliation avec leurs vainqueurs trop généreux, jurant au fond du cœur de les exterminer quand l'heure serait venue.

Voici maintenant le revers de la médaille. Thiers ouvrit sa seconde campagne contre Paris, dans les premiers jours d'avril. La première fournée de prisonniers Parisiens amenés à Versailles fut soumise aux atrocités les plus révoltantes. Ernest Picard, les mains dans les poches, le sarcasme aux lèvres rodait autour d'eux pendant que mesdames Thiers et Jules Favre, entourées de leurs dames d'honneur, applaudissaient du haut de leur balcon aux outrages de la populace versaillaise. Les soldats de la ligne faits prisonniers furent massacrés de sang-froid. Notre brave camarade, le général Duval, fondeur en fer, fut fusillé sans autre forme de procès. Galliffet, le maquereau de sa propre femme, fameuse dans les orgies du second Empire pour son impudicité, se vanta dans une proclamation d'avoir ordonné le massacre d'un petit détachement de gardes nationaux avec leurs officiers surpris et désarmés par ses chasseurs. Vinoy le fuyard fut nommé par Thiers, grand'croix de la Légion-d'honneur en récompense de son ordre du jour de fusiller tout soldat de ligne pris dans les rangs des fédérés. Desmarests, le gendarme, fut décoré pour avoir traîtreusement et comme un boucher haché en morceaux le magnanime et chevaleresque Flourens, qui le 31 octobre 1870 avait sauvé les chefs du gouvernement de la défense nationale. — Les «détails encourageants» de son assassinat furent triomphalement et complaisamment racontés ||18| par Thiers à l'Assemblée nationale. — Gonflé de vanité, ce Tompouce parlementaire qui jouait au Tamerlan, refusait à ceux qui se révoltaient contre sa Petitesse tous les droits reconnus dans la guerre entre nations civilisées, jusqu'à la neutralité pour les ambulances. Rien de plus horrible,

Karl Marx

comme l'a dit Voltaire, qu'un singe donnant subitement carrière à des instincts de tigre.

Après le décret sur les représailles rendu le 7 avril par la Commune, déclarant qu'il était de son devoir de «protéger Paris contre les exploits des bandits de Versailles, et de demander œil pour œil et dent pour dent», Thiers ne fit pas cesser le traitement barbare de prisonniers qu'en outre il insultait ainsi dans ses bulletins : « Jamais la plus basse démagogie n'avait offert des visages plus ignobles aux regards affligés des honnêtes gens», honnêtes gens de la trempe de Thiers et de ses ministres-escrocs. Cependant la fusillade sommaire des prisonniers fut suspendue. Mais à peine Thiers et ses généraux Décembristes furent-ils convaincus que le décret de la Commune sur les représailles était une vaine menace, que l'on épargnait même les gendarmes espions arrêtés dans Paris sous le déguisement de gardes nationaux, et jusqu'aux sergents de ville pris les mains pleines de bombes incendiaires, la fusillade sommaire des prisonniers recommença et ne fut plus interrompue jusqu'au dernier moment. — Des maisons où des gardes nationaux avaient trouvé un refuge furent cernées par les gendarmes, inondées de pétrole (qui fit ainsi sa première apparition dans cette guerre) et incendiées. Les cadavres carbonisés furent portés plus tard à l'ambulance de la Presse aux Ternes. Le 25 avril, quatre gardes nationaux se rendent à un détachement de chasseurs à cheval à la Belle-Epine ; ils sont aussitôt fusillés l'un après l'autre par le capitaine, digne valet de Gallifet. Une de ces quatre victimes, laissée pour morte, Scheffer, put ramper jusqu'aux avant-postes parisiens et témoigna de ce fait devant une commission de la Commune. — Le député Tolain ayant interpellé le ministre de la guerre au sujet du rapport de cette commission, les ruraux étouffèrent sa voix et défendirent à Le Flô de répondre. Ce serait, dirent-ils, insulter notre « glorieuse » armée que de parler de ses actes. Le ton dégagé dont les bulletins de Thiers annonçaient que les fédérés surpris dans leur sommeil au Moulin-Saquet avaient été lardés de coups de baïonnette et les exécutions sommaires de Clamart, blessèrent les nerfs mêmes du *Times* dont la sensibilité est le moindre défaut.

Mais il serait ridicule aujourd'hui d'essayer de raconter les ||19| atrocités par lesquelles débutèrent les bombardements de Paris et les instigateurs d'une rébellion d'esclavagistes, protégés par les baïonnettes étrangères. — Au milieu de ces horreurs, Thiers oubliant ses lamentations parlementaires sur la terrible responsabilité qui écrase ses épaules de nain, annonce dans ses bulletins vantards que l'Assemblée siège paisiblement et, banquetant sans cesse, tantôt avec les généraux Décembristes, tantôt avec les princes allemands, il prouve que rien, pas même les spectres de Lecomte et de Clément Thomas, ne peut troubler sa digestion.

III

Le 18 mars, dès l'aube, Paris se leva aux cris de vive la Commune ! Qu'est-ce que la Commune, ce sphinx qui met à la torture l'esprit des bourgeois ?

« Les prolétaires de la capitale, disait le Comité central dans son manifeste du 18 mars, au milieu des défaillances et des trahisons des classes gouvernantes ont

compris que l'heure était arrivée pour eux de sauver la situation en prenant en mains la direction des affaires publiques... Ils ont compris que c'était leur devoir impérieux et leur droit absolu de prendre en mains leurs destinées et d'en assurer le triomphe en s'emparant du pouvoir. » Mais la classe ouvrière ne peut se borner à 5 s'emparer de la machine toute montée de l'Etat pour la faire fonctionner à son profit.

L'Etat centralisé avec la multiplicité et l'ubiquité de ses organes, armée permanente, police, administration, clergé, magistrature, organes construits d'après un plan systématique et hiérarchique de division du travail, date de la monarchie absolue. Il a servi d'arme à la société bourgeoise naissante dans ses luttes contre la 10 féodalité. Mais son développement demeurait entravé par toutes sortes de débris du moyen-âge, droits seigneuriaux, privilèges locaux, monopoles de villes et de corporations et constitutions provinciales. Au XVIII^e siècle la révolution française balaya de son balai gigantesque ces vestiges des temps passés. Ainsi le sol social se trouva nettoyé de ses derniers obstacles et l'état moderne s'éleva sous le premier 15 empire, né lui-même de la coalition de la vieille Europe demi-féodale armée contre la France moderne.

Sous les régimes qui suivirent, le gouvernement placé sous le contrôle parlementaire, c'est-à-dire sous le contrôle direct des classes nanties — devint non-seulement une pépinière de ||20| dettes nationales énormes et d'impôts écrasants ; non-seulement avec ses attractions irrésistibles de places, de budgets et d'influence, il devint l'os que se disputèrent les factions rivales et les aventuriers des classes gouvernantes, mais encore son caractère politique changea en même temps que changeaient les conditions économiques de la société. Au fur et à mesure que l'industrie moderne développait, agrandissait et rendait plus intense l'antagonisme entre le 20 capital et le travail, le pouvoir central prenait de plus en plus le caractère de pouvoir national du capital sur le travail, d'une force publique organisée pour l'asservissement social, d'un engin de despotisme de classe. Après chaque révolution qui marque une phase progressive dans la lutte des classes, le caractère purement répressif de l'Etat s'accuse de plus en plus en relief. La révolution de 1830, en transférant le 25 gouvernement des propriétaires fonciers aux mains des capitalistes, le fit passer des antagonistes les plus éloignés aux antagonistes les plus directs des travailleurs. Les républicains bourgeois qui au nom de la révolution de février s'emparèrent du pouvoir, s'en servirent pour les massacres de juin, afin de convaincre les ouvriers que la république « sociale » signifie leur assujettissement social et persuader à la 30 masse royaliste des bourgeois et des propriétaires qu'ils pouvaient laisser en toute sûreté les soins et les honoraires du gouvernement aux «républicains-bourgeois». Néanmoins, après cet unique exploit de leur héroïsme, les républicains-bourgeois durent céder la première place et prendre la queue du «parti de l'ordre », combinai-son formée de toutes les fractions et factions rivales des classes qui accaparent les 35 richesses, alors en antagonisme déclaré avec les classes qui les produisent. La forme naturelle de leur gouvernement en commandite fut la République parlementaire avec Louis Bonaparte pour président. C'était un régime avoué de terrorisme de classe et d'insulte directe envers la «vile multitude». Si la République parlemen-taire était comme le disait Thiers « la forme de gouvernement qui divisait le moins » 40 45 les différentes fractions de la classe gouvernante, elle ouvrait un abîme entre cette

classe et la masse toute entière de la société en dehors de leurs rangs clair-semés. Leur union fit tomber les entraves que leur désunion avait sous les régimes précédents imposées au pouvoir de l'Etat afin de le tenir en échec. Appréhendant un soulèvement du prolétariat, ils se servirent alors du pouvoir central, sans pitié et avec ostentation, comme d'une arme nationale du capital contre le travail. Dans leur croisade per||21|sistante contre les masses productrices, ils furent amenés non-seulement à investir l'exécutif de pouvoirs de répression de plus en plus étendus, mais encore à démanteler leur forteresse parlementaire, l'Assemblée nationale, de tous ses moyens de défense contre l'exécutif. L'exécutif, en la personne de Louis Bonaparte, les mit à la porte. Le produit naturel de la République du «parti de l'ordre» ce fut le second Empire. 5

L'Empire, avec son coup d'Etat pour acte de naissance, le suffrage universel pour sanction, et le sabre pour sceptre, prétendit s'appuyer sur les paysans, la grande masse des producteurs qui n'est pas encore directement engagée dans la lutte entre le capital et le travail. Il prétendit sauver la classe ouvrière en jetant par terre le parlementarisme et avec lui la subordination avouée du gouvernement à la classe nantie. Il prétendait sauver cette classe en affermissant sa suprématie économique sur la classe ouvrière. Enfin, il prétendait unir toutes les classes en faisant revivre pour toutes la chimère de la gloire nationale. L'Empire était en réalité la seule forme de gouvernement possible à une époque où la bourgeoisie avait déjà perdu la capacité de gouverner la nation et où la classe ouvrière ne l'avait pas encore acquise. Il fut acclamé dans le monde entier comme le sauveur de la société. Sous son règne, la bourgeoisie, affranchie de tout souci politique, atteignit un développement qu'elle n'avait jamais osé espérer. Son industrie et son commerce acquirent des proportions colossales, les pirates de la finance célébrèrent des orgies cosmopolites ; et le faux luxe des prostitués s'étalant effrontément au grand jour, servit de cadre à la misère des masses. Le pouvoir central, tout en ayant l'air de planer au dessus de cette société, était à la fois son plus grand scandale et le foyer de toutes ses corruptions. Sa propre pourriture et la pourriture de cette société qu'il avait sauvée, furent mises à nu par la bayonnette de la Prusse, impatiente de transférer de Paris à Berlin la capitale de ce régime. L'impérialisme est en même temps la plus vile et la dernière forme de ce pouvoir central dont la bourgeoisie naissante s'était servie pour s'émanciper de la féodalité et qu'ensuite, arrivée à maturité, elle a transformé en un moyen d'asservir le travail au capital. 10 15 20 25 30

L'antithèse directe de l'Empire, c'était la Commune. Le cri de «République sociale» dont les prolétaires de Paris avaient salué la Révolution de février, n'exprimait qu'une vague aspiration vers une République qui devait non-seulement faire disparaître la forme monarchique du gouvernement ||22| d'une classe, mais encore tout gouvernement des classes. La Commune, voilà la forme positive de cette République. 35 40

Paris, le siège central du vieux pouvoir gouvernemental et en même temps le boulevard des travailleurs français, Paris s'était levé en armes contre la tentative de Thiers et de ses ruraux de restaurer et de perpétuer la vieille machine du gouvernement léguée par l'Empire. Ce qui avait rendu possible la résistance de Paris, c'est que, après le siège, il avait été débarrassé de l'armée et l'avait remplacée par la 45

r

La Guerre civile en France III

garde nationale, en grande majorité composée d'ouvriers. Il fallait maintenant transformer ce fait en une institution. Le premier décret de la Commune supprima donc l'armée permanente et lui substitua le peuple armé.

La Commune fut composée de conseillers municipaux choisis par le suffrage universel dans les différents arrondissements, responsables et révocables à court terme. La majorité de ses membres étaient naturellement des ouvriers ou des représentants reconnus de la classe ouvrière. La Commune n'était point un corps parlementaire, mais travailleur, législatif et exécutif en même temps. La police, au lieu de continuer d'être l'agent du gouvernement central, fut immédiatement dépourvue de ses attributions politiques et changée en agent responsable et toujours révocable de la Commune. Tous les employés des diverses branches de l'administration furent placés dans le même cas et tous, depuis les membres de la Commune jusqu'aux plus simples employés, furent payés au taux du salaire du travailleur. Les « droits acquis » et les frais de représentation des hauts dignitaires de l'Etat disparaissent avec les hauts dignitaires eux-mêmes. Les fonctions publiques cessèrent d'être une propriété particulière des agents du pouvoir central. Non-seulement l'administration municipale, mais encore toute l'initiative qui avait appartenu jusqu'alors à l'Etat, fit retour aux mains de la Commune.

Débarrassée de l'armée permanente et de la police, ces éléments de la force matérielle du vieux gouvernement, la Commune s'empressa de briser la force spirituelle de répression, le pouvoir des prêtres, enlevant aux églises et aux congrégations religieuses le droit de propriété. Les prêtres furent renvoyés dans la vie privée pour y vivre des aumônes des fidèles, suivant l'exemple de leurs prédecesseurs les apôtres. Tous les établissements d'instruction publique furent ouverts gratuitement au peuple et purifiés de toute ingérence d'église et d'Etat. Ainsi l'instruction devint accessible à tous et la science elle-même fut débarrassée des chaînes que lui avaient imposées les préjugés de classe et l'oppression du gouvernement.

Les fonctionnaires judiciaires devaient être dépourvus de cette fausse indépendance qui masquait leur abjecte servilité envers tous les gouvernements successifs auxquels ils prêtaient des serments de fidélité successivement violés. Comme tous les autres serviteurs publics, les magistrats et les juges devaient être électifs, responsables et révocables.

La Commune de Paris devait naturellement servir de modèle à tous les grands centres industriels de France. Une fois le régime communal établi dans la capitale et dans les centres secondaires, le vieux gouvernement centralisé devait aussi, dans les provinces, céder la place au gouvernement des producteurs par les producteurs. Dans une esquisse d'organisation nationale que la Commune n'a pas eu le temps de développer, il est dit clairement que la Commune était destinée à devenir la constitution politique du plus petit hameau et que dans les districts ruraux, l'armée serait remplacée par une milice nationale dont le temps de service serait très-court. Les communes rurales de chaque arrondissement administreraient leurs affaires communes au moyen d'assemblées de délégués réunis au chef-lieu et ces assemblées enverraient à leur tour à la délégation nationale à Paris des délégués révocables et liés à leurs électeurs par un mandat impératif.

Karl Marx

Les quelques fonctions importantes relevant encore du gouvernement central, ne seraient pas supprimées comme on l'a dit faussement, mais remplies par des agents communaux rigoureusement responsables. L'unité de la nation, loin d'être détruite, serait établie par la Constitution communale et deviendrait une réalité, grâce à la destruction du pouvoir central qui prétendait être la personification indépendante de la nation et supérieure à elle quand elle n'en était qu'une excroissance parasite. En même temps qu'on supprimait les organes répressifs du vieux pouvoir gouvernemental, ses fonctions légitimes devaient être transférées de cette autorité usurpée qui prétendait dominer la société elle-même aux agents responsables de cette société. Au lieu de décider une fois tous les trois ou six ans quel membre de la classe gouvernante irait trahir le peuple au Parlement, le suffrage universel devait rendre au peuple constitué en communes le même service que le suffrage particulier rend aux patrons en quête de travailleurs et de contre-maîtres. Et l'on sait combien les compagnies et les particuliers s'entendent dans les affaires importantes à mettre chaque homme 1124] à sa vraie place et comment ils savent, s'ils se trompent, réparer promptement leurs erreurs. D'un autre côté, rien ne pouvait différer davantage de l'esprit de la Commune que de substituer l'investiture hiérarchique au suffrage universel.

C'est le sort ordinaire des créations historiques entièrement nouvelles d'être prises par erreur pour la contre-partie de formes anciennes ou même disparues de la vie sociale avec lesquelles elles ont quelques points de ressemblance. Les uns ont vu dans cette Commune nouvelle, qui brise la puissance de l'Etat moderne, une reproduction des Communes du moyen-âge qui d'abord précédèrent le pouvoir central et plus tard en devinrent la base. D'autres ont pris la Constitution communale pour une tentative de fractionner en une fédération de petits Etats, idéal de Montesquieu et des Girondins, cette unité de grandes nations qui, engendrée jadis par la force politique, est devenue aujourd'hui un puissant coefficient de la production **Sociale**. L'antagonisme de la Commune contre l'Etat a été interprétée comme une forme excessive de l'ancien combat contre la centralisation à outrance. Des circonstances historiques particulières peuvent avoir empêché le gouvernement bourgeois de se développer classiquement comme en France et peuvent avoir permis comme en Angleterre de compléter l'organisme de l'Etat par des municipalités corrompues, des conseillers de ville concussionnaires, de féroces gardiens de la loi des pauvres dans les villes et des magistrats à peu près héréditaires dans les comtés.

La Constitution communale aurait rendu au corps social toutes ses forces absorbées par l'Etat, ce parasite, qui comme un ver rongeur dévore les entrailles de la société. Elle aurait par cela seul commencé la régénération de la France. En province la classe bourgeoise voyait dans la Commune le retour de la prépondérance qu'elle avait exercée sous Louis-Philippe, prépondérance que Louis-Napoléon avait remplacée par la prétendue domination des campagnes sur les villes. En réalité la Constitution communale plaçait les producteurs ruraux sous la direction intellectuelle des villes de leurs départements et leur assurait dans les travailleurs des gardiens naturels de leurs intérêts. L'existence même de la Commune impliquait naturellement la liberté municipale ; mais non plus de tenir en échec le pouvoir central désormais supprimé.

F

La Guerre civile en France • III

Il ne pouvait entrer que dans le tête d'un Bismarck, qui dans l'intervalle de ses intrigues de fer et de sang revient toujours [J25] avec bonheur à son ancien métier, si digne de son calibre intellectuel, de collaborateur du Kladderadatsch, le *Charivari de Berlin*, il ne pouvait entrer que dans une telle cervelle de prêter à la Commune de Paris le dessein de singer cette caricature de la vieille organisation française de 1791 : la Constitution municipale de Prusse qui avilit les administrations locales jusqu'à en faire de simples rouages de la police prussienne.

La Commune avait réalisé le gouvernement à bon marché, cette réclame stéréotypée des révolutions bourgeoises, en détruisant les deux grandes sources de dépenses, l'armée permanente et le fonctionarisme d'Etat. Son existence même supposait la non-existence de la monarchie, laquelle en Europe au moins est l'accessoire obligé et le déguisement indispensable du régime de classes, elle donnait pour base à la République des institutions réellement démocratiques. Mais ni le gouvernement à bon marché ni «la vraie République» n'étaient son but final, ils 15 n'étaient que ses corollaires.

La multiplicité des interprétations auxquelles la Commune a donné lieu et la multiplicité des intérêts qui se réclamaient d'elle montrent que c'était une forme de gouvernement tout-à-fait expansive tandis que toutes les formes antérieures étaient essentiellement répressives. Son vrai secret le voici. La Commune était essentiellement le gouvernement de la classe ouvrière, le résultat de la lutte entre la classe qui produit et celle qui exploite, la forme politique enfin découverte grâce à laquelle on arrivera à l'émancipation du travail.

Sans cette condition dernière la Commune n'aurait été qu'une impossibilité et une illusion. Le règne politique du producteur ne peut co-exister avec la perpétuation de son esclavage social. La Commune devait donc servir de levier pour renverser les fondements économiques sur lesquels repose l'existence des classes et par là leur gouvernement. Le travail une fois émancipé tout homme devient un travailleur et le travail productif cesse d'être l'attribut d'une classe.

C'est une chose étrange. Malgré tous les grands discours et les flots de littérature 30 dépensés depuis soixante ans au sujet de l'émancipation du travail, les ouvriers d'un pays quelconque ont à peine pris leurs affaires en mains, que les avocats de la société actuelle avec ses deux pôles, le capital et l'esclavage salarié (le propriétaire n'est maintenant que le commanditaire du capitaliste), les inondent aussitôt d'un déluge de plaidoyers. Il semble vraiment que cette société capitaliste soit encore 35 dans [J26] l'état le plus pur d'innocence virginal, exempte d'antagonisme, sans que ses fraudes aient été dévoilées, ses abominables réalités mises à nu. La Commune, disent-ils, veut abolir la propriété, base de toute civilisation !

Oui, messieurs, la Commune prétendait abolir cette propriété spéciale à une classe qui fait du travail de tous la fortune de quelques-uns. Elle voulait exproprier les 40 expropriateurs, elle voulait faire de la propriété individuelle une vérité par la transformation des moyens de production, la terre et le capital, aujourd'hui instruments tout-puissants d'asservissement et d'exploitation du travailleur, en de simples instruments de travail libre et associé. — Mais c'est là du communisme, du communisme «impossible». Eh quoi! est-ce que les membres des classes dominantes 45 qui sont assez intelligents pour voir que le système actuel n'est pas durable — et ils

sont nombreux — ne sont pas devenus les malencontreux et bruyants apôtres de la production coopérative ? Si la production coopérative ne doit pas rester une chimère et un piège, si elle doit remplacer le système capitaliste, si les sociétés coopératives réunies doivent régler la production nationale sur un plan commun en la plaçant sous leur propre contrôle et mettre fin à l'anarchie constante et aux convulsions périodiques, conséquences fatales de la production capitaliste, que serait-ce, messieurs, sinon du communisme, du communisme «possible». 5

Les travailleurs n'attendaient pas de miracles de la Commune. Ils n'avaient pas d'utopies, toutes prêtées à introduire par décret du peuple. Ils savaient que pour réaliser leur émancipation et atteindre par cela cette forme supérieure vers laquelle tend la société moderne par toutes ses forces économiques, ils auraient à traverser de longues luttes et une série de phases historiques qui transformeraient les circonstances et les hommes. Ils n'avaient pas d'idéal à réaliser ; ils avaient à dégager les éléments d'un monde nouveau que porte dans ses flancs la vieille société en délabrement. Pleinement conscients de leur mission historique, héroïquement résolus à l'accomplir, les travailleurs peuvent sourire des grossières invectives des plomitifs, et de ce pédant patronage des bienveillants bourgeois doctrinaires, débitant d'un ton d'oracle infaillible leurs sottes platitudes scientifiques et leurs interminables antennes. 10 15

Quand la Commune de Paris prit les rênes de la révolution, quand de simples ouvriers osèrent pour la première fois empiéter sur les priviléges de leurs « supérieurs naturels» et, dans des circonstances d'une difficulté sans pareille, accom²⁷plirent leur œuvre modestement et consciencieusement, efficacement, le vieux monde se tordit de rage à la vue du drapeau rouge, symbole de la République du travail, flottant sur l'hôtel-de-ville. 20 25

Le 18 mars fut la première révolution qui fit publiquement reconnaître la classe ouvrière comme la seule actuellement capable d'initiative sociale, même par la grande masse de la classe moyenne de Paris — boutiquiers, marchands, négociants, — à la seule exception des capitalistes. La Commune l'avait sauvée par un sage arrangement de cette cause persistante de dispute au sein même de cette classe — les comptes entre débiteurs et créanciers. Cette même classe moyenne, après avoir aidé à réprimer l'insurrection ouvrière de juin 1848, avait été sacrifiée sans façon à ses créanciers par l'assemblée constituante d'alors. Mais ce n'était pas leur seul motif de se rallier aux travailleurs. Ils sentaient qu'ils devaient choisir entre la Commune ou l'Empire quelque fut son nom nouveau. Economiquement l'Empire les avait ruinés en mettant au pillage la richesse publique, en lâchant la bride à l'escroquerie financière, en développant la centralisation des capitaux, en éclaircissant peu à peu leurs rangs. Politiquement il les avait annulés, scandalisés par ses orgies, insultés dans leur voltaïanisme en livrant l'éducation de leurs enfants aux frères ignorantins ; au point de vue national, ils ne pouvaient oublier qu'il les avait précipités tête baissée dans une guerre qui n'avait laissé qu'une seule compensation de ses désastres — la disparition de l'Empire. En réalité, après l'exode de Paris de toute la haute Bohême bonapartiste et capitaliste, le vrai parti de l'ordre au sein de la classe moyenne fut représenté par «l'Union républicaine» qui s'enrôla sous le drapeau de la Commune et le défendit contre les odieux travestissements de Thiers. 30 35 40 45

La Guerre civile en France · III

La gratitude de ce grand corps de la classe moyenne survivra-t-elle aux épreuves sévères du présent ? — C'est ce que l'avenir dira.

La Commune avait parfaitement raison de dire aux paysans que sa victoire était leur seule espérance. De tous les mensonges éclos à Versailles et repercutés par la 5 glorieuse Figaraille de l'Europe, un des plus indignes fut de dire que les ruraux représentaient les paysans français. Qu'on imagine l'amour du paysan français pour les hommes à qui, après 1815, il eut à payer le milliard d'indemnité. Aux yeux du paysan français l'existence seule d'un grand propriétaire foncier est un empiétement sur ses conquêtes de 1789. Les bourgeois, en 1848, avaient grecé ||28| son lopin de 10 terre d'un impôt additionnel de 45 centimes ; mais ils l'avaient fait au nom de la révolution. Aujourd'hui, ils fomentaient contre la révolution la guerre civile, sauf à rejeter sur les épaules du paysan tout le poids des cinq milliards d'indemnité à payer aux Prussiens. La Commune, au contraire, dans une de ses premières proclamations, avait déclaré que les vrais auteurs de la guerre en payeraient tous les 15 frais.

La Commune aurait délivré le paysan de l'impôt du sang ; elle lui aurait donné le gouvernement à bon marché ; et de ses sangsues actuelles, le notaire, l'avocat, l'huissier et autres vampires légaux, elle aurait fait des agents communaux à traitement fixe, élus par lui, devant lui responsables. La Commune l'aurait affranchi de 20 la tyrannie du garde-champêtre, du gendarme et du préfet, et par elle le flambeau du maître d'école aurait remplacé l'éteignoir du prêtre. Le paysan français est avant tout calculateur. Il aurait trouvé tout simple que la solde du prêtre fut payée par les contributions volontaires des fidèles au lieu d'être estorquée par le percepteur.

25 Tels étaient les dons immédiats que la Commune et la Commune seule pouvait faire au paysan français. Il est donc tout à fait superflu de s'étendre ici sur les problèmes plus compliqués, mais fondamentaux, que la Commune avait le pouvoir et en même temps le devoir de résoudre en faveur du paysan, dette hypothécaire toujours collée comme un incubus aux flancs de sa propriété morcelée qu'elle 30 étouffe, prolétariat foncier, grossissant tous les jours pour aboutir dans un temps plus ou moins long, par le développement même de l'agriculture moderne et de la concurrence des fermiers capitalistes, à l'expropriation du paysan.

Ce fut lui qui nomma Bonaparte président de la République, mais ce fut le parti de l'ordre qui créa l'Empire. Ce qu'il désire, le paysan français commença à le 35 montrer en 1849 et 1850 quand il opposait son maire au préfet du gouvernement, son maître d'école au prêtre du gouvernement et lui-même au gendarme du gouvernement. Toutes les lois forgées par le parti de l'ordre en janvier et février 1850 furent des armes avouées de répression contre le paysan. Le paysan était bonapartiste parce que, à ses yeux, la grande Révolution avec tous ses avantages 40 était personnifiée dans Napoléon. Comment cette illusion qui s'évanouissait à vue d'œil sous le second Empire (par sa nature même hostile aux populations rurales), comment ce préjugé du passé aurait-il pu résister à l'appel de la Commune, aux intérêts vivants et aux besoins immédiats des paysans ? |

45 |29| Les ruraux savaient bien (et c'était leur plus vive appréhension) que trois mois de libre communication entre le Paris communal et les provinces auraient

Karl Marx

amené le soulèvement général des paysans. De là leur anxiété d'établir un cordon de police autour de ce Paris, afin d'arrêter l'invasion de la peste communale.

Si la Commune, ainsi qu'on le voit, était le vraie représentation de tous les éléments sains de la société française et par conséquent le gouvernement réellement national, elle se trouvait en même temps, en sa qualité de gouvernement des travailleurs et d'audacieux champion de l'émancipation du travail, essentiellement internationale. Sous les yeux de l'armée prussienne qui venait d'annexer à l'Allemagne deux provinces françaises, elle annexait à la France tous les ouvriers de l'univers. 5

Le second Empire avait été le jubilé des escrocs du monde entier; les coquins s'étaient rués de tous les coins de la terre pour prendre part à ses orgies et au pillage du peuple français. La Commune, elle, admit tous les étrangers à l'honneur de mourir pour une cause immortelle. Dans l'intervalle entre la guerre étrangère perdue par sa trahison et la guerre civile fomentée par sa conspiration avec l'étranger, la bourgeoisie avait trouvé le temps de déployer son patriotisme en organisant les chasses policières contre les allemands en France. La Commune nomma un allemand ministre des travaux publics. Thiers, la bourgeoisie, le second Empire avaient perpétuellement flatté la Pologne par de chaudes protestations de sympathie pendant qu'en réalité ils la trahissaient et faisaient l'œuvre lâche de la Russie. La Commune honora les héroïques fils de la Pologne en les plaçant à la tête des soldats de Paris. Pour marquer le commencement de l'ère nouvelle qu'elle savait inaugurer, sous les yeux du conquérant prussien et d'une armée bonapartiste conduite par des généraux bonapartistes, elle jetait bas la colonne Vendôme, ce colossal symbole de gloire militaire. 10 15 20

La grande mesure sociale de la Commune fut son existence même. Ses mesures spéciales ne pouvaient qu'indiquer les tendances d'un gouvernement du peuple par le peuple. Telles furent l'abolition du travail de nuit des garçons boulanger, la défense, sous diverses peines, aux patrons de réduire le salaire de leurs ouvriers en leur infligeant des amendes sous divers prétextes, pratique par laquelle le patron se fait législateur, juge, receveur pour escamoter l'argent ; la remise aux ||30| associations ouvrières, moyennant indemnité, de tous les ateliers ou fabriques en chômage, soit que leurs capitalistes respectifs se fussent enfuis, soit qu'ils eussent préféré se mettre en grève. 25 30

Les mesures financières de la Commune, remarquables par leur clairvoyance et leur modération, furent ce qu'elles pouvaient être dans une ville assiégée. Considérant les escroqueries colossales commises sur la ville de Paris par les grandes compagnies financières et les entrepreneurs, sous la protection d'Haussmann, la Commune aurait eu cent fois plus le droit de confisquer leurs propriétés que Bonaparte celles de la famille d'Orléans. Les Hohenzollern et les aristocrates anglais dont les biens ont grossi des dépouilles des églises furent, comme de juste, scandalisés de ce que la Commune ne retira que 8000 fr. de la sécularisation du clergé. 35 40

Pendant que le gouvernement de Versailles, dès qu'il eut recouvré un peu de tête et de force, employait les armes les plus atroces contre la Commune, pendant qu'il étouffait toute libre expression de l'opinion en France, au point d'interdire les congrès de délégués de grandes villes, pendant qu'il soumettait Versailles et le reste 45

du pays à un espionnage de beaucoup supérieur à celui du second Empire ; pendant que ses gendarmes inquisiteurs brûlaient les journaux parisiens et qu'il violait toutes les lettres allant à Paris ou en venant ; pendant que l'assemblée nationale couvrait les plus timides efforts pour dire un mot en faveur de Paris de hurlements inconnus, 5 même dans la chambre introuvable de 1816, traquée au dehors par la sauvagerie versaillaise, dans Paris par la corruption et les complots, la Commune n'aurait-elle pas trahi honteusement son mandat si elle avait affecté de conserver les bienséances extérieures du libéralisme comme dans un temps de paix profonde ? Si le gouvernement de la Commune avait ressemblé à celui de M. Thiers, il n'y aurait pas eu à 10 supprimer dans Paris plus de journaux de l'ordre qu'il n'y avait de journaux commueux à supprimer à Versailles.

Ce fut bien dur pour les **ruraux**, mais au moment même où ils déclaraient que le retour à la religion était le seul moyen de salut pour la France, l'infidèle Commune déterrait les mystères significatifs du couvent de Picpus et de l'église Saint-Laurent.

15 **Quelle** satire contre M. Thiers, couvrant de grandes croix les généraux bonapartistes pour leur maestria à perdre des batailles, à signer des capitulations et à tourner des cigarettes à Wilhelmshohe, dans la conduite de la Commune ||31| révoquant et arrêtant ses généraux soupçonnés de négligence. L'expulsion et l'arrestation par la Commune d'un de ses membres qui s'y était glissé sous un faux nom et avait subi 20 à Lyon un emprisonnement de six jours pour banqueroute simple, n'était-elle pas une véritable insulte contre le faussaire Jules Favre, toujours ministre des affaires étrangères, toujours vendant la France à Bismarck et dictant ses ordres au gouvernement modèle de Belgique ? Il est vrai que la Commune ne prétendait pas à l'infalibilité, attribut nécessaire des gouvernements de vieille souche. Elle rendait publics 25 ses actes et ses paroles, et initiait le public à toutes ses défaillances.

Dans toutes les Révolutions, à côté de leurs véritables représentants, se produisent des hommes de différentes espèces ; les uns survivants et zélateurs des Révolutions passées, ne comprenant rien au présent, conservent cependant une influence sur le peuple par leur honnêteté reconnue, leur courage ou par la seule 30 force de la tradition ; les autres intrus, purs braillards, à force de rabâcher perpétuellement les mêmes déclarations stéréotypées contre le gouvernement du jour, ont fini par acquérir la réputation de révolutionnaires de la plus belle eau. Après le 18 mars, des hommes de ce genre apparurent et quelques-uns réussirent à occuper des postes très-importants. Dans la limite de leur pouvoir, ils ont entravé l'action 35 des travailleurs, précisément comme leurs pareils ont arrêté le développement de toutes les Révolutions. C'est un malheur inévitable, le temps en fait justice ; mais le temps manqua à la Commune.

Quel changement merveilleux la Commune apporta dans Paris ! Plus la moindre trace du Paris de prostitués du second Empire ! Les lords anglais, les ex-propriétaires d'esclaves américains, russes, les boyards valaques ne font plus de Paris leur caravansérail. Plus de cadavres à la morgue, d'assassinats nocturnes, de vols ; pour la première fois depuis février 1848, les rues de Paris sont sûres et cependant toute police a disparu. «Nous n'entendons plus parler, dit un membre de la Commune, ni d'assassinats, ni de vols, ni de voies de fait. On dirait que la police a entraîné avec 45 elle à Versailles tous ses amis les conservateurs.» Les cocottes avaient suivi à la

Karl Marx

piste leurs protecteurs en fuite, les hommes de la famille, de la religion et par-dessus tout de la propriété. On vit surgir à leur place la vraie parisienne, héroïque, noble et dévouée comme les femmes de l'antiquité. Et Paris travaillait, pensait, combattait, saignait, oubliant presque dans son incubation d'une ||32J société nouvelle les cannibales à ses portes, radieux dans son enthousiasme d'inaugurer une ère 5 nouvelle.

En face de ce monde nouveau de Paris, voyez le vieux monde de Versailles. Cette assemblée de revenants de tous les régimes évanouis, légitimistes et orléanistes s'abattant sur le cadavre de la nation, avec cette queue anté-diluvienne de républi-cains qui sanctionnent par leur présence la révolte des esclavagistes, comptant 10 pour le maintien de leur république parlementaire sur la vanité du charlatan senile qui est à leur tête, singeant 89, tenant leurs pâles réunions au jeu de Paume : la voilà, cette assemblée représentant tout ce qui est mort en France ; elle ne doit une apparence de vie qu'aux épées des généraux de Bonaparte. Paris tout vérité, 15 Versailles tout mensonge, et ce mensonge s'exhalant par la bouche de Thiers.

Thiers dit à la députation des maires de Seine-et-Oise : « Vous pouvez compter sur ma parole, je n'y ai jamais manqué », à l'Assemblée, « qu'elle était la plus librement élue et la plus libérale qu'eut jamais eu la France », à ses mercenaires bigarés, qu'ils étaient « l'admiration du monde, la plus belle armée que la France ait jamais possédée » ; aux départements, que le bombardement de Paris était un mythe : « si quelques coups de canon ont été tirés, ce n'est pas le fait de l'armée de Versailles, mais des insurgés qui veulent faire croire qu'ils se battent tandis qu'ils n'osent pas se montrer ; » plus tard : « l'artillerie de Versailles ne bombarde pas Paris, elle le canonne seulement » ; à l'archevêque qui lui parlait des exécutions et représailles reprochées aux troupes versaillaises, il répond en bon français : vous 20 rêvez ! Il dit à Paris qu'il voulait seulement « le délivrer des tyrans hideux qui l'oppriment » et que le Paris de la Commune n'était en réalité « qu'une poignée de criminels ». 25

Le Paris de M.Thiers n'était pas le vrai Paris de la « vile multitude », mais un fantôme de Paris, le Paris des francs-fileurs, le Paris des boulevards, femelles et mâles, le Paris riche, capitaliste, doré, fainéant, transplanté en ce moment avec ses laquais, ses grecs, sa bohème littéraire et ses cocottes à Versailles, Rueil et St-Germain. Ce Paris-là considérait la guerre civile comme un agréable divertissement, lorgnait la bataille à travers des longues-vues, comptait les coups de canon et jurait sur son honneur et celui de ses prostituées que le drame était bien mieux 30 monté qu'à la porte St-Martin, car là les hommes qui tombaient étaient bien réellement morts, les cris ||33J des blessés étaient bien des cris vérifiables, et puis c'était frappant de couleur historique. 35

Oui, voilà le Paris de M.Thiers ; ainsi l'émigration de Coblenz était la France de M. de Calonne. 40

IV

La première tentative des conspirateurs esclavagistes pour soumettre Paris en le faisant occuper par les Prussiens avait échoué devant le refus de Bismarck. La

seconde, celle du 18 mars, avait abouti à la déroute de l'armée et à la fuite du gouvernement à Versailles, où il ordonna à toute l'administration de venir le rejoindre. Maintenant par de feintes négociations de paix avec Paris, Thiers cherchait à gagner du temps pour préparer la guerre. Mais où trouver une armée ? Les débris 5 des régiments de ligne étaient peu nombreux et mal disposés. L'appel urgent adressé aux départements d'envoyer leurs gardes nationales et leurs volontaires au secours de Versailles était tombé à plat devant leur refus. Seule, la Bretagne fournissait une poignée de chouans qui se battaient sous un drapeau blanc, portaient sur leur poitrine un cœur de Jésus en flanelle blanche et criaient : vive le roi ! Thiers fut donc obligé 10 de raccoler en toute hâte une arlequinade de matelots, de fusiliers marins, de zouaves pontificaux, de gendarmes de Valentin, de sergents de ville et de mouchards impériaux. Mais cette bande, cependant, aurait été ridiculement insuffisante sans les détachements de prisonniers de guerre impérialistes. Bismarck en accorda juste ce qu'il fallait pour entretenir la guerre civile et tenir le gouvernement de Versailles 15 dans une abjecte dépendance de la Prusse. Encore pendant cette guerre, la police versaillaise dut-elle surveiller l'armée versaillaise et les gendarmes furent-ils obligés pour l'entraîner de s'exposer eux-mêmes à tous les postes périlleux. L'héroïsme des fédérés convainquit Thiers que ni son génie stratégique ni la force dont il disposait ne pourraient briser la résistance de Paris.

20 En même temps les relations avec la province devenaient de plus en plus difficiles. Nulle adresse d'approbation ne venait réjouir Thiers ni ses ruraux. Bien au contraire. Il pleuvait de tous côtés des députations et des adresses demandant sur un ton rien moins que respectueux la conciliation avec Paris, sur la base de la reconnaissance formelle de la République et des libertés communales et la dissolution de l'assemblée 25 nationale dont le mandat était expiré. Leur nombre fut si considérable [J34] que Dufaure, ministre de la justice de Thiers, dans sa circulaire du 23 avril, ordonna aux parquets de poursuivre le cri de «conciliation» comme un crime. Voyant que sa campagne s'annonçait si mal, Thiers changea ses batteries ; il ordonna par tout le pays des élections municipales pour le 30 avril sur la base de la nouvelle loi qu'il 30 avait dictée lui-même à l'Assemblée. Les intrigues de ses préfets et l'intimidation de sa police aidante, il se flattait que le verdict des provinces donnerait à l'assemblée cette force morale qu'elle n'avait jamais eue et cette force matérielle si nécessaire pour vaincre Paris.

35 En même temps que Thiers exaltait, dans ses bulletins, sa guerre de brigand contre Paris, en même temps que ses ministres s'efforçaient de faire régner la terreur par toute la France, il entrait dans son plan, dès le début, de jouer à la conciliation ; et cela pour plusieurs raisons. Il voulait duper les départements, cajoler la classe moyenne de Paris et par dessus tout fournir aux prétendus républicains de l'Assemblée l'occasion de masquer leur trahison contre Paris derrière leur confiance en 40 Thiers. Le 21 mars, n'ayant pas encore d'armée, il déclarait à l'Assemblée : « Arrive que pourra, je n'enverrai pas d'armée à Paris. » Le 27 mars, il s'écriait encore : « J'ai trouvé la République un fait accompli et je suis fermement résolu à la maintenir. » En réalité, il écrasait la révolution à Lyon et à Marseille au nom de la République, pendant que les grognements des ruraux couvraient toute mention 45 même du mot à Versailles. Après cet exploit, il baissa d'un ton, et parla du «fait

accompli » comme d'un fait hypothétique. Les princes d'Orléans qu'il avait soigneusement écartés à Bordeaux purent maintenant intriguer à Dreux au mépris flagrant de la loi. Les concessions offertes par Thiers dans ses interminables entrevues avec les délégués de Paris et des départements, quoique variant toujours de ton et de couleur, suivant l'heure et les circonstances, n'allèrent en réalité jamais plus loin que la promesse de restreindre la vengeance à venir « à la poignée de criminels impliqués dans le meurtre de Clément Thomas et de Lecomte » ; il était sous-entendu que Paris et la France accepteraient sans réserve M. Thiers comme la meilleure des Républiques, ainsi qu'il l'avait fait lui-même en 1830 avec Louis-Philippe. Encore avait-il soin de rendre ces concessions suspectes par les commentaires que ses ministres en faisaient à l'Assemblée. Il avait son Dufaure prêt à agir.

Dufaure, ce vieil avocat orléaniste, a toujours été le justicier de l'état de siège, aujourd'hui, en 1871 sous Thiers, en 1839 [J35] sous Louis-Philippe, en 1849, sous la présidence de Louis Bonaparte. Quand il n'était pas au pouvoir, il faisait fortune en défendant les capitalistes parisiens et se faisait un piédestal politique en plaidant contre les lois qu'il avait lui-même provoquées. Il se hâta de faire bâcler par l'Assemblée un assortiment de lois répressives destinées, après la chute de Paris, à extirper les derniers restes de liberté et de république en France. Afin de donner aux Parisiens un avant-goût du sort qu'il leur réservait, il abrégea la procédure trop lente à son gré des cours martiales et forgea un nouveau code draconien de déportation. La révolution de 1848, en abolissant la peine de mort pour les crimes politiques, l'avait remplacée par celle de la déportation. Louis Bonaparte lui-même n'avait pas osé, au moins en théorie, rétablir le régime de la guillotine. Les ruraux, encore trop timides pour soutenir, même pour insinuer que les parisiens étaient des assassins, et non de simples rebelles, devaient donc renfermer leurs projets de vengeance contre Paris dans les limites du nouveau code de déportation Dufaure. Thiers lui-même n'aurait pu continuer sa comédie de conciliation, si elle n'avait été secondée, comme il l'espérait bien, par les cris de rage des ruraux dont l'épaisse cervelle ne pouvait comprendre, ni son jeu, ni le besoin de son hypocrisie, de ses tergiversations et de ses atermoiements.

En vue des prochaines élections municipales du 30 avril, Thiers donna le 27 une de ses grandes scènes de conciliation. Au milieu d'un déluge de rhétorique sentimentale, il s'écria à la tribune de l'Assemblée : « Il n'y a d'autre conspiration contre la République que celle de Paris qui nous force à verser du sang français. Je le répète encore une fois. Que ces armes impies tombent des mains qui les tiennent et le châtiment sera arrêté immédiatement par un acte de paix d'où ne sera exclu que le petit nombre de criminels. » Aux violentes interruptions des ruraux, il répliqua : « Messieurs, je vous en supplie, dites-moi si j'ai tort. Regrettez-vous réellement que j'aie pu vous dire cette vérité que les criminels ne sont qu'une poignée ? N'est-il pas heureux qu'au milieu de nos calamités ceux qui ont été capables de verser le sang de Clément Thomas et du général Lecomte ne soient que de rares exceptions ? »

Cependant, malgré les espérances de Thiers, la France faisait la sourde oreille aux chants de cette sirène parlementaire. Sur des centaines de mille de conseillers élus par les 35 000 communes laissées encore à la France, les légitimistes, 1136) orléanistes et bonapartistes unis n'en comptaient pas 8 000. Les élections supplémentaires qui

suivirent furent encore plus hostiles. Ainsi l'Assemblée nationale, au lieu de tirer des provinces la force matérielle dont elle avait si grand besoin, perdait sa dernière prétention à la force morale, elle ne pouvait plus se vanter de représenter le suffrage universel du pays. Pourachever sa déconfiture, les conseils municipaux, nouvelle-
5 ment élus, de toutes les villes, menacèrent ouvertement l'Assemblée usurpatrice de Versailles d'ouvrir une contre-Assemblée à Bordeaux.

Le moment de l'action décisive, si longtemps guetté par Bismarck, était enfin venu. Il somma péremptoirement Thiers d'envoyer à Francfort des parlementaires pour la conclusion définitive de la paix. Humblement obéissant à l'appel de son
10 maître, Thiers se hâta de dépêcher son fidèle Jules Favre, flanqué de Pouyer-Quertier. Pouyer-Quertier «l'éminent» filateur de Rouen, fervent et même servile partisan du second Empire, ne lui avait jamais découvert qu'une tache, son traité de commerce avec l'Angleterre, préjudiciable à ses intérêts de boutique. A peine installé à Bordeaux, comme ministre de Thiers, il dénonça ce maudit traité de
15 commerce, parla de l'abroger prochainement et eut l'effronterie d'essayer, mais en vain (il avait compté sans Bismarck) de relever immédiatement les vieux droits protecteurs contre l'Alsace, vu, disait-il, qu'aucun traité international antérieur ne s'y opposait. Cet homme qui faisait de la contre-révolution un moyen d'abaisser les salaires à Rouen, du morcellement de la France un moyen d'élever le prix de ses
20 cotonnades, n'était-il pas l'homme prédestiné au choix de Thiers, le digne compère de Jules Favre, allant couronner sa trahison ?

Dès l'arrivée à Francfort de cette paire bien assortie de plénipotentiaires, le tranche-montagne Bismarck leur posa tout de suite cette alternative sommaire : ou la restauration de l'Empire, ou l'acceptation sans réserve de mes conditions de paix !
25 Ces conditions étaient une diminution de délai pour le payement de l'indemnité de guerre et le maintien de l'occupation des forts de Paris par les troupes prussiennes, jusqu'au jour où Bismarck se déclarerait satisfait de l'état de choses en France. La Prusse arbitre suprême de la politique intérieure française ! En retour, il offrait de lâcher pour l'extermination de Paris l'armée bonapartiste prisonnière et de prêter
30 à Thiers l'assistance des troupes de l'empereur Guillaume. Comme gage de sa bonne foi, il consentait à ce que le premier payement de [J37] l'indemnité n'eût lieu qu'après la pacification de Paris. Naturellement, Thiers et ses plénipotentiaires se jetèrent sur l'hameçon. Le 10 mai, ils signèrent le traité de paix et l'Assemblée de Versailles l'endossa le 18.

35 Dans l'intervalle entre la conclusion de la paix et l'arrivée des prisonniers bonapartistes, Thiers se vit obligé de reprendre sa comédie de conciliation, ses suppôts ayant grand besoin d'un prétexte pour fermer les yeux sur les préparatifs du carnage de Paris. Pas plus tard que le 8 mai, il répondait à une députation de conciliateurs de la classe moyenne — que «si les insurgés se soumettaient à une capitulation, les 40 portes de Paris seraient grandes ouvertes pendant une semaine pour tous, excepté pour les assassins des généraux Clément Thomas et Lecomte».

Quelques jours plus tard les ruraux l'interpellèrent violemment sur ses promesses ; il refusa des explications, mais il donna cet avis significatif : «Je vous dis qu'il y a parmi vous des impatients, des hommes qui sont trop pressés. Qu'ils attendent 45 encore huit jours ; alors il n'y aura plus de danger et la tâche sera à la hauteur de leur

Karl Marx

courage et de leur capacité. » Aussitôt que Mac-Mahon fut à même de lui garantir une entrée prochaine dans Paris, Thiers déclara à l'assemblée qu'il « entrerait dans Paris *la loi à la main* et demanderait une expiation complète aux scélérats qui avaient sacrifié la vie des soldats et détruit les monuments publics». Quand ce moment décisif approcha, il dit à l'assemblée : « je serai sans pitié ! », à Paris qu'il était condamné, et à ses bandits bonapartistes qu'ils avaient officiellement carte blanche pour se venger de Paris, tout leur saoul. Enfin le 21 mai, la trahison ouvrit au général Douay les portes de la ville. Le 22, Thiers dévoila aux ruraux le «but» de cette comédie de conciliation qu'ils s'étaient obstinés à ne point comprendre. «Je vous ai dit, il y a quelques jours, que nous approchions de **NOTRE BUT**. Je 10 viens vous dire aujourd'hui que **LE BUT** est atteint. La victoire de l'ordre, de la justice et de la civilisation est enfin gagnée. »

C'était vrai. La civilisation et la justice de l'ordre bourgeois apparaissent dans leur lumière livide, partout où les esclaves et les victimes de cet ordre se lèvent contre leurs maîtres. Alors, cette civilisation et cette justice se montrent ce qu'elles sont, 15 cannibalisme et vengeances sommaires ; à chaque nouvelle crise de la lutte entre le producteur et l'exploiteur ce fait apparaît plus lumineux. Même les atrocités des bourgeois de juin 1848 s'évanouissent devant l'ineffable infamie de 1871. La chevaleresque et héroïque population de Paris, hommes, femmes et enfants lutta huit jours durant, après l'entrée des versaillais, attestant ainsi la gloire de sa cause autant 20 que les crimes épouvantables de la soldatesque attestent l'esprit de cette civilisation dont elle est le vengeur mercenaire. Glorieuse civilisation vraiment, dont le grand problème est de trouver le moyen de se défaire des cadavres qu'elle a entassés.

Pour trouver l'équivalent des actes de Thiers et de ses sanglants limiers, il faut remonter jusqu'aux temps de Sylla et des deux triumvirats de Rome : mêmes égorgements en masse, après le combat, même mépris dans le massacre pour le sexe et pour l'âge, même système de torture envers les prisonniers, mêmes proscriptions, mais cette fois d'une classe entière, même chasse sauvage après les chefs arrêtés, de crainte qu'un seul n'échappe, même délation contre les ennemis politiques et personnels, même boucherie sans distinction de ceux qui sont entièrement étrangers 30 à la querelle. Il y a toutefois cette différence que les Romains n'avaient pas de mitrailleuses pour dépêcher en bloc les proscrits, qu'ils n'avaient pas le «*loi à la main*» ni sur les lèvres le mot de «civilisation».

Après toutes ces horreurs, regardez l'autre face encore plus hideuse de cette civilisation bourgeoise, telle que l'ont décrite ses propres journaux. 35

« Pendant que les coups de canon, dit le correspondant d'un journal conservateur de Londres, tonnent encore dans le lointain, que les blessés agonisent sans soins au milieu des tombeaux du Père Lachaise, que six mille insurgés affolés de terreur traînent leur désespoir dans le labyrinthe des catacombes, que des malheureux fuient dans les rues et sont abattus en tas par les mitrailleuses, il est révoltant de voir les cafés remplis de buveurs d'absinthe, de joueurs de billard et de dominos, les filles balayant le boulevard, et les bruits d'orgie s'élançant, à travers la nuit, des cabinets particuliers des restaurants à la mode. » M. Edouard Hervé écrit dans le Journal de Paris, feuille versaillaise supprimée par la Commune : « La manière dont la population de Paris (de Paris !) a manifesté hier sa satisfaction était plus que frivole et nous 40 45

craignons que cela n'empire avec le temps. Paris a maintenant un air de fête qui est tout-à-fait déplacé et si nous ne voulons pas qu'on nous appelle les parisiens de la décadence, il faut mettre un terme à cet ordre de choses. » Puis il cite le passage de Tacite : « Cependant, le lendemain ||39| de cette horrible lutte, avant même qu'elle ne fut tout-à-fait terminée, Rome, avilie et corrompue, recommença à se vautrer dans le bourbier de volupté où elle avait détruit son corps et souillé son âme — *alibi prælia et vulnera, alibi balnea; popinaeque* — ici les morts et les blessés, là les filles et les tavernes. » M. Hervé oublie seulement de dire que la population de Paris dont il parle, n'est que la population du Paris de M.Thiers, la tourbe des francs-fileurs, retour de 10 Versailles, de Saint-Denis, de Rueil et de Saint-Germain — le Paris de la décadence.

Et en même temps qu'elle triomphe sur les cadavres des héroïques champions d'une nouvelle et meilleure société, cette inique civilisation basée sur l'esclavage du travail étouffe les cris de ses victimes sous une clamour de calomnies que l'écho répercute dans le monde entier. Du Paris travailleur, du Paris calme et serein de la 15 Commune, les sanglants limiers de l'ordre font tout-à-coup un pandemonium. Et qu'est-ce que prouve cet effroyable changement, dit l'esprit bourgeois. — Cela prouve que la Commune conspirait contre la civilisation ! — Le peuple de Paris meurt avec enthousiasme pour la Commune, en nombre tel que jamais l'histoire n'enregistra d'autant sanglantes batailles. Qu'est-ce que cela prouve ? — Que la Commune n'était 20 pas le gouvernement du peuple, mais l'usurpation d'une poignée de criminels ! — Les femmes de Paris donnent joyeusement leur vie à la barricade et en face des pelotons d'exécution. Qu'est-ce que cela prouve ? — Que le démon de la Commune les avait changées en mégères et en furies ! — La modération de la Commune pendant deux mois de règne incontesté n'est égalée que par l'héroïsme de sa défense. Qu'est-ce 25 que cela prouve ? — Que pendant des mois, la Commune cachait soigneusement sous un masque de modération et d'humanité la férocité de ses instincts sanguinaires pour leur donner carrière à l'heure de son agonie !

Le Paris des travailleurs, dans son héroïque holocauste, s'est enveloppé dans les flammes des monuments. Les maîtres du prolétariat, ceux qui mettent en pièces son 30 corps vivant, doivent-ils donc s'attendre à revenir triomphant dans leurs palais intacts ! Le gouvernement de Versailles crie : « incendiaires ! » et donne la consigne à ses agents, jusque dans les hameaux les plus reculés, de courir sus à ses ennemis comme incendiaires de profession. Et la bourgeoisie du monde entier, qui se pâme d'aise aux massacres en masse après le combat, frémît d'horreur à cette profanation 35 de la pierre de taille. Quand les gou||40|vernements donnent commission à leurs flottes de « tuer, brûler et détruire » est-ce là autoriser l'incendie ? Quand les troupes anglaises mettaient gaiement le feu au capitole de Washington et au palais d'été de l'empereur de la Chine, étaient-elles des incendiaires ? Quand les Prussiens, non pour des raisons militaires, mais tout simplement par vengeance, brûlaient à l'aide du 40 pétrole des villes comme Châteaudun, St-Cloud et d'innombrables villages, étaient-ils des incendiaires ? Quand Thiers bombarda Paris pendant six semaines sous le prétexte qu'il ne voulait mettre le feu qu'aux maisons habitées, était-il un incendiaire ?

Dans la guerre, le feu est une arme aussi légitime qu'aucune autre. On bombarde 45 les bâtiments occupés par l'ennemi pour les incendier. Si leurs défenseurs sont

Karl Marx

forcés de les abandonner, ils y mettent le feu eux-mêmes pour empêcher leurs adversaires de s'en servir. L'incendie a toujours été le sort inévitable de tous les bâtiments situés sur le front de bataille de toutes les armées régulières du monde. Mais dans la guerre des esclaves contre leurs maîtres, la seule guerre justifiable dans l'histoire, c'est un crime ! La Commune n'a employé le feu uniquement que comme moyen de défense. Elle l'employa pour fermer aux troupes versaillaises ces longues avenues droites que Haussmann avait expressément ouvertes pour l'usage de l'artillerie ; elle l'employa pour couvrir sa retraite, précisément comme les versaillais pour avancer se servaient de bombes qui détruisirent autant de maisons au moins que le feu de la Commune. On ne sait pas au juste, même aujourd'hui, quels bâtiments furent incendiés par la défense et quels par l'attaque. Et la défense n'eut recours au feu que lorsque les troupes versaillaises eurent commencé le massacre sommaire des prisonniers. Enfin, la Commune avait depuis longtemps déclaré publiquement que si on la réduisait aux dernières extrémités elle s'ensemblirait sous les ruines de Paris et ferait de Paris un second Moscou comme l'avait promis le gouvernement de la défense, mais lui, dans le but de masquer sa trahison. Dans ce but Trochu avait fait des amas de pétrole. La Commune savait très-bien que ses adversaires n'avaient aucun souci de la vie du peuple, mais qu'ils se souciaient beaucoup de leurs maisons de Paris, et Thiers, d'un autre côté, les avait averti qu'il serait implacable dans sa vengeance. Son armée ne fut pas plutôt prête d'un côté, et la souricière fermée par les Prussiens de l'autre, qu'il crie bien haut : « je serai sans pitié ! L'expiation sera complète et la justice rigoureuse. » Si l'acte des travail-¹ |41|leurs fut du vandalisme, ce fut du vandalisme d'une défense désespérée, non le vandalisme du triomphe comme celui des chrétiens anéantissant les inestimables trésors de l'art de l'antiquité païenne, et ce vandalisme même a trouvé grâce devant l'historien comme un incident inévitable et pour ainsi dire insignifiant dans cette lutte Titanesque entre une nouvelle société naissante et une vieille société à l'agonie. Encore moins était-ce le vandalisme de Haussmann, rasant Paris historique pour faire place au Paris du touriste.

Mais l'exécution par la Commune des soixante-quatre otages, l'archevêque de Paris en tête ! La bourgeoisie et son armée, en juin 1848, ont rétabli l'usage depuis longtemps disparu de la pratique de la guerre de fusiller des prisonniers désarmés. Cet horrible usage a été depuis plus ou moins suivi par les gouvernements qui ont étouffé toutes les commotions populaires en Europe et dans l'Inde, attestant ainsi les progrès réels de «la civilisation». D'un autre côté, les Prussiens en France avaient rétabli l'usage de prendre en otages des hommes innocents dont la vie répondait des actes des autres. Quand Thiers, comme nous l'avons vu, dès le commencement du conflit, mit en pratique l'usage humain de fusiller les prisonniers, la Commune, pour protéger leur vie, fut obligée de recourir à l'usage prussien de prendre des otages. Les fusillades continues de prisonniers par les versaillais auraient dû coûter cent fois la vie aux otages. Comment pouvaient-ils être épargnés plus longtemps après le carnage par lequel les prétoriens de Mac-Mahon célébrèrent leur entrée dans Paris ? Ne pas prendre des otages c'était refuser le dernier moyen de tenir en respect la férocité des gouvernements bourgeois. Le véritable assassin de l'archevêque Darboy, c'est Thiers. La Commune avait continuellement offert

- d'échanger cet archevêque et beaucoup de prêtres par dessus le marché contre le seul Blanqui, alors entre les mains de Thiers. Thiers refusa opiniâtrement. Il savait que Blanqui donnerait une tête à la Commune tandis que l'archevêque servirait mieux ses desseins quand il ne serait plus qu'un cadavre. Thiers imita le précédent
- 5 5 de Cavaignac. Que de cris d'horreur ont poussé en juillet 1848 Cavaignac et ses hommes de l'ordre, maudissant les insurgés comme assassins de l'archevêque Affre. Cependant ils savaient parfaitement bien que c'étaient les soldats de l'ordre qui l'avaient tué. M. Jacquemet, le vicaire général, présent sur les lieux à ce moment, avait fourni au gouvernement, aussitôt après, les preuves évidentes de ce fait. |
- 10 10 |42| Tous ces concerts de calomnie que le parti de l'ordre ne manque jamais dans ses orgies sanglantes d'entonner contre ses victimes, ne prouve qu'une seule chose, c'est que le bourgeois de nos jours se considère comme le successeur légitime des barons du passé ; dans leurs mains, toute arme était bonne contre le roturier, tandis que dans les mains du roturier une arme quelconque constituait un crime.
- 15 15 Les massacres de Paris couronnèrent la conspiration de la classe dominante pour écraser la révolution à l'aide d'une guerre civile protégée par l'envahisseur, conspiration que nous avons suivie depuis le 4 septembre même, jusqu'à l'entrée des prétoriens de Mac-Mahon par la porte de St-Cloud. Bismarck contemple avec joie les ruines de Paris, croyant y voir peut-être l'inauguration de cette destruction
- 20 20 générale des grandes villes qu'il implorait n'étant encore qu'un simple rural dans la *Chambre introuvable* de Prusse en 1849. Il contemple avec joie les cadavres du prolétariat parisien. Pour lui, ce n'est pas seulement l'extermination de la révolution, mais la fin de la France décapitée réellement et par le gouvernement français lui-même. Avec la petitesse d'esprit qui caractérise les hommes d'Etat heureux, il ne
- 25 25 voit que la surface de ce terrible événement historique.
- L'histoire a-t-elle jamais montré auparavant le spectacle d'un conquérant couronnant sa victoire en se faisant non seulement le gendarme mais le bravo à gages du gouvernement vaincu ? Il n'y avait pas de guerre entre la Prusse et la Commune de Paris. Au contraire, la Commune avait accepté les préliminaires de paix et la
- 30 30 Prusse avait annoncé sa neutralité. La Prusse n'était donc pas belligérante. Elle a joué le rôle d'un bravo, d'un bravo lâche puisqu'il n'y avait pas de danger, d'un bravo à gages puisqu'elle stipulait d'avance le paiement de 500 millions, prix du sang après la prise de Paris. Et c'est ainsi qu'on a vu enfin apparaître le caractère véritable de cette guerre ordonnée par la Providence pour châtier la France impie
- 35 35 et débauchée par la main de la pieuse et morale Allemagne. Et cette violation sans pareille du droit des gens, même comme l'entendent les légistes du vieux monde, loin de pousser les gouvernements «civilisés» de l'Europe à déclarer hors la loi des nations le félon gouvernement prussien, simple agent de Saint-Pétersbourg, les excite seulement à rechercher si les quelques victimes qui s'échappent
- 40 40 du double cordon qui entoure Paris ne doivent pas être livrées au bourreau de Versailles, t
- 143j Parce que, après la plus terrible guerre des temps modernes, les conquérants et les vaincus ont fraternisé pour massacer en commun les prolétaires, il ne faut pas, comme le fait Bismarck, conclure de cet événement sans exemple au refoulement définitif d'une société qui surgit, mais bien à l'effondrement de la société

Karl Marx

bourgeoise. Le plus grand effort d'héroïsme dont la vieille société soit encore capable, c'est une guerre nationale ; et l'on a aujourd'hui la preuve qu'une telle guerre est une simple mystification des gouvernements destinée à retarder la lutte des classes et à laquelle ils renoncent aussitôt que de cette lutte des classes surgit la guerre civile. Désormais la domination d'une classe ne peut plus se cacher sous un uniforme national ; tous les gouvernements nationaux sont un contre le prolétariat. 5

Depuis la Pentecôte 1871, il ne peut y avoir ni paix, ni trêve entre les travailleurs de France et leurs exploiteurs. La main de fer d'une soldatesque mercenaire peut courber pour un temps les deux classes sous un joug commun, la bataille recommencera sans cesse, toujours plus furieuse, et il n'y a pas à douter de l'issue de cette lutte 10 entre la minorité qui accapare et l'immense majorité qui produit. Encore les travailleurs français ne forment-ils que l'avant-garde du prolétariat moderne.

Pendant que les gouvernements européens attestent ainsi devant Paris le caractère international du régime des classes, ils crient haro sur *l'Association internationale des Travailleurs*, cette contre-organisation du travail opposée à la conspiration cosmopolite du capital; ils font d'elle la source de tous ces désastres. Thiers la dénonça comme le despote du travail dont il se prétend le libérateur. Picard ordonna de couper toute communication entre les internationaux français et ceux du dehors ; le comte Jaubert, le complice momifié de Thiers en 1835, déclare que le grand problème de tous les gouvernements civilisés est de détruire *l'Internationale*. Les 15 ruraux hurlent contre elle, et toute la presse européenne fait chorus. Un honorable écrivain français, entièrement étranger à notre Association, a dit : « Les membres du comité central de la garde nationale, aussi bien que la plus grande partie des membres de la Commune, sont les plus actifs, les plus intelligents, les plus énergiques esprits de *l'Association internationale des Travailleurs*, des hommes 20 parfaitemen honnêtes, sincères, intelligents, dévoués, intègres et fanatiques dans la bonne acception du mot. » L'esprit policier des bourgeois se figure naturellement *Y Association internationale des Travailleurs* comme agissant à la manière d'une conspiration secrète, avec son conseil central ordonnant, de temps en temps, des explosions dans différents pays. Notre association n'est en réalité qu'un lien international entre les plus avancés des travailleurs dans les différents pays du monde civilisé. Partout où, n'importe sous quelles formes ou dans quelles conditions, la lutte des classes acquiert quelque consistance, il est bien naturel que les membres de notre association soient aux premiers rangs-. Le terrain où *l'Internationale* plonge ses racines c'est la société moderne elle-même, aucun carnage n'en pourra 25 venir à bout. Pour la déraciner il faudrait que les gouvernements déracinent le despotisme du capital sur le travail, condition même de leur existence parasite. 30

Le Paris des travailleurs avec sa Commune sera à tout jamais célébré comme le glorieux précurseur d'une société nouvelle. Ses martyrs sont ensevelis dans le grand cœur de la classe ouvrière. Ses exterminateurs sont déjà cloués au pilori éternel de 40 l'histoire et toutes les prières de leurs prêtres ne pourront les en arracher.

LE CONSEIL GÉNÉRAL.

R. Applegarth, Ant. Arnaud, M.-J. Boon, Fr. Bradnick, G.-H. Buttery, F. Cournet, V. Delahaye, Eugène Dupont, W. Haies, Hurliman, Jules Johannard, Harriet Law,

Fr. Lessner, Lochner, Charles Longuet, Marguerittes, Constant Martin, Henry Mayo, George Milner, Charles Murray, Pfänder, **J.** Rozwadowski, **John** Roach, Rühl, G. Ranvier, Vitale Regis, Sadler, Cowell Stepney, Alf. Taylor, W.Townshend, Ed. Vaillant, **John** Weston, F.-J. Yarrow.

5 SECRÉTAIRES-CORRESPONDANTS.

Karl Marx, Allemagne et Russie ; Leo Frankel, Autriche et Hongrie ; A. Herman, Belgique; Th.Mottershead, Danemark; **J.-G.**Eccarius, Etats-Unis; Le Moussu, sections françaises des Etats-Unis ; Auguste Serraillier, France ; Charles Ro]45|chat, Hollande; **J.-P.**MacDonnell, Irlande; Fred.Engels, Italie et Espagne; Walery **10** Wroblewski, Pologne ; Hermann **Jung**, Suisse.

Hermann **Jung**, *président de la séance,*
John Haies, *secrétaire général,*

Londres, le 30 mai 1871, Rathborne Place, 10.

Note. Nous n'avons pas besoin de dire que les membres et fonctionnaires de la Commune dont les noms **15** figurent au bas du manifeste et qui font aujourd'hui partie du Conseil général, n'ont connu le texte de cette publication qu'à leur arrivée à Londres. S'ils y mettent aujourd'hui leurs signatures, c'est pour qu'on ne puisse douter qu'ils en revendentiquent hautement les principes. |

Protokolle

**The minute book
of the General Council
of the International Working Men's Association
March 21-November 7, 1871**

Meeting of the General Council March 21, 1871

/[197]/Meeting of the Council March (21)

Members present: Eccarius, Engels, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Kolb, Marx, Milner, Robin, Pfänder, Serraillier, Stepney, Townshend, Weston.

5 Cit. Jung in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Cit. Marx stated what had been forgotten at the previous night's discussion was that when the war had broken out letters had been sent to all the Continental sections that the Congress could not be held at Mayence or Paris and all the sections that had answered had left it to the Council to choose time and place when and 10 where the next Congress should meet.

Cit. Robin said that the letter had never been received at Paris.

Correspondence

Paris. Cit. Serraillier had received a reply from Paris. The statement about expelling the Germans from the Association was an invention of the papers. It had 15 never been either in the Federal Council or in the sections.

Cit. Marx proposed that the following be sent to the papers:

A statement has gone the round of the English press that the Paris members of the International Workingmen's Association had so far joined the so called Anti German League, as to declare all Germans to be henceforth excluded ||[198]| from 20 our Association. This statement is the reverse of fact. Neither the Federal Council of our Association in Paris, nor any of the Paris sections represented by that Council have ever passed any such resolution. The so called Anti German League, as far as it exists at all, is the exclusive work of the upper and middle classes; it was started by the Jockey Club, and kept up by the adhesions of the Academy, of the 25 Stock Exchange, of some bankers and manufacturers, etc. The working classes had nothing whatever to do with it.

The object of these calumnies is evident. A short time before the outbreak of the late war, the International was made the general scapegoat for all untoward events. This is now repeated over again. While the Swiss and the Prussian press 30 accuse it of having created the late outrages upon Germans at Zürich, French papers, such as the *Courrier de Lyon*, *Courrier de la Gironde*, *La Liberté* etc., tell of certain secret meetings of Internationals having taken place at Geneva and Berne, the Prussian Ambassador in the Chair, in which meetings a plan was

The minute book of the General Council of the I. W. M. A.

concocted to hand over Lyons to the united Prussians and Internationals for the sake of common plunder.

The proposal was seconded and carried unanimously.

Cit. Serraillier announced that a few days since the Paris Journal had stated in an article that the grand chef of the International, residing at Berlin, had written a letter to Serraillier in Paris complaining about the Internationals of Paris troubling themselves too much about politics instead of sticking to the organisation of work which was the real aim of the Association. A day or two after a letter had been published which had been said to have been written by Marx, and dated from London, to Serraillier in Paris. The letter had been dated February 24 and he, Serraillier, had arrived in London on the 19th, and had seen Marx on the same day. His reply to Marx had also been given to the effect that his time had not come yet.

He had also received letters which showed that the Montmartre affair was not the sudden outburst of a mob of 20,000, as the papers stated. There were 215 battalions of National Guards of 1,500 men each from whom the Central Committee had emanated and the regular soldiers had fraternised with them. They had well organised local Committees in most of the arrondissements. A French prisoner of war had written to Paris that he had visited the Leipzig section of the International and had been very heartily received. |

[[199]] Cit. Marx stated that not only the resolution about expelling the Germans but also the letter in the Paris Journal was an invention he had written to the Times about it.

He had received a letter from Leipzig stating that it was generally believed that Bebel would not be liberated, because the Attorney General would oppose it.

Cit. Dupont had received two lengthy reports from Brest which he had sent to him and of which he would give a summary next week. Also a letter from Ciotat in the département of the Var. Cit. Bastelica had formed a branch there. E. Prenez was the Correspondent and he desired Dupont to send an address in the name of the Council to encourage them. It was agreed that Cit. Dupont should be empowered to send an address in the name of the Council.

Cit. Jung communicated a letter received by Citizen Stepney that by the aid of Malon an orphan asylum for the children of freethinkers fallen in the war had been established. It was the first secular institution of the kind in France.

Cit. Engels then gave a description of the state of things in Paris. He said the letters received during the week from Paris, which Serraillier had already mentioned, had cleared up what had been incomprehensible before. It had appeared as if a few men had suddenly seized a number of cannon and kept them. The whole of the press and every one of the correspondents had written that these men must be [put] down but the French Government had temporised. The information received from our Paris Committee was [that] the National Guards paid for the making of these guns and liked to keep them. After the election they had found that the Republic was anything but safe under such an Assembly as had been elected. When the Prussians had entered Paris the guns had been taken away to another part of the town to keep them out of their reach. Then the Government had laid claim to them and endeavoured to take them away from the National Guards.

Meeting of the General Council March 21, 1871

Aurelle de Paladines had been appointed Commander in Chief of the National Guards and prefect of the police. Under Napoleon he had been Commander in Chief of the Gendarmerie and he was a partisan of the priests. At the bidding of Dupanloup, the bishop of Orleans, he had done five hours' penance at Church
5 while his army had been defeated in an action with the Germans. This had left no doubt as to the intentions of the Government.

The National Guard had then prepared for resistance. Out of 260 battalions 215 had organised a Central Committee, men and officers combined. A delegate had been elected by each Company out of whom the local Committees of the arrondissements, or wards, had been formed, and they had elected the Central Committee. ||[200]|| Out of twenty arrondissements only five had not elected any delegates. When the Assembly had removed to Versailles the Government had tried to clear Paris of the revolutionists and take the guns from them. The troops only just arrived in Paris had been meant to be employed under the command of Vinoy who
10 had commanded the soldiers that shot down the people on the boulevards during the *coup d'état* in 1851. They had partly succeeded early in the morning but when the National Guards had discovered what had been done they had set to work to retake the guns and the soldiers had fraternised with the people. The town was now
15 in the hands of the people, the troops that had not gone over had been withdrawn to Marseilles and the Assembly did not know what to do. None of the men of the Central Committee were known to fame, there were no Felix Pyats and men of that stamp in it, but they were well known among the working class. There were four members of the International in the Committee.
20

The Commune was to be elected the next day. They had announced that the
25 liberty of the press should be respected but not the rotten Bonapartist press. The most important resolution passed was that the preliminaries of peace should be respected. The Prussians were still near and if they could be kept out of the quarrel the chances of success were increased.

Cit. Serraillier stated that the 4th Regiment of marines had been fetched from
30 Toulon and had arrived in Paris on Monday morning. Instead of shooting the people as they [had] been told, they had marched to the Hôtel de Ville and declared for the revolution. The marines had been the only old soldiers that had been available. Lecomte had been shot by his own men. He was the General that had caused the women and children to be shot before the Hôtel de Ville in January.

35 Cit. Clement Thomas was one of the Generals who massacred the people in June 1848. Charge this rabble had been his word of command. During the siege he had been commander of the National Guard of Belleville and had spread the report over Paris that the men of Belleville spent all their money in drink and would not fight. To the men of Belleville he had said the others would not fight and he had created
40 dissension between the National Guard and the army. They had called each other the peace party and shot upon each other at their first meeting. He had betrayed the men of Belleville and the men [of] Montmartre had avenged them.

Cit. Hales then announced that he was trying to organize a section of the International in the East [End]. He should like some action to be taken to express
45 sympathy with Paris.

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W. M.A.

Eccarius suggested that something might be done on Wednesday evening at the Wellington Music Hall where a republican meeting was to take place.|

[201] Cit. Marx proposed that Cit. Weston, Hales, Jung and Serraillier should be appointed as a deputation to attend the meeting to invite the men to express sympathy with the Paris movement. Cit. Harris seconded and said there would be another meeting on Friday at the Hall of Science, Old Street. After some remarks in favor by Cit. Weston and Milner the proposition was unanimously carried. Cit. Marx adjourned the opening of the Irish question on account of the lateness of the hour. Cit. Weston thought if things went on right in Paris a demonstration in favor might be got up on Good Friday.

It was agreed to wait till the next meeting to decide.

Council adjourned 11 o'clock.

JOHN WESTON Chairman
J.GEORGE ECCARIUS Secretary./

Meeting of the General Council March 28, 1871

/[201]/Meeting of the Council March 28

Members present: Boon, Cohn, Eccarius, Engels, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Lucraft, Kolb, Marx, Milner, Mottershead, Robin, Pfänder, Stepney, Townshend, Weston. Cit. Weston in the Chair.

5 The minutes of the previous [meeting] were read.

Cit. Engels pointed out that there was a mistake: Two Generals, Aurelle de Paladines and Valentin were made into one. The latter had been appointed as prefect of the police. He also complained about the slovenly way in which the reports were printed in the Eastern Post. The punctuation was so bad that everything was confused.

10 After some observations by Citizens Boon, Jung, Harris and Mottershead the minutes were confirmed.

Cit. Marx announced that in consequence of a letter from the Paris Committee Cit. Serraillier had been sent to Paris. He had supplied £5 which he looked upon 15 as money lent on behalf of the Council. |

I[202]j He further stated his letter to the Times concerning the forged letter that had appeared in the papers had been misconstrued by Fonvielle, a writer in one of the Bonapartist papers, the Liberty. In a letter of the previous day's Times Fonvielle fell foul of the Central Committee and declared that Marx had fairly declared that 20 none belonged to the International, that they were all forgers. He had only declared the letter in the Paris Journal reprinted in the Times a forgery. It was well known that there were members of the International in the Central Committee.

Cit. Lessner proposed and Cit. Jung seconded that £5 be voted for Citizen 25 Serraillier as travelling expenses. Carried unanimously.

Cit. Marx announced that the Prussian Government had dropped all other charges against our friends in Germany except that of belonging to the International. The International wanted to establish the social democratic republic and therefore it was high treason to belong to it. This had been the charge on which the men at Vienna had been convicted and sentenced to long imprisonment though they were now 30 released. Liebknecht's Counsel believed they would be acquitted. It was made high treason to correspond with Marx, he

Cit. Jung then gave a report on behalf of the deputation to the Wellington Music

The minute book of the General Council of the I. W. M.A.

Hall meeting. He had only heard part of Odger's speech from which it appeared that a kind of Central Republican Club was to be established. A resolution in that sense had been adopted to which Wade had moved the addition of Social and Democratic. 26 had voted for the addition and 50 against it. Hales had then spoken on behalf of the deputation and Serraillier had been well received. A resolution expressing sympathy with the workmen of Paris in their present struggle had been unanimously] passed. 5

Cit. Jung also attended two smaller meetings in the East of London. At both meetings he had advised that they should form a branch of the International. Resolutions to that effect had been proposed and the men present had seemed 10 unanimous, but at both places the discussion had been adjourned. Hales had attended the meeting at the Hall of Science.

Cit. Mottershead said that he had conversed with Odger who seems ||[203]| desirous to confine his programme to the simple form of Republican Government. He, Mottershead, would not change the English constitution for some of the Republi- 15 can ones. Bradlaugh too had made a long speech on Friday and all he wanted was to repeal the settlement of 1701.

Cit. Jung thought those who were not inclined to come [to] us ought not to be prevented doing something. A simple Republic would have greater effect here than abroad because the working class was better developed. 20

Cit. Harris thought it was possible to retard the labor movement by a sham republican agitation. Social reform was needed upon which the political superstructure had to be erected.

Cit. Weston was rather pleased that so many had voted for social democratic and none against the Republic. 25

Cit. Engels said the question was not whether we support a republican movement but whether under present circumstances it would drive into our path. There were men like Peter Taylor and others who were simply for the Republic but it must be considered that the abolition of monarchy would involve the abolition of the State Church, the House of Lords and many other things. No republican movement 30 could go on here without expanding into a working class movement and if such a movement was to take place it would be as well to know how it went on. Before our ideas could be carried into practice we must have the Republic. We must watch it and [it] was right for our members to take part in it and try to shape it. If it turned into a middle class affair it would become a clique. The working [class] could not 35 but break with all established forms.

Cit. Harris said there was no state Church in America but the working classes were as badly off as here.

Cit. Engels said there was as much oppression in America as here, but the republic gave a fair field for the working classes to agitate. In the densely populated 40 states the labor movement was organised but the extent of unoccupied land prevented [it from] getting stronger than it was.

Cit. Marx was convinced that no Republican movement could become serious without becoming social. The wire pullers of the present ||[204]| move of course intended no such thing. 45

Meeting of the General Council March 28, 1871

On the proposition of Mottershead the report of the deputation was received.

Cit. Marx then proposed that an address be issued to the people of Paris.

Cit. Harris seconded, carried unanimously.

Cit. Cohn proposed that Cit. Marx draw up the address.

5 Cit. Harris seconded, carried unanimously.

Cit. Harris announced that the secretary of the Sunday League had sent a note asking for Rent:

Cit. Engels proposed and Mottershead seconded that a quarter's rent be paid, and the remaining arrears be reported. Carried unanimously.

10 The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

JOHN HALES Chairman
J.GEORGE ECCARIUS Secretary/

[Auszüge aus The Eastern Post]
[Zu S. 525.25-30]

The Eastern Post. Nr. 131,
I.April 1871

15 The news that amongst the many members of the International, who were elected on Sunday last in Paris, there was a German, Leo Frankel, a working jeweller, was received with great satisfaction.

The news from Germany was that the political prisoners, most of whom have been confined since September last, are at last to be tried. All other charges of

20 treason have been abandoned by the Government, except that of the prisoners who are members of the International. In the Vienna high treason trials, after all the other charges had broken down, the accused were found guilty of high treason because they were members of the International, an association, the prosecution maintained, that aimed at the establishment of the universal social democratic

25 republic, a form of government that implied the overthrow of the existing monarchy by violence.

Meeting of the General Council April 4, 1871

/[204]/ Meeting of the Council April 4.

Members present: Boon, Cohn, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Jung, Milner, Lessner, Mottershead, Robin, Rühl, Weston, Townshend, Pfänder, Engels, Marx.

Cit. Hales in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Correspondence:

San Francisco. A German letter was received from San Francisco asking for English rules and other papers. The letter was referred to the German Correspondent for the United States.

Cit. Engels read a letter from the Secretary of the Antwerp section stating that the Cigarmakers had some time since formed a union and entered into correspondence with the Cigarmakers of Holland, Germany and England which had not been to the masters' taste, so they had formed a union of their own and told the men if they did not abandon theirs they would be locked out. The men had unanimously refused to comply and 500 were now locked out. They had 6,000 francs in hand but that would not last long with so many mouths to fill, they therefore asked the Council for assistance.

Cit. Cohn said that he had gone to Brussels and Antwerp in 1868 under the auspices of the International] for the purpose of establishing Cigarmakers' unions in which he had been ||[205]] completely successful. There were only four men out of the union at Brussels and forty-nine at Antwerp. At Liège and other places they were all in the union, and from Belgium they had established unions in Holland. All these Cigarmakers' societies belonged to the International.

Some time since about a hundred Belgians in London had formed a society and contributed something every week. It was simply a benevolent society, they gave £2 for a burial. Four weeks ago they had sent £6 to Antwerp and immediately the masters had found that out they had set about not to employ their men any longer unless they left the union. The statement that the International had brought about the strike was false. Just before the war there had been an intention to strike but his society had sent a letter, which had been approved of by the Council, to prevent the strike and that advice had been cordially accepted.

Last Wednesday a letter had arrived from Antwerp and on Monday night they

Meeting of the General Council April 4, 1871

had held a special meeting and voted £ 150 against three votes. This would not exhaust their resources. The Belgians here had sent £20, which with the £240 the men of Antwerp had themselves made a pretty round sum. The men locked out were content with 5 francs a week, still divided among 500 it would not last many weeks. There was another society at Liverpool who would do something and the tobacco strippers were pretty well to do just now, they would do something.

The masters' Secretary had been to Holland to get men but they had refused everywhere. If the men could be kept out for five or six weeks the masters would have to give in, and it was the duty of the Council to assist. The men were determined
10 not to give the police any opportunity to interfere, they had resolved that no two should walk together in the street. They wanted no grants, only loans. |

I [206] I Citizen Engels proposed and Cit. Cohn seconded that a circular letter be sent to the Trade societies, and that deputations wait on them. Carried.

It was then resolved that 100 copies be printed.
15 Cit. Engels announced that Marx had a letter from California which had been sent to Dupont, and another from Liebknecht which would be brought next week. Liebknecht, Bebel and Hepner had been released on giving their word of honor to appear. The Brunswick prisoners had been discharged because the Court of Accusation had found no evidence for a prosecution. All the charges of the Bis-
20 mark papers, assassination and all manners of things turned out false.

Cit. Hales reported that he had attended a meeting on Thursday at Prince of Wales, Hart's Lane, Bethnal Green, where a section of the International had been formed.

At another meeting on Sunday at the Good Intent, Elizabeth Street, a Branch
25 had also been established and thirty members enrolled among whom were eight ladies. They had appointed officers, also a delegate. At both places the resolution had been unanimously carried.

Cit. Engels stated that in consequence of the occurrences at Paris Cit. Marx thought the issuing of an address now would be out of place. This opinion was
30 unanimously endorsed.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

April 11th THOS. MOTTERSHEAD Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS Secretary |

[Auszug aus The Eastern Post]

35

[Zu S. 528.10-17]

The Eastern Post. Nr. 132,
8. April 1871

"For some time past the operative cigarmakers of this town have been organised as a trade society, and have been in communication with the cigarmakers of all the towns in Belgium, Holland, Germany, and England.

"Well, this was not at all to the taste of the gentlemen manufacturers, therefore
40 they also formed a society—as has been done many times in England—and they gave

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W. M.A.

their workmen the choice either to abandon their association or to be *locked out*. The men, without a single exception, refused to submit. This is the cause of the dispute.

"By these proceedings 500 men have been thrown out of work. They have 6,000 francs in their cashbox, but that will not last long for so many mouths to fill.

"As these cigarmakers are a branch of the International, the Antwerp Committee appeals to the General Council of London to intercede with the English societies to assist our brothers in their struggle, for upon their success will depend the international labour movement in Belgium."

Meeting of the General Council April 11, 1871

[[207]] Meeting of the Council April 11.

Members present: Bradnick, Cohn, Eccarius, Engels, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Milner, Mottershead, Stepney, Townshend, Weston, Marx and Pfänder excused on account of illness.

- 5 Cit. Mottershead in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Correspondence. The Secretary of the Bristol Radical Association remitted three shillings in stamps to the account of the German political prisoners collection and complained that hard times prevented it being more.

- 10 The Secretary of the Bricklayers Society sent all the sheets back with the remark that trade was too bad.

Mr. Spalding of Herne Hill required some documents and other information about the Association.

The secretary was instructed to reply and forward papers.

- 15 The secretary announced that he had sent upwards of seventy circulars to trade societies, and proposed that a deputation should be appointed in case it was wanted.

- 20 Cit. Cohn stated that the Cigarmakers had appointed 8 and the Belgians here had volunteered to accompany it would therefore only require one member of the Council to go with a deputation. The Secretary was appointed by a unanimous vote.

- 25 Cit. Cohn stated that they had received a letter from Brussels that in consequence of 23 men striking the whole 300 had been locked out. They said they had 16,000 francs and they asked for a £400 loan. The Antwerp men had 500 and had only asked for £ 150. There was something not quite clear, his society had written to both places but not received any reply yet. The papers of the day announced that the International had endeavoured to bring about an agreement but the employers would not have anything to do with them.

- 30 Cit. Engels announced that there were several strikes in Spain. He also read a correspondence from Barcelona to the Volksstaat from which it appeared that the Republican Party had been defeated in the election for the Cortes but the republicans [[208]] were victorious in the elections for the provincial diets and at

The minute book of the General Council of the I. W. M. A.

Barcelona only five monarchists had been elected against nine republicans two of whom were members of the International. Their victory in the municipal elections was sure. Castelar and his friends were severely criticised, one Pi y Margall who had the reputation of being a socialist, had proposed a tax on day wages. An active socialist propaganda is carried on at Madrid by means of public meetings, and pamphlets. 5

Cit. Engels said the man who wrote that letter seemed to be much better than those at the papers who preached abstention from politics.

Cit. Bradnick who had been at Leicester during the last five months stated that the men of Leicester were much more radical than the London men and republicanism was wide spread. There had been three working men elected on the School Board and there was a possibility of sending a working man to Parliament at the next election. He had not taken any part in any movement because he had been unsettled not knowing how long he should stay. There was room for a section, he thought. 10

Cit. Engels said he had another fact to communicate. The press had lately been full of the wonders done by the Association, but the last stated in a Paris paper was that Marx had been private secretary to Bismarck in 1857. 15

He further said it would not be well to allow the Paris affair to go on without saying something about it. As long as the Central Committee of the National Guards had managed the affair it had gone on well but after the election there had been talk and no action. The time for action against Versailles had been when it was weak but that opportunity had been lost and now it seemed that Versailles was getting the upper hand and driving the Parisians back. People would not put up long with being led into defeat. They lost ground, their ammunition was spent to little purpose and they were eating up their provisions. They could not be starved into submission as long as one side of Paris was open. Favre declined to take Prussian help. In June 1848 the fight had been over in four days but then the workpeople had had no cannon. It would not be over so quick ||[209]|| now. Louis Napoleon had made the streets wide that they might be swept with cannon against the workpeople but now it was in their favor they would sweep the streets with cannon against the other party. The workpeople 200,000 men far better organised than at any former insurrection. Their case was a bad one but the chances were not so good as a fortnight ago. 20 25 30

Cit. Mottershead did not believe it would be over in a few weeks. France would be in a chronic state of revolution for 5 or 6 years, Paris must conquer the country. 35

Cit. Milner said that an expression of opinion by the Council was urgent. The Republican League had issued an address in which the matter was fairly put, and they wanted an expression of opinion from other people.

Cit. Cohn moved that discussion be suspended until a deputation that was present had been heard. Agreed. 40

Cit. Oliver then spoke on behalf of the deputation which had been sent by the International Democratic Association. He stated that the Association had called a meeting for Sunday next in Hyde Park to express sympathy with the Paris workpeople, and they invited the cooperation of the Council to make it a success. They thought of sending an address to the Commune and to publish another—to the 45

Meeting of the General Council April 11, 1871

English people. They also desired to know whether the Council could furnish any pecuniary support.

Cit. Murray, one of the deputation, then read the draft of an address to the English people.

5 The Chairman said before cooperation could be promised it was necessary to know the resolutions. He agreed on the whole with the contents of the address, 9/10 of which were facts but it would have to be shortened and made more pointed. We were not only very broad in our views but also articulate.

Cit. Taylor of the deputation said the resolutions would be ready on Friday when
10 the delegates were to meet.

The Chairman [said] the matter resolved itself into three points. 1, help to get up
Cit. Milner suggested that delegates should be sent to cooperate,
the meeting; 2, to contribute to the means; 3, to get up the addresses.

Cit. Jung thought the time was too short. The Council would not meet ||[210]|| again
15 before the meeting came off. No middleclass [spirit] ought to be used in the address.

Cit. Lassassie thought the address ought to express that the people of Paris had a right to rise, that they had a right to municipal government, that they had a right to throw the state religion overboard, and dissolve the standing army.

20 Cit. Eccarius did not believe in an invitation to cooperate at the last moment after everything else had been settled. The proper way to get up such a meeting would have been to consult the various organisations before the meeting had been fixed. He was for everyone doing his best to make it a success, but he was against the Council identifying itself with the getting up [of the meeting] and the documents
25 that might result from it.

Cit. Engels endorsed this view and wanted to know how it was that the International Democratic Association was not affiliated to the International. The International had been blamed for everything lately, a great responsibility rested upon it.

Cit. Oliver stated that they had formed part of the Reform League a few years
30 ago which had proved a sham, and from what they had heard of the International they had not believed it went far enough. He alluded to Lucraft's speeches at the Congresses as rather mild.

Cit. Weston had not known that there was to be a meeting until last Friday. Most Council members would have a statement that had gone the round of the papers
35 about a split among the democracy that had determined him to take an active part. This Council should throw in its influence to make it a success and he held it to be cowardice if [it] was not done. He moved that the Council should cooperate with the Association and prepare the resolutions and address.

Cit. Harris was pleased with the attempt to recognise the revolution and seconded
40 the proposition.

Cit. Cohn thought the cooperation ought to be limited to sending a deputation of three or four to attend in Hyde Park.

Cit. Milner proposed that a deputation be appointed to attend the delegate meeting on Friday.

45 Cit. Townshend seconded, **j**

The minute book of the General Council of the I. W. M. A.

[[211]] The Chairman refuted the charge of cowardice, and stated that Lucraft, though he differed from him in many things, had done battle for democracy before many of us had dreamt of it and that he was perfectly honest.

Cit. Bradnick said the time was too short to cooperate in getting up the demonstration. He moved as an amendment that the members of Council should use its influence to make the demonstration a success but not appoint delegates. 5

Cit. Eccarius seconded.

Some suggestion was thrown out that it would be as well to vote against Milner's proposition as adopt that amendment.

The Chairman ruled that it was a real amendment and differed greatly from 10 negativating the resolution.

The amendment was carried by six against five.

The Chairman then put the original resolution which was rejected by a majority.

H. JUNG Chairman
J. GEORGE ECCARIUS Secretary/ 15

[Auszüge aus The Eastern Post]

[Zu S. 531.29-30]

The Eastern Post. Nr. 133,
15. April 1871

"The International Trades Unions desire to enter into correspondence with the unions of the same trades in other countries, and desire addresses. As to politics, the elections for the Cortes have turned in favour of the Government, that is to say, the majority is Ministerial; yet, on the whole, it is a result which must lead to a new revolution. The Carlists may create disturbances, as the great number of candidates they carried seems to serve them as an encouragement to take up arms. But though the Government has an apparent victory in the elections for the Cortes, its defeat in the elections for the provincial Diets will be the more decided. Here five Monarchists and nine Republicans have been elected, among the latter are two members of the International. In the elections for the Town and Communal Councils the victory of the Republicans is beyond a doubt. The most active and most radical among the Republican party is José Rubau Denadeu, whose action is a thorn in the eyes of the Republican celebrities. These gentlemen have an inexpressible abhorrence of everything that bears the remotest resemblance to socialism. With them the Republic is but a passport to become president or minister, blue of so deep a dye that it could not be distinguished from parson black, would be the Republic of which Castelar was the head. Pi y Margall, who has the reputation of being a socialist, has had the impudence to propose a tax on the wages of day labourers. These gentlemen also entertain the nationality swindle; they talk and dream a great deal of the glories of the 'Latin race,' and other stupidities. It is no wonder that the Internationals repudiate these lights, and declare that they have no love for a Republic whose advocates they must consider as the foes rather than the friends of the people. 20 25 30 35

Meeting of the General Council April 11, 1871

"At Madrid, working-men's meetings have been held on the last few Sundays to enlighten the people as to their true interest. The gentlemen of the Republican *directorium* were invited, but they were conspicuous by their absence. Sunjer y Capdevila, whom they call a fool, because his ideas represent the opposite colours
5 of the Republican spectrum, took an active part in the debates. We issue a series of pamphlets under the title of 'Labour Library,' to propagate socialistic ideas. On March 25, we had a working men's meeting here in Barcelona; but on account of bad weather only about 3,000 persons assembled. It was to make a collection for working-men on strike, £ 22 10 s. was collected."

- 10 The London correspondent of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, who is said to perform useful service for the Prussian Embassy, wrote on March 26, as follows: "Since the outbreak of the war, the International has been at work in Spain, France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, England, everywhere it has endeavoured to raise its grim head. For years I have followed the socialistic apostles of liberty and their sub-
15 terranean passages, have heard them preach in the nocturnal gambling-hells, the coffee-shops of Marseilles, Lyons, and Paris, have here, in London, not missed one of their meetings, and can therefore assert with right that I know the red birds of prey. For the moment an activity prevails among the socialists here, just as immediately before the 4th of September and before Christmas, but rather more
20 open. Meetings are held, clubs are founded in which incense is strewn to such apostles as Cluseret, Lullier, Bebel, Holyoake, Odger and others. Addresses and pamphlets are printed and distributed among the mob and the lazy; emissaries are sent out into all parts of the world—in short, there is a stir which presages evil."

Meeting of the General Council April 18, 1871

/[211]/Meeting of the Council April 18.

Members present: Bradnick, Eccarius, Engels, Hales, Harris, Jung, Kolb, Marx, Milner, Pfänder, Robin, Sadler, Weston.

Cit. Jung in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed. 5

Correspondence:

A letter was received from the Secretary of the Oxford Republican Club enclosing a printed programme of the Club, and asking for information and documents to see whether the aims of the International were, as the Club supposed, such that cooperation for the common object could be brought about. 10

The secretary was instructed to reply and forward documents.

A letter was received from the secretary of the London Compositors' Society announcing that a deputation concerning the Antwerp Lockout would be received on the evening of the 26th.

Cit. Engels announced the receipt of a letter from Madrid ||[212]|| appealing for assistance on account of a spinners' and weavers' strike. 15

The Secretary was instructed to communicate with Manchester.

He further communicated that in Germany meetings were held to express sympathy with the Commune.

Cit. Marx announced that the Prussian Police expected him in Germany and had prepared to catch him. 20

At Paris Serraillier and other members of the International had been elected to fill up vacancies in the Commune.

Cit. Jung stated that the lady to whom he had given letters to Serraillier and Rochat had written from Lille that both had not been home from the Hotel de Ville for three nights and that she had not seen them. But she was returning to Paris when she would have more time and would visit them at the Hotel de Ville. 25

Cit. Weston announced that the following telegram appeared in the London papers: "The International Workingmen's Association has published the following declaration:—Considering that Mr. Tolain was elected to the National Assembly to represent the working classes, and that he has deserted their cause in the most cowardly manner, the Parisian Federal Council of the International expels him from its midst, and proposes to the General Council of London to confirm this decision." 30

Meeting of the General Council April 18, 1871

At the Hyde Park meeting Cit. Weston had made the acquaintance of a man the name of Richards who had been in possession of some papers in French and German and had evinced great enthusiasm for the revolution. He had represented himself as a member of the Association but on account of having to go [to] Nottingham 5 on Monday he could not have invited him to attend the Council meeting on Tuesday. He was engaged at the exhibition.

Cit. Hales introduced Cit. Sadler as the delegate of the Hackney Road branch.

Cit. Hales proposed and Engels seconded that he be admitted. Carried.

10 Cit. Hales communicated that the Bethnal Green Branch had appointed Cit. Bradnick as Secretary.

Cit. Jung, referring to the statement about Tolain, was in ||[213]| doubt whether the Council ought to deal with an affair that was only newspaper report.

15 Cit. Robin was of opinion that the Council had nothing [to do] with it as the Paris section was competent to expel members. The time to act would be when Tolain presented himself elsewhere to become a member.

Eccarius thought the Council would only have to deal with it if Tolain should appeal.

20 Cit. Weston thought that Tolain being a noted man his case was somewhat different from other cases, but he did not consider it right to act on a newspaper report.

Cit. Engels said if the publication was official it ought to be registered.

Cit. Marx said if the publication appeared in one of the French papers and the Paris Council asked for confirmation it ought to be given. Tolain deserved to be branded. In public he passed as a representative of the International.

25 It was then agreed that, "if the English Telegram should be found true that the General Council confirm the expulsion of Tolain from the International" and publish the decision.

Cit. Hales stated that he had laid out 4s. 6d. for the meetings at which the two branches of the International had been established. On the propositions of Cit. 30 Engels seconded by Marx it was unanimously resolved that the money be reimbursed.

Cit. Milner asked if the Council did not think it necessary to make some statement about the state of Paris.

35 Cit. Jung thought it necessary but wanting direct communications from Paris we had only false newspaper reports.

Cit. Marx said under existing circumstances an address to the International generally about the general tendency of the struggle was the only thing that might be done.

Cit. Weston thought it desirable that the Council should show some signs of 40 life. A resolution in general terms might be drawn up.

Cit. Marx thought that might be done and an address issued afterwards.)

||[214]| Cit. Milner wanted the Council to express its opinion on the struggle. If nothing was done the Council would lose its influence. Cit. Harris said the London press could get their papers from Paris but we could not. The leading articles were 45 worse than the correspondence.

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W. M.A.

Cit. Milner proposed a resolution which Cit. Sadler seconded but it being half past eleven o'clock the question was adjourned on the understanding that it should [take] precedence of other business at the next meeting.

The Council adjourned at 25 minutes to 12 o'clock.

H. JUNG Chairman 5

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS Gen. Secretary!

[Auszüge aus The Eastern Post]
[Zu S. 536.18-19]

The Eastern Post. Nr. 134,
22. April 1871

In Germany and Switzerland monster meetings have been held expressing sympathy with the working-men of Paris in their present struggle. 10

The German member of the Paris Commune, Leo Frankel, a native of Austria, not a Prussian, as the London correspondents have stated, wrote a letter on the 29th March to the *Volkswille*, the working men's paper of Vienna, describing the proclamation of the Commune. For publishing that letter the paper was confiscated by the Austrian police; but it has been re-printed in the *Volksstaat*, the organ 15 of the Socialistic democratic party, published at Leipzig.

After describing the ceremony before the Hotel de Ville, Frankel concludes:—"The eyes of many an old national guardsman were filled with tears. How could it be otherwise? Were there not many among them that had fought on the barricades in June 1848, and in December 1851? Many had lost a father, a brother, an intimate friend, in those mortal combats; many had tasted the sufferings of exile, many whose relations had perished in the pestiferous air of Cayenne and Lambessa. They saw their *beau ideal*, the Social Democratic Republic, stood a chance of realisation. 20

"Whatever may be the upshot, the seed that has been sown in these days will germinate and raise a stem whose growth no power in the world will be able to dwarf. We have not battled in vain though the Republic may be once more smothered in the bloodshed of civil war. The day is at hand when Socialism must become the refuge of suffering humanity, as Christianity prevailed after the fall of the Roman Empire in spite of exterminating persecutions, so will Socialism triumph. 25 30

"Do not mock these humble folks!
A smaller number of Apostles
Brought the Roman Eagle to the ground."

Meeting of the General Council April 25, 1871

/[214]/ Meeting of the Council April 25.

Members present: Cohn, Eccarius, Engels, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Pfänder, Mottershead, Robin, Townshend. Cit. Hales excused.

Cit. Jung in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed. The Secretary announced that he had received a circular inviting the Council to send a delegate to a conference held for the purpose of establishing a Universal Republican League.

Cit. Harris stated that he had attended the conference on the previous evening and that only about fourteen men had been present. He moved that the receipt of the circular be acknowledged.

It was then agreed that the Secretary should acknowledge the receipt of the circular and state that the Council could not enter into another International Society.

The Secretary further announced that on the previous Saturday he had attended the executive of the Gilders Society who had voted one pound for the locked-out cigarmakers in Belgium, the society had only 27 members.

Cit. Engels stated that from the letter and papers from Spain he had gathered that the same thing was going on in the Cotton Trade of Spain as had been going on in England for the last thirty years. The workpeople were superseded by machinery, men and women by children, and wages went down. This was the reason of the Strike at Barcelona. The secretary had written to Manchester 11[215] but received no answer yet, but little could be expected as there was a kind of Strike preparing in the factory districts about closing the mills at twelve o'clock on Saturdays. The millowners of Oldham had at first given way but others had worked them up to refuse and Oldham would be selected for a trial of resistance. He had already written to Spain explaining the state of things.

Cit. Cohn announced that there was a lockout of the Cigarmakers at Brussels as well as at Antwerp. The London Society had sent its Secretary and a Belgian to make a full inquiry. Thirty men had been fetched from Holland but they had all gone back. The men were confident that the lockout could not last long. They had a claim for support upon the workingmen, having sent 3,000 fr. to Leipzig during the time of the German Cigarmakers' Strike. A Dutch society, whose members worked in the low price shops, had been started in London about nine months ago, [and] had contributed £ 15. The tobacco strippers £20. Another Society had £25 in hand

The minute book of the General Council of the I. W. M.A.

and had voted a share to the Belgians; the London Belgians had sent 375 fr. Between March 31 and April 18, 13 fr. had been collected at evening entertainments at Antwerp, a private Gentleman had given 10 fr., Ghent had 74fr. and 14fr., Altona in Germany 168 fr.; Amsterdam 200 fr., and from another place 30 fr. had been received. The London Society had not yet written to Liverpool.	5
Cit. Marx read a letter from the Secretary of the New York Committee giving the following list of Sections represented by delegates in the Committee.	
1. General German Workingmen's Society (Labor Union No. 5)	
2. French Section of the I. W. A. New York.	
3. Czechian Workingmen's Society New York.	10
4. Social Political Workingmen's Society 1 Chicago ->	
5. Ditto » » » 2 Chicago V German	
6. Social Democratic Workingmen's Society New York J	
7. Irish section of the I. W. A. New York	
8. Social Democratic Society Williamsburgh N. Y. (German).	15
The Sections were reported as doing good work, the Irish is rapidly increasing and trying to enter into combination with the Irish Confederation of the United States. Progress has been made to establish a weekly German newspaper. The Workingmen's Union had decided that only delegates representing Labor not [216] capital should be admitted. The National Labor Union was losing ground among the New York Societies several had refused to send delegates to the next Congress.	20
The Workingmen's Assembly of the State of New York had held its annual session at Albany and passed a resolution approving and endorsing the principles of the I. W.A. concluding "Workingmen of all Countries unite!"	25
An address to the worksmen's Societies and Trades Union was in course of preparation and correspondence had been established with the Miners Benevolent Association of Pennsylvania. The organised political labor party had overthrown the Republican ascendancy in New Hampshire in the recent election. A native American Section had been found and sent a delegate. A bill of exchange for two pounds sterling was remitted as contribution for 293 members and payment for Congress Reports.	30
Cit. Marx announced that letter had been received from Paris one of the 12 th and one of 15 th but they had only arrived on Saturday. A Frenchman from the Commune who had come to London to transact business with the Stock Exchange had paid him a visit to obtain his assistance. The expulsion of Tolain was authentic, in consequence of which he proposed the following resolution:—	35
"Considering the Resolution of the Federal Council of the Paris Sections expelling Citizen Tolain from the Association because, after having been elected to the National Assembly as a representative of the Working Classes, he has deserted their cause in the most cowardly manner, which resolution the General Council is called upon to confirm;	40
Considering that the place of every French member of the International Working-men's Association is undoubtedly on the side of the Commune of Paris and not in the usurpatory and counter revolutionary Assembly of Versailles;	45

Meeting of the General Council April 25, 1871

The General Council of the International Workingmen's Association confirms the resolution of the Paris Federal Council and declares that Citizen Tolain is expelled from the International Workingmen's Association."

Eccarius seconded the resolution, it was carried unanimously.

- 5 Cit. Marx continued. He said he had pointed out to the delegate of the Commune that it was a great blunder to leave us without either letters ||[217]|| or papers. This would be rectified in future as the commercial communications between the Commune and London would be kept up by a travelling agent who would also take charge of our communications.
- 10 Serraillier and Dupont had been elected to fill up vacancies in the 17th arrondissement, Serraillier had written that Dupont was sure to be elected but he had not written since the election; he might have written to Manchester. It appeared that more letters had been written than had arrived.

15 Felix Pyat and Vésinier were calumniating Serraillier and Dupont in Paris and when Serraillier had threatened to prosecute they had denied it. It was urgent to write at once to Paris to state the reasons why Pyat calumniated Serraillier and Dupont, and upon the motion of Citizen Mottershead Citizen Marx was instructed to write.

20 The letters had been posted outside the line by Lafargue, they had therefore been delayed by rail, both the French and the Prussian Governments sifted the letters. Most of the information they contained was old but there were a few facts which the papers had not given. It was stated that the provinces knew as little what was going on in Paris as during the Siège. Except where the fighting was going on it had never been so quiet. A great part of the middle class had joined the National Guards 25 of Belleville. The great Capitalists had run away and the small trades people went with the working class. No one could have an idea of the enthusiasm of the people, and the National Guards and the people at Versailles must be fools if they believed that they could enter Paris. Paris did not believe in a rising in the provinces and knew that superior forces were brought against it but there was no fear on that account, 30 but there was fear of Prussian intervention and want of provisions. The decrees about rent and commercial bills were two master strokes: without them 3/4 of the trades people would have become bankrupt. The murder of Duval and Flourens had excited a sentiment of vengeance. The family of Flourens and the Commune had sent a legal officer to have the cause of their death certain, but in vain. Flourens 35 had been killed in a house.

40 About the fabrication of telegrams there was some information. When Protot had gone through the accounts of the Government of National Defence he had discovered that money had been paid for the construction of an ||[218]|| improved portable guillotine. The guillotine had been found and publicly burned by order of the Commune. The Gas Company had owed the municipality more than a mill, but had not shown any willingness to refund till their goods had been seized; then a bill to the amount had been given on the Bank of France. The telegrams and Correspondents gave altogether different versions of these things. The greatest eyesore was that the Commune governed so cheap. The highest officials only received at the rate 45 of 6000fr. [per] year, the others only workman's wages.

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W. M.A.

The Address was to be ready at the next meeting.

Cit. Harris stated that he had been spoken to by some women employed in the percussion cap and cartridge factories and was promised some particulars as to hours of labour and rates of wages. Missionaries visited the shops to preach, the International ought to send missionaries amongst them.

5

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

JOHN WESTON
J.GEORGE ECCARIUS Secretary/

[Auszüge aus The Eastern Post]

[Zu S. 541.22-45]

10

The Eastern Post. Nr. 135,
29. April 1871

The people of Paris, according to the letters received, do not believe that any rising in the provinces will come to their aid, and they are fully conscious of being opposed by superior forces; but this gives them little concern, provided the Prussians do not interfere. The greatest danger they fear is want of provisions. The great capitalists have run away, and the shopkeepers and tradesmen have little love for the Versailles Government. Three-fourths of them would have been bankrupt but for the decrees of the Commune concerning rent and commercial bills. A great part of the middle-class National Guards have joined the men at Belleville. It is stated in one of the letters that no one can have an idea of the enthusiasm of the people and the National Guards, and that the Versaillists must be fools to dream of entering Paris. The massacre of Duval and Flourens has excited a general sentiment of vengeance, Flourens did not fall in any encounter, he was literally assassinated in a house. His family and the Commune sent an officer of the law for an authenticated statement of the cause of death, which would have involved an inquest, but the Versaillists flatly refused.

15

20

25

Some information has been received by the Council about the trustworthiness of telegrams and paid correspondents. One of the first things the officers of the Commune did was to examine the papers and books of their predecessors. In the accounts of the Home Department of the Government of National Defence, there was an entry found of money having been paid for the construction of an improved portable guillotine. This new instrument for the slaughter of the Paris workmen was constructed while the patriots, now conspiring at Versailles, pretended to defend Paris against the Prussians. It was traced and found, and by order of the Commune, publicly burned with the old unimproved one. The telegrams and the correspondents had it that the people burned them to save their heads against the Commune.

30

35

The Gas Company being robbed is another little bit. The municipal account showed that the Gas Company had received upwards of a million out of the rates levied on the inhabitants of Paris, which was registered as owing, while the same Gas Company had a large balance in the Bank of France. When no response was made to the

40

Meeting of the General Council April 25, 1871

application to refund, the Commune sent the brokers, and when the company found that matters had become serious, that their cash-box and goods were seized, they gave a cheque on the Bank of France for the amount, and their cash-box and goods were restored. These two cases may serve as samples.

The greatest crime of the Commune is doing all these things at so cheap a rate. The pay of ordinary functionaries is only equal to skilled workmen's wages, the salary of the highest officials is only at the rate of £240 a year. Surely they must be mean people, they cannot have any gentlemen among them—fancy a gentleman giving ministerial parties and Lord Mayor's dinners on £240 a year.

Meeting of the General Council May 2, 1871

/[218]/Meeting of the Council May 2.

Members present: Boon, Cohn, Eccarius, Engels, Harris, Jung, Kolb, Lessner, Milner, Mottershead, Pfänder, Robin, Stepney, Townshend, Weston.

Cit. Weston in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

5

The Secretary announced the receipt of a letter from the Bristol Radical Association enquiring what would be done with the three shillings sent by that Association for the families of the German political prisoners, as the prisoners were now liberated. The secretary was instructed to reply that it had been forwarded.

A letter from Barcelona announced that the policy of abstaining from politics had borne fruit. The people had lost their fear ||[219]|| of socialism and the Republicans who opposed socialism had now to profess to be in favour. Addresses of dyers' societies were asked for as the Barcelona dyers were anxious to enter into correspondence with the dyers in other countries.

Cit. Mottershead stated that dyers' societies existed at Leek, Coventry, and there was one in Spitalfields.

15

The Secretary read a paragraph from the New York World by O'Halloran, the Paris Correspondent of that paper, repeating the statement of the Paris Journal that Marx and others had planned the Paris revolution, supplementing it by the assertion that it had been done in a dingy room in Holborn.

20

Cit. Harris said that other people knew more about the Association than the members themselves. He had met a man who had boasted that he had dined with the president of the International who knew all about the Paris affairs. The president lived in the neighbourhood of Northampton Square.

Cit. Jung said that might concern him as he lived in that neighbourhood. Cit. Harris said the man was a postman and his name Newman, to which Cit. Jung replied that he was one of his customers but a stupid fellow whom he despised and never talked of political matters to him. But he was not a postman now. Cit. Harris might tell him the next time he met him what he had heard.

25

Cit. Cohn reported for the deputation to the Compositors' Society. The deputation had been exceedingly well received and from private information tie knew that £15 had been voted. The information received from the London Cigarmakers'

30

Meeting of the General Council May 2, 1871

Secretary now in Belgium was satisfactory, everything had been cleared up and there was every prospect of success.

Cit. Engels announced that Marx had been advised to leave town on account of his health. The address was not quite ready yet. He proposed that in the event of 5 the [address] being ready before the next meeting, the subcommittee be empowered, as on former occasions, to authorise the printing at once. Cit. Jung stated that the delay of the address was justified by the fact that letters from Paris to Mrs. Serraillier had been received on the previous day which might contain important facts. Serraillier had posted seven letters at St. Denis, none of which had been delivered 10 here. The ||[220]|| Russian lady had written that she was carrying on an active propaganda among the fair sex; that she was holding crowded meetings every night, and that an amazon corps was to be raised. Some 5000 had enlisted already. Her health was so precarious that she did not believe she would survive the struggle.

Cit. Engels' proposition was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

15 Cit. Jung then asked what was to be done with regard to signing the names of members who had not attended for a long time, such as Applegarth and Odger. Applegarth told him that he had been driven to resign his situation as secretary of [his] society and his health being too delicate to resume work at the bench his name being put [on] the address might militate against his future prospects.

20 Eccarius proposed that the rule of signing all the names of the members of the Council to official documents should be suspended with respect to the pending address.

Cit. Engels was against it.

Cit. Milner was for the rule holding good.

25 Cit. Harris could not see why any one should object to having his name on it. If Applegarth desired to be omitted, leave him out.

Cit. Mottershead said the proposition of Eccarius amounted to rescinding the resolution that all the names of the members should be signed to official documents.

30 Eccarius said he did not want that resolution rescinded but only suspended for the present occasion.

Cit. Jung stated that he was instructed by Applegarth to bring the question forward but he had told him that he might be driven to court middle class friendship.

It was then agreed that Jung should talk the matter over with Applegarth and Eccarius with Odger.

35 Cit. Milner recurred to a proposition he had made many a time before, the question of drawing up an international price book. The same kind of work was paid differently in different countries and the International was the only organised body in existence that could get up such a work. The professional traders were in possession of all the information they required to promote their interests and it was for ||[221]|| the 40 International to convey information respecting the interest of the working classes, to wifr the prices paid, the social condition of the workers, etc. He concluded with the proposition that the question be put on the order of the day for consideration.

Cit. Jung said the resolution to collect labor statistics had been carried at every congress but no progress had been made.

45 Cit. Mottershead said the best mode of proceeding would be for Milner to appoint

The minute book of the General Council of the I. W. M. A.

a committee to take charge of the matter. It would be a difficult task for any one to undertake. What held good for day workers would not hold good for piece workers.

Cit. Harris said we would have to go outside the trade unions to complete the work. There was contract work and all manners of work that would have to be dealt with; he was willing to assist.

Cit. Milner fell in with the suggestion of Mottershead and it was agreed to postpone any further discussion till the next meeting.

5

JOHN HALES Chairman
JOHN GEORGE ECCARIUS Secretary/

[Auszug aus The Eastern Post]

10

The Eastern Post. Nr. 136,
6. Mai 1871

At Berlin 2,000 shoemakers are on strike for a rise of wages of twenty-five per cent. The masters acknowledge that the workmen stand in need of an increase of wages, but they deny them the right to make a specific demand.

At Munich the shoemakers have drawn up a new price-list to raise their wages from twenty-five to thirty per cent. Before presenting it to the employers they called all the trades of the town together to state their case. The average earnings of the commonest work are 6 s. a week, at the best 10 s. a-week. One employer told his workmen they might do very well as they were, and would not have any cause of complaint if they did not fare so sumptuously, drinking coffee in the morning, and other fine things. The meeting resolved that the shoemakers' demand was just, and pledged itself to support them in case the employers should refuse to adopt the new list.

The factory-workers of Saxony and Austria have seriously commenced a ten hours' agitation. In the market-place of Chemnitz some 18,000 people assembled on the 23rd of April, when a resolution demanding the limitation of the daily hours of labour to ten was unanimously carried, and instructions given that the resolution should be forwarded to the German parliament. One speaker remarked in the course of his speech, "with our present hours of labour the domestic life of the workman is limited to short nocturnal visits to his family."

15

20

25

Meeting of the General Council May 9, 1871

/[221]/ Meeting of the Council May 9

Members present: Bradnick, Cohn, Eccarius, Engels, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Mottershead, Pfänder, Townshend, Weston.

Cit. Hales in the Chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and with 5 a little addition confirmed.

The Secretary desired to make a statement before the business of the evening was proceeded with. He stated that he had resolved upon resigning the secretaryship and the Council would much oblige him by accepting his resignation at once.

The chairman considered that it would be but fair to give some reason for it, 10 and Cit. Mottershead wished to know whether he was going to give up at once or go on with the business of the night.

The secretary replied that he should like to be relieved at once. One reason of the resignation was that he was going to sit down ||[222]| to tailoring the next morning but he was willing to continue till another secretary was appointed if 15 it was not considered convenient to proceed at once with appointing one, but he was desirous that the resignation should be accepted at once and without discussion.

Cit. Mottershead then moved that the resignation be accepted.

Cit. Cohn seconded the proposition, it was carried unanimously.

20 Eccarius announced that the London compositors had voted the Belgian Cigarmakers a loan of fifteen pounds.

A letter had been received from the Thames Ship Caulkers stating that they were not able to render an aid.

Cit. Jung stated that he had received a letter from Switzerland enquiring how it 25 was that Serraillier had not written according to promise about Paris. The reason was that Serraillier was no longer here.

He had spoken to Applegarth about the signing of the Address and Applegarth had left it entirely to him. He thought it would be better not to put Applegarth's name down.

30 Eccarius stated that he had spoken to Odger who still considered himself a member of the Council and had no objection to his name being put to the Address though he should like to see it before it was printed. Eccarius renewed his propo-

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W. M.A.

sition that only the officers should sign this time but the proposition was not seconded.

Cit. Mottershead disired to have Odger on it as he had the character of a true representative of labour not only in this country but abroad.

Cit. Engels stated that the Strikes in Spain were still going on. The Belgian strike was going on too. He had received a letter referring him to the Werker for particulars but the Werker had not come to hand. The masters had at last engaged 30 French women but there was no doubt that they would be served the same as the Dutch men, that was paying their travelling expenses back. Some employers had given in but most stuck to their resolution. It appeared that the Brussels men were not quite affiliated and they wanted to know if the London Cigar makers were affiliated as a society, and if so they wished that a letter be written to that effect. There was a Dutch congress to be held at which the attendance of a London Delegate was desired. Cit. Engels further stated that Professor Beesly had received ||[223]j a letter from a workingmen's Society in New Zealand who addressed him as Chairman of the International. As the letter was meant for the Council Professor Beesly had sent it to Cit. Marx. The letter was then read. It gave an account of the manner in which people are induced to go to New Zealand, the heartless treatment they meet with after their arrival there, and of the misery and destitution that has already resulted from it. A desire was expressed in the letter that the Council should publish it in England for the benefit of intending emigrants to prevent them, if possible, being taken in as others have been and the Council was asked if it was willing to enter into regular correspondence with the Society in New Zealand.

It was agreed that the letter should be published in full and the Secretary was instructed to reply.

Cit. Cohn recurring to the Belgian Cigarmakers' affair thought Cit. Engels should write to Belgium and inform them that the London Cigarmakers had been the first trade society that had been affiliated to the International. He continued by stating that the London delegates had returned, they had established societies in other towns. He had fetched the 15 pounds from the Compositors, there were 561. in hands to be forwarded, everything was going on well, Belgians had also received money from America. The French women had already arrived. They were from Strasbourg and Metz, out of the former government works. The trade was thrown open now by the Prussians. But the Belgian employers were not satisfied with the girls: they were indifferent workers and lived rather more expensively than the Belgians did. As to the affiliation it appeared that many Cigarmakers were individually members of the International but their Trade Society was not affiliated.

Cit. Engels was of opinion that a letter from the London Cigarmakers about their affiliation would be preferable. Cit. Cohn might write one and he would forward it.

Cit. Jung thought it would have a better effect if ||[224]j the London Cigarmakers sent an official letter direct. This was endorsed.

Cit. Bradnick stated that Cit. Buttery was present as Delegate from the Bethnal Green Branch. He proposed that the delegate be accepted.

Cit. Jung seconded. Carried unanimously.

Meeting of the General Council May 9, 1871

Cit. Engels then stated that the address was not ready yet. Cit. Marx had been seriously unwell and drawing up the address had made him worse. But it would be ready on Saturday and the Subcommittee could meet at Marx's any time after five o'clock in the afternoon. A delegate from the Commune had been here, the 5 reports were good. Strictness had to be employed not to let people pass without passports. It had been discovered that spies from Versailles had lounged about at their leisure. The main attack had failed. The Versailles army had tried to get in between the National Guards and the ramparts but now they could only attack 10 in one place and that was where they had failed before. The defence was getting stronger. The Commune had lost a little ground [but] had regained Clamart. Even if the army succeeded at the ramparts there were the barricades afterwards and there had never been such a struggle before as the one impending. For the first 15 time barricades would be defended by cannon, by military guns, and by regularly organised forces. The contending armies were nearly equal now. Versailles could get no troops from the country, they had to send some away to keep the towns in order. Thiers could not even allow the Town Councils to meet at Bordeaux and talk politics, he had to use Napoleon's Law to prevent it.

Cit. Jung called the attention of the Council to the celebration of Robert Owen's Centenary, and expressed his opinion that the Council ought to be represented by 20 a deputation to express our views. He proposed that a deputation be sent.

Cit. Engels seconded the proposition. He said he knew too little of the ||[225]| promoters of the affair but there was no doubt about Robert Owen. There were things to be found in his writings that had not been superseded yet. He had started from his own ideas, had been originally a manufacturer himself and the first that had stood 25 up against his class to put a stop to the shameful system in which women and children had been employed in factories. He thought the International ought to be represented.

Cit. Mottershead said he [would] bow to none in his estimation for Robert Owen but [we] must look who was getting [it] up. Judging from the majority of the names 30 on the programme it would be a very weak edition of socialism. After the passing of the Reform Bill, when the middle class had come into power, they had found that Robert Owen's principles really aimed at their power and they had tried to put him down. Unfortunately he had mixed up his doctrines with metaphysics and instead of forcing the economical reforms it had been turned into a religious affair. 35 At the close the christian socialists had stepped in and become cooperators and the leading men had gone with them. Some fossilised specimen of the socialists would talk about what they had done at Rochdale and the beauties of private property. He was sorry that it was so but he must oppose the motion. However, he had not been quite so original as Engels seemed to think. His socialism he had had from 40 older French writers, his religious ideas from Locke.

Cit. Harris said if possible the Council ought to be represented. He had known Owen personally and had worked with him. He had given up 75,000£. he had made out of his factory people and told them so and given it up and retired. The Christian socialists were humbugs. Maurice, Hughes and others had lent money on condition 45 that the people concerned should not appoint their own managers until the debts

The minute book of the General Council of the I. W. M. A.

were paid but they had not allowed them to pay their debts. Incompetent men had been appointed as managers. At the tailors' place, where he had worked, the books had been improperly kept, they had required an accountant to put them to rights and when they had complained, complaints had been made against them. Outsiders had not been entitled to any profits. He should like to send Mottershead. 5

Cit. Cohn thought a deputation was required to prevent misrepresentations.

Cit. Engels objected to Mottershead that Locke had been a deist but Owen a materialist. Locke's philosophy had led the French to materialism. He doubted that Owen had been acquainted with the older French writers. ||[226]|| He differed entirely from Mottershead. Owen's movement had commenced as early as 1809 and had been independent of anything previously written. In 1812 he had published his book on marriage and 1818 he had gone to the King's Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle to induce them to proclaim Communism. That later the movement had been more in the direction of religion was true to a certain extent but much had been said about social reform. Most of the Owenites had gone over to the middle classes. They had been Chartists but forced into the position of professional agitators and then they had become less reliable and not stuck [to] their principles. He should regret if the festival came off in such a way that we could not take part in it. 10
15

Cit. Mottershead objected that the Socialists had not been Chartists, they had debated with Chartists to refute them and instead of standing up for social reform they [had] gone over the country to debate religion with such men as Brindley for a living. If the International went to associate with such characters it would degrade itself, they stunk throughout England, they had robbed the people. 20

Cit. Engels said he had not meant that all the socialists were Chartists but some he had known had been. 25

Cit. Bradnick did not believe it good policy to mix with them but would like to know if the International could not get up a meeting in some other way.

The Chairman thought a deputation ought to go to vindicate the principles of the Association. He observed that even now many people looked upon socialism as identical with atheism. 30

Cit. Weston said this Association embraced to a larger extent the principles of Robert Owen than any other association and it ought to be represented. The lectures he had attended had always been more social than religious.

Cit. Engels said he agreed with Mottershead that it would be better to stop away. 35

Cit. Jung then withdrew his proposition.

Citizens Jung, Harris, Mottershead, and Weston were then appointed as a committee to select a suitable person or persons to propose as candidate for secretary | ||[227]|| at the next meeting.

It was agreed that the subcommittee should meet at seven o'clock on Saturday. 40

The Council adjourned at half past 11 o'clock.

JOHN HALES Chairman/

Meeting of the General Council May 16, 1871

/[227]/Minutes of Council Meeting held May 16th 1871

Members present, Bradnick, Butterly, Engels, Hales, Harris, Jung, Kolb, Lessner, Mottershead, Robin, and Townshend. Citizen Hales in the chair. The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and confirmed, and a letter was read from Holland

5 asking for an explanation, relative to a statement which had appear'd in the principal Dutch newspaper, to the effect that the Association had advanced a large sum of money to the Commune of Paris. Citizen Mottershead asked who was Secretary for Holland, as it was necessary the letter should be answer'd. Citizen Eccarius stated no one had been appointed as Secretary for that country, whereupon Citizen

10 Hales suggested that the Secretaryship for Holland should be joined to that of some other country. Citizen Engels endorsed the suggestion and proposed "That it should be joined to that of Germany provisionally". Citizen Jung seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously. Citizen Engels reported that the address was not ready owing to the continued illness of Citizen Marx. Citizen Harris reported

15 on behalf of the Sub-Committee appointed to select candidates for the office of General Secretary. Jung, Mottershead, and himself had met and discussed the matter. The names of Odger, Mottershead, Harris, and Hales were mentioned, and it was thought that Cit. Mottershead was the most eligible. It was therefore agreed to propose him, he had agreed to stand upon the understanding that the

20 salary should be progressive. Citizen Jung thought the committee had adjourned without deciding as to who should be proposed, he should have proposed Hales, only he thought it necessary that he should first clear himself of the charge which had been made against him. It was advisable that two should be proposed so that the Council could have a choice. Cit. Bradnick, as a member of the Elastic

25 Web Weavers' Society should support the proposition, or make it, if it had not been proposed that Hales be appointed ||[228]|| Secretary. No one had done as much for the Elastic Web Weavers as he had. He had been secretary of the London branch and President of the Amalgamation, and when he resigned office it was agreed to give him a testimonial, and he was made an honorary member.

30 No one had been made an honorary member before, and some of the members were jealous that the Honour should be conferred upon Hales. Sometime after, a dispute arose, and a meeting (which was illegal) was called, at which Hales was

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W. M.A.

expelled on the ground that he had violated rules of the Society, but the same men who made the charge afterwards withdrew it, therefore Hales had nothing to meet.

Citizen Hales said, sometime ago a dispute did occur, and certain charges were made against him at the Council, and the Council decided to investigate them, a deputation was asked to attend and bring proofs, and the subject was adjourned twice to enable them to do so. The end of it was, that the charges made were withdrawn by the men who made them. He had a letter from Dry dated 10th of April expressing a wish to serve him, and hoping bye-gones would not be remember'd. Extract read. 5

He also had a letter from Parnell dated May 4th. Hoping the past would be forgotten or only remember'd to be forgiven, the letter read. Now he thought the proofs he had given were sufficient to exonerate him from the charges which had been made. It was true that he held opinions different from those of the Society upon the question of the employment of Females, but that question was decided in 1867, when a vote of censure was proposed against him upon the subject, which was defeated by a vote of confidence. As a proof, he was elected for three successive years President of the Amalgamation, during which time his opinions were well known. 10 15

Citizen Engels would propose that whoever was appointed "The election should only be for three months", it was necessary that a man's capacity should be tested, before he was elected permanently. 20

Citizen Jung would second the proposition as it was understood by the Committee that the appointment ought to be provisional.

Citizen Mottershead said, that he occupied an unthankful position. When he arrived at Jung's the question had been discussed, and it was agreed that under the circumstances it was necessary to select an Englishman. The list of possible candidates resolved itself to himself and Hales, and believing that it would be impossible for Hales to fulfil the duties of the office, he accepted the nomination provisionally, for a month or so. Had he known Hales was going to stand, he should not have opposed him, but ||[229]| as things had gone so far, he would abide by the decision of the vote. The objection he had to Hales did not arise out of the strike as he had refused to listen to either party, it was because his position had changed. As a foreman, his whole time was engaged, it was absolutely impossible for him to get sufficient time to do the work required. The Secretary ought to be able to leave his work at times, and that Hales could not do. In one sense Hales deserved more confidence, for he had remain'd true to the principles and policy of the Association, while other men had paid more attention to the question of home Politics. The Association required a man who had plenty of time, which Hales had not. The Association ought to be made either smaller or larger, and an active Secretary could make it larger, it ought to represent the trades which it did not do at present. He accepted the nomination as a last resource, because the Committee had no one else to propose, not to be put in competition with Hales. 25 30 35 40

Citizen Harris endorsed what Citizen Mottershead said, he accepted the nomination upon the understanding that the salary should not be less, but progressive. For his part he prefer'd Odger to Hales, as he knew nothing about Hales's ability.

Citizen Jung said that his conduct might seem disloyal to the Committee but his 45

Meeting of the General Council May 16, 1871

conduct was influenced by the impression that Bradnick would oppose Hales, an impression which it appear'd was altogether wrong.

Citizen Mottershead again protested against being put in a false position, by being put in competition with Hales, he didn't know how his name was suggested
5 to the Committee, he must again assert that whilst Hales had the ability to fulfil the office, and was ambitious to obtain it, he hadn't the time.

Citizen Hales said that it was himself who mentioned Mottershead as an eligible candidate. Citizen Mottershead had asserted that he hadn't the time at his command which would be necessary, all he could say was, that he thought he knew quite as
10 much about his own business, as Citizen Mottershead did, and he asserted most positively that not one working man in twenty had as much time, or opportunity of getting time, as he had. He certainly had the inclination to do the work if elected. His capacity had to be tested, but he was quite willing to be taken on his merits. He would stand the vote, but before it was taken he would say that whoever succeeded,
15 it would make no difference to his friendship. He had courage ||[230] enough to enable him to stand a defeat. He hoped Mottershead had the same.

During the voting, which was then proceeded with, Citizen Hales stated that a meeting was to have been held at the "Cock and Castle" Elizabeth St, Hackney Road on the preceding evening, to consider the position of the Parisian Working
20 Men, but the Police had called upon the landlord, and told him that if he allowed such meetings to be held in his house it would endanger his licence.

The votes were scrutinized by Citizen Engels and the result was Hales 5, Mottershead 4, and 1 for Jung who had not been nominated.

Citizen Hales said as he was elected he would do his best to justify the confidence
25 reposed in him, but there was one thing which he should like the Council to consider, and that was the question of reducing the Secretary's salary. He had stated to Jung that he would make a proposition to reduce the salary to 10/- per week. Not that he believed the salary too high, but he thought the Council could not afford to pay more than the sum he had named. When the income of the Council improved, the
30 salary could be increased.

Citizen Jung must say that it was an understanding on the Committee that the salary should be reduced, and as Hales had suggested it, he would propose "That the Secretary's Salary be reduced to 10/-per week". He thought he could consistently make such a proposition as he was the only one who voted against the 15/- when
35 it was carried. He should like to give more, but it must be remember'd the Income was small, and the Council required money for printing and other matters. He thought too great a proportion of the Expenditure was swallowed up in the Secretary's Salary.

Citizen Butterly thought that Hales might find that the salary was not enough. He
40 thought the matter ought to be left in abeyance for three months until Hales had had an opportunity of testing the work.

Citizen Hales did not support the motion because he estimated the work lightly, but because the necessities of the Council demanded it. The salary might be fixed at 10/- provisionally, and then the Council would not be precluded from reconsidering the question.
45

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W. M.A.

Citizen Bradnick seconded the proposition. He thought 10/- per week as much as the Council could afford.

Citizen Mottershead had thought the work might be done for something less, but he had reconsider'd the matter, and thought it an unwise policy to underpay an official. If a Secretary was not properly paid, he could not be expected to do his work properly. The Secretary ought to be able to leave his work, for there was a great deal of work to be done. The Association ||[231]|| was not in an early stage. It had an European reputation to sustain. He should vote against the proposition. 5

Citizen Engels moved the following as an amendment, believing it would be acceptable to all. "That as Citizen Hales has offer'd to be satisfied with a salary of 10/- for the present, the Council accept his offer, and that the Secretary's salary be fixed for the next three months at 10/- per week." He thought all the objections which had been raised against 10/- were equally applicable to 15/-. 10

Citizen Jung prefer'd Citizen Engels' proposition as it expressed exactly what he meant. He didn't believe in underpaying—but he remember'd the time when a number of members had to pay a sum every week to meet the expenses, and the Council had been without money when it was necessary to have printing done. 15

Citizen Mottershead did not believe it right to reduce the Salary, a good Secretary would work up the income, he should vote against the proposition in its amended form. 20

Citizen Hales approved of the proposition as moved by Citizen Engels. He had been in favour of a reduction during the time the late Secretary was in office, and could not accept a salary, that he had said, the Council could not afford to pay.

The proposition was then put to the vote and carried with two dissentients.

Citizen Mottershead proposed and Citizen Engels seconded "That it be an instruction to the late Secretary and to the Finance Secretary to hand over the books and accounts to the new Secretary as early as possible". Carried. 25

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

H.JUNG Chairman.
JOHN HALES Secretary | 30

Γ

Meeting of the General Council May 23, 1871

I [232]I Minutes of Council Meeting held on Tuesday evening May 23rd 1871

Members present. Boon, Eccarius, Engels, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lucraft, Lessner, Marx, Pfänder, Robin, Schmutz, Townshend, and Weston. Citizen Jung in the chair.

- 5 The minutes of the previous meeting having been read and confirmed a letter was read from the English speaking section of the United States. It gave a glowing account of the progress the Association was making, and said that a mass meeting had been held in New York, sympathising with the Commune of Paris and the miners locked out in Pennsylvania. It also stated that the Painters of the States had formed themselves into a secret society and many of the Lodges were imbued with the principles of the International. A letter was also read from the Birmingham Trades Council enclosing a subscription of £ 1.0.0.

Citizen Marx explained that he had been ill, and had not been able to finish the address upon which he was engaged, but he hoped to have it ready by Tuesday next. In reference to the struggle in Paris he said. "He was afraid the end was near, but if the Commune was beaten, the struggle would only be deferred. The principles of the Commune were eternal and could not be crushed; they would assert themselves again and again until the working classes were emancipated. The Commune of Paris was being crushed by the aid of the Prussians, they were acting as gendarmes for Thiers. The plot for its destruction was concocted between Bismarck, Thiers and Favre, Bismarck stated at Frankfort that Thiers and Favre had asked him to interfere. The result showed that he was willing to do anything he could to assist them, short of risking the lives of German soldiers—not that he valued life when there was anything to be got—but he wished to see France sink still lower so that he might be able to exact the more. He had allowed Thiers to have more soldiers than was stipulated in the Convention, and had only allowed food to go into Paris in limited quantities. It was only the old story. The upper classes always united to keep down the working class. In the 11th century there was a war between some French Knights and Norman Knights, and the Peasants rose in insurrection; the Knights immediately forgot their differences and coalesced to crush the movement of the Peasants. To show how the Prussians have been doing

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W.M.A.

Police work, it might be mentioned that 500 were arrested at Rouen which is occupied by the Prussians—upon the plea that they belonged to the International. The International was feared. In the French Assembly the other day, Count Jaubert—a dried up mummy—a minister of '34—a man noted for supporting measures against the Press—made a speech in which he said that after order ||[233]|| was restored, the first duty of the Government must be to enquire into the working of the International, and put it down." 5

Citizen Robin said that a paper published in London, called the "International", a paper said to be a French police organ, had an article in one of its issues against the International Working-Men's Association, in which it said: "It is to be hoped some means may be found to sweep the members off the face of Europe. It wished they could be transplanted to another part of the world, where they would be isolated from the rest of mankind, they might then put in practice their peculiar theories." 10

Citizen Boon said it was to be expected that some of our friends would escape, and they would not be able to get into Belgium, he thought the Council ought to [take] some action. 15

Citizen Engels didn't hardly see what could be done, as the International was involved in the matter.

Citizen Marx said they might depute someone to see Mrs. Plantade and make arrangements. 20

Citizen Harris said they should have to do the same as in '51. Every member must do what he could.

Citizen Jung thought Citizen Truelove might be instructed to send anyone who called to Plantade's. 25

Citizen Boon asked if any news had been received of Serraillier, in the event of any brutality the Council should protest against any cruelty.

Citizen Marx said that we might denounce the action taken by the Versailles Government but it would not do to protest it would be pleading to a Government that we say are Robbers, the English members of the Council might do something, convoke a Public meeting, or appoint a deputation to the Ministry on the subject. 30

Citizen Weston agreed with the policy of the English members taking action. Some good might be done by demanding the intervention of our Government.

Citizen Engels thought Thiers's proclamation might serve as a basis for agitation, he promised to be lenient when he thought it would be difficult to subdue the Commune, but when the troops were successful, he promised to treat them with severity. 35

Citizen Lucraft was of an opinion that it would have a great effect if the sympathies of the real workmen could be invoked, but a movement by the pretended leaders, who dabbled in everything, would be worse than useless. He had been ill, and that was the ||[234]|| reason he hadn't attended the Council but his sympathies had been with it, the whole time and with the Commune. If the trades did not take up this question, they never could be relied on. 40

Citizen Boon thought it would be useless to expect the Trades to take the initiative in any Political movement. 45

Meeting of the General Council May 23, 1871

Citizen Hales said, he was afraid so much misrepresentation had been promulgated by the English, that it would not be wise to call upon the trades. The workmen were not so decided in their opinions as they ought to be. It would be better to call upon the Democrats.

- 5 Citizen Boon proposed and Citizen Lucraft seconded, "That the English members of the Council should form themselves into a committee, to see if something could not be done to stay the barbarities of the Versailles Government." Carried unanimously.

The Council adjourned at 10.45.

0

H.JUNG. Chairman
JOHN HALES, *Secretary.*/

Vg of the General Council May 30, 1871

**/[234]/Minutes of Council Meeting
held at 256 High Holborn
on Tuesday Evening May 30th 1871**

Citizen Jung in the chair. Members present Bradnick, Boon, Eccarius, Engels, Hales, Harris, Jung, Kolb, Lessner, Marx, Robin, Stepney, Townshend and Weston. 5 Citizens Lassassie, Nägeli, Mayo and Lochner were also present by permission.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed, and Citizen Jung reported that the Congress held in Switzerland had passed resolutions to be sent to the Commune.

Citizen Marx then brought up the address he had prepared for the Council—"On 10 the Paris Commune" and read it through. At the conclusion Citizen Weston proposed and Citizen Robin seconded, That it be adopted. Carried unanimously without discussion. Citizen Boon proposed that it should be printed in the same type as the two addresses on the war. Citizen Harris seconded and it was carried unanimously. Citizen Engels then proposed that 1,000 copies should be issued, Citizen Lessner 15 seconded it and it was carried unanimously.

{Citizens Dronkel and Gunning were enrolled as members.)

The Council adjourned at 11-30

H.JUNG.
JOHN HALES Seer.I 20

Meeting of the General Council June 6, 1871

[[235]] Minutes of General Council meeting held on Tuesday Evening June 6th 1871

members present Boon, Bradnick, Eccarius, Engels, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Mottershead, Pfänder, Robin, Townshend and Weston. Citizen Jung in the 5 chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed and the Secretary read a letter received from Mr. Blair of Glasgow asking for information relative to the principles of the Association, an answer had been sent.

The Chairman reported that the Congress lately held by the French speaking Swiss had declared itself solidaire with the Paris Commune and that every member 10 had signed the declaration. He had also received a letter from Chemalé, he had been ill in Tours during the whole time the Commune was in existence, but he disapproved of the conduct of Tolain and had completely broken with him. He still further reported that he had received a letter from Willebord who said he was afraid the refugees wouldn't have much chance of escaping through Belgium, the Belgian 15 police were quite prepared to do the work of the French Government. One night the Military and police kept marching about the streets trying to provoke a quarrel with the workmen so that the Government might have an excuse to crush out the sympathy which the working men felt for their Paris brethren. If any refugees stayed in Belgium they would be certain to be arrested. If any of the Communists reached 20 Brussels, they should at once try and get them into Holland. Citizen Jung also announced that Citizen Cadot, an agent of the Commune, had reached London.

Citizen Mottershead hoped some of the men of Paris would reach England safely. No ministry would dare to give up one refugee that sought shelter under English law, but he hoped they would be kept out of the hands of the men into whose 25 hands Flourens fell; they would stick them on a bench in Hyde Park. If the men he alluded to were not spies, they were fools who would run us into danger, and quite as bad.

Citizen Harris said if Cit. J. Johnson was alluded to he could answer for him with his life.
30 Cit. Mottershead said the men he alluded to were indiscreet, if they were not guilty of something worse. There was a time for caution as well as a time for Pluck, it was the extravagances of Pyat and his school that ruined the Commune in Paris.

The minute book of the General Council of the I. W. M.A.

Citizen Marx said the Council must disclaim all connection with the so called International Democratic Association as it was started in opposition to the International Workingmen's Association which had to bear the responsibilities of acts absurd as they sometimes were. Another thing to which he wished to call the attention 11[236] I of the Council was the infamous lies circulated about the Commune by 5 the English Press. They were lies fabricated by the French and Prussian police. They were afraid lest the truth should be known. It was asserted that Minière was one of the most furious members of the Commune. Now it was a fact that he never was a member of the Commune, but as he had been a deputy for Paris it was necessary to have an excuse for shooting him. The English press acted as police and 10 bloodhounds for Thiers. Slanders against the Commune and against the International were invented to serve his bloody policy. The press knew full well the objects and principles of the International. It had given reports of the prosecutions against it in Paris under the Empire. It had had representatives at the various Congresses held by the Association, and had reported their proceedings, and yet it circulated reports to 15 the effect that the Association included the Fenian brotherhood, the Carbonari, ceased to exist 1830, the Marianne, Ditto 1854 and other secret Societies, and asked if Colonel Henderson knew of the whereabouts of the General Council which was said to sit in London. These things were simply invented to justify any action taken against the International. The upper classes were afraid of the principles of the 20 International.

He wished also to call attention to the fact that Mazzini had written in the "Contemporary Review" denouncing the Commune. It was not so well known as it ought to be, but Mazzini had always been opposed to the Workmen's movements. He denounced the insurgents of June 1848 when Louis Blanc, who then had more 25 courage than he has now—answered him.

When Pierre Leroux—who had a large family—obtained employment in London Mazzini was the man to denounce him. The fact was, Mazzini, with his old fashioned Republicanism knew nothing and accomplished nothing. In Italy he had created a military despotism by his cry for Nationality. With him the State—which was an 30 imaginary thing, was everything, and Society—which was a reality—was nothing. The sooner the People repudiated such men the better.

Citizen Harris said the International Democratic Association was not started in opposition to any movement, he was at its formation and knew the facts.

Citizen Boon explained how he became acquainted with the Democratic movement, he had been connected with the Association challenged, but he didn't know much about it. He hoped the matter under discussion would be thoroughly sifted, so that if there were any spies they might be known.

Citizen Bradnick said someone had sent a hostile report to the Standard of the meeting held under the auspices of the Council. He believed someone acted as a spy.

Citizen Mottershead said that only three men of that meeting were capable of reporting, they were Hales, Boon and Johnson. |

[[237]] Citizen Weston could add his testimony that the Intern. Dem. Ass. was not started in opposition to any other Association.

Citizen Jung. Said Mazzini tried to start an International Republican League, but 45

Meeting of the General Council June 6, 1871

did not succeed. Dupont then started the French branch, but it contained discordant elements. Vésinier opened up correspondence with Brussels, and boasted that the General Council would soon be destroyed. Finlen said that the International Workingmen's Association was not advanced enough, and for that reason the International Democratic Association was started, by the express order of Pyat, and Weber with some Germans who had been expelled from the German Society—also joined them.

Citizens Harris, Boon, and Weston said that the Association they had been discussing could not be the same.

10 Citizen Hales said it was the same, he recollects all the circumstances very well. Finlen and Weber organized it, assisted and encouraged by Pyat, and then Johnson appear'd and he had been connected with [it] ever since more or less. It was true the Association named had several times appear'd to die out, but then it was galvanized into life again, with the same parties attached to it.

15 It being late Citizen Bradnick suggested that a subscription should be made to assist Citizen Cadiot, Citizen Mottershead said it would be better to deal with that and similar cases, by voting something out of the Funds of the Association—he would propose that £ 5 be placed in the hands of Citizen Jung to assist such refugees as might need it, he could place full reliance on Jung's discretion.

20 Citizen Eccarius seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

The Council adjourned at 11.15.

Citizen Weston complained of the omission of the following and moved that it be inserted as he wished Citizen Mottershead to retract or substantiate his charges. In the course of the debate, Citizen Mottershead said that Citizen Weston had given 25 countenance and support to parties on various occasions whose action was inimical to the principles and objects of the International, and not only so, but he supported principles at one time that he had opposed at others, both on social and political subjects.)

Meeting of the General Council June 13, 1871

[238] Minutes of the meeting of the General Council held on Tuesday Evening June 13th 1871

members present, Boon, Cohn, Engels, Hales, Harris, Jung, Kolb, Lessner, Marx, Mottershead, Robin, Stepney, Townshend and Weston, Citizen Mottershead being voted to the chair. On the Secretary reading the minutes of the previous meeting, 5 Citizen Weston complained of the omission of some remarks, respecting himself, which had been made by Citizen Mottershead, and in so doing proceeded to criticise Mottershead's career. The Secretary rose to order, he didn't think a discussion could take place upon the question of confirming the minutes. Citizen Mottershead said that Citizen Weston was clearly out of order, but he did not interrupt him, as it concerned himself, under the circumstances he would vacate the chair, then he could speak, saying which he left the chair. Citizen Marx was then elected Chairman, and the business proceeded. Citizen Mottershead said he wished to impute nothing against Weston's honesty, he gave him every credit for good intentions, but he sometimes had made mistakes: he had supported men who didn't deserve support, and had advocated different doctrines at different times, he gave this as explanation; he didn't impugn Weston's honesty but he did question his discretion. Citizen Weston then moved "That the words omitted be inserted" which was agreed to. Citizen Harris also complained of an omission which was rectified. The minutes were then confirmed. 10 15 20

Citizen Engels then gave a report of a meeting of the Subcommittee which had been held on June 11th at 122 Regents Park Road, to consider the Circular issued by Jules Favre, on the International. Citizens Marx, Engels, Hales, Eccarius and Weston were present and the following letter was agreed to and order'd to be sent to all the Daily Papers. It had been sent but only the "Times" had inserted it. 25 The Pall Mall Gazette had given extracts from it. He read the letter which was as follows.

M

[239] The report of the subcommittee was unanimously adopted. 30 Citizen Marx suggested that the Council should issue a circular to the European Courts on Jules Favre as intimated in the foregoing letter. It was a fact that Favre wanted to escape from his office of Foreign Secretary, and there was a rumour

Meeting of the General Council June 13, 1871

that he was to be appointed President of the Court of Cassation, but he thought the letter to the "Times" had prevented that. It was a duty owing to the men of Paris to hunt that man down.

Citizen Harris proposed and Citizen Weston seconded "That a circular be sent to 5 all the European Courts calling their particular attention to the documents relating to Jules Favre, which had been published in Paris by the late M. Minière". Carried unanimously.

The Address on the Civil War in France was brought up and unanimously order'd to be issued. Citizen Marx announced that himself and Citizen Engels had advertised 10 the address at their own expence, the price to be sixpence.

Citizen Harris suggested that it should be sent to all members of Parliament.

Citizen Engels opposed that, thought it would be throwing away money, he thought that 500 of the members never read anything. They certainly didn't read their own Blue Books which they got for nothing, they were in the habit of using them for 15 targets for Pistol practice.

It was agreed that it should be sent to leading members of both Parties in the House of Commons.

Citizen Jung proposed and Citizen Lessner seconded "That 2 copies be sent to all Associations of Working Men and 20 each to Birmingham and Manchester 20 Trades Councils". It was further proposed and embodied with the foregoing that members of Workingmen's Associations should have the addresses at 3⁴- each by applying to the Council. Carried.

Citizen Jung proposed and Citizen Townshend seconded, That each member of the Council be allowed 6 copies for distribution.

25 Citizen Mottershead suggested that it should be sent to the advanced liberal newspapers.

Citizen Engels proposed and Citizen Lessner seconded that the Subcommittee be empower'd to print another thousand if it should be thought necessary—Carried.

Citizen Cohn then gave in a report of the Cigarmakers Lockout in Belgium. The 30 London Cigarmakers had sent over some delegates, who stayed there 15 days, and thoroughly investigated the state of affairs. The masters had obtained 30 men from Holland, but everyone had been sent back again. They had also |j[240]J obtained 25 girls from Metz and Strasbourg, but sixteen of them had also left, so that after seven weeks the masters had only obtained 9 hands. Not one of the men locked 35 out had offered to go in, and the masters were as near beaten as could be. When the affair began the masters wouldn't recognise the Trade Society at all. Now they were willing to do that and to give a rise of wages, besides abolishing payment for gas and other incidental charges. They had also agreed to employ Tobacco Strippers for the men, and it was to be optional on the part of the men whether they should 40 have boys to do the Bundling or not. There were one or two points still unsettled, but there was not the slightest doubt the men would get everything they asked for, for they were well supported. The Cigar Makers of Hamburg had warmly espoused the cause and found work for 30 of the men locked out. The following sums had already been sent to Belgium from England.

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W. M.A.

	£.	S.	D.	
London Cigar Makers	250	0	0	
Ditto another Society	25	0	0	
Tobacco Strippers	2			
Dutch Cigar Makers	15	..	«	5
Ditto	5			
Bundlers	10	,,	,,	
Tobacco Cutters	5			
Compositors	15			
Gilders	1	»	»	10
Painters	3			
Brushmakers	5			
Basketmakers	10			
Tinplate Workers	10			
Coopers	10	»	..	15
Belgian Cigar Makers in London	31			
	£415	,,	»	

In addition to this a levy had been put on in one society to aid them, and if the struggle was continued, assistance would be still further render'd. The Executive of the London Cigar Makers intended to ask for powers at their next meeting to enable them to send over any sums they might deem fit. | 20

[(241)] The Secretary read a letter from Citizen Blair of Glasgow, who had joined the Association. The Council then took into consideration the cases of Citizens Cadot and Baudry, two Refugees from Paris. Cadot who had been in London over a week, and had already received £2. 15.0, asked in a letter for a sum weekly that would enable him to live in a respectable position, he also asked that his jewels—which he had been obliged to pledge, might be restored to him; he thought the Council ought to maintain him in as good a position as he was in before he joined the movement. | 25

Citizen Baudry simply asked the Council to render him some little assistance until he got work, he had fought for the Commune, and escaping from Paris had walked by night to the coast, he then took the first vessel that was going to sail and that landed him at Cardiff in Wales, he had walked from thence to London and was quite destitute. The Council agreed to vote them a pound each, with 15/- additional to Baudry to relieve his immediate necessities. | 30

Citizen Jung had received a letter from Applegarth informing him that the joiners were on strike at Newcastle for the nine hours' movement and that the masters had already brought over some men from Belgium and were trying to get more. He had at once written to Brismée informing him of the state of affairs, and asked him to do all he could to prevent men from coming over. | 35

Citizen Engels had received a letter from Spain. A Cooperative Society in Barcelona wished to have some samples of Paper for hanging on walls from England, with prices. | 40

Citizen Elliott and Blair were enrolled members of the Association.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock. | 45

H.JUNG. Chairman JOHN HALES Sec.|

Meeting of the General Council June 20, 1871

**[242] Minutes of Council meeting
held on Tuesday Evening June 20th 1871.**

Members present Boon, Bradnick, Buttery, Cohn, Eccarius, Engels, Hales, Harris,
5 Jung, Kolb, Lessner, Lucraft, Marx, Mottershead, Odger, Pfänder, Robin, Townshend,
and Weston. Citizen Jung in the chair. Citizens Roach and Taylor were enrolled
members of the Association.

The minutes of the preceding meeting having been read and confirmed, Citizen
Engels asked that the reading of the correspondence might be postponed so that the
Council could proceed at once to the urgent business. The chairman decided such
10 should be done. And Citizen Engels called attention to a letter which had appear'd
in the "Daily News" signed George Jacob Holyoake, and read a draft of a letter which
he proposed should be sent in reply. He thought it was necessary to shew clearly
who wrote the address.

Citizen Harris seconded. He thought it impertinent on the part of Mr. Holyoake
15 to criticise the address. He was only a literary catsmeat man.

Citizen Mottershead approved of the letter, but he should have liked to have given
Holyoake a rub about his own revolutionary utterances.

Citizen Boon also approved of the answer, he agreed with a previous speaker
that the letter was an impertinence.

20 Citizen Odger gave an explanation. Holyoake had asked him about the address
and he told him he hadn't seen it, it was simply a matter of fact. He thought an
address of that character ought not to be issued without it having been submitted
to every one whose signature was to be attached.

Citizen Jung said that would be an impossibility. Was it to be sent before the
25 Council had consider'd, or after, if before, it might be alter'd, if after, it would
again want revising.

Citizen Marx said the Council had sent specially to Citizen Odger to ask him if
his name was to be appended and he said, yes. As for sending proofs that would
be impossible, the standing orders could not be suspended for one man, Odger
30 knew what they were. If he had attended the Council he would have heard the
address. It was a pity Odger's name was appended.

Citizen Boon thought it was the fault of Odger himself, he should have attended
to his duties, like the rest of the members.

The minute book of the General Council of the I. W. M. A.

Citizen Odger said he wouldn't be dictated to, if the Satellites of Dr. Marx liked they could, but he wouldn't. |

I[243] I Citizen Butterly protested against such language, he was no more a satellite of Dr. Marx than he had been of Citizen Odger, or ever intended to be.

Citizens Boon and Bradnick also protested against the expression of Citizen 5 Odger.

Citizen Lucraft asked, who was responsible for the omission of certain members' names.

The Secretary said no names had been omitted to his knowledge except that of Applegarth, who had expressed a wish to sever his connection with the Council. 10

Citizen Lucraft said the Council ought to have informed the members when the address was to have been discussed, there was a great deal in it he objected to. The International defended Ruffians who had done deeds that he abhorred, ruffians that did not belong to the International, he would not sanction murder and Arson. He wanted to know from the Secretary by what authority he had printed members' 15 names as having signed the address when they had not seen it. The Secretary was either a tool in somebody's hands or he deserved censure.

The Secretary remarked that Citizen Lucraft's observations proved that he had never read the address he was condemning; and he handed him a copy, pointing out the fact that the members' names were not printed as having signed it. He 20 was astonished at Citizen Lucraft's inconsistency, he was the strongest advocate on the Council for appending all names to the documents and had advocated the same policy on other occasions and in other places—and now he came and complained of it.

Citizen Lucraft apologised to the Secretary, he had made a mistake, but the fact was he had not read the address—he had gather'd his impressions from the Newspapers, but not agreeing with the Address he must ask that his name be taken off the books. 25

Citizen Odger said he had not come to resign, but seeing that there was no reason on the Council, he would also have his name taken off. 30

Citizen Mottershead regretted that the affair had happen'd so far as Odger was concerned, he looked upon him as the leading workingman of the ||[244]| London [workers], and he desired to retain him in the Council. With respect to Lucraft he must say he was surprised; of all men living, he least expected him to find fault with the address as being too violent, why he had used far stronger language in his time, than was contained in the address, he supposed that sitting in Guildhall rubbing sleeves with a Lord has caused him to change, if such was the case, all he could say was, that he wished he was in Parliament so that the workmen could be rid of him altogether. 35

Citizens Lucraft and Odger then left the room and the proposition was put to the 40 vote and carried unanimously. The following is the letter agreed upon.

[...]

Citizen Marx then proposed that a letter should be sent to the "Examiner" and "Spectator" denouncing the pretended manifestoes of the Paris section of the International, they were all forgeries of the Versailles police. 45

Meeting of the General Council June 20, 1871

Citizen Boon seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

Citizen Mottershead said that he had an appointment with an Editor of a first class weekly (high priced) paper, who wished for data from which to write in favour of the International.

- 5 Citizen Marx proposed, and Citizen Cohn seconded, That Mottershead and Engels wait upon the Editor mentioned. Carried unanimously.

The Council then proceeded to discuss the question of aiding the refugees, Citizen Marx having previously handed in £6 « .> in their aid.

- 10 Citizen Cadot complained of having to come weekly before the Council, he thought the Council ought to do more for him.]

|[245]j Citizen Baudry said he came to thank the Council for the generosity it had shewn him, and to say that he thought of leaving London to search for work—he introduced two Italian Citizens who had fought for the Commune.—

- 15 After a little discussion it was agreed to give the newcomers (four) £ 1 » » and Cadot and Baudry 15/- each.

Citizen Cohn announced that the London Cigarmakers had subscribed another £ 100. » » in aid of the Belgian lockout, a society in Liverpool had also voted £ 10 » and the Elastic Web Weavers of Leicester £5 « ».

- 20 Citizen Marx proposed and Citizen Engels seconded "That Citizen McDonnell become a member of the Council".

Citizen Mottershead proposed and Citizen Weston seconded "That Citizen Taylor become a member of the Council".

Citizen Bradnick proposed and Citizen Hales seconded "That Citizen Roach become a member of the Council".

- 25 The Council adjourned at 11.15.

JOHN WESTON Chairman
JOHN HALES *Secretary*\

[Auszug aus The Eastern Post]
[Zu S. 566.43-45]

The Eastern Post. Nr. 143,
24. Juni 1871

- 30 Citizen Marx said that he was glad to observe that the workmen on the continent were thoroughly outspoken upon the subject of the Commune. Meetings had been held in Geneva, Brussels, Munich, Vienna, and Berlin, denouncing the Thiers-Favre massacres. He also called attention to the fact that a number of so called manifestoes had appeared in the French papers, purporting to be issued by the Paris 35 section of the International. They were all forgeries issued by the French police for the purpose of entrapping the unwary, it shewed the dirty actions to which a desppicable government could descend.

Meeting of the General Council June 27, 1871

**I[246]I Minutes of Council meeting
held on Tuesday Evening June 27th 1871
at 256 High Holborn W. C.**

Members present Citizens Boon, Eccarius, Engels, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lessner,
Marx, Mottershead, Milner, Pfänder, Rühl, Taylor, Townshend, and Weston. Citizen 5
Weston in the chair. Citizens Richard and Briner were enrolled members of the
Association.

Citizen Engels proposed that the subcommittee be instructed to take charge of the
duty of investigating the claims of the refugees and relieving them, andf orthatpurpose
they meet at the Council rooms on Saturday evenings. Too much time was taken. 10

Citizen Jung seconded the proposition. He thought the Council was not a proper
place to enquire into matters of that description. No one ought to come into the
Council unless he was known. The proposition was carried unanimously.

Citizen Marx then proposed "That the Election of Candidates for the Council
be proceeded with". Certain names would have to be omitted from the Second edition 15
of the address, and it would be well to have those of new members in their place—if
elected.

Citizen Engels seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously. Citizens
A.Taylor and John Roach were elected. The election of Citizen McDonnell was
postponed. 20

Citizen Engels then called attention to two letters which appeared in the "*Daily
News*" from B.Lucraft and G.J.Holyoake, and moved that a Reply be sent. He
thought Lucraft had acted cowardly in the matter, after admitting as he had, that
he had not read the address.

Citizen Boon seconded the proposition. It was advisable to expose the Jesuitry 25
of such men.

Citizen Mottershead said Holyoake wanted to wriggle out of an unpleasantposition.
It was well known, that he came to join the Council and wished to attend the Con-
gress, he remember'd it well. Holyoake wished to join the Council—to make profit
matter for the press. He was glad to say that he had helped to foil him. With 30
respect to Lucraft—he was not surprised, as he never was a responsible man, he

Meeting of the General Council June 27, 1871

was always flighty, but Odger he was astonished at, it appear'd from the Telegraph that he had repudiated the Council as well as Lucraft, he would move that their resignations be accepted.]

- [[247]] Citizen Harris seconded the proposition. Odger had been round to the
5 Papers playing the part of the literary dustman. It was time the people were rid of the so called leaders.

Citizen Townshend hoped the resolution would be carried, he had heard Odger attack the International.

- 10 Citizen Marx said Odger had acted in a cowardly fashion, he was too wily to do as Lucraft had done, he had gone about in an underhand manner thinking to please the middle class without offending the working class, both resolutions were carried unanimously and the following letter was drawn up and order'd to be sent.

[...]

- 15 Citizen Marx then called attention to the fact that he had sent a letter to the "Daily News" which had been mutilated by the Editor. It shewed that the English press was as vile as that on the Continent. He then handed it to the Secretary to be sent to the Eastern Post. The following is the letter.]

[...]

- 20 [[248]] Citizen Weston proposed and Citizen Boon seconded that Citizen Richard become a member of the Council.

- Citizen Marx then announced the fact that the first Edition of the address was exhausted and proposed that a second of 2,000 be issued at the reduced price of 2^d, and that handbills, announcing the same be printed, it was necessary now to circulate the address as widely as possible among the Working Class. He also wished to add
25 that it was proposed to add, as a note to the address, the letter on Jules Favre's Circular printed in the "Times."

Citizen Engels seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

- A short discussion took place upon the financial position and it was decided to start a Refugee Fund. Citizen Marx handed in another £4«« in aid of it and Citizen
30 Jung £ 2 »! « from Citizen Lavroff.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

H.JUNG. Chairman
JOHN HALES Secretary \

[Auszug aus The Eastern Post]

The Eastern Post. Nr. 144,
1. Juli 1871

- 35 A letter was received from Barcelona (Spain) which stated that the working classes of Spain were strongly in favour of the principles of the Commune, and justified its conduct during the late events. It was also announced that the speech of Herr Bebel, delivered in the North German Parliament in favour of the Commune, had had a great effect in Germany, meetings being held in all the large towns, at which
40 his sentiments were enthusiastically endorsed.

Meeting of the General Council July 4, 1871

[249] Council Meeting held July 4th 1871

Members present, Boon, Eccarius, Engels, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Milner, Pfänder, Roach, Serrallier, Townshend and Weston. Citizens D'Albêca, Tibaldi, De Wolffers, Rovart, Rozalowski, De Baufort, Légé, Dagbert, Leblanc, Lavroff, Scherzer and Genin were also present at the sitting. Citizen Jung in the chair. 5

The secretary announced that he had written to several gentlemen of position asking for contributions to the Refugee Fund. He had received £5.0.0 from P.A. Taylor, M.P. and £5.0.0 from Sir Chas. W. Düke M.P. He also read Correspondence from Ryde, Windsor, Manchester, Worcester, Sunderland and Dumbarton. 10

Citizen Hales proposed and Citizen Weston seconded that Citizen Elliott become a member of the Council.

Citizen Marx then said that as the election of Citizen McDonnell was first upon the order of the sitting he would say a few words. He had made enquiries relative to the Allegations that were rumour'd about McDonnell and he had found nothing whatever to his discredit. From 1862 to 1868 he had worked very hard in Ireland and had suffer'd 10 months imprisonment in consequence. The Irish Newspapers spoke very highly of him. He had been charged with offering to sell the Irish vote at the last election in Southwark, but the fact was the Irish wished him to come forward as a candidate himself but he declined and recommended the Irish to vote for Odger. He was also charged with not acting quite right in the ambulance affair, but it was a movement to get Irishmen to join the French Army so that they might become trained to the use of arms. He thought his conduct was more praiseworthy than otherwise, and he had much pleasure in again proposing that he be elected a member of the Council. 15 20 25

Citizen Engels said he had as much pleasure in again seconding the proposition; on being put to the vote, it was carried unanimously.

Citizen Engels then read a letter from Cafiero. On arriving at Florence he put himself in communication with the Workmen's Societies. He found one of them already an International one. From Florence he had gone on to the South of Italy, 30 and intended to go on to Naples. He wished to know what kind of men the Neapolitan members were. From the spirit exhibited, he had great hopes that it would be

Meeting of the General Council July 4, 1871

possible to hold an Italian Working-men's ||[250]|| Congress in the ensuing Autumn. The Mazzini Party is losing ground fast, though Mazzini himself is trying hard to keep up its vitality by inveighing in the columns of his journal against the "Atheists and Materialists" whom he accuses of being the authors of the ruins of Paris.

- 5 The poor old man cannot see that his idea of National Unity—great in its time—is a byegone thing, and is vanishing like the light of a candle before the light of the Sun, and will be eclipsed by the grand idea of the Unity of Peoples, and the liberation of Labour from the thraldom of Capital.

Citizen Marx read a letter from the Central Committee of the Association for the

- 10 United States. Some of the miners in Pennsylvania were still on strike, but those in work were dividing their wages with those out. The Painters and Plasterers had organized themselves upon the model of the Crispins—as the Shoemakers call themselves. The Typographical Union had just held a congress at Baltimore, and a great strike of Colour'd Labourers had taken place at Washington, which was defeated
15 by the stepping in of White Labourers. The Democratic Party leaders were fast taking up the most important points of the programme of the National Labour Union, but it was felt that there were elements enough to organize a "Labour Party" with a labour platform, and such was almost certain to be done. The North American Central Committee now represents 10 sections, and new sections are being started
20 every week. Two have just been started at San Francisco and St. Louis. It is intended to hold a general meeting of members resident in New York to express their views on the June insurrection of—48 and the struggle of—71 and address had been issued to all the Working-Men's Societies and Trades Unions throughout the States asking them to join the International.

- 25 Citizen Marx said Mr. Robert Reid, late Correspondent of the "*Telegraph*" in Paris, who had been a resident in Paris 16 years—was about to travel through England to lecture on the "Commune of Paris", and from conversation he had had with him he was sure he would act in the interest of the International, he therefore would propose that Mr. Reid be entrusted with 500 copies of the Address
30 for sale and that he be allowed 35 per cent commission.

- Citizen Engels seconded the proposition, he was sure Reid would do good work, he had given them some interesting statements, which proved the villainous part acted by the press of this Country towards the ||[251]|| Commune. The "*Telegraph*" had suppressed parts of his letters and telegrams he had sent because they gave
35 truthful facts favourable to the Commune.

Cit. Harris supported the proposition, it was necessary to let the people know the truth, men like Wolff were doing all they could to injure the memory of the Commune.

- Citizen Weston quite agreed with the necessity of giving publicity to the Address,
40 and he did not know of a better way than by carrying out the proposition. The proposition was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

- Citizen Marx said he wished to call attention to the matter alluded to by Citizen Harris viz. the conduct of Major Wolff, Ex-Secretary of Mazzini.—On the 16th of March last he attended a meeting of the Federal Committee sitting in Paris, and said
45 he was connected with the General Council, but it was too inactive, the International

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W.M.A.

was not revolutionary enough, and yet this was the man that had denounced the Commune. Citizen Tibaldi however would speak to another matter that had come under his cognizance.

Citizen Tibaldi then spoke a few words in French, and handed in the following statement, which was then read and afterwards handed over to the Secretary for insertion in the Eastern Post. 5

[..]

Citizen Serraillier could corroborate what Citizen Tibaldi had said about Wolff being a spy, he had seen the book mentioned and had seen the entries—during the time he was a member of the Commune. There could not be any mistake in the 10 matter-Wolff's pay was, as stated by Citizen Tibaldi, 1,000 francs or £40 « » per month, the highest sum ||[252]|| paid to spies.

Citizen Jung said, Citizen Savio had told him that he also had seen the same, books, and the entries mentioned.

Citizen Marx then said that after he had written to the Pall Mall Gazette, accepting the responsibility of the articles and [they] had still called them libels, he therefore had written to the Editor calling him a libeller provoked by which the Editor had printed the charges in full. 15

Citizen Engels said in consequence of the matter spoken of he had resigned his connection with the Pall Mall Gazette. 20

The Council adjourned at 11.15—

Citizen Harris proposed that Applegarth be written to and asked if he consider'd himself a member of the Council.

H.JUNG, Chairman
JOHN HALES-Secretary/ 25

[Auszug aus The Eastern Post]
[Zu S. 571.42-572.2]

The Eastern Post. Nr. 145,
8. Juli 1871

Citizen Marx called attention to the conduct of Major L.Wolff, Ex-Secretary to Mazzini, the man who, some time ago, wrote a letter to the *Daily News* denouncing the Commune. He had not introduced the subject before as he was waiting for proofs 30 that were now forthcoming, but the fact was Wolff was a spy in the pay of the French police! and such would be proved, he might also say that this man who was against the Commune because of its violence, attended a meeting of the Paris section of the International, on the 16th of March, and accused the International of not being Revolutionary enough, but then that was not after the fall of the Commune. 35

Meeting of the General Council July 11, 1871

/[252]/ Council Meeting July 11th 1871

Members present, Bradnick, Buttery, Engels, Hales, Harris, Jung, Kolb, Lessner, Marx, McDonnell, Robin, Riihl, Serraillier, Taylor, Townshend and Weston. Citizens Barry, Belliston, Canot, Dagbert, De Baufort, Gaujean, Guichar, Greffe, Hur-
5 liman, Lochner, Leblanc, Légé, Lavroff, Otterbein, Périchon, Plantade, Rovart, Rochat, and De Wolffers were also present during the sitting. Charles Wade was introduced by the Secretary—but Citizen Harris objected to his being present during the sitting, so he retired.—The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and confirmed and Dr. Marx requested that the reading of the correspondence might be
10 deferred, in order that the Council might proceed to important business. This was agreed to and Dr. Marx said Mr. Lumley, agent to the lawyer who was to defend Assi, was in the room, and he desired answers to certain questions which had been addressed to the Council by letter. The letter stated that a letter purporting to be written by Dr. Marx—in which Assi was denounced as a spy—had gone the round
15 of the press in Paris—and as the police were using it against Assi—the writer desired to **11[253]I** know if it was genuine or not. The letter furthermore said that though Assi was confined in a cell, he had received a letter in cypher from Worthing, which contained a lot of nonsense about burning the principal towns in France and England, and it asked did the International ever use cypher in its correspondence. Citizen
20 Marx said both of the documents in question were forgeries of the French police, and were part of a series of forgeries of the same character. The International had no necessity to have recourse to cypher.—He had seen Serraillier on the matter and it was thought advisable that two statements should be sent, one written by himself and the other by Serraillier, they had been drawn up. He then read the proposed
25 statements and upon the motion of Citizen Harris, seconded by Citizen Engels, they were adopted unanimously, signed by Citizens Marx and Serraillier, stamped with the official stamp of the Council, and countersigned by the Secretary.

Citizen Buttery reported that the Bethnal Green branch of the International was actively at work, it had passed a resolution approving of the efforts of the Irish
30 to obtain Home Rule. The Irish had the right of Self-Government, and it was the duty of Englishmen to assist them in their struggles to obtain it.

Citizen Jung announced that a new branch of the International to be called the

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W. M.A.

"Excelsior" branch was to be opened on the next evening, at 197, City Rd. and he thought it would be an energetic one.

The Secretary reported that a meeting of the subcommittee had been held on Friday evening July 7th to take into consideration the conduct of Mr. Washburne—American Minister in Paris— during the siege of the Commune by the Versailles troops. An address to the Central Committee of the International, U.S., embodying two statements had been agreed upon and would be laid before the Council. 5

Citizen Marx then proceeded to read the address, remarking that the statements could not be altered, as the two citizens who made them were responsible for them, and were ready to support them by affidavit, if necessary. 10

Citizen Butterly proposed and Citizen Lessner seconded that the address be accepted with the report of the subcommittee—Carried unanimously.

Citizen Marx called attention to the fact, that the "*Morning Advertiser*" had copied from a Paris Journal, a letter that was forged in his name and had inserted an article upon it, on the assumption that it was genuine. He thought he should send a letter disclaiming it, as it would then be proved that the letter in question was a forgery. | [254] He also reported, that Mr. Rutson, private secretary to Mr. Bruce, the Home Minister, had written to him asking for copies of all documents issued by the International, and he had sent them. 15

Citizen Robin—gave notice of motion "That the Council take into consideration the disputes existing in the Swiss Section". 20

Citizen Engels gave notice of motion "That the Council consider the advisability of holding a Conference preparatory to the holding of a Congress".

Citizen Marx proposed that the standing order of the Council relating to the election of candidates should be postponed, so that Citizen Rochat might be elected at once, he was a refugee and had been a member of the Paris Central Committee. Citizen Lessner seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously. 25

Citizen Engels then proposed That Citizen Rochat be elected a member of the Council. Citizen Harris seconded, and it was carried unanimously.

The election of Citizen Richard—which stood in order upon the agenda was postponed, to enable further enquiries to be made, as to his antecedents. 30

Citizens Mills, Bennett, Foster, and Belliston were enrolled members of the Association.

Citizen Harris proposed and Citizen Townshend seconded "That Citizen Charles Mills become a member of the Council". 35

Citizen Marx proposed and Citizen Lessner seconded, that Citizen Lochner become a member of the Council.

Citizen Hurliman was accepted as the delegate of the Swiss Society of London.

Citizen Marx announced that the Working men of Mayence had held a large meeting and had adopted unanimously as their own, the address of the Council 40 on the "Civil War in France".

GEO. E. HARRIS, Chairman
JOHN HALES *Secretary*]

Meeting of the General Council July 11, 1871

[Auszug aus The Eastern Post]
[Zu S. 573.19-22]

The Eastern Post. Nr. 146,
15. Juli 1871

- Dr. Marx emphatically denounced both the documents as forgeries of the police, and said that they were only part of a series of forgeries concocted by the police.
- 5 The Government of Versailles dare not touch the International upon its principles, but resorted to such contemptible means as these forgeries, in order that it might create a prejudice against the association, and find cases against its members. The International, unlike its traducers, was open in all its dealings. It had no occasion to resort to such practices as the use of cypher—never on any occasion did it use it.
- 10 The International had too much logic to wish to destroy property which ought to belong to those who produced it.

Citizen Engels said the concoction of forgeries was part of the profession of the French police.

Meeting of the General Council July 18, 1871

[255] Council Meeting July 18th 1871

Citizen Harris in the chair. Members present, Citizens Boon, Bradnick, Butterly, Cohn, Engels, Hales, Harris, Hurliman, Jung, Lessner, Marx, Mottershead, Robin, Rochat, Serraillier, Townshend, and Weston. The following Citizens were also present as visitors. De Baufort, Dereure, Dismans, Delahaye, Herman, Kern, Lavroff, Leblanc, Légé, Lochner, Martin, Mayo, Mooney, Pape, Plantade, Péchard, Rosenburg, Rovart, Stainsby, Tibaldi, Vandervelde, Wheatley, and Wolffers. 5

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read and confirmed, the Council proceeded to the Election of candidates. Citizen Richard being the first, Citizen Marx said Citizen Richard attended the meeting of the Sub committee, and proved 10 that he did his duty as a National Guard, during the siege of Paris, but that was all, he had not been in the movement, and the Continental members and the refugees were opposed to his election.

Citizen Mottershead said that the Continentals were the best judges as to the fitness of a Continental to become a member, believing this and accepting the report, 15 he felt bound to vote against Richard.

Citizen Hales said the only disqualification, if it could be so called, of Citizen Richard, was the short time he had been connected with the movement, he avowed that he was not a politician before the siege, but that brought him out, and during its continuance he took an active part, and he stated that his principles were with 20 the International. Some of the members of the Sub committee thought that was not sufficient to obtain him a seat on the Council, while there were so many friends who had been in the movement for a long time.

Citizen Engels said the Council could not elect all the National Guards who had done their duty in Paris—for no Room in London would hold them. He saw nothing 25 why Richard should be elected.

Seeing the strong opposition against the candidature, Citizen Weston withdrew it. Stating though that he was not satisfied by any means. The Council then proceeded with that of Citizen Elliott. Citizen Hales said he knew Citizen Elliott to be a man of advanced principles, and one that would do good work for the International 30 whether he was elected ||[256] or not.

Citizen Mottershead objected, as he knew nothing of Elliott. He thought a man

Meeting of the General Council July 18, 1871.

should have a reputation before he was elected a member of the Council. He had a twenty years' Reputation when [he] was elected.

Citizen Marx agreed that a man should have a reputation before he was elected on the Council.

- 5 Citizen Hales protested against the doctrine that a man must have a reputation before he should be elected, had that policy been adopted in the past, it would have disqualified nine tenths of the men who had been elected. When he himself was proposed he was only known personally by his proposer and seconder. The member proposed by Citizen Mottershead, Citizen Taylor, was only known to three of the
10 men who elected him. It was true Mottershead had a twenty years' character *Good, or otherwise.*

Citizen Boon should like to know more about Citizen Elliott. Couldn't the election be postponed? Would Citizen Hales withdraw the Candidature?

Citizen Hales would not withdraw the Candidature.

- 15 The proposition was then put to the vote, and lost by 9 to 4 Citizens Bradnick, Cohn, Hales and Weston voting for, Citizens Boon, Engels, Lessner, Marx, Mottershead, Robin, Rochat, Serraillier and Townshend against.

- 20 Citizen Jung said two members had arrived whom it was advisable to elect at once, he would move the suspension of the standing order so that the elections might be proceeded with. Citizen Cohn seconded and it was carried unanimously.

Citizen Engels then proposed that Citizen Herman become a member of the Council. He had been appointed delegate from the Belgian Federal Council, by special resolution, and it recommended his election as Belgian Secretary.

Citizen Robin seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

- 25 Citizen Serraillier then proposed and Citizen *Rochat* seconded that Citizen Delahaye become a member of the Council. He was a member of the Paris Federal Council, the proposition was carried unanimously.

Citizens Robin and Engels both postponed the Notices of motion which stood in their names for one week, owing to the pressure of other business. |

- 30 [[257]] Citizen Jung then proposed that the Council resolve itself into a "Committee of Ways and Means". This was agreed to, and he said that the refugee fund was nearly exhausted, and the necessity for its use continued to increase, many who had not applied for assistance before were now applying, and new arrivals were coming every day.

- 35 Citizen Engels moved That the Secretary should write to those who had already given, and make further appeals—this was agreed to.

Citizen Boon proposed and Citizen Bradnick seconded that "The advance [of] £ 5 " " out of the funds of the Council be made to the Refugee fund". Carried unanimously.

- 40 Citizen Mottershead suggested that a deputation should be appointed to wait upon some of the Members of the House of Commons, in the Lobby on Friday night, he thought money might be got.

Citizen Engels proposed and Citizen Boon seconded that a deputation be appointed as suggested. To consist of Bradnick, Boon, Buttery, Hales, Harris and Jung.

- 45 Carried unanimously.

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W. M.A.

Citizen Boon gave notice of motion "That the Council take into consideration the advisability of taking a benefit for the Refugees at the Charing Cross Theatre". He thought a sum of money might be thus raised.

Citizen Cohn reported that the Great Struggle in the Cigar trade in Belgium still continued, having lasted sixteen weeks, but ten of the masters out of the twenty-six had capitulated, and 210 men had resumed work having obtained all they demanded. Not only that, but a public meeting had been held by the workmen of Liège, at which it was unanimously resolved to form a "Trades League" to protect the interests of the workmen, and it was decided that no more Carpenters or Engineers should come over to England during the continuance of the present struggles. He also handed in a detailed statement of the various sums subscribed in England for the Belgian Cigarmakers—which he requested the Secretary to publish in the "*Eastern Post*" as great misrepresentations had been made upon the subject. The total sum subscribed amounted to £610. 19. 9.

Citizen Engels announced that the Address on the "Civil War in France" had [258] been translated and published in Dutch, German, and in French in which language it had been published both in Belgium and Switzerland. Translations were also in progress in the Italian, Spanish, and Russian Languages, and would soon be ready.

Citizen Serraillier called attention to the fact that Mr. Odger had, in the course of lectures that he had been delivering in the Country, asserted that he was the founder of the International and wrote its first address. He thought the Council ought to take some notice of the matter. Odger's conduct was like that of Tolain who—after deserting the International—was going to give its history.

Citizen Harris hoped the Council would take action in the matter and drive Odger into a corner, and let him see that he was not the concentrated essence of intellect.

Citizen Marx said Odger had nothing whatever to do with writing the Inaugural Address, it was written by himself. Odger wrote an address (or rather one was written to which Odger's name was attached) to Tolain and his friends, but that was before the International was founded. The Inaugural Address was the first address of the International and was [adopted] at the St Martin's Hall meeting.

Citizen Mottershead was sorry to see the defection of Odger for he never did anything without design, he was too cautious to do anything hasty, and he was afraid he had a purpose in view. If the lectures given by Odger were carefully studied it would be seen that he was separating himself from everything of a Social Character and was going in for mere republicanism. He supposed it was to please his patrons, for of course Odger did not work for nothing, somebody found the money, and he supposed they got just what they paid to have. There was going to be an agitation in favour of republicanism promoted by some members of Parliament, but they only wanted a change in the form of Government because under a Republic they saw a possibility of becoming Secretaries of State. Now, for his part, he wouldn't stir an inch to simply effect a change in name. He thought, so far as mere political machinery was concerned, that we [had] as cheap a republic as we could get. The International ought to issue an address on the subject, for the interest of the public would soon flag.

Meeting of the General Council July 18, 1871

Citizen Hales thought with Citizen Mottershead that it would do a great amount of good if the Council issued an address to the people of England pointing out the difference between mere republicanism, and the objects of the ||[259j] International.

Citizen Marx wished to lay before the Council a matter that he thought ought not to be allowed to pass without remark. It was well known that the Council had originated a refugee fund, and was rendering valuable assistance to such of the refugees as needed it, and yet an object of that character could not be let alone. A committee had been formed by Le Lubez and Ratazzi and supported by Bradlaugh, which had issued a circular full of misrepresentations. It stated that Madame Dombrowski was in the deepest distress, and solicited subscriptions to find her the necessaries of life. Now this was entirely untrue and unauthorised. Madame Dombrowski had held no communications whatever with the authors of the circular, and was not in the condition described. She was much hurt to think that her name should be used for trading purposes, and her brother-in-law, M. T. Dombrowski, had written to the committee, stating that though Madame Dombrowski's means were limited yet, she was not in immediate want, and if she were, she would appeal to friends, and not to strangers. Citizens Wheatley, Pape, and Banks were enrolled members—

The Council adjourned at 11.30.

Meeting of the General Council July 25, 1871

[[260]] Council Meeting July 25th 1871

Citizen Jung in the Chair. Members present. Citizens Bradnick, Boon, Cohn, Delahaye, Engels, Hales, Harris, Jung, Lessner, Marx, McDonnell, Milner, Robin, Rochat, Riihl, Serraillier, Townshend, and Herman. The following Citizens were also present as visitors, Avoine, Bachruch, Badin, De Baufort, Constant, Bossens, Chautard, Davoust, Dagbert, Genin, Landrin, Leduc, Nohay, Péchard, Philippe, Rosenthal, Rostain, Roullier, Saint-Martin, Schmutz, Teulière, Tibaldi, De Willebord, and De Wolffers. The minutes of the preceding meeting having been read and confirmed, the Council proceeded to the Election of Candidates. Citizen Lochner—who had been a member of the Council in its earlier years, but had been absent from London—was unanimously elected a member of the Council. Citizen Mills whose character and qualifications were spoken to, by Citizen Harris, and Boon, was also elected a member of the Council.

A letter from the New Orleans International Republican Club was read. It announced that the Club had been started with every prospect of success, and it desired to enter into relationship with the International Working Men's Association. It had already established an organ which was printed in French called "La Commune", a copy of which was enclosed. It was resolved that the Club be put in communication with the Secretary for the French Speaking Sections, with a view to its affiliation to the "Central Committee for the United States."

A letter was also received from Washington, announcing that a section of the International had been formed in that city. The members were principally journalists and were determined that the International should exert an active influence upon American politics. The section would have every facility for so doing. Washington being the great Political centre of the United States, as New York was the Commercial centre, the section would prefer to correspond direct, with the General Council rather than through the Central Committee of New York. Citizen R.J. Hinton Secretary.

Citizen Marx announced that no less a personage than the Pope had been concerning himself about the International. In reply to a deputation of Swiss who had waited upon him to offer congratulations, he had said, "Your country is a country of much liberty, but it gives refuge to many bad men. I allude to the men of the |

Meeting of the General Council July 25, 1871

[[261]] International, they would subvert all order, and all law, and would like to serve all Europe the same as they have served Paris. Yes, these gentlemen of the International—who are not gentlemen—are the incarnation of evil, and the only thing we can do for them is to pray for them."

- 5 Citizen Engels said after the Pope should come the Anti-Pope, he had to report that Joseph Mazzini had been attacking the International, and the character of the General Council, saying "That its soul was Dr. Marx—a man of domineering temper, with more hate than love in his heart", and after saying that he—Mazzini—had refused to belong to it from the first because it had no religious faith, said "The three
10 fundamental principles of the Association were 1st Negation of God, that is of all morality. 2nd Negation of Country which it dissolves into a Conglomeration of Communes, whose inevitable fate it would be to quarrel among themselves, 3rd Negation of Property, thereby depriving the Working man of the fruits of his labour—for the right to individual property consisted in the right which everyone had to
15 that which he had produced". In reply to this, he, Citizen Engels might say "That Mazzini never was a member of the International, but he had tried to turn it into a tool of his own". He drew up a programme which was submitted to the Provisional Council for its adoption but which it rejected. He afterwards made further attempts to interfere in its Council through Major Wolff—since discover'd to be
20 a police spy—but which attempts also failed. With respect to the charges against the International, they were either untrue or absurd. The first—that it would make Atheism compulsory, was untrue, and had been already disproved by the Secretary's letter in reply to Jules Favres circular. The second was absurd in itself while the third only betrayed Mazzini's ignorance of the very elements of Political Economy.
25 That individual property, which assures to everyone the fruits of his own labour, the International would not abolish but establish. At present the fruits of the labour of the masses go into the pockets of the few, and this system of capitalist production Mazzini proposes to leave unaltered but which the International would destroy.

Citizen Robin called attention to the state of affairs in Switzerland, and asked if
30 two letters—one sent by Eccarius, General Secretary, the other by Jung—Secretary for Switzerland—to the "Alliance Socialiste" of Geneva in 1869 announcing its acceptance as a section of the International—were genuine. Citizen Jung said the one which had his signature attached was written by him. Citizen Robin then asked if any resolution had been passed by [[262]] the General Council since the date of that
35 letter, suspending l'Alliance Socialiste Démocratique from its rights as a section. The Chairman answered *No*. No resolution of the kind had been passed.

Citizen Engels said it was a question if a section admitted under certain conditions, and not afterwards fulfilling those conditions ever had the rights of a section.

Citizen Marx said "l'Alliance Socialiste Démocratique" had not paid any contributions for two years, and it might be said therefore to have forfeited its membership.

Citizen Serraillier endorsed the remarks of Citizen Marx—contribution was a condition of membership.

Citizen Hales thought the questions raised were subjects for the Congress to decide and not for the Council.

45 Citizen Robin said he only asked for information, and he should like the Chair -

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W.M.A.

man's statement signed. This was agreed to, and it was signed and countersigned by the Secretary.

Citizen Robin said there was another matter that he should like to ask, there was a serious split in the French part of Switzerland. There were two Federal Councils acting independently of each other, one continued to have relationship with the General Council, the other did not. Could not something be done to heal the breach and bring them both into unison. 5

It was decided that it was a matter that must be left for the next Congress or Conference to decide upon.

Citizen Engels proposed "That a private Conference of the Association be called in London to meet on the third Sunday in September". He said that last year the Sections gave the General Council power to postpone the Annual Congress—because of the circumstances created by the war—and things were not much better now. It was impossible to hold a Congress in France. In Germany the Association was subject to prosecution and any member that had the courage to attend a Congress would do so at the risk of imprisonment. In Spain the Association was being persecuted, and in Belgium there was no freedom. So taking things altogether there were only two places where it would be possible to meet, England and Switzerland, and Citizen Robin had told them how in the latter country the members were divided among themselves. The position too was such, that if a Congress was summoned scarcely any of the sections could send delegates, at the same time it was necessary for the General Council to take j|[263]| counsel with the sections, as to the future policy, and to get its powers ratified, and such could only be done by holding a private Conference as he proposed. 10 15 20

Citizen Robin seconded the proposition, he agreed with the remarks of Citizen Engels, it was also necessary to try and heal the schisms. 25

The proposition was carried, and the sub committee was instructed to draw up a programme to be submitted to the Council.

Citizen Marx announced that the second edition of the address on the "Civil War in France" was exhausted and asked whether it would not be advisable to have a third printed. 30

Citizen Engels proposed and Citizen Boon seconded That the sub committee be empower'd to print another 1,000 copies, carried unanimously.

Citizen Boon proposed and Citizen Milner seconded that two auditors be appointed to audit the Accounts. The proposition was carried and Citizens Cohn and Serraillier were appointed as the auditors. 35

Citizen Engels gave notice of Motion. That the regular appointment of Secretary be proceeded with at once, instead of waiting the expiration of the three months—the term of the provisional appointment.

Citizen Hales gave notice of motion that the Council proceed to the election of a Secretary for France. The Council adjourned at 11.15. 40

H. JUNG, Chairman
JOHN HALES, *Secretary*\

Meeting of the General Council July 25, 1871

[Auszug aus The Eastern Post]
[Zu S. 581.5-28]

The Eastern Post. Nr. 148,
29. Juli 1871

Citizen Engels said after the Pope should come the Anti-Pope, he had to report that Joseph Mazzini had been attacking the International in the columns of his Journal.

5 After stating that he knew the Italian people loved him and he loved them, he proceeded:—"An association has arisen which threatens to subvert all order (the same words as used by the Pope) started many years ago, I refused from the first to belong it. It is controlled by a Council sitting in London, the soul of which is Karl Marx, a man of acute intellect, but like that of Proudhon of a dissolving character,
10 and of domineering temper, who is jealous of other people's influence. The Council itself, composed of men of different nationalities, can have no unity of purpose either to discuss the evils which afflict society, nor the unity of sentiment necessary to amend them. These are the reasons why I retired from the Association, and why the Italian branch of the Democratic Alliance (London) retired from it also. The
15 three fundamental principles of the International are:—1st Negation of God, that is of all morality. 2nd Negation of Country, which it dissolves into a Conglomeration of Communes, whose inevitable fate it must be to quarrel among themselves. 3rd Negation of Property, thereby depriving every working-man of the fruits of his labour for the right to individual property is nothing but the right of every man to
20 that which he has produced." After descanting at length upon these points, he concluded by advising the Italian Working Class to organise themselves strongly under his banner in a counter-league against the Internationals, to have faith in the future of Italy, and to work for its future and glory, and to form among themselves Co-operative Stores (not Co-operative Workshops) so that all may get as much profit
25 as possible.

It will be seen that upon one important point Mazzini contradicts himself, in one place he says "he refused to belong to the International from the first," and afterwards says he retired. How a man can retire from that to which he never belonged, the public must imagine. The fact is Mazzini never was a member of the International
30 but he tried to turn it into a tool of his own. He drew up a programme which was submitted to the provisional Council but it was rejected, and after some further attempts made through Major Wolff, since discovered to be a police spy, towards the same end had failed. Mazzini refrained from all interference with the International until lately.

35 As to the charges against the International, they are either untrue or absurd, with regard to the first that it wants to make atheism compulsory, that is untrue, and was refuted in the Secretary's letter in reply to Jules Favre's circular. The second is absurd, for while the International recognises no country, it desires to unite, not dissolve. It is opposed to the cry for Nationality, because it tends to separate people
40 from people, and is used by tyrants to create prejudices and antagonism, the jealousy existing between the Latin and Teuton races led to the late disastrous

The minute book of the General Council of the I. W. M. A.

war, and was equally used by Napoleon and Bismarck. The third charge only betrays Mazzini's ignorance of the very elements of political economy. That individual property which assures to everyone the fruits of his own labour, the International does not intend to abolish, but on the contrary to establish. At present the fruits of the labour of the masses goes into the pockets of the few, and this system of capitalist production is what Mazzini proposes to leave unaltered, but which the International would destroy. It desires everyone to have the produce of his or her labour. The letters received from Italy prove that the Italian Workmen are with the International, and are not to be misguided by Mazzini's shallow sophistry.

Meeting of the General Council August 1, 1871

[[264]] *Council Meeting held August 1st 1871.*

- Citizen Jung in the chair. Members present. Citizens Boon, Bradnick, Buttery, Cohn, Delahaye, Eccarius, Hales, Harris, Herman, Jung, Lessner, Lochner, Marx, McDonnell, Mills, Milner, Mottershead, Roach, Rochat, Rühl and Serraillier. Citizen
5 Engels was excused being ill, and Citizen Robin, from-pressure of business. Miss Weston attended on behalf of her Father, and the following citizens were present as Visitors, Bachruch, Connor, Dagbert, Davoust, De Baufort, Fondewille, Kern, Koch, Leblanc, Leduc, Légué, Longuet, Péchard, Pape, Rosenthal, Roullier and Theisz.
- 10 The minutes of the preceding meeting having been read and confirmed, the Secretary read a letter from the National Sunday League asking for payment of ten months' rent then due, or part of it. The letter also complained of the room being used regularly on Saturday evenings for the distribution of the refugee fund. Citizen Eccarius proposed and Citizen Cohn seconded that six months' rent be paid. Carried
15 unanimously.
- Citizen Marx then proposed that a committee be appointed to look out for another room, he thought the complaint of the Sunday League a very mean one under the circumstances, and the sooner the connection with the Sunday League [was broken] the better.
- 20 Citizen McDonnell seconded the proposition, and it was carried unanimously, Citizens Roach, Lessner and Harris being appointed.
- Citizen Mills said he thanked the Council for the honour it had conferred upon him in electing him a member, but he was sorry to say that he should be obliged to tender his resignation. At the time he was proposed as a candidate, he had passed an
25 examination in Civil Engineering, and had since obtained an appointment under the Government, and he felt that it would be impossible for him to remain a member of the General Council of the International while filling a government situation. He therefore hoped his resignation would be accepted, at the same time he wished every success to the Association. The resignation was accepted and Citizen Mills
30 withdrew.
- Citizen Marx said having seen a paragraph in the *Daily Telegraph* ||[265]|| disclaiming all knowledge of Robert Reid, he at once wrote to him calling his attention

The minute book of the General Council of the I. W. M. A.

to it. In reply, Mr. Reid enclosed him a letter which he had sent off at once to the paper in question, explaining the circumstance of his engagement on that Paper, and demanding a retraction, this letter not being inserted he had consulted an Attorney with a view to taking further proceedings.

A letter was read in which the "*Peuple Belge*" was offer'd to the Council as the official organ of the Association, upon the condition of the Council paying a monthly subvention, or guaranteeing a numer of subscribers. 5

Citizen Jung said the offer was first made to him personally and he had recommended that it should be sent in writing.

Citizen Herman said the "*Peuple Belge*" had not been a socialist paper before the movement of the Commune, and so far from supporting the International, it had attacked some of its members in its articles. The "*Liberté*" was a paper that had consistently supported the principles of the International. 10

Citizen Cohn proposed that Citizen Jung be instructed to write a reply to the letter under discussion, stating that the Council could not adopt any official organ, unless it should establish one itself, at the same time if the *Peuple Belge* would insert communications from the Council without any conditions, it could do so. Citizen Eccarius seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously. 15

Citizen Cohn said he was instructed to ask how it was that the Cigar Makers of Belgium had to pay 1 Franc and a quarter per year, while in England the contribution for affiliated Societies is only 1^d per year- 20

Citizen Herman said the Belgian Cigar Makers had not joined as a corporate body or their contributions would only be 2^d- per year, 1^d- for the Federal Council of Belgium, and 1^d- for the General Council—of course as individual members they had to pay for the working expenses and for propaganda. 25

Citizen Marx said great complaints had been made about the sections taxing their members heavily, while nothing was sent to the General Council, the same complaints came from Switzerland as from Belgium, the whole subject of local charges could be discussed at the Conference. Citizen Cohn assented.

Citizen Marx reported that the Archbishop of Malines had established a Catholic Working Men's International Association with a view to counteract the influence of the International Working Men's Association. | 30

[[266]] Citizen Eccarius asked what reply he should send to the new Section at Washington which desired to correspond direct with the Council. He was directed to reply that under the rules, each section had that right, if it preferred to exercise it. 35

The Secretary then brought forward his proposition for appointing a fresh Secretary for France in lieu of Dupont who was in Manchester. He was sorry that the Council should lose the services of Dupont, but he felt it would be impossible for him to continue to perform the duties of Secretary for France.

Citizen Marx said the question raised by the Secretary might be dealt with in a more extended form, the recommendation from the Belgian Congress relative to the appointment of Herman as Secretary for Belgium rendered a revision of the offices necessary, besides the Secretary for Italy had leff England for good and it would be necessary, to fill up the vacancy thus created. He also thought it would have a good effect if a Secretary for Ireland was appointed. He would therefore propose that 40
45

Meeting of the General Council August 1, 1871

Citizen Serraillier be appointed Secretary for France, Citizen Herman for Belgium, Citizen Engels for Italy and Citizen McDonnell for Ireland.

Citizen Boon seconded the proposition.

5 Citizen Serraillier objected to a fresh Secretary being appointed for France in the present state of affairs. The reason for the change would not be understood in France and it would have a bad effect if a refugee like himself was appointed just at the present time. He would suggest that the question of appointing a Secretary for France be postponed until the Conference met.

10 The mover and seconder of the proposition having agreed for the suggestion it was put to the vote that Citizen Herman be appointed Secretary for Belgium, Citizen Engels for Italy, and Citizen McDonnell for Ireland, carried unanimously.

15 Citizen Marx said the "*Paris Journal*" continued to issue the forged manifestoes which purporting to be documents of the International, were in reality productions of the Police—One of the latest issued, addressed to the Workmen of France—contained the following passage "Fire is the terror of the rich—therefore Fire shall be our weapon. Let our enemies beware of Fire!"—

20 Citizen Rochat moved a long resolution in French (which was translated by the Chairman) to the effect "That as much valuable documentary evidence relating to rule of the Commune in Paris had been destroyed, the Council shall appoint a commission to collect trustworthy evidence and data upon the subject, and | [267] that it consist of Citizens Rochat, Delahaye, and Serraillier, with power to add."

Citizen Serraillier seconded the motion.

Citizen Mottershead doubted the practicability of the proposition.

25 Citizen Milner on the contrary, thought it a very useful one.

Citizen Boon supported the motion.

Citizen Butterly thought the appointment of a committee a necessary thing, but he thought the selection might be wider, he would suggest the appointment of the French speaking members.

30 The Secretary would propose "That the subcommittee be appointed, with power to add to their numerals", he thought the subcommittee would be more impartial.

Citizen Butterly seconded the amendment.

35 Citizen Rochat then withdrew the proposition in favour of the amendment, but the proposition was adopted by Serraillier, and seconded by Citizen Marx, on being put to the vote, the amendment was lost, the proposition being carried by a large majority.

40 Citizen Marx said there was one other subject to which he wished to allude. It appeared that at a meeting of the Land and Labour League a Mr. Shipton—whom he did not know—had been criticising the address on the "Civil War in France" and had said that he (Dr Marx) had repudiated the Council. Such a remark only shewed Mr. Shipton's ignorance—"Because he had avowed himself the author of the charges contained in the address, he had repudiated the Council!"—Why, that avowal was made by the sanction of the Council, so that men like Mr. Odger who were apologists for M. Thiers and Favre—should no longer have the power to say 45 they did not know whether the charges were true or not. The men charged were

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W. M.A.

distinctly challenged to indict him for libel so that the matter might be tested in a court of law, but it did not serve their purpose to do so, as they knew well what the result would be. Of course it was to be easily understood why Mr. Odger was not satisfied. He had exhibited an amount of ignorance in dealing with foreign politics that would not have been creditable to any ordinary reader of newspapers. He had said "The character of Jules Favre was irreproachable": Why, it was well known that he had been all his life the bitter opponent of the French Working Class, and of all Labour movements, he was the principal instigator of the massacres of June —48;—he was the author of the expedition to Rome in '49; he was the man who obtained the expulsion of Louis Blanc from France, and was one ||[268]|| of the men who brought back Bonaparte; and yet Mr. Odger unblushingly stood up and said "Nothing could be said against the character of Jules Favre". Why, if Mr. Odger, who claimed to have been one of the foremost men of the International had attended to his duties as a member, he must have known, such a statement had no ground whatever to rest upon. It was either made with a knowledge that it was false, or it betrayed an inexcusable ignorance. Mr. Odger knew nothing of the International for the last five years, as he had never attended to the duties, the Office of President was abolished by the Congress, because it was found to be a sham. Mr. Odger was the first—and only President of the International: he never attended to his duties—the Council got on quite as well without—therefore the office was abolished.

The Council adjourned at 11.45—

H.JUNG, Chairman/

[Auszug aus The Eastern Post]

[Zu S. 587.12-16]

25

The Eastern Post. Nr. 149,
5. August 1871

Citizen Marx called attention to the fact that the *Paris Journal* was still publishing spurious manifestoes purporting to be issued by the International, but really manufactured by the police. The last contained the following passage:—"Fire is the terror of the rich, therefore fire shall be our weapon. Let our enemies beware of fire." Of course, the object of publishing such language could be understood. It was to create a terror of the International, so that it might the more easily be prosecuted. Fires had occurred in Moscow, and, it was supposed, they were the result of publications justifying the Paris Commune. Could malicious sophistry go further?

Meeting of the General Council August 8, 1871

/[268]/ Council Meeting held August 8th 1871

Citizen Jung in the chair. Members present. Citizens—Boon, Buttery, Cohn, Delahaye, Eccarius, Engels, Hales, Harris, Herman, Hurliman, Jung, Lessner, Longuet, Marx, McDonnell, Robin, Rochat, Riehl, Serraillier, Theisz and Vaillant. The following Citizens also appeared as visitors. Avoine, Baufort, Bennett, Constant, Durand, Guillain, Kern, Kompanski, Martin, Naze, Pape, Plaskowski, Péchard, Plantade, Riegg, Thompson, Wierzbicki, and De Wolffers. Citizens Bradnick and Roach excused being ill.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read and confirmed, the Secretary announced that he had received a letter from Mr. Odger enclosing a telegram from the Engineers of Newcastle on Tyne, who were on strike for the nine hours' movement; asking for the advice and assistance of the Council, and he also announced that he had received a letter from Mr. Burnett of Newcastle stating a deputation would wait upon the Council to lay the matter before it.

The deputation was present and he asked that it should be heard first. This having been agreed to, the Chairman called upon Mr. Burnett (who with Messrs. Whetstone, Stokoe, and Wilkinson formed the deputation) said: "Some three months ago the joiners of Newcastle struck for the nine [[269]] hours' movement, and the majority of the masters gave in, but a few of the large firms determined not only not to accede to the demands of the men, but to destroy their union if possible, and to that end they sent agents over to Belgium, who engaged a large number of Workmen and brought them over to work as Knobsticks. Some of the men thus brought over went back as soon as they ascertained the real state of affairs, but from 150 to 200 stopped and were still at work, and a very bitter feeling existed in consequence. Ten weeks ago, the engineers also struck for the same object, and during the whole of that time they had conducted themselves as peaceable men should, for which they had obtained the unanimous good opinion of the Press. The masters determined to imitate the master Builders, and had like them, sent agents over to Belgium to engage workmen, and it was expected that 3,000 would be brought over, unless some steps were taken to prevent them coming. Under the circumstances the engineers thought they could not do better, than appeal to the International to assist them, if it would, it was believed that it could prevent the threatened importation. In the interest of that fraternity which should exist between all workmen, and in

The minute book of the General Council of the I. W. M. A.

the interest of peace and order, it was advisable something should be done, for a very bitter feeling had been already engender'd; if the men did come over it was almost certain bloodshed would result. He might also say that Sir William Armstrong had obtained the consent of the Danish Government to bring over some of the workmen from the Government Arsenal of Denmark, and if the Council could do anything in that matter he should be glad. He thought a deputation from the Council would be able to accomplish all that was needed. The men would cheerfully bear the expense." 5

Citizen Herman thought the object could be accomplished without a deputation, for the International was so well organized in Belgium. It only needed that information should be sent to the sections in six towns—Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Verviers, Liège, and Chaleroi—and steps would at once be taken to acquaint the men in every ironworking shop in Belgium of the real state of affairs,—he knew enough of the men to say that if the facts were known, the men would not come over, for they were struggling for the same objects themselves. In Verviers some of them were on strike for the 9 hours' movement, the same as the men of Newcastle, and it wasn't likely they would come. There might be a few men with whom it would be difficult to deal, but they ||[270]|| were the same class of men the unions had so much trouble with in England, of course Belgium was not free from the non-union element any more than England. 10 15 20

Citizen Cohn, while agreeing with the remarks of Citizen Herman relative to the organization of the International in Belgium, thought a deputation would be far more effective than a mere correspondence. Personal visits always carried more weight than letters could do, however well they might be written. Explanations could be given and details laid before the men in a manner that would satisfy them by a 25 deputation.

Citizen Butterly thought the suggestion to send a deputation a wise one, he was convinced that would be the most effective course to pursue. Whatever the Council could do, it ought to do, for the struggle for a reduction of the hours of labour was of vital importance. A spirit of jealousy would always exist so long as the workmen of one country allowed themselves to be used as tools, to crush down the workmen of another. That could only be prevented by the International bringing the different sections into closer connection with each other.—When workmen knew each others' wants and aspirations, they would no longer oppose each other. 30

Citizen Marx agreed with the idea that the Council should do all that lay in its power—but it always did that in every labour struggle that was brought under its notice: The misfortune was, that the Trades Unions and labour organizations held aloof from the International until they were in trouble, and then only did they come for assistance. They could take all preventative measures beforehand if they were in connection with it. If the Engineers and Joiners had belonged to the International they could have sent information over to Belgium before the strike commenced. The International must not be blamed for failures when the circumstances were not brought before it. He hoped in the future Societies would think of the International in a time of peace. Withholding themselves from it was not only injurious to others, but dangerous to themselves. 35 40 45

Meeting of the General Council August 8, 1871

Mr. Whetstone—President of the Amalgamated Engineers—said the Council of that body had the subject of affiliation under discussion, and the question was waiting the decision of the General Council. He hoped the time would soon arrive when all workmen would be united in one bond without respect to either trade or country-

5 Citizen Delahaye was in favour of appointing a deputation and ||[271]|| of sending off at once to Spain, Italy, Germany, and France.

Citizen Harris thought the Belgian sections might appoint delegates to accompany any deputation that might be sent by the Engineers, the necessity for a deputation 10 from the Council would then be avoided.

After a few further remarks by Citizens Herman and Cohn the proposition was put to the vote, and carried, Citizens Cohn and Eccarius being elected subject to the approval of the Engineers.

Citizen Marx then proposed that the standing orders be suspended and that Citizens 15 Longuet, Vaillant, and Theisz should at once be elected members of the Council.

Citizen Engels seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

The secretary read a letter from Citizen Applegarth stating that he consider'd himself still a member of the Council—and expressed his regret that he had not attended to his duties better, he hoped though to be able to attend better in future—with 20 respect to the use of his name, he considered it the property of the Council so long as he remained a member, and it had a right to use it when the interests of the Council required it-

Citizen Engels proposed "That in future visitors should be excluded from the 25 sittings of the Council"; he said that it had been decided to hold a private Conference and it would have to discuss the programme. While that was being done, he thought strangers ought not to be admitted, especially in the present state of the Association.

Citizen Harris seconded the proposition, and it was put to the vote and carried.

Citizen Serraillier read a letter from Bordeaux stating that the International was 30 being reorganized in that city, and was trying to form Trades Unions. Six or seven sections were at work in the eyes of the Police.

Citizen Engels said that it was now evident that no more assistance could be got for the refugees from the middle Class, and it was necessary to try what stuff the Working Class was composed of. He thought the ||[272]|| Working Classes in England 35 had behaved in a disgraceful manner, though the men of Paris had risked their lives, the Working men of England had made no effort either to sympathise with them or assist them. There was no political life in them—he would propose "That an appeal to be made to the Workmen of England on behalf of the refugees"—if they would not do anything, let their conduct be known.

40 Citizen Boon seconded the proposition. He quite agreed with what was said by Citizen Engels about the apathy of the [English] Working Class, he began to despair of doing any good with them.

Citizen Hales. Denied that the English Working Class were as apathetic as represented—and if they didn't move in the direction that could be wished, that was 45 the fault of the General Council, for not taking the initiative in establishing

The minute book of the General Council of the I. W. M. A.

an English section. The International ought to have the direction of the Political movement in England the same as it had in Continental countries.

Citizen Butterly also thought it unfair to lay so much to the charge of the English workmen, they ought to be tried before they were condemned; the Council had not yet made an appeal to them.

Citizen Engels said they ought to have come forward voluntarily and testified their sympathy with the Communals, the same as had been done by the German workmen—he couldn't see that the Council could be held responsible for the apathy exhibited. The Council started the Reform League, and the result was the English members deserted the Council.

After a few further remarks by Citizens Marx, Boon, and Hales the question was put to the vote, and carried unanimously, the Secretary being instructed to get collecting sheets printed and distributed.

The Council adjourned at 11.30.

H.JUNG, Chairman 15
JOHN HALES Secretary |

Meeting of the General Council August 15, 1871

|[273]| Minutes of Meeting Aug 15th 1871

Citizen Jung in the Chair, members present. Citizens Bishop, Boon, Buttery, Eccarius, Engels, Delahaye, Hales, Harris, Herman, Hurliman, Lessner, Lochner, Longuet, Marx, Riihl, Theisz, Townshend, Vaillant, and Weston. The following citizens were 5 present as visitors. Bastelica, Constant, Dagbert, Durand, Foster, Denis, Marotte, Leroux, Péchard, Philippe, and Tibaldi.

The minutes of the preceding meeting having been read and confirmed, the Secretary announced that branches had been formed at Liverpool and Loughboro' in Leicestershire. He also read a letter from Calcutta asking for powers to start a section 10 in India. The Secretary was instructed to write and advise the establishment of a branch, but he to inform the writer that it must be self supporting. He was also to urge the necessity of enrolling natives in the Association.

Citizen Marx reported that he had received news from New York. The members 15 of the Cosmopolitan Club had reprinted the address on the "Civil War in France" in its entirety, and the Federal Council for the United States had reprinted the address on Mr. Washburne with a preface of its own. The most important item of News though was that Wendell Phillips, the Great Anti Slavery leader, had joined the ranks of the International.

Citizen Eccarius reported that Mrs. Mackenzie, an American lady, had spoken 20 very strongly against the existing order of Society, and had advocated the principles of the International.

Citizen Engels said he had received a letter from Cafiero who had been travelling through Italy. In Florence the meetings of the Association had been interfered with, but the members were determined to continue the work. In Naples he found things 25 somewhat disorganized: Caporusso who had been imprisoned for 14 days, had lost his political zeal and was said to have embezzled 300 Francs, his explanation however was that he took that money to recoup him for his imprisonment. It was a fact though that it had never been voted, and he had been expelled from the Association in consequence. ||[274]|| The Neapolitan Section complained that while they had sent 30 letters they had not received any in reply. No doubt could be entertained that the letters sent by the Secretary for Italy had been stopped by the authorities.

Citizen Engels also reported from Spain that the Committee in Barcelona had

The minute book of the General Council of the I. W. M. A.

been persecuted, and the Federal Council of Madrid had dissolved for a time owing to the fear of a Government prosecution, all the members but one—to whom they had given a certificate that he was *not* a member—had left Madrid for Lisbon where it was determined to establish a Section.

Citizen Jung announced that Citizen Bishop was present as the delegate of the Ex-celsior (City Road) branch. Citizen Eccarius proposed and Citizen Engels seconded that he be accepted—carried unanimously. 5

Citizen Hales proposed, and Citizen Jung seconded, that Citizen Mayo become a member of the Council.

It having been announced that owing to domestic affairs Citizen Serraillier could not fulfil the duties of auditor, Citizen Engels proposed and Citizen Lessner seconded that Citizen Boon be appointed in his place. 10

Citizen Marx proposed That the private Conference to be held should be confined exclusively to questions of organization and policy.—He thought under the present circumstances the question of organization was most important, Citizen Engels seconded. Theoretical discussions were of no value except for publication, 15 and this Conference was to be private.

Cit. Herman supported the proposition, and so did Citizens Boon, Butterly, Hales, and Theisz, while Citizen Weston was somewhat opposed to it—on being put to the vote, it was carried with one dissentient. 20

Citizen Marx proposed That additional members be added to the subcommittee, and that it be instructed to draw up a programme for the Conference by Tuesday 22nd.

Citizen Harris seconded—Carried unanimously.

Citizen Herman proposed and Citizen Vaillant seconded that Citizen Longuet be added to the subcommittee. Carried.

Citizen Eccarius proposed and Citizen Lessner—seconded the addition of Citizen Mottershead. Carried.]

[(275)] The Secretary having announced that the 3 months, the term of his provisional appointment had expired—Citizen Engels proposed That his term of office be extended until the close of the Conference. Citizen Lessner seconded and it was carried unanimously. 30

The Council adjourned at 11.30.

jj J U N G . Chairman

JOHN HALES Secretary/

[Auszug aus The Eastern Post]
[Zu S. 593.32-594.4]

35

The Eastern Post. Nr. 151,
19. August 1871

From Spain, information was received that the Federal Council of Madrid had been obliged to dissolve for a time, owing to the prosecutions of the Government. No liberty whatever existed, but it was determined to extend the principles of the Association nevertheless. The action of the Government in driving some of the 40 members to seek shelter in Lisbon would have the effect of creating a section there, and its ramifications would soon extend throughout Portugal.

Meeting of the General Council August 22, 1871

**/[275]/ Minutes of Council Meeting
held August 22nd 1871**

Citizen Jung in the Chair.

Members present, Citizens Boon, Buttery, Delahaye, Eccarius, Engels, Frankel,

5 Bastelica, Chalain, Hales, Harris, Herman, Hurliman, Jung, Lessner, Longuet, McDonnell, Rochat, Taylor, Theisz, Townshend, Vaillant and Weston. The following Citizens were also present as visitors, Durand, Clément, Constant, Denis, Foster, Lége, Marrotan, and Péchard. The minutes of the preceding meeting having been read and confirmed, the Secretary stated that he had that afternoon attended a meeting at the office of the Bee-Hive, at which a scheme was proposed having for its object the emigration of the 35,000 Communists—prisoners at Versailles—to the French speaking part of Canada. It was promoted by Sir E. Watkin, and the Canadian Government had been consulted and had returned a favourable reply. The prisoners themselves were said to be in favour of the proposal.

10 15 Citizen Eccarius was opposed to the scheme, it was hatched by the Versailles Government. It had been in communication with the American Government upon the same subject, some scheme had been discussed relative to the removal of the Communists to some place among the Rocky Mountains—and there form a colony which should be an antidote to the Mormon settlement at Utah. Another thing, he had no faith in anything which came from Bolt Court.

20 Citizen Vaillant was glad the proposition emanated from an English member of Parliament. If accepted by the Government of Versailles, ||[276]|| it would be an admission that the prisoners were held illegally.

Citizen Harris would not have anything to do with the matter.

25 Citizen Engels said it would be shameful conduct on the part of the Council, if it had anything to do with the matter.

Citizen Lessner thought the Council could not accept the scheme. It had just been defending the Commune.

30 Citizen Weston—Thought it preferable to accept the proposal, than allow the men to be sent to Cayenne.

Citizen Longuet said it would be as bad for the prisoners to be sent to Canada, as it would to Cayenne. It was more than probable that if the prisoners were ever tried and sentenced, they would soon after be amnestied.

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W. M.A.

Citizen Theisz spoke in the same sense. The men should be left to settle the matter themselves.

After a few more words the following order of the day was proposed by Citizen Longuet, seconded by Citizen Vaillant, supported by Citizen Hales and carried unanimously. Considering that should the General Council pass any approval of Sir E. Watkin it would at the same time assent to the moral condemnation of men who according to its own views—publicly expressed—fought the battle of the European Working Class—Considering moreover that it is not the part of the General Council to intervene between the conquer'd soldiers of revolution and their Versailles murderers—it hereby passes to the order of the day.

Citizen Engels reported that he had received a letter from Spain. The members of the Federal Council of Madrid were still at Lisbon, but hopes were entertained that the change of ministry which had taken place would end the persecutions which had been directed against the International.

A letter had also been received from the No 1 German section of New York. It recommended that an appeal should be made by the General Council to the Workmen of America on behalf of the refugees. ||[277]| It was decided that it should be left in the hands of Citizen Marx.

Citizen Herman reported that the Workmen of Verviers had been successful in their struggle, they had obtained a rise of 2 V 2 [francs] per day with a reduction of 20 two hours at the same time. No Workman would be allowed to leave Verviers for Newcastle. News had been received from Antwerp of the arrival of Cohn and meetings had been held in Bruxelles, Liège, Seraing and Yvoir at which resolutions of sympathy with the Engineers of Newcastle had been passed unanimously. The standing orders were suspended, and Citizens Bastelica, Chalain, and Frankel were unanimously elected members of the Council.

The Council adjourned at 11.30.

KARL MARX Chairman
JOHN HALES, Secretary/

[Auszüge aus The Eastern Post]
[Zu S. 596.11—17]

30

The Eastern Post. Nr. 152,
26. August 1871

Citizen Engels reported that the members of the Spanish Federal Council had great hopes from the change of Ministry which had just taken place in Spain. It was expected that the prosecutions' against the International would cease, and then the Association would soon extend its ramifications throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula. A great change had taken place in the ranks of the Republican party. On the establishment of the Commune in Paris, the leaders of the Republican party in Spain—not knowing the social principles involved—went in for it. But as soon as they found out that it meant a struggle for more than municipal government they turned round and denounced it. This shocked the Spanish working-class, which

Meeting of the General Council August 22, 1871

formed the bulk of the Republican party. Having had their eyes opened, the people not wishing to be used as tools, had turned to the International. Citizen Engels also reported that Citizen Paul Lafargue, son-in-law to Dr. Marx, and formerly a member of the General Council, had been arrested in Spain and sent under an escort of gendarmes to Madrid. The government, however, finding nothing against him, had since liberated him.

A letter was received from America, which stated that the Trades Unions in the States were actively agitating in favour of the eight hours movement. A great demonstration in its favour was to be held.

Meeting of the General Council August 29, 1871

/[277]/Council Meeting held Aug 29th 1871

Citizen Marx in the chair, members present, Citizens Bastelica, Boon, Buttery, Chalain, Delahaye, Eccarius, Engels, Frankel, Hales, Harris, Herman, Jung, Lessner, Lochner, Longuet, Marx, McDonnell, Milner, Mottershead, Roach, Robin, Rochat, Serraillier, Townshend, Vaillant, and Weston.

5

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read and confirmed, Citizen Marx said it would be necessary to enforce the resolution, relative to the exclusion of strangers, as information of the proceedings of the Council had been sent by some means to the French police. The room was accordingly cleared of strangers. The Chairman then announced that a deputation from the Refugees' Society was in attendance, and read a letter explanatory of its being appointed. It was then decided that the deputation should be heard. From the statement made, it appeared that the Committee of the Refugees desired the Council to give a categorical reply to the following demands: 1st To give an explanation relative to various sums reported as received in "*Reynolds's Newspaper*" of the 20th and 27th inst. 2nd To furnish to the Committee ||[278]|| a complete list of the sums contributed on behalf of the refugees, since the entry of the Versailles troops into Paris in May last. 3rd To give to the Committee a complete list of the persons who had received assistance from the fund, with a statement of the sums received by them.—

10

15

The Secretary said in explanation, that the sums acknowledged in Reynolds's had all been received and would be found duly entered in the Treasurer's Book, but they were not all acknowledged the same week as received—some of them having been received as long as six weeks back—they were inserted in the paper, when they were, to induce others to give—

20

Citizen Jung objected to the Council complying to the demands made, he would give a list to the Council or any of its members, but to no one else.

25

Citizen Hales considered the refugees had no right to make the demands they had, the Council was only responsible to the contributors of the fund—not to the recipients—

Citizen Harris thought the object of the Committee was to prevent imposition—as there was the possibility of some being relieved twice over—Citizen Mottershead hoped the Council would not allow a suspicion of unfairness to get abroad, for the sake of good faith it would be advisable to answer the questions.

30

Citizen Vaillant thought the Committee entertained no suspicions of the perfect honesty of the Council, it only desired to take precautions against imposition.

Meeting of the General Council August 29, 1871

Citizen Robin thought 3 answers might be given, namely: How much the Council had received. How much it had distributed before the formation of the Committee, and how much it had handed over to the delegates of the Committee.

5 Citizens Milner, and Weston—Thought the list of contributors should not be given up, but could see no reason for withholding the list of recipients.

Citizen SerrailKer. Thought it would be satisfactory if the Council gave the Committee an account of the sums paid to the delegates of the Committee.

Citizen Jung was opposed to giving any information.

10 Citizen Theisz. Said, the men were almost starving. Some of them had had to sleep in the Parks, and it must be remembered that they had sacrificed 11[279] everything, and had been reduced to their present condition through manfully fighting for principle. If they were a little unreasonable, allowances should be made.

Citizen Longuet agreed that the men had no right to make the demands they had, but it would be well to be conciliatory.

15 Citizen Hales wished to deal with it as a matter of business. The Council collected funds and had a right to dispose of them as it saw fit—without being questioned by anyone except the contributors. He objected to the Council giving any information or any pledge as to the future disposal of funds.

20 Citizen Engels could not recognise any right in the demands, more especially as all the money received for the fund, since the formation of the Committee had been handed over to it; except in instances where assistance had been given to enable some of the men to get employment. He proposed the following resolution. That the Council cannot recognise the right of anybody but subscribers to enquire into the distribution of the refugee fund, but under the present exceptional circumstances consents to make the following statements. 1st Before the formation of the Refugees Committee, the Council distributed to individuals—2nd Since the formation of the Committee, the Council has made no direct distribution, except to enable persons to get to work. 3rd Since the formation of the Refugees Committee, the Council has paid over to that Committee... Citizen Lessner seconded the proposition and it was carried, with 3 dissentients to the preamble, 5 dissentients to the first clause—4 dissentients to the second clause, and 4 dissentients to the third clause.

Citizen Jung then tendered his resignation as treasurer of the refugee fund. Citizen Weston announced that he had received a sum of money from America to transmit to the refugees in Switzerland.

35 Citizen Boon proposed that—The refugee fund be audited up to the end of August. Citizen Mottershead seconded the proposition and it was carried; as was likewise a proposition that the general accounts should also be audited up to the same date, at the same time.

40 Citizens Mottershead and Longuet were appointed to act in conjunction with Citizens Boon and Butterly.

The Council adjourned at 11.45

H.JUNG Chairman
JOHN HALES Secretary

Citizen Mottershead protested against the correctness of these minutes on the ground 45 that his speech was not reported. |

Meeting of the General Council September 5, 1871

||[280]|| Council Meeting held September 5th 1871

Citizen Jung in the chair. Members present. Citizens Bastelica, Bishop, Boon, Chailain, Delahaye, Eccarius, Engels, Hales, Harris, Herman, Jung, Lessner, Lochner, Longuet, Marx, Mayo, Milner, Mottershead, Robin, Rochat, Riuhl, Serraillier, Stepney, Theisz, Townshend, Vaillant, Weston,, and Frankel.

5

The Secretary having read the minutes of the preceding meeting, Citizen Harris complained that no mention was made of Citizen Mottershead in the report, he took a very active part in the preceding meeting and yet no mention was made of anything he said. The minutes were not correct. He challenged the Secretary to read Mottershead's speech from the minutes. Citizen Mottershead said the minutes just read were absolutely incorrect, they were the worst minutes he had ever heard read, and if they were put from the chair as they were, he would move their rejection. He had taken a prominent part in the debate and yet his name was not mentioned. The Secretary then wrote in a paragraph relative to Citizen Mottershead's speech, and Citizen Robin proposed that the minutes be confirmed with the insertion of Citizen Mottershead's protest. Citizen Serraillier seconded. Citizen Mottershead proposed as an amendment that the minutes be adjourned and that the business of the Council be proceeded with without the minutes being confirmed.

10

Citizen Harris seconded. On being put to the vote the amendment was lost and the minutes were confirmed.

15

Citizen Marx said as a great deal of business had to be done it would be necessary to fix some regulations, so as to prevent waste of time. He would propose that each speaker be limited to 5 minutes. Citizen Eccarius seconded, and it was carried unanimously.

Citizens Marx, Engels, Hales, and Jung tendered their resignations as members of the refugees' Committee on the ground that they would no longer have time to attend to the duties owing to the approaching Conference. The resignations were accepted, and Citizens Mottershead, Vaillant, Theisz, and Frankel were elected to fill their places provisionally.

20

Citizen Marx said that he had received a bill from Mr.Truelove ||[281]|| for printing for £28.0.0. There were some trifling charges for which himself and Citizen Engels were responsible—for advertising—he must ask the Council to deal with the matter.

25

Meeting of the General Council September 5, 1871

Citizen Boon said as one of the auditors he found that there was something less than six pounds in hand and that sum was owing for rent, he was surprised to learn from Mr. Truelove that nearly two thousand copies of the Address on the "Civil War in France" remained on hand, he understood the second thousand was 5 exhausted before the third was printed.

Citizen Marx said it would be necessary to examine and verify the accounts, he would therefore move that the matter be handed over to the subcommittee. Carried unanimously, seconded by Lessner.

Citizen Mayo was then unanimously elected a member of the General Council.

10 Citizen Marx said he had a number of resolutions to submit relative to the approaching Conference. Some of them were formal ones, necessary to be passed preparatory to others. He would propose that the accounts be prepared and laid before the Council on Tuesday next with an account of the various sums paid by the different Sections and branches since the Congress of Basle. The proposition was agreed to it being understood that it was the work of the Financial Secretary.
15

He then moved that a Committee be appointed to find a room in which to hold the Conference, and also to find an Hotel in which the delegates could be accommodated. Carried, Citizens Serraillier, Mottershead and Townshend being appointed to 20 carry it out.

Citizen Marx then proposed that "The entire Council shall have the right to assist at the Conference with power to speak upon all questions but that only a certain number be allowed to vote, the number to be fixed when it is known how many delegates come from the different sections".

25 Citizen Engels seconded the proposition.

Citizen Serraillier would ask whether it would not be better to let the Conference decide the matter?

Citizen Herman said "no doubt many members of the General Council would be appointed delegates for different sections, and if so ||[282]|| such members ought 30 not to be counted as members of the General Council".

Citizen Bastelica thought it better that the Conference fix the number of delegates from the Council.

Citizen Mottershead said the Council was asked to affirm or relinquish a right. If 35 it assumed the power to fix—it decided that all the members had the right, but that it proposed to partially relinquish that right of voting. What he wanted was—a basis defined—upon which to act.

Citizen Vaillant said the most important question at the present time was the question of organization. There could not be too many brains. Everyone should speak, but the voting ought to be limited.

40 Citizen Milner thought it would be best if the Council reserved to itself so much voting power, and casted a vote collectively instead of appointing delegates.

Citizen Boon said Citizen Milner's suggestion was impracticable, as upon every question the Council itself would have to discuss, and it would come to who should decide.

45 Citizen Weston said the Council was chosen by the Congress of Basle and it would

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W. M.A.

not be just for the Council to give up its powers to a smaller body which might not represent the whole Association. Everyone should speak—if not vote.

Citizen Hales said Citizen Weston's argument would not hold water, for the majority of the members constituting the Council had been added since the Basle Congress. The members elected by the Congress were a minority. The Council was not a homogeneous whole, but was composed of men with different ideas of policy. 5

Citizen Marx said the Council was a governing body, as distinct from its Constituents, and had a policy as a Council collectively.

Citizen Mottershead said the Council was dealing with the unknown quantity, what was wanted, was some principle to act upon. The Council either had or had not the right of deciding upon the voting question. 10

Citizen Marx said the Council asserted the *right* of every member to attend and speak, and also proposed to fix the voting power. |

[[283]] Citizen Theisz was in favour of the first part of the proposition, so that everyone might have the power of speaking for the Council, but he disagreed altogether with the latter clause, he thought none of the Council ought to vote upon their own conduct, if they did they would re-elect themselves. 15

Citizen Engels said the General Council had always been represented by delegates, the number not limited—who had the right of voting—and it ought not to give up the right. The Conference itself was a compromise and was not provided for in the rules, it simply arose out of the exigencies of the situation. 20

Citizen Eccarius said so far as delegateship was concerned the Swiss societies swamped all the other delegates at Geneva. The Council had no right to swamp all the other delegates, it might just as well pass certain decrees and call upon the sections to register them, and not call the Conference at all. 25

Citizen Chalain said there was no fear of swamping, there ought to be no talk of Nationality.

Citizen Mottershead said the question was one of right and had not yet been decided. What was wanted was the principle to serve as a basis. 30

Citizen Vaillant. Thought the Council would be quite justified in simply calling the Conference to advise upon the position of the Association without giving the delegates the right to vote. The Council had the right itself to decide upon the questions of organization as it was the centre of the Association and had the best knowledge of the requirements of the Association as a whole—and had the best opportunity of judging what would be best to promote its interests. 35

Citizen Hales agreed with Vaillant, he hardly thought the Council would be justified in resigning its functions to a Conference which would not fully represent the Association, the Council itself might be said to represent the various sections. He considered the French members would represent the Paris Section quite as much as if they came direct from Paris to the Conference. On the resolution being put to the vote, the first clause was carried unanimously. The second by nine to three. 40

Citizen Marx then proposed "That those delegates who should have [[284]] credentials from the sections, should not be considered delegates of the Council", it was seconded and carried unanimously. 45

Meeting of the General Council September 5, 1871

Citizen Marx also proposed that those Frenchmen now resident in London be called upon to provide for the representation of the French Sections by selecting three delegates. Carried. Citizen Jung proposed and Citizen Serraillier sec. that Citizens Martin and Le Moussu become members of the Council.

The Council adjourned at 11.45.

KARL MARX Chairman.
JOHN HALES Secretary/

Meeting of the General Council September 12, 1871

/[284]/Meeting of the General Council Sepr 12th 1871

Citizen Marx in the chair, Members present—Citizens Bastelica, Boon, Bradnick, Delahaye, Eccarius, Engels, Frankel, Hales, Harris, Herman, Hurliman, Jung, Lessner, Le Moussu, Lochner, Marx, Martin, McDonnell, Mayo, Milner, Mottershead, Rochat, Stepney, Serraillier, Taylor, Townshend, and Vaillant. 5

The minutes of the preceding meeting having been read and confirmed, Citizen Engels brought up the report of the Subcommittee relative to the programme of the Conference. The first six clauses were adopted unanimously. The seventh which gave rise to a discussion, proposed to suspend the privileges of membership in the case of branches or Affiliated Societies withholding statistical information from the General Council, in violation of the Statutes. Citizen Boon was opposed to the clause, he doubted whether the General Council would be wise in submitting it—he thought it went too far, he questioned whether it could have the right to enforce it, if carried. 10

Citizen Bradnick. Thought the Council had the right but doubted the policy of so doing. 15

Citizen Lessner, said the Council had a right to demand that the duties should be performed by those who enjoyed the privileges of membership.

Citizen Hales—thought the proposition was contrary to the Statutes. Every section had the right to retain its autonomy and maintain its own rules if they were not opposed to the General Statutes—and many Societies had ||[285]| rules which would preclude them giving the information demanded. 20

Citizen Engels said if Societies had such rules, as Hales asserted, it was quite time such rules were abolished.

Citizen Harris—Hoped the clause would pass. 25

Citizen Jung was of an opinion some such clause was absolutely necessary. Every Congress had passed resolutions, affirming the necessity of the information required, being sent to the General Council, and yet no notice had been taken of them, because no penalty was attached for non-compliance.

Citizen Vaillant said we were bound by the statutes to support strikes, if reasonable, but he thought it only right the societies should comply with the conditions laid down by the Council. 30

Credentials from the Section, shall not be considered delegates of the Council
it was seconded and carried unanimously.

Citizen Marx also proposed that these franchises now resident in London
be called upon to provide for the representation of the French Sections by
selecting three delegates. Citizen Haies proposed & Citizen Sennher See Ret Cityshant
and Lemoine. The Council agreed at 11.45 to become members of the Council.

Karl Marx

John Haies Secretary

Meeting of the General Council

St. Paul's Hall

Citizen Haies the chair, Members present: Citizen Marx, Mr. Bradbury, John Haies, Mr. Sennher, Mr. Lemoine, Mr. Herve, Mr. Gauvin, Mr. Verner, Mr. Morris, Mr. Tandy, Mr. Collins, Mr. Ward, Mr. May, Mr. Clegg, Mr. Sherriff, Mr. Chalmer, Mr. D'Alton, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Waddington and Mr. Abbott.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.
Citizen Haies brought up the subject of the sub-committee to take in program
and approach the first international congress. He stated that they
should have a representative delegation for each country to represent them
privately as of course if it is the way of branches or affiliated to wish
to withdraw, it is their right to do so. He also stated that the
Chairman of the sub-committee, information on the general movement, resolution
of the Statutes. Citizen Bonner was opposed to the Statute he sent that whether
the general Council would be able to submit all of it except what he
had proposed which I think had the right to agree it, in writing.

Citizen Bradbury thought the Council had the right but disliked the
way of going about it.

Citizen Haies said the Council had a right to demand that other
countries should be represented by their International Delegates
as members.

After this the discussion was continuing with Statutes, and
whether to add a new article to it, returning and making it complete
and the way of going about it, going to the Statute and the association of
the countries.

Meeting of the General Council September 12, 1871

Citizen Bastelica said the sections and branches had duties to fulfil as well as rights to ask.

Citizen Engels proposed the following as a substitute for the resolution of the sub-committee, That sections or branches, not furnishing information required by the 5 Council—shall be reported to the General Council which shall take such action as may be deemed advisable.

Carried unanimously.

The rest of the clauses were then read and adopted without discussion.

Citizen Engels asked if the accounts were ready.

10 Citizen Harris said that he had not had all the accounts furnished to him by the General Secretary, and consequently could not prepare the report.

Citizen Hales said all the misunderstandings that had taken place were caused by Citizen Harris—who had thrown up the Books for anyone to take who pleased. He would ask that a Committee of investigation [should be appointed].

15 Citizen Harris denied Citizen Hales's statement.

Citizen Hales said a Committee would decide who was in the right—he would propose that one be appointed.

Citizen Bradnick thought it would be well if one was ||[286]|| elected.

Citizens Boon and Milner were opposed to a Committee, there was no necessity 20 for it.

Citizen Engels said what was wanted, was that the accounts should be audited, he would propose that they be prepared by Saturday.

25 Citizen Harris agreed to have them ready by Saturday if the General Secretary would furnish him in the meantime with the last accounts—This Citizen Hales promised.

Citizen Mottershead reported on behalf of the Sub-Committee appointed to select a room for the Conference. They had visited the "Blue Posts" in Newman St. and the Artizans' Club—They recommended the "Blue Posts" as there was some doubt about the Artizans' Club being obtained—

30 Citizen Lessner had visited Franklin Hall, Castle St., he thought it would suit.

Citizen Eccarius proposed that the Artizans' Club be preferred if it could be obtained.

Citizen Milner seconded and it was carried.

35 Citizen Jung proposed and Citizen Bradnick seconded That a special meeting be held on Saturday 16th to complete the arrangements for the Conference. Carried unanimously.

Citizen Bastelica proposed and Citizen Theisz seconded that Citizens Avrial and Camélinat become members of the Council.

The Council adjourned at 11.45.

40

H.JUNG. Chairman
JOHN HALES Secretary I

Special Meeting of the General Council
September 16, 1871

[[287]] Minutes of Council Meeting (Special)
held on Saturday Sepr. 16th 1871

Citizen Jung in the chair. Members present Citizens Bastelica, Boon, Chalain, Delahaye, Eccarius, Engels, Frankel, Hales, Harris, Herman, Jung, Lessner, Dupont, Le Moussu, Longuet, Marx, Martin, Milner, Mottershead, Robin, Rochat, Serrailier, Stepney, Theisz, Townshend, Vaillant. 5

The Chairman announced that Delegates had arrived from Bruxelles, Liège, Vallée de la Vesdre, Verviers, Antwerp, Geneva, and Spain. The latter delegate being appointed at a congress of Spanish delegates held at Valencia. He thought the Council might proceed to the election of its delegates; it could now fix the number it would appoint. 10

Citizen Bastelica had received a letter from Marseilles. The secretary had been concealed three months, and he was afraid no delegate would be sent.

Citizen Robin thought that considering the disorganised state of France, informal delegates might be allowed to represent the places they were acquainted [with] where there were no delegates appointed—Bastelica might represent Marseilles, Choi Lyons, and other citizens other places in the same manner. 15

Citizen Mottershead, while conceding that there was something in what was urged by Robin, should want a credential of some kind.

Citizen Bastelica was opposed to a separate representation for towns. The Refugees had to elect three delegates to represent France. 20

Citizen Delahaye thought the proposition of Robin a good one, as the Conference was to discuss the question of Organization it was necessary the provinces should be represented, otherwise they might not be satisfied.

Citizen Bastelica said he enjoyed the confidence of the Marseilles [section], but others might not possess the confidence of the sections to which they belonged. 25

Citizen Marx—said that Citizens might be invited to attend the Conference and express their opinions upon special subjects—

As the refugees had not elected the three delegates in accordance [[288]] with the resolution passed at a previous meeting, it was necessary that it should be rescinded, as it was known that the French Police have relations with somebody among the refugees, and spies must be guarded against, he would propose that it be rescinded. Engels seconded and it was carried unanimously. 30

Special Meeting of the General Council September 16, 1871

Citizen Hales said as it was necessary France should be represented, he would propose that the French delegates proceed to elect three to represent France.

Citizen Marx, was opposed to any such resolution. Other countries had no representation. France would only be in the same position as Italy, Germany and

- 5 America.—The proposition not being seconded fell through.

Citizen Engels—proposed that those countries not appointing delegates should be represented by their secretaries, Citizen Lessner seconded and it was carried unanimously.

- 10 Citizen Engels proposed and Citizen Bastelica seconded that the Council should be represented by six delegates. Carried unanimously.

Citizen Mottershead said as the Council had deprived itself of some of its voting power—it ought to always have the six votes—he would propose that the delegates of the Council should have the right to vote by proxy-

- 15 Citizen Townshend seconded and it was carried unanimously. The following citizens were then proposed and obtained votes as follows: Mottershead 21, Frankel 16, Jung 16, Serraillier 15, Bastelica 15, Vaillant 11, Longuet 8, Lessner 6, Milner 6, Boon 5, Robin 4, Theisz 3 and Townshend 2. The six first were therefore declared elected.

- 20 Citizen Hales then proposed "That the London branches be requested to proceed to the election of a Federal Council for London which should after obtaining the adhesion of the provincial branches, become the Federal Council for England". He said his experience as Secretary convinced him that some such action was necessary.—The English correspondence had increased to such an extent that such a step was necessary—to save the time of the General Council—besides the 25 General Council had not the time to devote to matters purely English, and the English movement suffered accordingly; the members were continually asking, was the Association taking any action ||[289]|| with regard to English politics.

Citizen Longuet seconded the proposition. He thought the English movement wanted action, at present it had no object.

- 30 Citizen Mottershead—opposed the proposition, for the reason that there were no branches—nor any political movement. The working classes were apathetic, and it would only create a sham, there had been no political life since—48. Let branches —reai ones be formed and the Federal Council would follow. The Republican Party was supported by the member for Leicester—who no doubt paid for the attack upon 35 the International and the Secretary in the "*National Reformer*".

Citizen Longuet said if there were no branches, as asserted, that was a reason for the Council, so that it might proceed with the work of propaganda.

Citizen Hales—said there were branches and quite sufficient force belonging to the International in England to justify his proposition.

- 40 Citizen Marx—said the subject better be referred to the Conference, and after a few morè"words it was decided that it should be referred to the conference for consideration as some of the delegates had propositions to submit upon the same subject.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

H.JUNG. Chairman
JOHN HALES Secretary |

Meeting of the General Council September 26, 1871

[[290]] Council Meeting held Sept. 26th 1871

Citizen Jung in the chair—Members present. Citizens Applegarth, Boon, Chalain, Eccarius, Frankel, Hales, Herman, Jung, Lessner, Le Moussu, Marx, Martin, Mayo, Milner, Robin, Rochat, Serraillier, Taylor, Townshend, Vaillant and Longuet.

Citizen Marx announced that he had received £ 50.0.0 for the International from a friend who did not desire his name to be known, and handed the same over to the Secretary.

The chairman said Robin had some business which it would be necessary to discuss.

Citizen Robin said the Conference had passed a resolution asking him to withdraw a letter which he had written "stating that he would not again attend the Conference sittings" upon the ground that it was insulting to the Conference, he did not consider that there was anything insulting in it—on the other hand he considered that he had been insulted himself by Citizen Outine. He could not withdraw the letter, he was treated as a prisoner on his defence when he was only a witness.

Citizen Vaillant said Citizen [Robin] mistook his position, he was invited to attend the Commission appointed by the Conference to give [evidence] relative to the Swiss dispute, because he was supposed to be acquainted with one side of the question. There was no charge made against him and he ought not to have withdrawn. Citizen Serraillier asked Robin if after the explanation of Vaillant he would not withdraw the letter. Citizen Robin replied, no.

Citizen Serraillier thereupon proposed that the question be adjourned to next week, it would be necessary to discuss the matter after Robin's refusal to withdraw the letter.

Citizen Marx said in the invitation or summons to attend the commission, not a word was said about accusing Robin, and Outine could not accuse in a judicial sense, as one witness could not accuse another, unless his evidence involved [[291]] facts. Citizen Robin did not leave in the first instance because he was accused, but because the last train was nearly due. Outine requested him to stop, and when he refused, said "If you don't stop I shall (as I don't wish to speak of a man in his absence) be compelled to speak of you as the principal instigator in the dispute". Citizen Robin then left the room saying to Outine, I despise you. So that Robin

Meeting of the General Council September 26, 1871

insulted Outine quite as much as Outine insulted Robin, and might just as well have refused to attend the commission upon the same ground.—Robin's letter was an insult to the Conference as his refusal to attend made the labours of the Commission useless, as without him it was not able to perform the work for which it was
5 appointed.

Citizen Robin said he would change the letter, so that it should read "charged by one of the witnesses".

Citizen Serraillier objected, the letter having been recorded on the minutes could not be altered, it could only be withdrawn or defended; he would press his proposition for adjournment. Citizen Rochat seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.
10

Citizen Marx communicated a letter received from Copenhagen Section. The Section had established a newspaper called "The Socialist," and desired to enter into direct relationship with the General Council. It was proposed, seconded and
15 carried unanimously that a regular correspondence be maintained. Marx and Longuet.

Citizen Marx also read a letter which he had received from the Berlin Section, undaunted by the recent prosecutions. The section had determined to hold a public meeting to refute the calumnies against the International, but before so doing, they
20 wanted a new stock of cards, he should reply that the Conference had determined to dispense with cards and communicate the text of the resolutions, informing them that the stamps would be sent as soon as ready. At the same time he ||[292]| should urge upon them the advisability of holding their meeting without any delay—as it would have a great influence for good.
25

Citizen Vaillant read a letter from Paris, which submitted a project for Colonising New Caledonia upon the principle of Associative action between Capital and Labour. £40,000 had already been promised and there was little doubt but that £ 200,000 could be raised, if the project was supported by the Workmen and their friends.
30

Arrangements had already been made to purchase land to be given to the workers to be allotted in proportion to the size of the families of the workers. The workers were to share in the profits, and have the liberty to cultivate anything they liked for their own use and even to sell, but the staple article of production upon which the colony was chiefly to depend was sugar for which a ready sale could be found; in
35 conclusion the writer asked if an appeal could not be made to English Capitalists to support the scheme.

Citizen Longuet—said before he could give an opinion, he should want further explanation. The project was based upon a transportation which had not yet taken place. The Council could not take any action in the present state of the affair.—
40

Citizen Chalain said the Council had refused to entertain a previous project.—
Citizen Martin said it was a reactionary project—intended to relieve the embarrassment of the Versailles Government.

Citizen Marx proposed the Council should proceed to the order of the day, the Council could not endorse any proposition of the kind, as it belonged to the same
45 party as the men whose fate was involved.

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W. M.A.

Citizen Le Moussu said the men who had projected the scheme evidently wished the men transported so as to make a profit, it would be a disgrace were the Council to entertain it.

Citizen Frankel—said he thought he knew the author—if so, he was half cracked.

Citizen Boon said if the Council took up the matter, it ||[293]] [would] be acting as Emigration touter to the Middle Class. The scheme was evidently opposed to the interests of the International, he would second the proposition to proceed to the order of the day—On being put it was carried unanimously. 5

Citizen Applegarth said he had received a letter from Rittinghausen of Cologne—who said he had a brother, a cigar maker in Antwerp—whose men were on strike, he invited him to go over and see if he could settle the matter and offered to pay his expences. He, Citizen Applegarth, thought it would have a good effect if it was known that a manufacturer had applied to the International to arbitrate in a dispute. 10

Citizen De Paepe said the cigar makers' strike was ended. 15

Citizen Boon objected to the Council having anything to do with the matter, he thought that in future the Council would have to be careful in appointing delegates—so that men might not be able to say they represented the International who really knew nothing of labour questions.

Citizen Marx proposed that the Council proceed to the order of the day. The Council had nothing to do with employers. 20

Citizen Rochat seconded and it was carried unanimously.

Citizen Serraillier said he had received a letter from Choi, late member of the Council of Lyons—asking for £3.0.0 to pay the travelling expences of a Communist who had been sentenced to death but who had managed to escape and was hiding—he proposed that £ 2.0.0 be voted, he thought the rest would be found by other friends. 25 Citizen Vaillant seconded.

Citizen Le Moussu proposed that the £3.0.0 be voted.

Citizen Robin seconded and it was carried.

The Election of Officers was then proceeded with. 30

Citizen Marx proposed and Citizen Serraillier seconded that Citizen Hales be appointed General Secretary.

Citizen Boon proposed and Citizen Taylor seconded ||[294]] that Citizen Mottershead be appointed, on being put to the vote, 15 voted for Hales and 5 for Mottershead. 35

Citizen Hales proposed and Citizen Herman seconded That the office of Financial Secretary be abolished and a Finance Committee substituted. Citizen Boon was opposed, he thought the functions of Corresponding Secretary and Financial Secretary were distinct and should be kept separate. Citizen Harris's accounts were well kept. 40

Citizen Milner was of the same opinion as Boon.

Citizen Marx said the Conference recommended an alteration in the mode of keeping the accounts.

The proposition was carried and Citizens Boon, Mottershead, and Engels were appointed as Finance Committee. 45

Meeting of the General Council September 26, 1871

Citizen Marx proposed and Citizen Longuet seconded that Citizen Theisz be Treasurer. Carried unanimously.

Citizen Frankel proposed and Cit. Vaillant seconded that Dr. Marx be appointed Secretary for Germany. Carried unanimously.

5 Citizen Marx proposed and Citizen Eccarius seconded that Frankel be appointed Secretary for Hungary and Austria. Carried unanimously.

Citizen Longuet proposed and Citizen Boon seconded that Serraillier be Secretary for France.—

10 Citizen Chalain proposed and Citizen Martin seconded that Citizen Vaillant be appointed.

On being put Serraillier received 13 votes, Citizen Vaillant 7.]

j [295]j Citizen Serraillier proposed and Citizen Frankel seconded that Engels be appointed Secretary for Italy.

15 Citizen Longuet proposed and Citizen Chalain seconded that Citizen Bastelica be appointed—9 votes were given for Engels, 8 for Bastelica, and 3 for Vaillant who had declined to stand—the rest of the elections were postponed and the Council adjourned at 11.45.

H. JUNG, Chairman
JOHN HALES Secretary/

20

[Auszüge aus The Eastern Post]

[Zu S. 611.12-24]

The Eastern Post. Nr. 157,
30. September 1871

A letter was received from the Federal Council of Copenhagen, which gave an encouraging account of the progress the Association was making in Denmark. It was rapidly increasing in both number and influence, and had established a journal 25 called "The Socialist." The section desired a closer relationship with the General Council with a view to better understanding as to Policy.

It was agreed that a regular correspondence should be maintained as requested.

A letter was read from Berlin, which stated that undaunted by recent prosecutions, the Federal Council of Berlin was preparing for a new campaign, and as a preliminary, proposed to hold a public meeting in one of the large halls in Berlin, for the purpose of refuting the calumnies against the International, circulated by the European Press.

The Association was stronger than ever in Germany.

35 A letter was received from Turin asking for power to start a new section in that City. No doubt was entertained, but that a most powerful one could be formed as the great majority of the working class in Turin were in favour of the principles of the International, as shown by the sympathy exhibited by them for their brother workers in Paris, during the struggle of the Commune.

40 The news from the other parts of Italy was confirmatory of the progress the Association was making in that Country. Garibaldi—perhaps the foremost champion

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W. M.A.

of liberty—had thrown the weight of his influence into it, acknowledging that the International was the only body that understood the question of social reconstruction.

From Spain, news was received of the cheering character. The organisation was extending throughout the peninsula. Sections were established in all the large cities, and a congress had just been held at Valencia, at which the delegates attended from Madrid, Seville, Barcelona, Malaga, and other large cities of industry. 5

The workmen recognised the fact that the all important question, was the social question, and they were fully resolved to fight the battle of social equality side by side with that of political freedom. The introduction of the Association into Spain was the commencement of a new Era. Its principle had infused new life into the workers, and "The Emancipation of Labour," and the "Unity of the People," would in future be their watchwords. 10

The information from Switzerland was particularly gratifying. All dissension between different sections, as to the policy of taking part in political movement had ceased, and united, the whole of the Association would, in future, adopt the programme of the general council of "Political and Social." 15

The Belgian news, like that from other countries, gave an account of the progress being made by the Association, the members were increasing, and it had complete control of the labour movement. Unions were being formed in most of the trades, and the efforts made to reduce the hours of labour, so far, had been thoroughly successful. The influence of the Association was increasing at such a ratio, that if it continued, it would have complete control of the country in a few years. Even now, one of the arguments used against extending the suffrage was, that it would hand over the representation of the large towns into the hands of the International. 20 25

News was received from America. The International was becoming a power in the States, and was already an influence in the political world. It would soon embrace the whole of the Labour movement, and then the rights of labour could not be withheld.

The home correspondence, which was voluminous, gave evidence that the Association was increasing in England. Applications for membership, and leave to start branches were numerous. And in a large number regret was expressed that the International had not an organ of its own, and promises of support were given, if the General Council would undertake to start one in England. 30

After the reading of the correspondence, and the business arising out of it had been settled, the council proceeded to administrative business. It was decided, taking into consideration the progress being made in England, to urge upon the branches and members the desirability of organising a Federal Committee for England, so that the influence of the Association might be brought to bear more directly upon English Politics, than it had hitherto done. 35 40

It was also resolved to recommend the formation of female sections in all countries, so that the purifying influence of woman might be brought with greater force to bear upon the struggle for "Equal rights with equal duties."

Meeting of the General Council October 2, 1871

/[295]/Council Meeting held Oct 2nd 1871

Citizen Jung in the chair. Members present, Citizens Applegarth, Bastelica, Boon, Delahaye, Eccarius, Engels, Frankel, Hales, Harris, Herman, Jung, Lessner, Lochner, Martin, Le Moussu, Marx, McDonnell, Milner, Roach, Rochat, Pfänder, Riihl,

5 Serraillier, Schmutz, Taylor, Theisz, and Townshend.

The minutes of the three previous meetings having been read and confirmed, Citizen Harris asked a question relative to one of the letters sent by the Secretary to "Reynolds's Newspaper" acknowledging moneis receiv'd, as to whether a branch existed in Lambeth. The Secretary replied briefly to the question no and announced
10 that the proposition for the election of Citizens Avrial, and Camélinat stood first in the order of the day.

Citizen Marx thought the question ought to be deferred until after the Council had discussed the report of the Conference, as one of its recommendations suggested the advisability of the Council limiting new additions to its number.

15 Citizen Theisz said it had been stated that the Conference would not affect the composition of the Council, and he thought no notice should be taken of the Conference in this matter, but that the Council should proceed with election, as was usual in such cases.

Citizen Marx thought the Council ought to receive the recommendation of the
20 Conference, before proceeding to any fresh elections.]

I [296] I Citizen Engels said the Council was engaged in reconstituting itself. Part of the secretaries had been elected, and he thought the rest should be elected before any other business was entered upon.

Citizen Bastelica, said the proposition was made in due course and as nothing
25 had been said against the character of either of the candidates, he thought the Council ought at once to decide as to whether it had the right to elect them.

Citizen Marx said it was not a question of right, but of formality, if the elections were pressed, why then of necessity the resolutions of the Conference would have to be submitted.

30 Citizen Eccarius said he agreed with Citizen Engels, he thought the secretaries should all be appointed before anything else was done.

Citizen Bastelica said it was not him that introduced the question but the Secre-

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W.M.A.

tary in reading the minutes. He would propose that the question be discussed. Citizen Theisz seconded.

Citizen Serraillier was in favour of discussing the proposition but he thought the resolutions of the Conference should be communicated as the mover and seconder of the proposition might change their views when they had heard it. 5

Citizen Herman said there were many important things to be done—such as the election of officers and which he thought ought to be done before new elections took place.

Citizen Harris thought the Council ought to have received the report of the Conference, before it proceeded even to the election of its officers. 10

Citizen Boon asked if the Conference had in any [way] affected the Conference.

Citizen Engels proposed, and Citizen Eccarius seconded that the election be proceeded with before anything else was done—Carried.

Citizen Herman said he had received a letter from Belgium stating that a person was in Brussels trying to engage Coppersmiths for Glasgow. Men were willing to accept his offer if no harm would be done by so doing, but they wanted to know if there was any dispute or Strike before they engaged, as they had no wish to be used as tools. It was agreed that the Secretary should at once telegraph to Citizen Blair of Glasgow **j I** [297] asking for information, which was at once done. 15

Citizen Boon proposed and Citizen McDonnell seconded That Citizen Engels be Secretary for Spain. Citizen Theisz proposed Citizen Bastelica—but he refused to stand and Citizen Engels was elected unanimously. 20

Citizen Marx proposed and Citizen Lessner seconded That Citizen McDonnell be Secretary for Ireland. Carried unanimously.

Citizen Rochat proposed and Citizen Engels seconded, "That Citizen Herman be Secretary for Belgium". Carried unanimously. 25

Citizen Frankel proposed and Citizen Lessner seconded That Citizen Eccarius be Secretary for the United States.

Carried unanimously, Citizen Harris who was also proposed having declined to stand. 30

Citizen Serraillier proposed and Citizen Engels seconded That Citizen Vaillant be Secretary for the French speaking sections in America. Carried unanimously.

Citizen Marx stated that Citizen Zabicki had returned to Galicia—but that he had given the Council power to use his name as Secretary for Poland until his successor was appointed. It was therefore agreed that his name should be retained provisionally until another Pole would undertake the duties. 35

Citizen Jung was proposed by Citizen Marx and seconded by Citizen Hales as Secretary for Switzerland. Carried unanimously.

Citizen Hales proposed and Citizen Lessner seconded that Citizen Rochat be Secretary for Holland, carried unanimously. 40

Citizen Boon proposed that the appointment of a Secretary for Denmark be postponed until the return of Citizen Cohn ||[298]|| from Newcastle, but after an explanation withdrew it and proposed that Citizen Mottershead be appointed as Secretary. Citizen Taylor seconded it and it was carried unanimously.

Meeting of the General Council October 2, 1871

Russia

Citizen Engels proposed and Citizen Roach seconded that Citizen Marx be appointed Secretary. It was stated that it was the wish of the Russian section and the proposition was carried unanimously.

5 Citizen Jung asked what was to be done relative to the Banquet—he had paid for it out of the funds and some arrangement ought to be made as to repayment. It was agreed that those attending it should pay 5/- each—it being estimated that that would meet the expence—except a balance which was owing for wine.

10 Citizen Rochat proposed and Citizen Serraillier seconded that the Council should pay the said balance of £4-5-0. Carried unanimously.

Citizen Marx, suggested that the Council should fix a programme for each sitting which should be kept to. It was absolutely necessary that the conference report should be discussed, the Statutes wanted reprinting, and there was great deal of business must not be delayed.

15 Citizen Herman said the correspondence ought to be read every night, what was wanted was a regular time at which business should be commenced.

Citizen Engels said that it would not be worth while reading the whole of the correspondence, only when there was anything of importance to communicate.

20 Citizen Bastelica would withdraw his proposition relative to Avrial and Camélinat, it had been postponed time after time upon false pretences.

Citizen Engels demanded the withdrawal of the words "false ||[299]|| pretences", the Council never did anything under false pretences.

25 Citizen Bastelica did not use the words in the sense understood by Citizen Engels, but in the sense that the action taken was absurd: first it was to be considered, and then it was to be adjourned and now a proposition was made to fix a different programme.

30 Citizen Boon said it would be advisable to hold an "Extraordinary Special" meeting to get through the pressure of business. He would propose that the Council meet on Saturday the 7th inst. to receive and discuss the report of the Conference. Citizen Milner seconded and it was carried unanimously.

Citizen Serraillier, called attention to the fact that Citizen Robin had not attended the sitting though he knew the discussion on his letter was to have come on, he would bring the matter on again next week.

The Council adjourned at 11—40.

35

H.JUNG, Chairman
JOHN HALES Seer./

Special Meeting of the General Council

October 7, 1871

**/[299]/ Minutes of Special Meeting
held on Saturday Evening October 7th 1871.**

Citizen Marx in the chair, members present Citizens Delahaye, Eccarius, Engels, Frankel, Hales, Lessner, Marx, Martin, Le Moussu, Rochat, Serraillier, Vaillant, and Pfänder. The first business was the reception of certain written evidence which proved that a member of the International named Gustave Durand was a spy in the pay of the French Police. The evidence consisted of copies of the letters which had passed between the said Spy and the Police. 5

Citizen Engels proposed the following resolution: "The General Council having received full evidence that Gustave Durand, working Jeweller of Paris, ex-delegate of the jewellers to the Federal Chamber of Paris Working men, ex-chief of Battalion of the National Guards, ex-chief Cashier at the delegation of Finance under the Commune, passing as a refugee in London, has served, and is now serving, as a spy for the ||[300]| French Police upon the Communal Refugees and especially upon the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, and has already received 725 francs for his services. The said Gustave Durand is therefore branded as infamous and expelled from the International Association. This resolution to be published in all the organs of the International". 10 15

Citizen Vaillant seconded the resolution.

Citizen Serraillier agreed with the resolution, but did not think it would be policy to make it public, and thus let the police know. It would be better to lead the police astray by using the tool. 20

Citizen Frankel said it would be better to exclude him publicly. Citizen Vaillant said that Serraillier would be quite right if his idea could be carried but it could not, the refugees must be informed of Durand's treachery. 25

Citizen Engels thought the Council had no choice but to make the matter public, it having come officially before the Council.

Citizen Martin thought it would be better to bring Durand before a Council meeting and then confront him with the proofs of his infamy. This suggestion met with general dissent and the resolution was carried unanimously. 30

The Chairman said though it was too late to submit the report of the Conference as a whole, the Council might appoint a number of Committees that were nec-

Special Meeting of the General Council October 7, 1871

essary to carry out certain suggestions of the Conference. This was agreed to and the following Committees were appointed, all the votes being unanimously carried. Commission to blend the resolutions of Vaillant and Serraillier

Citizens Engels, Martin and Le Moussu. Proposed by Hales, seconded by Eccarius.

5 Commission to prepare the new edition of the Statutes and resolutions

Citizens Marx, Jung and Serraillier—Proposed by Engels, seconded by Vaillant.

Commission to prepare Stamps (contribution) and a new official Stamp for the General Council, Citizens Le Moussu, Frankel and Jung.

Proposed by Hales, seconded by Engels. |

10 [301]j Delegated, to draw up a declaration declaring that the movement in Russia led by Netchayeff had no connection with the International, Citizen Marx.

Proposed by Engels seconded by Eccarius.

The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

H.JUNG, Chairman
JOHN HALES *Secretary!*

15

Meeting of the General Council October 10, 1871

/[301]/Minutes of Meeting held Oct 10th 1871

Citizen Jung in the chair, Members present—Citizens, Bradnick, Eccarius, Engels, Frankel, Harris, Hales, Herman, Jung, Le Moussu, Lessner, Lochner, Longuet, Marx, Martin, Milner, Pfänder, Rochat, Serraillier, Townshend, and Vaillant. The minutes of the preceding meeting having been read and confirmed, the Secretary announced that the proposition for the election of Citizens Avrial and Camélinat stood first in the order of business—Citizen Serraillier said Citizens Bastelica and Theisz had informed him that they wished to withdraw the proposition because both Avrial, and Camélinat belonged to the newly formed French branch which had framed a rule preventing its members from belonging to the General Council, except such as might be sent as delegates. As no one supported the proposition, it fell through.

Citizen Vaillant—said at the previous meeting of the Council, it had honour'd him by electing him to a Secretaryship—but he could not accept it for the same reasons, that induced him to decline the Secretaryship for Italy, he begged to tender his resignation and would propose Citizen Le Moussu instead.

Citizen Eccarius said he thought Vaillant had as much time as he had and he had accepted a Secretaryship.

Citizen Longuet, thought Vaillant had plenty of time, and he knew he had ability. Citizen Le Moussu said Citizen Vaillant had spoken to him upon the ||[302]|| subject of his resignation, and had said he should propose him for the office, but he had replied that he was comparatively young in the Association, and did not possess sufficient experience to do the work.

Citizen Frankel said he thought the reasons given not sufficient. Citizen Vaillant, said his reasons were, That what ability he possessed he wished to devote to the cause in France, he thought it was there that his services could be most usefully employed.

Citizen Martin proposed and Citizen Vaillant seconded "That the resignation be accepted". Carried by 9 to 7—

Citizen Vaillant then proposed and Citizen Rochat seconded That Citizen Le Moussu be appointed Secretary for the French speaking sections in the United States, carried unanimously.

Meeting of the General Council October 10, 1871

Citizen Jung proposed that the standing orders be suspended in order that Citizen Wroblewski might be elected a member of the Council at once, he afterwards intended to propose him for the vacant Secretaryship for Poland. It was necessary Poland should be represented.

5 Citizen Frankel had no objection to Citizen Wroblewski, but he did not approve of the proposition to suspend the standing orders, as some little unpleasant feeling had arisen relative to certain Propositions which had not had the advantage of a suspension of standing orders.

10 Citizen Eccarius—approved of a suspension of the standing orders for the same reason that urged him to propose their suspension in the case of Frankel.

Citizen Milner thought the Council should proceed at once.

15 Citizen Serraillier said the Council was about to issue a new edition of the Statutes and some manifestoes and it was necessary that all the offices should be filled, at present there was no Secretary for Poland and it was necessary one should be appointed.

Citizen Longuet seconded the proposition, he said Wroblewski was well known not only for his services to the Commune, but for his previous devotion to principle.

The Proposition was then put and carried with one dissentient. |

20 I [303] I Citizen Jung then proposed and Citizen Longuet seconded that Citizen Wroblewski become a member of the General Council. Carried unanimously.

The same Citizens also proposed and seconded that Citizen Wroblewski should be Secretary for Poland—Carried unanimously.

25 The Secretary announced the opening of a branch at Middlesbrough which had a prospect of becoming a very successful one.

The Secretary called the attention of the Council to the fact that a report of the proceedings of the Conference had appeared in the "Scotsman" Newspaper—though it was decided it should not be reported. He had read the report in question and he felt certain that it was furnished by some one who had attended the Conference.

30 Citizen Longuet had also seen a report in the French newspapers translated from the Cologne Gazette.

Citizens Marx and Engels said the report mentioned by Longuet was the same in substance as that in the "Scotsman".

35 Citizen Marx said it could not be tolerated that persons should be allowed to report proceedings after it was decided such should not be done. He would propose the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry. Citizen Frankel seconded it and it was carried unanimously.

40 Citizen Bradnick said it would be advisable to appoint two English members and one Continental. He would propose Citizens Jung, Milner and Harris. Citizen Martin seconded and it was carried unanimously.

THe Secretary called attention to the fact that the salary of the Secretary was not fixed—The proposition accepting his offer to do the work for 10/- per week for three months, was ended inasmuch as the three months were expired.

45 Citizen Engels said the Secretary having himself offered to do the work for 10/- should now state if he desired a different arrangement.

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W.M.A.

Citizen Bradnick thought the Council ought to deal with the ||[304]|| question upon its merits—irrespective of the opinion of the Secretary.

Citizen Martin thought the work of reorganization would increase the work of the Secretary.

Citizen Serraillier thought the establishment of an English Federal Council would 5 lighten the work of the General Secretary.

Citizen Harris said the Secretary knew the work when he took the office, and he thought with Citizen Engels that it should remain as it was so far as salary was concerned, though he did not approve of cheap Labour.

Citizen Vaillant said work badly paid for was usually badly executed, but he 10 should like to know how the financial position of the Council stood.

Citizen Hales said he was not asking for a rise, but only asking them to fix the salary—He had made an offer which was accepted. That offer was ended, and the Council had to fix what it thought proper. With regard to the state of the finances, they were better than when he took office.

Citizen Frankel proposed and Citizen Longuet seconded That the salary of the Secretary be fixed at 15/- per week for the next three months. Carried with two dissentients-

Citizen Marx said he wished to say a word upon a point of order. It was three weeks since the sitting of the Conference and yet scarcely anything had been done. 20 All the Federal Councils would be complaining, and with reason, of the delay in carrying out the work imposed by the Conference. He therefore proposed that an extraordinary sitting of the Council should be held on Saturday the 14th inst. to receive the report of the Conference. Citizen Engels seconded the resolution and it was carried unanimously.

Citizen Serraillier said the question relative to Robin must be discussed and he asked that the resolution of the conference on the subject be read, which was done. He then reminded the conference that Robin asked for a conference to discuss the Swiss disputes, and then he was told it was not of sufficient importance to warrant one 11 [305] I being specially held, and it was agreed that the matter should be left to 30 the conference, and when the matter was brought before the conference he refused to recognise the commission which it had appointed to investigate the matter, he had since written a second letter in which he attempted to justify himself and refused to withdraw his previous one, he demanded his expulsion.

Citizen Longuet said if Serraillier had taken as much trouble to find an amicable 35 settlement, as he had to find fault with Robin, the matter might have been arranged, he thought Robin had partly apologised in offering to change a phrase in the letter.

Citizen Marx said he should not take part in the matter, but he would remind the Council that Robin wanted to fix all the blame upon Outine now he knew Outine had 40 left London.

Citizen Milner said it appeared to him that Robin would create nothing but disturbances so long as he was in the Council, and he thought the sooner he was out of it the better, it was monstrous that one man should be permitted to create strife continually.

15

25

45

Meeting of the General Council October 10, 1871

Citizen Frankel proposed and Citizen Hales seconded the following resolution.
"That Citizen Robin be requested to withdraw the letter he sent to the Conference
without any qualification, and that a refusal on his part should be considered as his
resignation", carried with 4 Abstentions.

- 5 The Council adjourned at 12 o'clock.

H. JUNG. Chairman
JOHN HALES
Secretary |

Special Meeting of the General Council
October 16, 1871

|[306]| **Minutes of Special Meeting held**
Oct 16th 1871

Citizen Jung in the chair. Members present Citizens Delahaye, Eccarius, Engels, Frankel, Hales, Johannard, Jung, Lessner, Le Moussu, Herman, Marx, Martin, Mottershead, Pfänder, Rochat, Rühl, Serraillier, Stepney and Townshend. 5

Citizen Hales announced that he had received a bill of exchange from the Federal Council of New York for £42.0.0 in answer to the appeal of the Council for the refugees, he had not announced it thinking the Council should take special action with regard to it, because the night before he received it, the Council had agreed by special vote to give £ 3.0.0 to pay the travelling expenses of a man who had been condemned to death at Lyons for participation in the Communal movement, but who had managed to escape and was hiding. 10

Citizen Marx said that the money was asked for the special use of the Council and ought to be distributed by the Council. 15

Citizen Engels proposed that the £42.0.0 be handed over to a committee of three consisting of Marx, Jung and Vaillant. Carried unanimously. The proposition was seconded by Citizen Townshend. 15

The Chairman announced that he had received a letter from Bastelica, announcing his resignation as a member of the General Council, because the newly formed french branch had passed a rule forbidding any of its members from belonging to the General Council except such as were appointed as delegates; compelled to make a choice between the branch and the Council, he chose the branch. 20

Citizen Serraillier—said Bastelica had spoken with him upon the subject and he told him that the section could not be a section until it was admitted, moreover, the rule in question was contrary to the Statutes and could not be accepted. He therefore proposed that the resignation be accepted, it being an offence against the Council, it was a refusal to recognise the rules. 25

Citizen Engels seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously, it being understood that it was not to be accepted as a 11[307] | precedent—accepting the theory laid down in the letter. 30

Citizen Serraillier handed in the rules of the newly formed French branch, and it was agreed that the same should be handed over to the Committee for the revision of the rules.

Special Meeting of the General Council October 16, 1871

Citizen Marx said the Council had appointed a Committee, to blend the resolutions which Serraillier and Vaillant submitted to the Conference, but there were still other commissions necessary, and the Council had also to decide as to what should be made public, and what should not, he then read the resolutions passed by
5 the Conference relative to the composition of the Conference. The first recommended the Council not to make too many additions to its number, and especially to take care and not to add too many of one nationality. The second, invited the Council to extend the term of probation, between the proposition and election, to three weeks, so that sufficient time might be allowed to make enquiries. The third recommended
10 the Council, before the usual times of elections, to invite the Sections in different Countries to suggest candidates for the respective Corresponding Secretaryships. The fourth approved of the additions, which the Council had made to its number from the Communal refugees—They were all agreed to unanimously.

Another resolution was also read in which the Conference declared its acceptance
15 of the financial accounts presented by the General Council, but recommended the Council to adopt a better system of keeping its accounts in future.

Citizen Marx then read the declaration which he had drawn up relative to Netschayeff, and on the motion of Citizen Hales, seconded by Citizen Eccarius, it was adopted unanimously. It was as follows "The Conference of Delegates of the
20 International Working Men's Association, assembled in London from the 17th to the 23rd of Septr. 1871 has charged the General Council to declare publicly That Netschayeff has never been a member or an agent of the International Working Men's Association, that his assertions to have founded a branch at Brussels."¹

25 I [308] I The resolutions of the Conference were then agreed to, which advised the Council to issue addresses to the working men of France, and of Italy; and a manifesto against the different Governments which had prosecuted the members of the Association.

It was then resolved that the Circular to the different Federal Councils should be
30 printed, except one part relating to internal administration.

Citizen Mottershead proposed and Citizen Engels seconded.

The appeal to the French Working Men, asking them to resist the despotic encroachments upon their rights, and announcing how they were to proceed with the work of organization, was, upon the motion of Citizen Marx seconded by Frankel,
35 ordered to be printed.

The resolution recommending the London branches to establish a Federal Council for London which should become the Federal Council for England, upon receiving the adhesions of the provincial branches, was, upon the proposition of Citizen Engels seconded by Citizen Lessner adopted unanimously.

40 The Council then proceeded with the resolutions dealing with questions of General organization.

The one relative to special missions—was adopted and ordered to be printed. Citizens Frankel and Lessner proposed and seconded.

45 The one relative to the formation of Female Sections was also ordered to be printed, as well as the one upon the question of furnishing statistics. With regard to

The minute book of the General Council of the I. W. M. A.

the latter one Citizen Frankel remarked, that many of the Continental sections complained that they never received the circular which was issued.

The following resolutions were also ordered to be printed after some little discussion had taken place:

5

Resolution relative to the right of the delegates of the General Council to enter meetings of any section. |

||[309]|| Resolution, "To agitate, in the agricultural districts, with a view to the formation of rural sections", a proposition by Frankel, seconded by Lessner, to print this resolution in larger type being lost.

10

Resolution of the Conference "leaving the General Council to fix the time and place of the Congress or Conference".

The resolution relative to the assistance to be rendered to Trades Unions was amended, and ordered to be printed as amended.

15

The question of printing the instruction the Conference gave to Outine relative to the Netschayeff affair was deferred. The resolution upon "L'Alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste" was ordered to be printed.

Citizens Serraillier and Vaillant were appointed to draw up an address to the Working Men of France.—Proposition moved by Le Moussu, sec. by Martin.

20

Citizens Engels and Johannard were appointed to draw up an address to the Working Men of Italy. Proposition moved by Eccarius, sec. by Serraillier.

Dr. Marx was appointed to prepare the circular embodying the resolutions.

Proposition moved by Mottershead, seconded by Engels.

25

Citizen Herman proposed and Citizen Marx seconded, that the resolutions not printed in the Circular—be communicated by the different Corresponding Secretaries to their respective sections. Carried unanimously.

Citizen Engels brought up and read the report of the Committee appointed to blend the resolutions of Serraillier and Vaillant. He said the object [it] had in view was to blend in the clearest possible language the ideas running through the two resolutions. The Council could judge if the performance was equal to the intention.

30

The report [gave] general satisfaction, except one. paragraph referring to the "militant State of the Working Class". It was thought by some members that it might be misunderstood, but after some discussion it was carried as brought up ||[310]|| and ordered to be printed.

The Council adjourned at 11.15.

35

F. ENGELS, Chairman
JOHN HALES Secretary/

Meeting of the General Council October 17, 1871

/[310]/ Council Meeting held Oct 17th 1871

Citizen Engels in the chair—Members present Citizens Boon, Bradnick, Buttery, Delahaye, Eccarius, Engels, Frankel, Hales, Harris, Herman, Jung, Lessner, Lochner, Longuet, Le Moussu, Marx, Martin, Mayo, McDonnell, Milner, Mottershead, Rühl, Serraillier, Stepney, and Townshend, Johannard.

5 The minutes of the meeting of Oct 10th having been read, Citizen Harris complained of an omission in the report of the speech made by him, and requested that the same should be rectified, this was done and the minutes were confirmed.

10 Citizens Chautard and Camélinat attend with credentials from the new French branch. They were informed that the matter would be discussed in their absence and they withdrew. It being agreed that the matter should be referred to the same Committee as the rules of the branch.

15 The Chairman read a communication from Citizen Theisz, tendering his resignation as a member of the General Council, he thought it better for him to resign to make room for the delegates of the new French branch, he had nothing whatever to complain of in the conduct of the Council, and it might be assured of the support of himself under all circumstances.

20 Citizen Serraillier proposed and Citizen Mottershead seconded That the consideration of Citizen Theisz's resignation be postponed, he said the rules of the new French branch, which had impelled Citizen Theisz to resign, could not be accepted by the Council and would in all probability be rescinded by the branch, and Citizen Theisz might reconsider his determination. The motion was carried unanimously.

25 The Chairman asked if the Secretary had communicated the resolution of the previous meeting to Citizen Robin. The Secretary replied that "he had not, as he did not know Robin's address, and could not write French". Great ||[311]|| dissatisfaction was manifested at this reply, and it was agreed that the resolution should be sent at once. Soon after, though, Citizen Robin entered the Council room; and the Chairman communicated the resolution to him.

30 Citizen Robin said the Council had no right to take a resignation that he did not give, it could turn him out if it liked, he should not withdraw the letter.

Citizen Harris proposed that Robin's case be reheard—fully heard, mark you. Citizen Delahaye seconded the motion.

The minute book of the General Council of the I. W. M. A.

Citizen Jung opposed the motion, the matter had been discussed, and the Council had only to do its duty. He didn't say that Robin had insulted the Conference, but the Conference itself had said so, and had left the Council to deal with the matter.

Citizen Serraillier said Citizen Robin knew that the question was to be discussed at the previous meeting, and he was in town, yet he never came to it, had he been 5 at his post, he would have had the trial—now asked for.

Citizen Boon said he didn't exactly understand the matter, if it was a personal affair it ought to be settled outside, if it was a Council matter he understood the Council had already dealt with it.

On being put to the vote three voted for the proposition, twelve against. The 10 Chairman announced the decision to Robin—who said resignation was a voluntary action which he should not take, and further, that as a member of the Council he should stop in the room until the Council expelled him.

Citizen Harris—said then he would propose "That Citizen Robin be no longer considered a member of the Council". Citizen Jung seconded the proposition. 15

Citizen Delahaye said the resolution did not meet the case at all. If Robin was not fit to be a member, the Council ought to expel him, if he was not unfit the resolution ought not to be passed.

Citizen Frankel said at the previous meeting he was in favour of conciliation, but he was not after what he had heard from Robin. Robin had said the Council ought 20 to have the courage to expel him, he had the courage and would demand his expulsion.

Citizen Longuet did not wish to take the action suggested by Delahaye, the Council certainly had the right to say that it considered a certain action as equivalent to a resignation, and it had adopted the resolution out of deference to Robin's 25 feelings. It had no wish to stigmatise him as a ||[312]|| dishonourable man, but if Robin insisted upon being expelled, he supposed the Council must do it.

Citizen Delahaye said if there was a reason before for the proposition, there certainly was not one now as Robin had withdrawn the imputation against the Conference. 30

The proposition was then put to the vote and carried by five to four, the rest abstaining. Citizen Robin then left the room.

Citizen Marx brought up the report of the Committee upon the rules of the new French branch. The Committee proposed that the General Council should confirm the Statutes, except Articles 2 and 11, which the Committee proposed should not be accepted as they were clearly contrary to the General Statutes. Article 2 required that every member should justify his means of existence, which was an old device of the ruling classes, and could not be accepted in the International regulations. Article 11 "Provided that none of the members of the branch should be allowed to sit upon the General Council except they should be sent as delegates from 35 the branch". This was virtually saying that none of the members of the General Council should be allowed to become members of the branch and set up the authority of the branch as superior to that of the General Council, a thing that could not be tolerated. The branch must be shewn the illegality of the two articles and asked to rescind them. 40 45

Meeting of the General Council October 17, 1871

Citizen Frankel said the way the resolution was understood was to be seen in the resignations of Bastelica and Theisz, he thought their names should be attached to the report. Citizen Serraillier translated these remarks into English and said he saw no reason to attach the two names as suggested.

- 5 Citizen Harris asked the Chairman if the English members understood Serraillier's explanation.

The Chairman said if they did not they could state so for themselves; everyone had the right to ask questions themselves, but not for others.

- 10 Citizen Herman said the rule under discussion would make the branch everything and all France nothing. If the sections in France wished to nominate delegates to the General Council they could not without precluding them from joining the French branch. |

||[313]|| Citizen Longuet did not understand the rule in that sense.

- 15 Citizen Mottershead said the members who did not understand the matter would be apt to think there was something deeper underneath, he wanted some further explanation before he could see his way clearly to vote upon the matter. If the four who had spoken, had not done so, he should have voted at once for the report, but he saw from the debate that more explanation was needed.

- 20 Citizen Longuet said there had not been any debate, Citizen Marx had brought up a report that was no doubt strictly legal, but he thought the members of the branch did not see the force of their own rules, that was all.

- 25 Citizen Mottershead wanted to know if there was not something behind, he could not help being struck by the resignations of Theisz and Bastelica, he would ask if the branch was not a valuable one, he thought the matter might be compromised, without loss of principle.

Citizen Marx thought the way in which Citizen Mottershead had interfered in the matter was most unjustifiable, he had not touched the report, but wanted to know what transpired in the tattle of the French branch. The Council had nothing to do with what transpired behind its back, but only with the rules.

- 30 Citizen Eccarius moved the adoption of the report.

Citizen Martin seconded it.

Citizen Harris thought perhaps the members of the French branch did not understand the meaning of their rules.

- 35 Citizen Boon said he thought he understood the matter—no branch had the right to override the General Statutes of an Association.

Citizen Le Moussu also spoke in favour of the report.

It was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously.

- 40 Citizen Martin read a communication from Vaillant resigning his membership upon the distribution committee, he did not approve of the appointment of the Committee. The resignation was accepted.

Citizen Engels reported the progress of the Association in Italy and Spain.

- 45 Citizen Eccarius read a letter from the 12th Section of New York. Citizen Hales communicated a letter from Galveston, Texas, both were referred to the Standing Committee, which as formerly it was decided should ||[314]|| be composed of all the officers.

The minute book of the General Council of the I. W. M. A.

Citizen Harris thought all the correspondence should be read.

Citizen Marx announced that he had a report from the Slavonic Section of Zurich.

Citizen Herman said he had received instructions to offer, on the part of the Belgian Engineers, to enter into an Alliance with the Amalgamated Engineers of Great Britain, for the purposes of mutual defence and assistance, he asked that a delegate might be elected to accompany him to the Council of the Engineers. 5

Citizen Harris proposed and Citizen Boon seconded that Citizen Eccarius be appointed.

Citizens Jung and Hales were opposed to an appointment being made, but Citizen Eccarius was elected to go. 10

Citizen Marx asked for authority to print the circular.

Citizen Boon proposed and Citizen Lessner sec'd. That 500 copies be printed. Carried unanimously.

Citizen Marx proposed and Citizen Boon seconded that the report of the Committee upon the revision of the rules be placed first on the order of the day for the next sitting; carried unanimously. 15

Citizen Boon proposed that the following resolution stand upon the order of the day for that night month for discussion.

Citizen Milner seconded the proposition—That in the opinion of this Council, 20 the time has now arrived for the formation of an International bureau and depository, wherein the Internationals may deposit their worked up products, and receive for the same an International Note or Exchange Medium; such notes to be exchangeable among all the members of the International (and the public if they will accept). Such a system of International Exchange based upon positive and exchangeable 25 wealth (such as boots, clothing, watches etc.) would be |

[315] Citizen Hales proposed that its consideration be postponed indefinitely. Citizen Jung seconded the amendment. The amendment was lost and the proposition was carried by 10 to 5.

Citizens Martin and Longuet also gave notice of motion. 30

The Council adjourned at 12 o'clock./

Meeting of the General Council October 24, 1871

/[315]/Minutes of Meeting Oct 24th 1871.

Citizen Longuet in the chair. Members present Citizens Boon, Bradnick, Delahaye, Eccarius, Engels, Frankel, Hales, Harris, Herman, Jung, Lessner, Le Moussu, Johannard, Longuet, Marx, Martin, Mayo, McDonnell, Pfänder, Roach, Rochat,

- 5 Rühl, Serraillier, Stepney, Townshend, Vaillant and Wroblewski. The minutes of the two previous meetings having been read and confirmed Citizen Marx brought up the report of the rules revision Committee. The report was adopted unanimously without discussion, and Citizen Marx proposed and Citizen Johannard seconded that 5,000 Copies be printed and that the printer be instructed to let the type stand.

- 10 Carried unanimously—

•Citizen Engels proposed that Truelove be the Printer employed.

Citizen Marx said whoever printed them, it must be understood that the whole issue was to be the property of the Council.

- 15 Citizen Harris would suggest that members—or persons whom members should guarantee—should have as many copies as they wished, upon signing for them.

Citizen Jung thought if it could be done, the work should be given to the refugees.

Citizen Engels thought they would not be able to do it; it was a question of quickness.

- 20 Citizen Johannard said the Council ought to see if they could ||[316]|| do it, before it was given to any one else.

Citizen Eccarius said usually more trouble ensued when small printers were employed.

- 25 Citizen Hales proposed and Citizen Lessner seconded That the question as to who should be employed, should be left to the revision Committee. Carried unanimously.

Citizen Marx said as Theisz had not withdrawn his resignation it was absolutely necessary to appoint another Treasurer, as the name of the Treasurer would have to be printed—he would propose that Citizen Jung be appointed Treasurer. Citizen

- 30 Serraillier seconded the proposition and it was carried unanimously.

The Secretary read a letter which he had received from Citizen Robin asking for a copy of the minutes relating to his exclusion.

The minute book of the General Council of the I.W. M.A.

Citizen Boon thought it ought to be sent,

Citizen Jung, was opposed to anything of the kind.

Citizen Frankel proposed that the Council proceed to the order of the day.
Citizen Johannard seconded it and it was carried unanimously.

The Secretary read a letter from the Secretary of the Sunday League asking for immediate payment of arrears of rent, and complaining of the room being used on Saturday evenings. It was resolved that the whole of the rent owing should be paid, and the Committee which had been previously appointed was instructed to report to the next meeting as to its success in finding another room. 5

Citizen Jung read a letter from Malon announcing that the refugees in Geneva 10 had formed a branch of the International, and asking that the General Council should admit it as such, and as it was the third letter sent, an early reply was requested.

Citizen explained that owing to the pressure of business in the Council, he had not been able to bring the matter on, but in accordance with the rules he had written to 15 the Federal Council of Geneva, informing them of the fact and asking for information, but as yet he had not received an answer. |

[[317]] Citizen Johannard thought if there was nothing in their rules, that was contrary to the Statutes, the Section should be admitted.

Citizen Serraillier said according to the rules, all new Sections ought in the first 20 instance to apply to the Federal Council of the Country. Besides, purely Nationality branches could not be formed, language speaking branches might be formed, but [not] nationality branches.

Citizen Marx. Sections had the right to correspond direct with the General Council, but the Council must first write to the Federal Council. Citizen Jung had 25 better write again to the Federal Council. Citizen Jung agreed to do so.

Citizen Harris proposed and Citizen Martin seconded that Citizen Jung should write to the Sections informing them of his communication to the Federal Council of Geneva.—Carried unanimously.

Citizen Serraillier, said that it was the opinion of himself and Citizen Vaillant that 30 it would be better to postpone the issuing of the address to the Working men of France, as it might prejudice the cases of the Communist prisoners. It was agreed that it should be postponed.

Citizen Herman announced that owing to his being unable to obtain work he should be compelled to return to Belgium for a time, but he should still like to continue 35 Secretary for Belgium, he would send reports at regular intervals, and some one might be appointed to act for him on the Council. Citizen Rochat has consented to act for Citizen Herman as suggested. The Council agreed to Citizen Herman's request.

Citizen Herman also announced that the Engineers of Ghent had been locked 40 out and to the number of 250—and they wished subscriptions to be got for them in England. The matter was referred to Citizens Eccarius and Herman, who where to wait upon the Council of the Engineers on the next evening.

The Council adjourned at 11—15.

H. JUNG, Chairman | 45

Meeting of the General Council October 31, 1871

[[3i8]] Minutes of Meeting held Oct 31st 1871.

Citizen Jung in the chair. Members present Citizens Bradnick, Buttery, Delahaye, Eccarius, Engels, Frankel, Hales, Harris, Jung, Johannard, Lessner, Le Moussu, Martin, Mayo, McDonnell, Mottershead, Rochat, Riihl, Serraillier, Stepney,

- 5 Taylor, Townshend, Wroblewski, and Barry. Citizens Tibaldi and Sicard were also present by permission.

Polyglot edition abandoned

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read and confirmed, Citizen Engels announced that the resolutions were in the hands of the printers—Owing
10 to the printers not knowing English, the revision of proofs was a difficult and wearying task. He also announced that the rules, regulations, and resolutions were almost ready for printing, but it would be almost impossible to print the polyglot edition, as decided upon by the Conference owing to three being an odd number. If there
15 were four languages to be printed, two could be printed on each page, but it would spoil the edition altogether if two were printed on one side and one on the other, and the three could not conveniently be all printed on one page; he concluded by moving the following proposition. "That the polyglot edition of the Statutes be abandoned for the present and editions in the different languages be printed separately, at such times and places as the revising Committee may deem best".

- 20 Citizen Bradnick seconded the proposition.

Citizen Frankel said the Conference decided to print the different languages in one edition, to guard against false translations, but that object would be equally obtained if the same Committee performed the work of translation, was in favour of the proposition. On being put [to the vote], it was carried unanimously.

- 25 Contribution Stamp

It was then announced that the stamp committee had prepared the Contribution stamp. It was handed round the room, and met with general approval, and upon the proposition of Citizen Le Moussu, seconded by Citizen Johannard, it was accepted, and it was handed back to the Committee to get it engraved, and a proof printed. |

- 30 [[319]] Italian Address

Citizen Engels announced, that the Address to the Italian Working Men was not yet ready, and the Committee proposed to wait until the Conference of Working Men

The minute book of the General Council of the I. W. M. A.

which was to be held in Italy during the week, had finished its sittings, as the proceedings might give the Committee new material.

Federal Council for London

The Secretary reported that a Federal Council for London had been formed in accordance with the resolution of the Conference. He had communicated the resolution to the branches, and they had instructed him to summon a preliminary meeting of those who he would think would be likely to carry out the work in a harmonious manner, he had done so and the meeting was held on Saturday, Oct 21st. A resolution was passed by the members present accepting the instruction of the Conference and resolving themselves into a provisional Federal Council for London. A second meeting was held on Oct 27th and the number of Council members was increased to 25. A Secretary and Treasurer was appointed and two delegates were appointed to represent the Federal Council upon the General Council, and to make arrangements with respect to the financial question. A false report of the first meeting appeared in the "Times" and many of the Daily Papers, which had been copied into the *Bee-Hive*. His attention having been called to it, he had written a reply which had been inserted in *The Times*.

Citizen Johannard asked if the letter of the Secretary was considered satisfactory.

Citizens Serraillier and Engels said they had read the letter and they considered it was a very good one.

Citizen Frankel would propose "That the delegates be accepted, and that no more delegates from English branches be admitted to a seat on the General Council". Citizen Johannard seconded.

Citizen Jung thought it better to see the rules of the new Council first.

Citizen Hales said it could not make rules until it was recognised, as it would not be a Council until that was done.

Citizen Eccarius said the Council had to consider whether the Council formed by three new branches, should be recognised, the Trades ||[320]|| Unions had paid their contributions, and ought to have been apprised of the proposal to form a Federal Council; he would ask why they were not consulted?

Citizen Mottershead had a question to ask and that was how it was the members of the General Council had not been invited to take part in the formation of the Federal [Council]. He thought the fact of their being considered fit to sit on the General Council, ought to have been sufficient warrant for them to have been invited—He was afraid the Secretary had consulted personal predilections rather than the general interests of the Association.

Citizen Hales, said he did not send invitations to those members who had opposed the formation of the Federal Council, he considered it would have been absurd to invite men to take part in a movement they did not believe in. With respect to the Trades Unions he did not consider they were branches, they were affiliated allies—nothing more.

Citizen Eccarius said as an old member, he should deny the right of the new branches to say the Trades Unions were not members, contributions could not be levied upon allies, and the Trades had to pay and did pay a contribution levied according to rule.

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

40

45

Meeting of the General Council October 31, 1871

Citizen Frankel. When the Conference passed the resolution it did not wish to sow discord, but to centralize the force existing in England. He considered the newly formed Council was only provisional, and that when it was organized the Trades Unions would be invited to take part in its deliberations. He would still maintain his
5 proposition.

Citizen Mottershead said he opposed the proposition because there was no feeling in England. There had been no real movement since /48 and if he had lost something of the sanguineness of youth, allowances must be made. He must admit the Secretary had only used his discretion, but he had used his discretion very indiscreetly
10 indeed. He would remind him that he had no right to constitute himself a judge as to men's fitness or character.

Citizen Butterly said the Secretary had only acted according to advice given by the representatives of the branches. He believed it was the intention of the Federal Council to invite all the Trades Societies as soon as the Council itself was organized,
15 but it could not be ||[321]|| done before.

Citizen Serraillier, said the Secretary would not have been justified in summoning the Trades Societies, for the resolution of the Conference declared distinctly that the branches should proceed to form a Federal Council, and the Trades Unions were not branches.
20

Citizen Engels said it [could] not be maintained for an instant that the Trades Unions were branches, the branches had to submit their rules to the General Council for approval, while the Unions framed their own rules without any control being exercised over them, besides they took action when they pleased without consulting the Association. Another thing—they had not paid so much per member, but had con-
25 tributed in Lump sums.

Citizen Eccarius said that arose from the fact of the societies taking a general average of members, and paying the same sum each year. The Alliance Cabinet Makers, Cigar Makers, London Tailors, and Day Working Bookbinders, had all paid contributions based upon the number of their members—while the General
30 Councils of The Amalgamated Carpenters, and the Bricklayers voted so much out of their contingent funds and left the Association free to appeal to the branches, and several branches had joined. The Trades Unions had found all the money for the Conference delegates, and he thought they ought to be consulted. He would move the following amendment. "That before the newly established Council goes any
35 further, the affiliated Trades and other Societies be communicated with, and asked whether or not they will take part in the organization of a local Council"—he proposed this because he thought they ought to be consulted, but he didn't think they would agree to assist, as the establishment of a Federal Council would double their contributions.

40 Citizen Mottershead seconded the proposition—if the Association waited until the Trades Unions held with the principles of the Association as a whole—it would have to wait a long time, but they represented the revolt against Capital.

Citizen Engels proposed the adjournment of the debate, Citizen ||[322]|| Johannard seconded it.

45 Citizen Hales moved and Citizen Bradnick seconded That the discussion be closed

The minute book of the General Council of the I. W. M.A.

and the vote taken at once—Citizen Engels withdrew his proposition in favour; on being put [to the vote], it was carried, with one dissentient. The amendment was then put and lost. After which the proposition was carried unanimously.

Citizen Engels reported that an attack upon the International had appeared in *The Times* signed Alexander Baillie Cochrane. As most of the members had read it, it was not thought necessary to read it but it needed answering. He then read a draft reply which he had prepared as the answer, and it was adopted unanimously and the Secretary was ordered to send it to *The Times* for insertion. 5

The Secretary read a letter from the Editor of the "Graphic" asking permission for their artist to attend the Council to take sketches for publication. 10

The consideration of it was adjourned for a week.

The Council adjourned at 11—15.

H.JUNG. Chairman
JOHN HALES *Secretary]*

[

Meeting of the General Council November 7, 1871

**I[323]I Minutes of the Council Meeting
held Novr. 7th 1871**

Citizen Jung in the chair. Members present Citizens Barry, Boon, Delahaye, Eccarius, Engels, Frankel, Hales, Harris, Jung, Keen, Johannard, Lessner, Lochner, Mayo,
5 Pfänder, Roach, Rihl, Serraillier, Stepney, and Taylor.

The minutes of the preceding meeting having been read and confirmed, Citizen Engels announced that 800 copies of the circular in English and 800 copies in French were ready, he also announced that the rules would be ready in a few days. Citizen Truelove desired the Council to allow him to advertise the report of the Owen Cen-
10 tenary on the back of the rules. On the motion of Citizen Engels seconded by Citizen Lessner, permission was accorded, and it was also resolved that the Address on "*The Civil War in France*" should be likewise advertised on the back.

On the motion of the same Citizens it was resolved that the rules should be sold to members at 1^d per copy—to non members at 2^d and that 1,000 copies should be sent
15 to the Federal Committee of New York.

Citizen Hales announced that the letter he had sent to the Times had not been inserted.

Citizen Engels proposed that the Secretary be instructed to send it to the Eastern Post with a request for its insertion.

20 Citizen Harris proposed that the other papers should be tried say the *Standard* and *Economist*. The *Eastern Post* was not always impartial.

Citizen Engels said the Stand[ard] would not insert it, it would therefore be useless to send it.

25 Citizen Harris said he would propose that the letter be sent to all the papers, perhaps some of them might insert it.

Citizen Engels said he was opposed to anything of the kind, it would be telling the test of the Press that "*The Times*" had refuse to insert the letter, nothing more suicidal could be done, if we ever wanted to use the Press.—The proposition would be quite sufficient to give publicity, ||[324]| as the *Eastern Post* was sent to all the
30 Federal Councils, and its reports were reprinted in the organs of the Association.

Citizen Hales said the *Eastern Post* inserted everything sent by him.

The minute book of the General Council of the I. W. M. A.

Citizen Harris said "he had seen reports of the Council meetings which were not true".

Citizen Hales said "then he ought to have stated so, at the time he saw them". The proposition was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The Secretary said he had written to the Editor of the Graphic as the application made by that journal had not been decided, and had asked what kind of sketches it was desired the artist should take. He had received a reply stating that an exact representation was intended, and that if the request was granted, one of the best artists upon the journal would be sent. He ended by proposing that the request be granted. Citizen Taylor seconded it.

5

10

Citizen Eccarius proposed that no notice be taken of the communication. Citizen Harris seconded.

Citizen Engels proposed and Citizen Boon seconded that the offer of the Graphic be politely declined, Citizen Boon remarking that he thought the Secretary had acted in an unwarrantable manner in writing to that journal without permission.

15

The amendment of Citizen Engels was carried.

Citizen Frankel said the Engineers and Ironfounders of Chemnitz in Saxony were out on Strike for a reduction of hours of Labour and a rise of wages. He asked that the General Secretary should make an appeal to the English Trades on their behalf.

20

Citizen Engels said there was not sufficient evidence to hand except in the German papers, he would therefore propose the matter should stand over a week, and that a report should be prepared for the next sitting. Citizen Eccarius seconded and it was carried unanimously.

25

Citizen Engels reported that he had a great deal of information ||[325]|| 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 it been received, would be included in the report.

30

A letter had also been received from Holland which gave a favourable account of the progress of the Association in that Country, a subscription was enclosed.

News was also received from Berlin, giving a good account of work done.

The Secretary reported that he had received a letter from New Zealand, giving a full account of the evils of the land laws in the state of Canterbury. Information and documents were asked for.

35

Citizen Eccarius read a selection from a letter received from Citizen Walker of Boston, U.S., and handed over the same to the Secretary for his report.

Citizen Serraillier read the report of the Committee who had had the consideration of the rules of the new French branch, it was a very lengthy document and entered into the whole subject most minutely.—On the proposition of Citizen Serraillier, seconded by Citizen Rochat, the report was adopted unanimously.

40

Citizen Lessner reported that he had found a house which he thought would suit the Council—the lease was for sale, and possession could be entered upon at once.

It was in Fitzroy St. Fitzroy Square.

45

Meeting of the General Council November 7, 1871

It was agreed that Citizens Engels and Barry should view the house and report.

Citizen Eccarius gave notice of motion, "That the Council discuss the relationship of Trades Societies to the Council."

The Council adjourned at 11.15.

Signed THOS MOTTERSHEAD Chairman
Nov 14th 1871
JOHN HALES *Secretary]*

**Procès-verbaux de la Conférence des délégués
de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs
réunie à Londres du 17 au 23 septembre 1871**

17 Septembre 1871

Procès-verbal

La Séance est ouverte à 6 h. 7,
Président Jung.

Ch. Rochat secrétaire pour la langue française
John Haies » » » anglaise

Perret, Outine, Lorenzo, Verrycken, Coenen, Herman, Fluse, Steens, De Paepe,
10 Serraillier, Frankel, Karl Marx, Engels, Vaillant, Bastelica, Eccarius, Jung, McDon-
nell, Mottershead, Dupont, Haies

JUNG propose que, pour ne pas perdre de temps, on laisse au bureau le
soin d'examiner les pouvoirs des délégués.

BASTELICA demande que l'on nomme immédiatement une Commission pour
15 faire cette vérification, des cas particuliers pouvant se présenter
et faire naître des objections.

MOTTERSHEAD appuie la proposition de Jung en réservant, dit-il, l'appréciation
de la conférence pour trancher toute irrégularité s'il s'en présen-
tait.

20 I *La Proposition de Bastelica mise aux voix est rejetée par*
' 12 voix contre 9 =

Les citoyens: Perret — Sections romandes de la Suisse
Outine « allemandes de Genève

A. Lorenzo Sections de Valence (Espagne)
Verrycken Conseil Fédéral Belge

De Paepe

Coenen Sections d'Anvers

Herman » de Liège

E. Steens Centre houillier du Hainaut

30 P. Fluse fédération des sections de la
Vallée de la Vesdre

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

	présentent leurs pouvoirs. Jung donne lecture de ces documents, qui sont reconnus réguliers.	
	L'admission des délégués est mise aux voix et acceptée à l'unanimité.	
JUNG	donne lecture d'une lettre adressée de Bordeaux au citoyen Fondeville pour l'engager à représenter les Sections de Bordeaux, les circonstances rendant très-difficile toute réunion de section pour se concerter sur le choix d'un délégué,	5
BASTELICA	trouve que cette lettre est absolument dénuée de caractère officiel et même officieux, on ne peut l'accepter comme un mandat.	10
FRANKEL	est du même avis, il considère cette lettre comme une démarche privée de celui qui l'a envoyée. Accepter dans ces conditions comme délégué le citoyen Fondeville serait créer un précédent fâcheux. Il y a à Londres, [2] dit-il, des Internationaux qui ne siègent pas parmi nous, et cependant leur notoriété dans l'association les recommande d'une manière beaucoup plus sérieuse que la lettre privée dont on veut faire un mandat au citoyen Fondeville.	15
OUTINE	En raison de la situation particulière de l'association en France, est d'avis qu'il faut accepter ce délégué s'il est connu et recommandé par quelques-uns des membres présents,	20
SERRAILLIER	dit que ce qu'on reproche à cette lettre est de n'émaner que d'un seul individu, mais il fait remarquer que le signataire de cette lettre est le même qui avisait dernièrement le Conseil Général de la fondation de 7 Sections à Bordeaux. Il voit là une sorte de condition de collectivité et conclut qu'on peut accepter cette lettre comme un mandat.	25
PERRET et DE PAEPE	sont d'avis que, si le citoyen Fondeville est connu, il faut l'accepter.	30
BASTELICA	maintient le rejet pur et simple.	
VAILLANT	demande qu'on l'accepte avec voix consultative seulement. <i>La clôture est demandée et acceptée.</i>	
	La proposition de Vaillant mise aux voix est adoptée par 9 voix contre 5.	35
BASTELICA	demande qu'on constate les abstentions qui sont nombreuses.	
MARX	demande au secrétaire général du Conseil Général s'il a convoqué tous les membres, il remarque de nombreuses absences.	
JOHN HALES	répond qu'il en a personnellement prévenu quatre. Il n'a pas pu aviser les autres, la poste ne fonctionnant pas le Dimanche à Londres.	40
JUNG	demande qu'à l'avenir toutes les propositions soient présentées par écrit, il demande aussi qu'on fixe des heures pour les séances.	45

Procès-verbal de la séance du 17 septembre 1871

- PERRET demande 2 séances par jour. Après une assez longue discussion on s'arrête à cette résolution.
Les séances du jour commenceront à 1 h.
" » » soir « » 8 h.
- 5 Accepté à l'unanimité.|
- ||[3]|| DE PAEPE demande la fixation d'un ordre du jour pour la séance du lendemain et des explications sur l'objet de la conférence.
- MARX = Le Conseil Général a convoqué une conférence pour se concerter avec les délégués des divers pays sur les mesures à prendre pour parer aux dangers que court l'association dans un grand nombre de pays et pour procéder à une organisation nouvelle répondant aux besoins de la situation.
- 10 2° Pour élaborer une réponse aux divers gouvernements qui ne cessent de travailler à la destruction de l'association par tous les moyens à leur disposition.
- 15 Et enfin pour régler définitivement le conflit Suisse.
D'autres questions secondaires seront certainement soulevées dans le cours de la conférence et devront trouver leur solution.
- 20 Le citoyen Marx ajoute qu'il sera nécessaire de faire une déclaration publique au Gouvernement Russe qui essaye d'impliquer l'association dans une certaine affaire de société Secrète dont les principaux meneurs sont complètement étrangers ou hostiles à l'association.
- 25 Cette conférence est privée, mais quand tous les délégués seront rentrés dans leur Pays, le Conseil Général publiera telles résolutions que la conférence aura jugées nécessaire de publier.
- BRADNICK propose qu'il ne soit permis à tout membre de la conférence de ne parler qu'une seule fois sur chaque question.
- 30 ENGELS Mottershead appuie.
est opposé, il a remarqué que loin de nuire à la Rapidité des débats, la faculté laissée aux orateurs de compléter leur pensée est au contraire un moyen sûr pour l'élucidation des questions.
- LORENZO = Pour résoudre la question, chaque fois qu'un membre aura fait une proposition, il en développera les considérants, et l'on fera le tour de parole ||[4]|| dans l'ordre du pour et du contre alternativement. Il est toujours entendu cependant qu'un orateur pourra se rectifier s'il a été mal compris.
- 35 MILNER dit que nous ne sommes pas réunis pour travailler vivement, mais pour travailler sagement, il est d'avis qu'on doit user largement du droit de parole.
- 40 SERRAILLIER appuyé par Dupont, Herman et Robin, propose qu'on s'en réfère à la mesure prise à cet égard au congrès de Bâle.
Bastelica demande la clôture. =
La Proposition du Citoyen Serraillier est mise aux voix et adoptée par 14 voix contre 4.
- 45

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

PERRET	demande la fixation d'un ordre du jour. Il est d'avis que la première question qui doit être soumise à la discussion est l'affaire des dissensions en Suisse.	
MARX	propose qu'on nomme une commission de 5 membres pour établir une enquête sur cette question.	5
OUTINE	demande quelles seront les attributions de cette commission; devra-t-elle soumettre des conclusions ou juger arbitrairement?	
MOTTERSHEAD	dit que cette commission aura le droit de chercher l'évidence, mais que la conférence seule devra statuer après l'audition du rapport.	10
ENGELS	. admet que la Commission pourra soumettre à la conférence des conclusions.	
PERRET	demande que la Commission d'enquête ait un temps limité, et puisse appeler auprès d'elle tous les citoyens capables de la renseigner sur la mission dont elle est chargée. Il désire que l'on choisisse pour en faire partie des citoyens n'ayant pas été mêlés directement au conflit.	15
	L'adoption d'une commission de 5 membres est mise aux voix et acceptée à l'unanimité.	20
	On propose — Eccarius, McDonnell, Vaillant, Karl Marx, Verrycken.	
	Sur la proposition du citoyen Bastelica une commission de six membres est nommée à l'unanimité, elle est chargée d'élaborer un ordre du jour pour la séance du lendemain. Sont désignés pour en faire partie les citoyens Lorenzo, Mottershead, De Paepe, Frankel, Steens et Serraillier.	25

La séance est levée à 10^h/2-

[Auszüge aus der Mitschrift von Charles Rochat]

	[S. 643.26]	[2]	30
	Anselmo Lorenzo (traduit par Engels) Valence		
DE PAEPE	[S. 644.2]	[2]	
	communique une note dans laquelle il s'excuse d'avoir oublié son mandat dans sa malle, il s'en réfère à ses compagnons belges.		35
ENGELS =	Quand même De Paepe aurait oublié son mandat, sa seule qualité de membre du Conseil fédéral Belge lui donnerait accès ici, ayant laissé aux Conseils fédéraux le soin de nommer des délégués.		
OUTINE —	est trop connu pour qu'on doute un instant de sa parole.		40

Procès-verbal de la séance du 17 septembre 1871

	SERRAILLIER	[S. 644.37]	[5]
5	KARL MARX	demande qu'on lise les noms de ceux qui ont le droit de vote parce qu'il y en [a] qui se sont abstenus dans l'incertitude où ils étaient s'ils avaient le droit de vote.	
		dit qu'aucune règle ne refuse le droit d'abstention et qu'il est inutile de faire telle proposition —	
		Vote en faveur des pleins pouvoirs acceptés unanimement —	
10	PERRET	[S. 645.1-5]	[6-8]
	MARX	demande qu'on décide combien on aura de séances par jour. Il est d'avis qu'il en faut 2 par jour =	
	VAILLANT =	est d'avis qu'on arrête de suite les heures exactement à cause que les anglais demeurent à des distances très-éloignées.	
	MOTTERSHEAD	une séance par jour très-longue. Divisée en 2 parties.	
15		La salle est engagée de 10 heures du matin à 6 ^h = qu'on en jouisse — mardi soir — on aura le local du Conseil et mercredi la salle actuelle. =	
	ENGELS =	Proposition de Serraillier, Dupont et Robin — (1)	
20		Il a été résolu samedi dernier au Conseil Général qu'on proposerait à la conférence — que la journée serait employée à préparer les travaux dans les commissions, travaux qui seraient discutés le soir par la conférence (à cause des membres qui travaillent le jour). Il demande que demain cependant on se réunisse ici pendant le jour pour la nomination des commissions et que le soir il soit procédé comme plus haut.	
25	MOTTERSHEAD	dit qu'il ne faut pas songer à trouver une autre salle (police française) — le jour mais pas trop de bonne heure.	
	HERMAN	appuie la proposition Serraillier — ci-dessus	
	ENGELS	propose = Réunion demain à 11 ^h du soir = les autres (2)	
30	et ENGELS —	Lundi à 10 ^h du matin à Blue Post et les jours suivants — le matin ici — travail des commissions — le mardi soir à Holborn et les mercredi et jeudi soir à Blue Post.	
35	MARX	[S. 645.8-23]	[9]
		Le Conseil Général a convoqué la Conférence — pour se concerter avec les délégués des divers pays sur les mesures à prendre dans la situation qui est faite à l'association Internationale (organisation)	
		Les Délégués devront de leur côté faire des propositions.	
40		2 ^o de faire une réponse aux divers Gouvernements qui se sont occupés de nous =	
		3 ^o des dissensions en Suisse, demandé par Guillaume —	
		d'autres questions secondaires —	
		le procès en Russie, il faut que la conférence fasse une Décla-	

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

ration sur sa situation avec cette soi-disant Société Secrète (abus du nom de l'Association en Russie).

	[S. 645.30-32]	[10]	
ENGELS -	opposé à ce qu'on soit limité à parler une fois sur chaque question, si on parle plusieurs fois — loin de prolonger les débats — ça les fait marcher plus rapidement = 5 minutes =		5
SERRAILLIER	[S. 645.41-42] propose qu'on s'en réfère aux mesures des anciens congrès en réduisant à 5 minutes,	[12-13]	
HERMAN	et DUPONT appuient		10
DUPONT	fait remarquer combien de temps on a déjà perdu à discuter cette question du temps qu'on aura à parler,		
ENGELS	appuie la proposition Serraillier.		
PERRET	[S. 646.1-3] demande l'ordre du jour. Il dit que si on veut parler d'organisation comme l'a dit le citoyen Marx il faut vider les questions de conflit, pas de bonne organisation s'il y a des dissensions.	[10-11]	15
MOTTERSHEAD = MARX	En faveur de la proposition de Bradnick parler une fois = demande qu'on dégage les 2 questions, le temps accordé à chaque orateur et le droit de parler 2 fois = et ce qu'a dit Perret,		20
OUTINE	appuie Engels — il demande 2 fois la parole pour les orateurs à 5 minutes = Je parlerai 5 minutes, je m'expliquerai mal et dix orateurs viendront derrière moi parler 5 minutes chacun parce que j'ai pas eu le droit après le premier orateur de prendre la parole pour me faire comprendre.		25
	[S. 646.8] incident, Robin	[14]	
MARX	[S. 646.12-13] dit qu'il faut que la Commission prenne des heures pour recevoir les conclusions.	[14-15]	30
ENGELS —	Quant à la question des Conclusions — la Commission aura toujours le droit de proposer ce qu'elle jugera convenable et la Conférence devra toujours décider elle-même,		
MOTTERSHEAD	demande qu'on en finisse vite, il est du même avis que le citoyen Engels —		35
OUTINE	[S. 646.21-22] demande 1 Belge et Eccarius, McDonnell, Vaillant, Marx, Verrycken.	[15-16]	
ROBIN	demande qu'on nomme des hommes qui n'ont pas été en relation avec les parties.		40

Procès-verbal de la séance du 17 septembre 1871

OUTINE	s'étonne que l'on jette en quelque sorte par cet éloignement de certains citoyens qui connaissent les détails de cette affaire —une suspicion de parti pris injuste contre ces citoyens,
MOTTERSHEAD = 5	au Parlement — les ^{2/3} , appartenant aux 2 partis et V3 est composé d'hommes qui jugent les faits
MARX	répond qu'il n'y a jamais eu de parti là-dessus au Conseil Général, toutes les résolutions prises à ce sujet ont été prises à la majorité.
ROBIN 10	dit qu'il n'a jamais eu l'intention de faire une [attaque] personnelle] Contre le Citoyen Marx —
MARX—	après cet incident refuse d'accepter d'être dans la Commission —
LORENZO	demande qu'on retire son nom de la Commission parce qu'il est absolument ignorant sur ce qui s'est passé en Suisse,
DE PAEPE 15	s'explique sur sa 1 ^{re} proposition. Il a été en rapport avec les 2 groupes, il a refusé pour cette raison à cause qu'il a été en froidur avec un des 2 partis.
VAILLANT—	Impartialité, mais il veut des hommes qui sont un peu au courant du fait — il ne refuse pas cependant.
DUPONT—	Chaque membre est supposé impartial
20	[S. 646.23-27]
BASTELICA	[16]
MARX=	demande qu'on fixe l'ordre du jour de demain une commission nommée pour présenter l'ordre du jour de demain — Lorenzo — Mottershead — De Paepe — Frankel — Steens — Serraillier.

[i] 18 Septembre 1871

La Séance est ouverte à 2^e
En l'absence du citoyen Jung, le citoyen
Serraillier est nommé président.

Secrétaires :

J. Haies Langue anglaise
C.Martin -> ,
 -- , > Langue française
C. Rochat / ⁶

10

Le secrétaire donne lecture du procès-verbal de la dernière séance, il est adopté à l'unanimité.

OUTINE demande que le procès-verbal reproduise très-largement les discussions, surtout lorsqu'il s'agira de déclarations de principes.

DE PAEPE communique une lettre venant d'Amsterdam qui donne mandat au citoyen Coenen pour représenter les sections Hollandaises. Cette lettre contient aussi quelques renseignements sur le développement de *l'association* en Hollande. 15

MARX a reçu de New York une longue adresse à la conférence qu'il traduira plus tard. Les Américains n'ont pas envoyés de délégués réservant l'argent qu'ils auraient dépensés à cet usage aux Réfugiés de la Commune. 20

DUPONT dit que les sections Françaises en Amérique prennent un développement considérable, elles promettent un envoi de fonds pour les Réfugiés de la Commune. 25

ENGELS annonce que le délégué Lorenzo lui a remis 300 francs pour les cotisations de 3000 membres Espagnols.

VAILLANT demande pour la langue Française un second secrétaire.
La proposition mise aux voix est adoptée à l'unanimité.
Le citoyen MARTIN est proposé et accepté pour cette fonction. 30

DE PAEPE a la parole comme rapporteur de la Commission chargée de la fixation de l'ordre du jour.

London 18
18 September 1871

La Chancery est ouverte à 9 h 30. C. Rochat, Paris.

Le Bureau des affaires étrangères a été ouvert à 9 h 30. L'Assemblée des délégués, le Comité permanent et les Comités de discipline sont nommés président. Le Comité permanent a élu François-Désiré Dauvergne comme secrétaire du comité permanent. Le Comité permanent a été chargé de l'ordre du jour.

Palmer demande que le procès verbal reproduise son langage : la discussion a surtout touché l'action des débarquements et franchises.

Douglas annonce que cette réunion d'assemblée donne mandat au Comité permanent pour représenter les sections françaises. Cette réunion continue avec quelques changements sur le développement de l'Assemblée en Haute-Savoie.

Martin, de New-York, une longue analyse à la conférence qu'il traduira plus tard. Ses observations n'ont pas convaincu de l'opposition à l'argot qui a couru dans plusieurs villes usagées aux réfugiés de la Commune.

Buxton dit que les sections françaises ont montré un développement considérable. Mais l'opposition est forte pour les réfugiés de la Commune.

Engels déclare que le délégué français lui a versé 300 francs pour les cotisations à 3000 membres espagnols.

T. Ward demande pour la Banque suisse une carte détaillée.

La proposition fait dans ce sujet au sujet de l'assemblée.

Le délégué Martin a proposé d'accepter pour elle toutes les personnes et la partie comme l'opportunité de la fixation de fonds suffit.

1. L'opposition au Comité permanent a été votée pour virer le Comité permanent.

2. Organisation à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

A. organisation à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

B. organisation régionale à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

C. organisation régionale à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

D. organisation régionale à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

E. organisation régionale à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

F. organisation régionale à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

G. organisation régionale à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

H. organisation régionale à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

I. organisation régionale à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

J. organisation régionale à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

K. organisation régionale à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

L. organisation régionale à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

M. organisation régionale à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

N. organisation régionale à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

O. organisation régionale à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

P. organisation régionale à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

Q. organisation régionale à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

R. organisation régionale à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

S. organisation régionale à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

T. organisation régionale à l'Assemblée. 600000 au 8 juillet.

Protokoll der Sitzung der Londoner Konferenz vom 18. September 1871.

Erste Seite der Handschrift von Charles Rochat

Procès-verbal de la séance du **18 septembre 1871**

- | | | |
|----|----------------|---|
| | | 1° Rapport du Conseil Général (nomination d'une Commission de contrôle pour vérifier la partie financière de ce rapport) |
| 5 | | 2° Organisation de l'association, Division en 3 points
A organisation Générale de l'Association, Révision des Statuts s'il y a lieu
B organisation Régionale de l'Internationale là où les lois ne s'opposent pas à son libre développement. (Formation d'un Comité Central anglais)
C organisation de l'Internationale dans les pays où les lois s'opposent à son existence Régulière. |
| 10 | | 3° Conflit Suisse
4° Attitude de l'association vis-à-vis des Gouvernements.
Nomination par la Conférence d'une commission chargée d'indiquer les points auxquels il s'agirait de toucher dans un manifeste aux gouvernements.! |
| 15 | MARX | [[2]] 5° De l'abus du nom de l'association Internationale dans un célèbre procès politique en Russie. (Commission ad hoc)
dit qu'il avait été chargé par le conseil Général de présenter le rapport à la conférence, mais que les événements ne lui en ont pas laissés le temps, depuis deux mois le Conseil Général est absorbé par la question des Réfugiés de Paris. Il fera verbalement son rapport à la fin de la conférence, laissant à la discussion immédiate la question de la réorganisation de l'association qui est plus importante ; il ajoute que le citoyen Engels est chargé du rapport sur l'emploi des finances et demande la nomination d'une commission pour la vérification de la comptabilité, |
| 20 | ENGELS | demande que les délégués des divers pays présentent leurs rapports respectifs sur la situation de l' <i>association</i> dans leur pays. |
| 25 | PERRET | regrette que le Conseil Général ne puisse pas présenter de suite un rapport qui, en faisant connaître l'état actuel de l' <i>association</i> , donnerait d'excellents renseignements pour aviser à la réorganisation. |
| 30 | MARX | croit que les communications des délégués doivent être faites après la lecture du rapport du Conseil Général. |
| 35 | OUTINE FRANKEL | j- demandent qu'on présente au plus tôt ce rapport. |
| 40 | | <i>Proposition</i> |
| | | Le rapport du Conseil Général sera lu aussitôt que le cit. Marx sera en mesure de le présenter.
—Accepté à l'unanimité. — |
| 45 | MARX | dit que le paragraphe Ks 2. A du rapport de la Commission pour la fixation de l'ordre du jour, paragraphe où il est question de la Révision des statuts, ne peut être admis à la discussion, les congrès ayant seuls ce droit. |

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

SERRAILLIER	explique que l'intention de la Commission n'est pas de Réviser les statuts, mais de réintégrer les statuts dans la forme donnée par les congrès où ils ont été votés.	
OUTINE	L'ordre du jour présenté au nom de la Commission par De Paepe et modifié sur le point du rapport du Conseil Général est mis aux voix et adopté à <i>l'unanimité</i> . [3] Nomination d'une commission pour contrôler les finances.	5
DE PAEPE	veut que la conférence se décharge sur cette Commission du soin complet de la vérification, elle aura à répondre si elle a trouvé <i>exacts</i> les comptes présentés.	10
ENGELS	demande qu'on en choisisse les membres parmi les délégués des groupes régionaux.	
PERRET	<i>Sont proposés et acceptés à l'unanimité</i> Lorenzo, Coenen, Fluse, Perret	
MARX	ne peut pas encore fixer le moment où il pourra présenter son rapport, il doit auparavant s'entendre avec l'ancien trésorier du Conseil Général.	15
LORENZO	demande qu'on nomme une commission pour présenter l'ensemble des rapports et des propositions des délégués.	
BASTELICA	est opposé à cette Commission, il demande la discussion de l'ordre du jour tel qu'il a été voté.	20
MARX	dit qu'il a un rapport à présenter concernant l'organisation générale de l'association.	
HERMAN	demande la lecture des propositions présentées à la conférence par le Conseil Général. Milner, Outine et Coenen appuient.	25
BASTELICA	donne lecture de l'art. Nul des propositions du Conseil Général à la Conférence. — Il ajoute que les sections qui se donnent des noms de sectes — telles que les <i>positivistes</i> , les <i>mutuellistes</i> , les <i>sections de propagandes</i> , doivent disparaître, elles sont généralement composées de sectaires ou de Bourgeois-charlatans et sont un danger pour l'association. Il ajoute que dans certains pays les Conseils Fédéraux prennent le titre de Conseil Général, ce qui fait naître des quiproquos avec le Conseil Général de Londres qui seul a le droit de prendre ce titre.	30
	parle des SECTIONS dites de Propagande qui existent dans le bassin de Liège ; elles ne sont pas composées, comme on a l'air de le croire, de bourgeois ni d'avocats, mais bien d'ouvriers qui forment spécialement ces sections en dehors de celles de résistances auxquelles ils appartiennent également [4] et dans un but spécial de propagande, ce sont ces sections qui sont chargées de l'organisation des meetings, et de trouver pour cet objet des ressources financières en dehors des caisses des sections de résistances.	35
	est aussi d'avis que les Conseils Fédéraux ne doivent pas prendre le titre de Conseil Général. Il n'admet pas non plus l'existence de	40
		45

Procès-verbal de la séance du **18 septembre 1871**

sections qui ne sont pas absolument internationales et composées d'ouvriers imbus de nos principes et de nos désirs. Il faut absolument rompre avec ces individualistes qui veulent se servir de *l'association* pour les intérêts de leur vanité ou de leur ambition.

5 **ROBIN** propose qu'on remplace le nom de Conseil Fédéral par celui de Conseil Régional.

DELAHAYE appuie cette proposition.

OUTINE, comme délégué de la Suisse, appuie d'autant plus la proposition contre les Sections de propagande que, si on avait établi, dès le congrès de Bâle, de pareilles règles, on n'aurait pas eu en Suisse ces dissensions qui sont aujourd'hui portées devant la Conférence.

10 **15** Il explique qu'à Genève le soin particulier de la propagande est confié à une section centrale qui est l'émanation de toutes les sections. Ce groupe n'a pas de représentant au *Comité Fédéral*. Il admet qu'à côté de groupes ouvriers, ou de sections de métiers, on puisse former une section de propagande composée de membres qui appartiennent déjà aux autres sections, mais il ne veut pas que des individus en dehors des intérêts de l'association forment des sections monopolisant en quelque sorte la besogne de la propagande.

20 **FLUSE** confirme ce que Herman a dit pour les sections de propagande. Il dit qu'il ne peut se glisser dans ces Sections ni *comtistes*, ni *proudhoniens* ni autres sectaires, parce qu'on n'y accepte que les ouvriers faisant déjà partie d'autres Sections de résistances ou de métiers. |

25 **|5| ENGELS** s'oppose au mot Régional que *Robin* a proposé pour remplacer le nom Fédéral. Il donne pour raison que le nom Régional n'a pas de similaire en Anglais et en Allemand et dans tous les idiomes qui dérivent de ces langues, tandis que le mot Fédéral est le même pour toutes les langues.

30 **DE PAEPE** trouve qu'on discute en ce moment deux choses distinctes =
1° de déterminer les noms des Conseils Fédéraux.
2° si on doit admettre dans l'association des groupes purement intellectuels.

35 **40** Pour le premier, il est d'avis qu'il faut laisser au Conseil Général de Londres son nom particulier ; une confusion a été faite entre le Conseil Général Belge et celui de Londres, des manifestes émanant du premier ont été considérés comme émanant du Conseil de Londres. Il demande que les Conseils Fédéraux gardent ce titre en y ajoutant le nom de leur nationalité.

a **FRANKEL** appuie ; il demande que les fédérations de corps de métiers prennent le nom de Chambre fédérale et laissent le nom de Conseil Fédéral à l'association.

45

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

LORENZO	trouve qu'avant de discuter les noms, il conviendrait de discuter l'organisation.	
STEENS	propose qu'on les appelle Grands Conseils Fédéraux ou Conseils Fédéraux supérieurs, cela est nécessaire, dit-il, pour la Belgique où, quelquefois, dans une seule province, se trouvent deux Conseils Fédéraux. Il a donc été nécessaire pour distinguer le conseil fédéral de Bruxelles, qui est l'émanation de ces divers Conseils Fédéraux, de l'appeler d'un autre nom. <i>La Clôture est demandée par Mottershead.</i>	5
MARX	La clôture est adoptée à la majorité moins 2 voix.	10
PERRET et OUTINE	demande le vote pour qu'à l'avenir les Conseils Fédéraux gardent leur titre et ne prennent plus celui de Conseil Général.	15
6 MARX	déclarent que, si on vote que, le nom conseil fédéral sera réglementaire à l'avenir, ils s'abstiendront, n'ayant pas le droit en Suisse de porter le nom de Conseil Fédéral qui appartient à leur gouvernement.] propose de modifier ainsi = Comité ou Conseil fédéral, en laissant la latitude aux Pays de prendre tels des 2 noms qui leur conviendront, il propose le vote sur ce point.	20
	<i>Accepté à l'unanimité</i>	
	Vote pour la proposition du Conseil Général N° 1 <i>Adoptée à l'unanimité</i>	
MARX	dit qu'il est urgent de publier une nouvelle traduction des statuts originaux ; les statuts de <i>l'association</i> publiés en France et qui ont servis pour la traduction aux Allemands, ont été tronqués dans beaucoup d'endroits, cette première traduction de l'Anglais en Français avait été faite par Monsieur Tolain et ses amis, qui ont retranchés certaines formules qu'ils <i>appréciaient dangereuses</i> pour <i>l'association</i> . Il ajoute que la source de certaines dissensions dans l'association provient de ce que les Statuts ne contenaient pas exactement ce qui avait été arrêté dans les congrès. Ici se place la proposition Ni2 du conseil Général à la conférence.	25
BASTELICA	appuie la première proposition qui consiste à faire retraduire les Statuts dans toutes les langues mais il demande qu'on discute l'opportunité d'ajouter diverses résolutions qui ont été votées au Congrès de Bâle et qui n'ont point encore été jointes aux Statuts.	30
DE PAEPE	demande la traduction en 5 Langues. Anglais, Allemand, Français, Italien, Espagnol.	40
ENGELS	ne s'oppose pas du tout à ce qu'on fasse la traduction en Italien et Espagnol, mais il croit qu'il suffira de mettre 3 Langues dans chaque livret.	
BASTELICA =	Que la conférence accepte que le Conseil Général soit chargé de ces traductions.	45

Procès-verbal de la séance du 18 septembre 1871

PERRET dit que le Conseil Général est très bien placé pour traduire lui-même en laissant à la charge des divers pays les soins de l'impression. I

5 [[7]] MOTTERSHEAD est au contraire d'avis que le soin de la traduction soit laissé aux conseils fédéraux des divers pays sous la surveillance du *Conseil Général*.

MARX considère comme très importante une nouvelle traduction et l'impression de livrets contenant ensemble la traduction Française, Anglaise, Allemande. Il dit que, depuis les persécutions contre la *Commune*, l'association est devenue très populaire en Angleterre et en Amérique, et c'est dans ces pays qui contiennent beaucoup d'Allemands et beaucoup de Français qu'il convient de faire usage de ces livrets, il compte aussi que de pareils livrets sont nécessaires pour l'Australie où déjà l'association a des ramifications. Il demande que la conférence émette le vœu que l'Espagne et l'Italie fassent au plus tôt une traduction nouvelle des statuts originaux.

10 ROBIN demande qu'on ne mette qu'une seule langue pour chaque Livret.

FRANKEL voudrait qu'on laisse à chaque pays la liberté de mettre 2 ou 3 langues dans les livrets suivant son choix. Il s'oppose à ce qu'on fasse spécialement une sorte de Livret Français Anglais Allemand qui semblerait circonscrire aux peuples qui parlent ces langues le mouvement international.

15 OUTINE demande qu'on vote ainsi :

20 1° Révision de la Traduction des Statuts

25 2° Si on mettra les 3 langues Anglaise Allemande Française sur un même livret.

30 *La clôture est demandée et acceptée à l'unanimité.*
Vote sur l'ensemble de la proposition Ks 2 du Conseil Général
Adopté à l'unanimité moins une voix

Sur la demande du citoyen Outine le citoyen Marx donne lecture des paragraphes suivants des propositions du Conseil Général à la Conférence.

La séance est levée à 5^h 1/2.

35 [[8]] Noms des membres présents

	Coenen	Herman	Engels	Vaillant	Dupont
	De Paepe	Perret	Marx	Frankel	
	Fluse	Outine	McDonnell	Serraillier	
40	Verrycken	Lorenzo	Mottershead	Bastelica	
			Eccarius		
		absents <	Jung		
			Cohn		
				— —	

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

Séance du 18 T

Propositions faites par le Conseil Général et présentées à l'acceptation de la Conférence

Numéro Un

Pour éviter tout malentendu la Résolution du congrès de Bâle sera observée — c'est-à-dire que les conseils centraux des divers pays où l'Association est régulièrement organisée se désigneront sous le nom de Conseils ou Comités fédéraux en y ajoutant le nom de leurs pays respectifs = Les sections ou comités locaux se désigneront comme sections ou comités de leurs localités Respectives.

5

(2) = La Conférence donne au Conseil Général l'instruction de publier une nouvelle édition ||[2]|| des Statuts avec une traduction authentique en Allemand et en Français imprimée en face du texte anglais —

Toutes les traductions en d'autres langues doivent avant leurs publications être approuvées par le Conseil Général. |

10

15

[Auszüge aus den Mitschriften
von Charles Rochat und Constant Martin]

[Martin :]

[S. 650.19-22]

[2]

20

MARX fera sous peu un long rapport sur l'organisation de la société en Amérique —

[S. 653.18-29]

[1]

Le cit. MARX a la parole sur l'ordre du jour — Le cit. a été nommé par le Conseil général pour le comité des réfugiés — il n'a pas eu le temps de faire un rapport général — désire que ce rapport soit ajourné après la Conférence — il demande que la question d'organisation soit discutée — vers la fin de la semaine — il craint que cette question absorbe trop le temps —

25

30

ENGELS seconde Marx — il demande que les délégués fassent auparavant leurs rapports respectifs —

[Rochat :]

[S. 653.27-29]

[2]

35

ENGELS demande qu'avant la lecture du rapport du Conseil Général il convient d'avoir les rapports des secrétaires des divers pays, il est très-important d'entendre ces avis.

Procès-verbal de la séance du 18 septembre 1871

- [S. 653.34-35] [2]
MARX croit que les communications des divers pays en tant que leur situation — seront mieux données après la lecture du rapport du Conseil Général. Ils donneront de précieux renseignements pour la réorganisation.
- [Martin:]
[S. 653.43-654.6] [2]
MARX demande que le paragraphe de l'ordre du jour où il est question de reviser les Statuts est contraire aux Statuts qui ne peuvent être modifiés que par un congrès —
10 Le président explique que la Commission n'a voulu aucunement reviser les Statuts — mais en modifier l'application. L'ordre du jour modifié selon les observations précédentes est adopté —
- [Rochat :]
15 [S. 654.7] [3]
Nomination d'une commission pour contrôler les finances proposée par Marx
- [Martin :]
[S. 654.8-10] [2]
20 OUTINE demande que la Commission fasse un rapport très sommaire — sur l'état des finances — il craint des indiscretions —
- [S. 654.14] [2]
MARX rappelle que la réunion actuelle est une conférence privée - et que personne ne doit faire connaître au public ce qui se dit ici-
- 25 [Rochat :]
[S. 654.20-25] [3]
MARX propose qu'au fur et à mesure de la discussion des propositions du Conseil Général les représentants des divers pays soient présentés par leurs délégués, ils auront tout le temps,
30 VERRYCKEN demande une commission pour cette question = dans laquelle on fera entrer un délégué de chaque pays et un délégué du Conseil Général et l'on fera un rapport.
est opposé — si on nomme une commission = la séance sera finie là tandis qu'on a encore 3 heures devant soi pour discuter,
35 MOTTERSHEAD dit que la commission nommée hier a déjà fait hier une partie de la besogne.
ENGELS (...) LORENZO voudrait qu'on discute les projets.
BASTELICA = qu'avant la discussion on lise en même temps les propositions du Conseil Général et qu'on discute ensuite le premier article de l'ordre du jour proposé par la Commission dito

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A.I.T.

MILNER	dit qu'il convient de lire toutes les propositions et qu'on en trouvera peut-être qui seront similaires <i>Vote pour discuter la proposition du cit. Marx sur l'organisation de l'association Internationale</i>	
MARX	[Martin :] [S. 654.20-25] [3] repousse la nomination de cette Commission — ce serait une perte de temps — il propose que la discussion ait lieu selon le programme — rédigé par le Conseil général.	
ENGELS	seconde le cit. Marx — cette Commission, dit-il, sera nommée 10 dans le courant de la Conférence s'il y a lieu.	
LORENZO	croit que si on adopte la proposition Marx — il ne puisse pas faire ses propositions—	
Le cit. MARX	n'a voulu exclure aucune proposition — il propose seulement que pour aujourd'hui la Discussion porte sur le programme du 15 Conseil général.	
	[Rochat :] [S. 654.26-34] [3] donne lecture de l'article (...) des propositions du Conseil Général (...) n'admettront pas d'autres sections Internationales, soit sous le nom de positivistes ou mutuellistes ou sections de propagandes composées de Bourgeois qui ayant plus de temps à eux se séparent des ouvriers, qui ne sont autre chose que des charlatans.	20
ROBIN-	[Martin :] [S. 654.34] [4] À Bâle on ne s'est pas entendu sur les titres à prendre — il pense que le mot — fédéral devrait être remplacé par le mot Régional — il se rallie pour le reste au cit. Marx—	25
BASTELICA	[Rochat :] [S. 654.43] [4] accepte la proposition du cit. Marx.	30
DELAHAYE	[Martin :] [S. 655.8-9] [4] seconde la proposition Marx — il fait une proposition.	35
OUTINE	seconde la Proposition Marx — il repousse le titre Régional.	
[FLUSE] -	[S. 655.22-31] [5] Dans son bassin on ne pouvait pas grouper par corps de métiers parce qu'ils étaient pas assez nombreux dans la section de	

Procès-verbal de la séance du 18 septembre 1871

- propagande. Les tisserands etc. sont groupés par corps de métiers.
- ENGELS** repousse la proposition du cit. Robin — [...] Les corps de métiers peuvent se grouper sous le titre qui leur convient — ce n'est pas l'affaire du Conseil.
- 5**
- [Rochat :] [S. 655.27-31] [4-5]
- ENGELS** s'oppose au mot Régional qui n'a pas de synonyme en anglais ni en allemand = Fédéral a son similaire dans toutes les langues = Si les sociétés ouvrières veulent accepter ce nom de Régional elles en ont le droit, mais elles doivent, lorsqu'elles appartiennent à l'association, porter le nom d'Internationale. Venant aux sections de propagande Belges, il leur conseille de changer de nom = dans les bassins elles sont connues, mais nulle part ailleurs.
- 10**
- [S. 656.2] [5]
- DUPONT** appuie la proposition du citoyen Marx — il veut des dénominations simples — qu'est-ce qui empêcherait nos ennemis de prendre ces noms — ces dénominations des sections de résistances propagandes, qui sont affiliées doivent absolument porter le nom de sections de l'Internationale.
- 15**
- [Martin :] [S. 656.2] [7]
- DUPONT** seconde Marx — plus les dénominations seront simples mieux cela vaudra — il n'est pas nécessaire que la Conférence décide que le Conseil général de Londres — doit seul s'appeler — Conseil général attendu que les Statuts — lui donnent ce droit —
- 20**
- [Rochat :] [S. 656.9-12] [5-6]
- 30 MOTTERSHEAD =** tous en faveur du Conseil Général, il propose la clôture.
[...]
- DE PAEPE** retire sa proposition et accepte la proposition du Conseil Général.
- MARX** rappelle que dans les Statuts originaux il y a le nom local ou national = ce qu'il a dit des sections de propagande n'avait pas de rapport avec la Belgique mais bien avec Genève =
- 35**
- [Martin :] [S. 656.9-12] [8]
- MARX** dit qu'on ne peut pas changer les Statuts qui disent locale ou nationale — on ne fondera pas les nationalités en éliminant le
- 40**

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

	mot, mais par un grand mouvement historique — il n'a pas eu l'intention de viser la section de propagande. — C'est une réforme générale —	
MARX —	Proposition — afin d'éviter toute confusion — La résolution du Congrès de Bâle sera strictement suivie—	5
	[S. 656.24-34] [9-10]	
MARX	propose que la Conférence autorise le Conseil général à publier une nouvelle édition des statuts avec diverses traductions — Français — anglais — allemand —	
	Diverses traductions inexactes ont été faites — dans une traduction de Paris on a rayé —	10
	anéantir la domination des classes, on a mis anéantir les classes —	
	au lieu de moyen de travail, c'est-à-dire source de la vie — on a mis Capital —	15
	Le Capital n'est pas la source de la vie. —	
	On a mis — auquel tout mouvement politique doit être subordonné — au lieu de «comme moyen». La fausse traduction a donné lieu à diverses interprétations et divisions — ils faussent l'esprit des Statuts.	20
	Le Congrès de Bâle a reconnu que les sections doivent être reconnues par le Conseil général — la traduction fausse ne parle pas de cela —	
	Il est donc urgent que les Statuts soient imprimés en diverses langues par les soins du Conseil général.	25
HERMAN	seconde Marx et signale qu'en Belgique ils ont la traduction inexacte faite à Paris,	
FRANKEL	seconde Marx,	
BASTELICA	appuie.	30
	Les 2 raisons données par Marx sont — 1° la traduction inexacte et ensuite — la nécessité d'inscrire aux statuts les résolutions du Congrès de Bâle —	
	[Rochat :]	
	[S. 656.41-43] [6]	35
ENGELS	ne s'oppose pas du tout à ce qu'on fasse la traduction en Italien et Espagnol, ce qui ferait 5 langues, qu'il serait très-difficileux de placer dans un même livret—	
	[Martin :]	
	[S. 656.41-43] [11]	40
ENGELS	n'est pas opposé à la traduction en Espagnol et Italien — mais il demande afin d'éviter tout retard que l'on vote Pour les 3 langues désignées —	

Procès-verbal de la séance du 18 septembre 1871

[Rochat :]

[S. 657.7-17]

[7]

MARX

10

dit que depuis les persécutions de la *Commune*, l'association est devenue très-populaire en Angleterre et en Amérique — il est donc urgent, répondant à une objection de *Outine*, qui demande pourquoi on persiste à faire des livrets contenant les 3 langues. Il dit que c'est nécessaire à Londres, en Amérique du Nord et en Australie — il y a beaucoup d'Allemands et de Français — il demande que la conférence émette le vœux que l'Espagne, l'Italie et autres pays fassent au plus tôt une traduction des Statuts.

[Martin :]

[S. 657.15-28]

[11-12]

MARX

15

propose d'inviter tous les conseils fédéraux des autres langues — que celles désignées — Français, anglais, allemand — d'envoyer au plus tôt une traduction des Statuts au *Conseil Général* —

ROBIN

propose qu'il n'y ait qu'une seule langue par livret afin de ne pas imposer cette traduction aux divers conseils —

MARX

20

observe — que chaque Conseil sera libre de n'imprimer qu'une seule langue — le conseil ne fait de publication que pour l'Angleterre, l'Amérique et l'Australie.

La proposition Marx est adoptée à l'unanimité.

[Rochat :]

[S. 657.31-33]

[8]

25 MARX

demande qu'on vote si l'on discutera dans la deuxième ou première partie la question d'une organisation (sociétés non publiques).

ROBIN

demande qu'on entende les internationaux français.

OUTINE

demande qu'on accepte d'abord la proposition avant d'appeler personne pour fournir des renseignements sur l'organisation.

30

[Martin :]

[S. 657.31-33]

[12]

Le cit. MARX

35

continue la lecture des propositions du Conseil général ayant rapport à l'organisation générale — il propose que le Paragraphé ayant rapport aux sociétés secrètes — soit discuté sous la rubrique — organisation générale —

Cette proposition est comprise dans l'ordre du jour-

Marx retire cette proposition.

[Rochat :]

[S. 657.34]

[8]

40 MARX

demande aux citoyens de la Commission Suisse de venir chez lui à 8^e ce soir pour s'entendre. |

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I. T.

19 Septembre 1871

Secrétaires

J. Haies	Anglais
C. Martin	Français
C. Rochat	

5

La séance est ouverte à deux heures '2-

MEMBRES PRESENTS

Coenen.	Verrycken	Mottershead	Perret	
De Paepe	Herman	Vaillant	Serraillier	10
Fluse	Outine	Engels	Frankel	
Steens	Lorenzo	Marx	Bastelica	
		Eccarius	J. Haies	
	ABSENTS	Cohn	Jung	
		McDonnell	Dupont	15

Le citoyen Serraillier est nommé président.

En l'absence du Secrétaire Anglais, le citoyen Longuet est prié de faire le procès-verbal de la séance en cette langue.

Lecture est donnée du procès-verbal de la séance d'hier =

20

BASTELICA	demande que les secrétaires mettent le plus grand soin à ne laisser échapper aucune des choses importantes de la <i>Conférence</i> .	25
DE PAEPE	demande une rectification = Lorsqu'il a demandé la retraduction des Statuts, il n'a pas parlé de la langue Italienne mais seulement de la langue Espagnole.	
FRANKEL	demande qu'on ajoute après les noms des sections de sectes dont a parlé le cit. Marx les noms de Collectivistes et Communistes qui ont été aussi prononcés.	
<i>Le procès-verbal mis aux voix avec les rectifications ci-dessus est adopté à l'unanimité</i>		30

Procès-verbal de la séance du 19 septembre 1871 (après-midi)

Le président donne lecture de la demande suivante :
«Nous demandons que le citoyen Cohn soit invité à rendre compte de la mission dont l'avait chargé le Conseil Général.
Fluse, Coenen, De Paepe, Steens, Herman, Verrycken.»

Le secrétaire anglais est chargé de prévenir le cit. Cohn d'assister à la conférence (*par un vote unanime*)

Le président lit la proposition suivante :

«Je propose que chaque correspondant d'un pays ait le droit de convoquer tous les membres du Bureau du Conseil Général en cas urgent. Par exemple lorsqu'il reçoit la nouvelle qu'une grève a éclaté dans le pays qu'il représente. Je demande dans ce cas que le Bureau prenne les mesures nécessaires pour que tous les pays où il existe des Sections de l'Association soient immédiatement avertis de l'existence de la Grève.

15 A. Herman = De Paepe. » |

Outine donne lecture d'une lettre émanant de la Section Centrale de Genève et datée du 14 7^{bre} dans laquelle cette section propose à la conférence les questions suivantes :

20 1° Comment se fait-il que lors des événements de Paris les sections Internationales des provinces Françaises et surtout celles des pays méridionaux n'aient pas soutenu et fait de l'agitation en faveur de la Révolution ?

25 2° En considérant les événements de Paris comme d'un renouvellement possible, ne serait-il pas possible et utile d'instituer au sein de l'association une sorte de commission spéciale chargée de l'initiative militaire ?

30 3° Quel serait le meilleur mode de propagande et d'organisation dans les campagnes ?

40 4° Quel serait le meilleur mode de propagande dans l'armée ? Outine propose à la Conférence la discussion des paragraphes ci-dessus, mais il recommande plus particulièrement le paragraphe JM³ concernant les campagnes et espère que cette discussion sera comprise dans celle de l'organisation générale.

35 MARX donne lecture de la proposition suivante faite par le Conseil Général à la conférence.

«La conférence, sur la proposition du Conseil Général, recommande — la fondation de sections de femmes parmi les ouvrières. — Il est entendu que ceci n'empêche en aucune manière l'existence de sections mixtes. »

45 Le citoyen Marx ajoute qu'il fait remarquer que la proposition porte sans *exclusion* des sections mixtes ; il croit nécessaire la fondation de sections purement féminines dans les pays où l'industrie emploie des femmes en grand nombre. Il ajoute quel-

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

ques mots par lesquels il rappelle la participation ardente des femmes aux événements de la Commune de Paris,
LORENZO demande que les femmes fassent partie des sections mixtes, lorsque les hommes composant la section seront du même métier que les femmes, et des sections particulières féminines lorsqu'il s'agira de sections de métiers qui sont absolument exercés par les femmes. I 5

[3] OUTINE appuie la proposition, mais il voit à son application des difficultés très-grandes, à propos de cette question, il invite la conférence à charger le Conseil Général de faire une sorte d'adresse *aux Travailleuses* dans laquelle cette fausse idée de concurrence du travail de la femme au travail de l'homme soit clairement exposée, 10
DE PAEPE déclare qu'il s'abstiendra = De tout temps, dit-il, il a existé en Belgique des sections mixtes, qu'il approuve entièrement, mais il redoute de voir *l'association* — au lieu de mêler l'élément féminin 15 dans un groupe unique — créer en quelque sorte une espèce d'association Internationale des femmes.

STEENS proteste contre des sections spéciales de femmes qui exercent des métiers qu'exercent également les hommes, il veut que ce genre de section soit mixte, il n'admet la section féminine que 20 composée de femmes exerçant un métier essentiellement de son sexe.

VOTE = On passe au vote.
LA PROPOSITION X°3 est adoptée à *l'unanimité*.
MARX donne lecture de la proposition *Hs4* du Conseil Général à la 25 *Conférence*.
Numéro 4
«La conférence invite le Conseil Général à mettre en force l'art. V des Statuts ordonnant une statistique générale de la classe ouvrière et d'appliquer les résolutions prises par le 30 congrès de Genève à ce même effet. Les sociétés ouvrières ou branches Internationales qui se refuseraient à donner les renseignements demandés seront portées à la connaissance du Conseil Général qui en statuera. » 35

L'art. V des Statuts prescrit une pareille mesure de Statistique générale, mais elle n'a jamais trouvée d'application, malgré les efforts et les sollicitations du Conseil Général auprès des Conseils Fédéraux et sections diverses. Le Conseil Général a envoyé partout des questionnaires parfaitement combinés et qui demandait peu d'embarras pour y répondre — mais ce sont seulement 40 quelques petites sociétés isolées qui en ont tenu compte, la grande généralité a été muette — ces renseignements sont pourtant de la plus haute importance, et d'une absolue Nécessité pour le développement de l'association.

Il n'a pas été édictée, comme vous l'avez vu, une répression 45

Procès-verbal de la séance du 19 septembre 1871 (après-midi)

		déterminée contre ceux qui refuseront communication de renseignements statistiques, parce que cette résolution vise surtout les <i>trades unions</i> \ \A\ dont une partie seulement est affiliée à l'association mais sur lesquelles l'association a une grande influence et qui ne se ménagent pas de s'adresser au Conseil Général — chaque fois que leurs intérêts sont en péril.
5		Il cite la grève des Lyonnais. Lorsque ces derniers ont sollicité l'appui des Trades unions, avant d'envoyer aucun fonds pour les aider dans leur Grève, les bureaux des trades unions ont fait demander au Conseil Général des renseignements statistiques sur le salaire, les heures de travail etc. des Lyonnais.
10	HERMAN	admet la proposition telle qu'elle est formulée, mais il demande qu'on détermine d'une façon exacte les moyens d'application. En Belgique, par exemple, il faudrait laisser le soin de faire la statistique du pays au Conseil Fédéral = Il reconnaît d'autant plus l'utilité de cette proposition que tous les jours ces renseignements font défaut et qu'il en résulte de grands préjudices pour les grèves ; pour celle de Newcastle par exemple ; il cite des provinces en Belgique où les ouvriers mécaniciens en ignoraient complètement l'existence.
15		Il est bien entendu que le Conseil Général suivra sa méthode ordinaire et qu'il s'adressera toujours aux Conseils Fédéraux pour obtenir tous renseignements statistiques = Il croit que, lorsque cette résolution aura été votée, elle donnera une certaine force au conseil Général pour faire exécuter l'art. 5 des Statuts, parce qu'elle contient une menace à l'égard des sections ou sociétés réfractaires — il demande le vote immédiat.
20	OUTINE—	est d'avis qu'il faut voter d'abord la proposition et chercher ensuite les moyens efficaces d'exécution.
25		donne lecture d'un plan de statistique qui lui a été adressé par les Espagnols.
30	FRANKEL	demande l'explication de 2 points pour établir la manière dont il doit voter.
35	ENGELS	1° de quelle manière opérera-t-on cette statistique, si on s'adresse au Conseil Fédéral ou aux sections mêmes 2° qu'on fixe des époques où ces renseignements devront absolument être envoyés au Conseil Général.
40	DE PAEPE	Il ajoute qu'en Belgique où l'industrie la plus importante est l'industrie houillière, les salaires varient de jour en jour et que la composition d'une statistique est très-difficile et demande beaucoup de temps.
45	[5] FRANKEL	propose qu'on fixe à une fois par an l'envoi des documents statistiques au Conseil Général. Il va de soi, dit-il, qu'on ne peut pas faire une statistique exacte dans une semaine, et, le pourrait-on, elle n'aurait qu'une valeur relative. Il faut absolument un

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

	an pour constater par exemple si le salaire s'est élevé ou abaissé et établir un rapport entre les salaires et les prix des vivres, dit qu'en Espagne les ouvriers se rendent parfaitement compte que la statistique doit leur servir de base pour la lutte économique = Il croit que le meilleur moyen pour obtenir tous les renseignements généraux de Statistique» est de ne pas laisser au Conseil Général l'action, sur les sections particulières mais seulement sur le conseil Fédéral du pays, qui, lui, s'adressera successivement aux Ramifications dont il émane.	5
LORENZO	La question de principe est admise par la conférence. Il faut donc s'occuper de la méthode. Il faut laisser à chaque Section son travail local qui s'exercera à la sollicitation des Conseils Fédéraux et ces derniers seront en rapport avec le Conseil Général et lui enverraient tous les 3 mois un rapport statistique. Dans le cas où des besoins particuliers et immédiats de renseignements se produiraient, le Conseil Général se mettrait de suite en rapport avec les Conseils Fédéraux. Les moyens du citoyen Lorenzo développés par lui et expliqués par la lecture faite précédemment par le citoyen Engels — démontrent d'une manière rationnelle les avantages d'une bonne organisation pour le fonctionnement des rapports concernant la Statistique.	10
BASTELICA =	Les résolutions qui ont été votées dans les congrès n'ont jamais été exécutées = celle de la statistique est une des plus importantes — il faut à tout prix qu'à l'avenir elle soit exécutée, demande qu'on vote d'abord le principe et qu'on passe ensuite à la discussion de la Méthode.	15
PERRET=		20
STEENS		25
	<i>On demande la clôture. \</i>	
	[[6]] La proposition N«4 du Conseil Général à la conférence mise aux voix	
OUTINE	<i>est adoptée à l'unanimité!</i>	30
	présente l'amendement suivant pour mettre en deuxième paragraphe à la résolution qui vient d'être votée.	
	« A cet effet chaque fédération locale est tenue à avoir dans son sein un comité spécial de statistique qui sera toujours prêt dans la mesure de ses moyens à répondre à toutes les questions qui pourront lui être adressées par le Conseil Fédéral ou le Conseil Général. Il est recommandé à toutes les fédérations de rétribuer les secrétaires de la commission de Statistique en vue d'utilité générale de tous les ouvriers qui profiteront de ce travail. »	35
ENGELS	— Il faut, ajoute-t-il, régulariser l'action des grèves = il demande la formation de ce Comité de Statistique, parce qu'il sera une source permanente de renseignements, fait la motion qu'on vote si <i>oui</i> ou <i>non</i> il y aura des Comités de Statistique.	40
		45

Procès-verbal de la séance du 19 septembre 1871 (après-midi)

	MARX	dit qu'en Angleterre et en Amérique les ouvriers ont compris l'utilité de la Statistique, aussi, pour que ce travail soit établi d'une manière exacte et permanente, rétribue-t-on celui qui en est chargé.
5	STEENS	s'élève contre toute immixtion du Conseil Général avec les sections locales = pour toutes les questions, le Conseil Général doit s'adresser aux conseils fédéraux, sous peine d'anarchie administrative et de perte de force.
10	LORENZO	voudrait qu'on discute les moyens de Statistiques en même [temps] que la réorganisation Générale.
	HERMAN	soutient l'amendement Outine et demande la clôture de la discussion.
15	[7] PERRET =	<i>La clôture est mise aux voix et adoptée.</i> <i>L'amendement Outine est mis aux voix et adopté à l'unanimité moins deux voix, celles de Perret et Steens qui motivent ainsi, l'un son abstention, l'autre son vote contre. </i>
20	STEENS	Je motive mon vote contre la proposition du cit. Outine parce que je ne puis admettre que le Conseil Général s'adresse à des commissions de Statistiques, cela porterait la désorganisation dans les fédérations régionales ou locales.
25	OUTINE	Je m'abstiens parce que le dernier alinéa porte que le Conseil Général peut se mettre en relation directe avec les localités à l'exclusion du conseil fédéral national,
	LONGUET	demande qu'à l'avenir on motive son abstention avant le vote, appuie — il ne voit pas pour quelles raisons on ne motiverait pas son abstention, la discussion étant close.
	STEENS	répond qu'il a le droit de s'abstenir s'il croit que les intérêts qu'il représente lui conseillent une pareille mesure, seconde Steens.
30	BASTELICA	
	MARX	répond qu'il a le droit de s'abstenir s'il croit que les intérêts qu'il représente lui conseillent une pareille mesure, seconde Steens.
35		demande qu'on ne puisse pas parler après le vote, mais que, si on veut motiver ou une abstention ou un vote contraire, on le fasse par écrit et qu'on le remette signé au secrétaire qui devra l'insérer dans le procès-verbal. <i>Cette motion est admise par un vote unanime moins 2 voix (Herman et Mottershead)</i>
	HERMAN	La Discussion continue pour la fixation de l'époque à laquelle les conseils Fédéraux devront envoyer leurs documents de statistiques au Conseil Général.
40	FRANKEL	propose 2 fois par an à cause des salaires d'été et d'hiver, maintient sa proposition de 1 fois par an, considérant la difficulté de produire une bonne statistique qui ne représente pas au moins un an d'observation.
	OUTINE	trouve qu'il est inutile de discuter sur le nombre de fois par année où l'on devra envoyer au Conseil Général les renseignements statistiques. Son amendement qui vient d'être voté ne permet-il
45		

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A.I.T.

	pas au Conseil Général de trouver à chaque instant les renseignements dont il aura besoin, l'institution des commissions spéciales de statistiques étant faite pour ce cas ?	
[8] DE PAEPE	est partisan de l'envoi une fois par an. Pour la Belgique, voilà quelle serait l'organisation =	5
	Tous les mois les sections locales enverraient un rapport aux Bassins Houilliers ou Fédérations de Sections. Tous les 3 mois ces derniers enverraient aux conseils fédéraux de province les documents qu'ils auraient reçus, et ceux-ci les enverraient tous les six mois au Conseil Fédéral Belge qui les transmettrait tous les ans au Conseil Général. —	10
	<i>La proposition d'un envoi par an mise aux voix est adoptée à l'unanimité moins Herman.</i>	
FLUSE et HERMAN	demandent qu'on fixe une date pour cet envoi—	
MOTTERSHEAD —	qu'on laisse cela à la discrétion du Conseil Général.	15
MARX	demande qu'on fixe le mois de septembre époque des congrès,	
BASTELICA	propose le 1 ^{er} août pour permettre au Conseil Général d'établir un rapport Général sur tous les documents qu'il tiendra.	
	<i>Cetre dernière date est acceptée par un Vote unanime.</i>	
	La Séance est levée à 6 ^h moins V41	20
	[Auszüge aus den Mitschriften von Charles Rochat und Constant Martin]	
	[Rochat :]	
	[S. 665.5-6] [1]	
ENGELS	demande que Hales soit chargé de prévenir le citoyen Cohn de se présenter à la conférence.	25
	[S. 665.36-666.2] [1]	
MARX =	Le conseil général propose à la conférence de former des sections de femmes, non pas qu'il soit opposé aux sections mixtes, mais parce que dans les pays où l'industrie emploie des femmes elles aimeront mieux se réunir entre elles pour discuter.	30
LORENZO	appuie Marx avec l'amendement suivant—	
	[Martin :]	
	[S. 665.36-666.2] [1]	
Le cit. MARX	donne lecture de la Proposition suivante : le conseil Général recommande à la classe ouvrière — Le sexe féminin — Les femmes, dit-il, jouent un grand rôle — elles travaillent dans les usines ; elles prennent part — aux grèves — à la Commune etc. — Elles ont plus d'ardeur que les hommes —	35

Procès-verbal de la séance du 19 septembre 1871 (après-midi)

- [S. 666.22] [2]
Le cit. MARX demande — que — vu l'absence de plusieurs membres du Conseil général (anglais) — ayant droit de vote — les membres anglais présents peuvent les remplacer — *adopté*
- [Rochat :]
[S. 666.25-667.11] [2]
MARX donne lecture du N°4 =
Il y a dans les statuts art. 5 — statistique générale parmi les ouvriers — Le Conseil Général a envoyé des questionnaires partout et seulement très peu ont répondu — il demande que la conférence déclare que toute trades unions qui ne veut pas répondre — soit reportée au Conseil Général = Lors de la Grève des Lyonnais lorsque ceux-ci ont demandé l'appui des Trades Unions — la première question qui a été faite par les trades unions a été de demander quel était le salaire etc. etc. des Lyonnais.
C'est du reste une chose de solidarité et qu'il faut connaître absolument.
- [Martin :]
[S. 666.25-667.11] [2]
MARX continue Lecture —
Il ajoute — les statuts art. 5 portent qu'il soit fait une Statistique générale ouvrière. — Le conseil a fait cette demande il y a quelques années, mais aucun Conseil n'a répondu — par suite de cette négligence le Conseil se trouve dans l'impossibilité de fournir les renseignements qu'on lui demande sur les grèves — C'est aussi conforme à la Résolution de Genève — il est donc nécessaire de renforcer Cet article.
- [S. 667.21-27] [2]
30 OUTINE dit qu'il est bien entendu que le Conseil général s'adressera aux Conseils fédéraux — mais il pense que le Conseil général aura plus d'autorité morale pour forcer les sections à donner ces renseignements et il demande que la Proposition Marx soit maintenue —
- [S. 667.30-31] [3]
35 ENGELS donne Lecture d'un projet d'organisation — rédigé en Espagne - qui a rapport aux Statistiques —
- S. 668.22-24] [3]
PERRET est bien aise que la question de Statistique soit posée il existe un questionnaire excellent — qu'il voudrait voir accepter — il

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

		pense qu'il serait possible de fournir ces renseignements une ou 2 fois par an —	
		[Rochat :] [S. 668.25-27]	[3-4]
STEENS		demande qu'on fasse une déclaration de principe = est-ce les cahiers du Travail = est-ce une statistique de Grievances du Travail, l'équilibre, la balance du salaire = il demande si c'est une Statistique numérique (Voter le principe et la méthode ensuite) —	5
SERRAILLER		lui dit que la grève de Newcastle a révélé plus que jamais le besoin —	10
MARX		Marx demande la clôture (sur la discussion du Na 4 — question de principe —) dit que c'est seulement dans des cas où il y aurait mauvaise volonté que le Conseil Général pourrait agir de rigueur — voilà pourquoi on n'a pas fixé de genre de répression dans la proposition —	15
		C'est surtout pour les trades unions qui sont seulement affiliées à l'association et quelques-unes pas du tout, mais qui s'adressent à l'association lorsqu'elles en ont besoin, il est donc juste qu'elles lui rendent ses services lorsqu'il en est besoin.	20
MARX		[Martin :] [S. 668.25-26]	[3]
		dit que c'est surtout pour agir sur les trades unions qui se refusent à fournir ces renseignements et qui cependant font le travail pour leur propre compte — il est persuadé que, quand ces sociétés verront que c'est une condition pour être aidé par l'Internationale, elles s'empresseront de fournir ces renseignements.	25
OUTINE		[S. 668.31—669.14]	[4]
ENGELS		soutient son amendement — il pense que le Conseil général doit pouvoir s'adresser aux fédérations pour tous renseignements —	30
MARX		demande que l'on vote d'abord sur l'amendement Outine — qui ne fixe pas les époques de statistique — et ensuite sur les amendements qui les fixent —	35
FRANKEL		s'est entendu avec Outine et ajoute à son amendement que les ouvriers du continent imitent ceux d'Angleterre et d'Amérique — c'est-à-dire qu'ils payent le secrétaire de leur fédération — combat l'amendement Outine — il dit qu'il va de soi que les fédérations nomment une Commission de Statistique — et que le Conseil général ne doit pas intervenir dans ces questions administratives.	40
STEENS		proteste contre toute ingérence du Conseil Général dans les questions administratives des fédérations — il doit s'adresser	

Procès-verbal de la séance du **19 septembre 1871** (après-midi)

- directement au Conseil fédéral et non aux sections — ce serait l'anarchie — il accepte cependant dans ce cas particulier (statistique) à condition — que le mot *uniquement* soit mis dans la proposition —
- 5 LORENZO MARX pense que la Conférence doit indiquer les dates de statistique croit que Frankel est tout à fait dans l'erreur — il ne s'agit pas — dit il — d'un fait local ni régional mais général — et le mode d'application doit être aussi général — il est mauvais de décréter sans donner les moyens d'exécution —
- 10 HERMAN soutient l'amendement du cit. Outine —
La clôture est demandée.
L'amendement Outine et Marx est mis aux voix
- [Rochat :]
[S. 669.1-4] [4]
- 15 MARX dit que Outine accepte que la conférence recommande aux divers pays de rétribuer ainsi qu'en Amérique et en Angleterre où les travaux de Statistique sont parfaitement faits.
- [Martin :]
[S. 669.21-23] [5]
- 20 STEENS motive son abstention — il craint une Centralisation entre les mains du Conseil de Londres — à l'exclusion des Conseils fédéraux du Continent —
- [Rochat :]
[S. 669.25-26] [4]
- 25 LONGUET appuie = il ne voit pas pour quelles raisons on ne motiverait pas son abstention avant le vote.
- [S. 670.16] [5-6]
- MARX demande qu'on fixe le mois de Septembre. Il dit que l'on peut voir que toutes les sociétés qui publient des Statistiques fixent une date — et c'est une bonne date parce que c'est généralement l'époque des congrès de l'association.
- 30
35 MARTIN : [S. 670.16] [6]
- MARX croit que la Conférence doit fixer le mois de 7^{bre} — l'année pour nous commence en 7^{bre} d'après résolutions des congrès. I

19 Septembre

Séance du Soir

Jung président.	La Séance est ouverte à 9 ^h .							
Secrétaires								
J. Haies Anglais								
C. Martin Français								
C. Rochat								
Sont présents les citoyens								
Coenen	Verrycken	Lorenzo	J. Haies	Frankel				
De Paepe	Fluse	Eccarius	Jung	Serraillier				
Herman	Perret	Engels	Mottershead					
Steens	Outine	Marx	Vaillant					
Absents								
Cohn McDonnell								
Bastelica Dupont								
10								
15								
JOHN HALES	donne lecture de trois lettres.							
La première, d'un ouvrier vannier au nom de sa corporation. Il demande à renouveler leur connexion avec l'association, elle est signée Mullin.								
20								
La seconde, d'un ouvrier de Middlesbrough qui demande à s'affilier à l'association, il annonce que l'Association fait de grands progrès dans le pays qu'il Habite.								
La troisième est écrite à peu près dans les mêmes termes et pour le même objet.								
25								
Il donne avis qu'il a reçu plusieurs lettres de Liverpool et que sous peu il y aura là un centre important de l'Association,								
ENGELS	a Reçu une lettre de Cafiero de Naples = dans laquelle de dernier avise que les persécutions dont l'association est l'objet de la part du Gouvernement Italien ne font que donner un essor beaucoup plus grand à l'association.							
30								
HERMAN	demande qu'on fasse aviser le citoyen Cohn d'assister à la conférence.							

Procès-verbal de la séance du 19 septembre 1871 (soir)

MARX	donne lecture de la proposition Ms 5 du Conseil Général à la Conférence.
	Numéro 5 =
	«Tous les délégués nommés par le Conseil Général à des missions spéciales auront le droit d'assister et de se faire entendre à toutes les Réunions des Conseils fédéraux, comités de districts ou locaux et branches locales sans cependant avoir droit de vote — »
HERMAN 10	dit alors qu'il faut choisir à l'avenir ces délégués parmi ceux qui ne craignent pas d'avouer qu'ils sont de l'association et non de sociétés diverses.
MARX	demande à quel citoyen ou à quel fait cette observation se rapporte.
DE PAEPE 15	répond que cela se rapporte sans doute au citoyen Cohn, il dit qu'il ne veut pas donner des détails en son absence. <i>Cette question est réservé pour être discutée en présence de Cohn.]</i>
[2] Le citoyen MARX 20	dit que les délégués du Conseil Général aux Conseils Fédéraux n'auront que voix consultative et non le droit de vote. Il propose l'adoption. <i>La proposition M 5 est mise aux voix et adoptée à l'unanimité.</i>
MARX	donne lecture de la proposition suivante (N° 6) du Conseil Général à la Conférence.
	Numéro 6 =
25	«Après la clôture de la conférence aucune branche ne sera considérée par le Conseil Général et les Conseils Fédéraux comme faisant partie de l'association avant qu'elle n'ait payée au Conseil Général sa cotisation de 0,10 par tête pour l'année courante.»
OUTINE-	On ne peut pas payer à l'avance les cotisations par cette simple raison qu'on sait pas à l'avance combien il y aura en plus ou en moins dans le nombre des membres ; et en second lieu à cause de la difficulté de faire rentrer l'argent.
ECCARIUS 35	dit que pour établir ce recensement on doit se baser sur les résultats numériques de l'année précédente,
ENGELS	voudrait savoir d'abord comment les Sections et les conseils Fédéraux s'arrangent pour leurs contributions,
VERRYCKEN 40	dit qu'en Belgique on éprouverait des difficultés presque insurmontables si l'on voulait faire payer les sections d'avance, il demande le temps nécessaire pour faire rentrer l'argent à la Fédération.
ENGELS	propose l'amendement suivant: à l'avenir toute branche qui n'aura pas acquitté le 1 ^{er} mars ses cotisations annuelles pourra être suspendue et Toute nouvelle branche qui voudra s'affilier à l'association devra régler d'abord sa cotisation du 3 ^{me} trimestre. Ceux
45	

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

	qui n'auront pas acquitté en temps Régulier leur cotisation ne pourront être admis au congrès.	
SERRAILLER	demande que ce soient les Conseils Fédéraux qui soient chargés de l'application de cette mesure.	
MARX	demande qu'on nomme une Commission pour étudier les moyens pratiques de faire rentrer l'argent.	
	[3] <i>Cette proposition est votée et adoptée à l'unanimité</i>	
	Sont nommés, Perret, Lorenzo, Frankel, Coenen, Steens.	
ENGELS	donne lecture d'un projet d'organisation qui a été adopté par la conférence de Valence des Travailleurs Espagnols,	10
PERRET	dit que c'est à peu près l'organisation des sections Romandes,	
MARX =	que plus ou moins dans tous les pays, existe le genre d'organisation que proposent les Internationaux d'Espagne, mais il ajoute que la difficulté principale est d'imposer en quelque sorte aux trades unions et sociétés ouvrières de s'affilier à l'association et le mode d'organisation proposé par la conférence de Valence implique cette affiliation.	15
OUTINE =	En aucune façon on ne peut forcer les trades-union à entrer dans l'association = du reste, il croit impossible cette organisation unique pour tous les pays.	20
MOTTERSHEAD	a été frappé, en entendant la lecture du projet des Espagnols, combien ce pays était peu au courant du mouvement ouvrier — il reconnaît à ce projet la marque d'une très-bonne volonté et un grand désir d'organisation, mais il dit que le mode qui y est présenté est celui de la vieille organisation — La société des mécaniciens, qui est la plus ancienne en Angleterre, est organisée sur ces bases = Le principal inconvénient à ce genre d'association est que le bureau qui la dirige devient généralement conservateur, même vis-à-vis de la société qu'il représente. Pour la grève de Newcastle, par exemple, il est certain que si, au lieu de se mettre spontanément en grève, les ouvriers avaient été consulter sur ce point le bureau dirigeant la société, il est plus que probable que celui-ci leur aurait déconseillé la lutte, dans le désir de conserver leurs moyens. Il croit que la marche suivie par le Conseil Général a démontrée peu à peu aux Trades unions que leurs intérêts véritables étaient de se joindre à Elle — sous peu, dit-il, toutes les trades unions seront affiliées — d'après le rapport des Espagnols, il résulte que l'association a encore peu d'adhérents dans ce pays pour lequel ils n'accusent que 3000 membres.	25
	[4] Considérant l'heure avancée, la discussion est remise à la séance du Lendemain.	35
	La séance est levée à 11'/.J	40

Procès-verbal de la séance du 19 septembre 1871 (soir)

[Auszüge aus den Mitschriften
von Charles Rochat und Constant Martin]

- 5 ENGELS = [Rochat :] [S. 674.28-31] [6]
Lettre de Cafiero = Nos documents sont publiés • • arrestation
cette affaire a donné un essor très Grand.
- 10 ENGELS [Martin :] [S. 674.33] [7]
dit que le cit. Cohn était à Newcastle samedi dernier — et que la
commission de l'Association lui sera faite.
- 15 DE PAEPE — [S. 675.14-21] [7]
Le cit. Cohn — Délégué ne s'est pas présenté à Bruxelles avec
son titre de délégué du Conseil Général, mais bien avec le titre
de délégué des mécaniciens, il s'est abouché avec la Société des
cigariers—
- 20 HERMAN seconde De Paepe
MARX— C'était déjà très étrange qu'il fut parti sans pouvoir — il expose
de quelle façon Cohn a été délégué — il croit que Cohn doit
être réprimandé par le Conseil.
Le Secrétaire est très surpris que Cohn ne lui ait pas demandé
des pleins pouvoirs — Cohn ne s'est pas présenté au secrétaire
à son retour et ne lui a fait aucun rapport,
- 25 MOTTERSHEAD— malheureusement les hommes suivent ceux qui les payent — et
Cohn se croit probablement le domestique des mécaniciens — la
mission de Cohn en Belgique a permis aux grévistes de continuer
la lutte au moins un mois de plus. — L'incident est renvoyé à une
autre séance —
- 30 MARX prétend que l'amendement Herman est compris dans sa propo-
sition — attendu que les conseils fédéraux ont le droit de repous-
ser tous ceux qui n'ont pas de mandat régulier et qui ne se présen-
tent pas au nom du Conseil général.
La proposition Marx est adoptée à l'unanimité.
- 35 MARX [Rochat :] [S. 675.17] [6]
raconte la demande des mécaniciens de Newcastle.
- MARX— [Martin :] [S. 675.22-29] [8]
Lecture est faite d'une proposition portant — qu'aucune branche
des conseils fédéraux ne soit reconnue par le Conseil général que

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

lorsque leur cotisation aura été versée — (une année d'avance) — il ajoute — vous verrez que très peu de sections ont payé régulièrement — Les sections espagnoles ont payé ces jours-ci leur cotisation de l'année dernière — il serait peut-être difficile d'obtenir — une cotisation à l'avance. 5

[Rochat :]

[S. 675.38-41]

[7]

VERRYCKEN — en Belgique difficulté insurmontable — Sections payent 0.20 = 10% Londres 10% Bruxelles — ils n'ont pas d'argent en caisse, il demande le temps nécessaire pour laisser rentrer l'argent 10 de la fédération. 10

[S. 675.42-676.4]

[7]

HALES = illogique amendement d'Engels by cause que l'on ne peut faire payer des sections qui n'existent pas [...] 15

[...]

ECCARIUS combat Haies, dit qu'il y a beaucoup plus de sections qui comptent sur les procès-verbaux que sur les livres de compte. 10

[...]

[Martin :]

[S. 676.3-8]

[8-9]

20

SERRAILLIER croit que c'est les conseils fédéraux qui doivent frapper les sections de suspension — excepté pour les Sections qui Correspondent directement avec le Conseil général. 20

ENGELS réplique à Serraillier — qu'il est du devoir du Conseil Général de s'informer des branches qui ont payé et de celles qui n'ont pas payé — 25

HALES dit qu'on ne peut demander des cotisations aux sections qui ne sont pas reconnues.

ERANKEL se rallie à la Proposition Engels — si on ajoute au mot Conseil — Fédéral — ou *Conseil Général* 30

ECCARIUS dit qu'on peut parfaitement faire payer lors de la formation de la section — il vaut mieux — quitte à ne percevoir que les cotisations des membres inscrits —

ENGELS dit qu'il ne comprend pas qu'on ne puisse pas verser une aussi faible cotisation, il fait appel au zèle de tous — 35

MARX Lecture est faite des résolutions du congrès de Bâle à ce sujet — propose qu'il soit nommé une commission chargée de proposer un projet sur les moyens pratiques de faire rentrer les fonds — Secondé par Frankel

ENGELS = lecture de Congrès de Bâle, page 172, N° IV (1869) 40

[S. 676.18]

[9]

MARX n'a plus rien à proposer en ce qui concerne l'organisation générale

England - took you a few days to get to London
London - got back in time of Congress
England - we had to go to the hotel you were staying at
Hans - very nice you have been by Cambridge
and London you are now you know
Switzerland - you will be a long time England, so you
can make your trip to the Continent
Ecuador - the you get to go to London first then
you have a month to travel in Europe
and get to a number of countries
England - the you can go to the continent first
then come back to England if you prefer
but I think it's best to go to Europe
and get a lot of knowledge there
Hans - do you have any money left over
Mark - you are going to have to pay for your
trip to Europe if you want to go to England
England - you can't go to Europe if you don't have
any money
Perry - start your trip to Europe with the
money available
Mark - the you are going to have to pay for your
trip to Europe if you want to go to England
England - you are going to have to pay for your
trip to Europe if you don't have the money available
London - do you have money available
but you are going to have to pay for your
trip to Europe if you don't have the money available
England - you are going to have to pay for your
trip to Europe if you don't have the money available
Frontier - you are going to have to pay for your
trip to Europe if you don't have the money available

Protokoll der Abendsitzung der Londoner Konferenz vom 19. September 1871.
Neunte Seite der Mitschrift von Constant Martin

Procès-verbal de la séance du 19 septembre 1871 (soir)

- [Rochat :]
[S. 676.13-21] [8]
- MARX = Plus ou moins dans les pays il y a cette organisation que proposent les Espagnols — mais ils supposent que toutes les trades-unions appartiennent à l'association, notre problème est de mettre en union ces trades, mais il ne croit pas qu'on puisse s'ingérer dans leur organisation.
- LORENZO = Il veut qu'on passe là-dessus, on aura très-peu de profit sinon non. Il demande organisation unique.
- 10 FRANKEL Tépète ce qu'a dit le citoyen Marx = avec des considérants
- OUTINE = En aucune façon on ne peut forcer les trades unions à entrer dans l'association. Si ça n'empêche pas notre propagande leur organisation intérieure nous est indifférente, il croit inutile de discuter sur cette organisation unique qui est impossible. Quant
- 15 à la 2^e partie qui concerne les grèves — il considère cette question comme très-sérieux etc.
- [Martin :]
[S. 676.13-21] [9-10]
- MARX— Ce projet suppose que toutes les trades unions appartiennent à l'internationale — ce qui est erroné — ces sociétés ne se laisseront jamais imposer une organisation nouvelle —
- 20 LORENZO— Si nous nous rassemblons ici pour traiter de l'organisation et nous laissons de côté cette question — il pense que l'unité administrative doit être faite — ce sera la force —
- 25 FRANKEL - nous ne pouvons organiser que ce qui est à nous — mais il faut tenir compte des difficultés — que l'on fasse fédérer — les sociétés entre elles — en attendant mieux —
- OUTINE— pour lui l'organisation consiste dans l'entente et dans les aspirations clairement énoncées de la classe ouvrière. |

[20 Septembre 1871]

|I| Conférence - Séance du 20 7^{me} 1871 (Newman Street)

La séance est ouverte à 3 heures du soir.
Serraillier, président.

Le Secrétaire procède à l'appel nominal des délégués et des membres du Conseil Général ayant voix deliberative. 5

Membres présents :

Coenen, De Paepe, Steens, Verrycken, Fluse, Perret, Outine, Lorenzo, Eccarius, Engels, Marx, J. Haies, Jung, Vaillant, Frankel, Serraillier.

Il fait ensuite lecture du procès-verbal de la Séance du 19^e 2^e V2 du Soir— 10

La parole est donnée au cit. Outine sur le Procès-Verbal. Le cit. Outine explique qu'il a voulu parler des Sections centrales des groupes allemands et non des Sections romandes — il ajoute qu'il a demandé seulement que la Conférence fasse une adresse aux femmes — il demande que le Procès-Verbal soit rectifié dans le sens qu'il vient d'indiquer. 15

FRANKEL— fait remarquer que l'observation présentée par De Paepe a été faite après que la proposition Marx a été votée — pour motiver son abstention — qu'il y a eu intervention — il demande que le Procès-Verbal soit rectifié.

Le procès-verbal mis aux voix — avec les modifications demandées — est adopté à l'unanimité. 20

Le Président fait lecture de la proposition Suivante — présentée par le cit. Ed. Vaillant et Secondée par les cit. Longuet et Constant Martin =

Proposition | 25

|[2]| En présence d'une réaction sans frein momentanément victorieuse qui étouffe par la force toute revendication de la démocratie Socialiste et prétend maintenir par la force la distinction des classes — la Conférence rappelle aux membres de

Procès-verbal de la séance du 20 septembre 1871 (après-midi)

l'association Internationale que la question Politique et la question sociale sont indissolublement unies ; qu'elles ne sont que la double face d'une Seule et même question que l'Internationale s'est proposée de résoudre = l'abolition des classes.

5 Les travailleurs doivent reconnaître non moins que la solidarité économique — la solidarité politique qui les unit et coaliser leurs forces non moins sur le terrain politique que sur le terrain économique pour le triomphe définitif de leur Cause.

10 Le cit. Marx observe que cette proposition devrait être discutée à la reprise de la discussion sur l'organisation générale.

Le Président donne lecture de la proposition suivante Présentée par Delahaye et secondée par Lorenzo =

Proposition

15 Considérant qu'il devient de plus en plus impossible aux Sociétés ouvrières isolées et fédérées géographiquement de lutter Contre les capitalistes —

20 Que la plupart des grèves ont échoué faute d'une unité d'action entre les sociétés d'une même corporation et des divers pays — Qu'il est indispensable pour assurer les succès futurs de rendre matériellement solidaires toutes les sociétés d'une même industrie = Propose la résolution suivante =

Il sera formé pour chaque corps de métier, une fédération \ [3] internationale de tous les groupes isolés et fédérés géographiquement.

25 But de cette fédération

1° Décentralisation administrative, création de la Véritable Commune de l'avenir —

2° Unité d'action pour assurer le succès des grèves

30 3° Comme moyen de propagande formation de sections réelles de l'association Internationale.

UNE vorx- Cette proposition est contenue dans le projet présenté par le cit. Lorenzo.

ENGELS explique que cette proposition ne fait pas double emploi, qu'il s'agit de fédérer les corporations de métiers de tous les pays,

35 DELAHAYE fait la même explication.

LORENZO approuve cette proposition parce qu'elle est un développement et un complément de son projet.

La discussion de cette proposition est renvoyée à l'époque où sera discutée la proposition Lorenzo.

40 OUTINE et PERRET proposent l'ordre du jour motivé suivant, concernant le projet-mémoire Lorenzo.

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

Proposition

- La Conférence,
après avoir entendu la lecture du mémoire des sections espagnoles sur l'organisation de l'Internationale — Considérant = 5
1° Que la partie traitant de la Statistique a été prise en considération dans la discussion sur cette question ;
2° Que la partie sur les grèves sera réservée pour la discussion générale sur les grèves ;
3° Que la partie (1^{re}) sur l'organisation générale ne demande pas de plus longues discussions par cette double raison que: | 10
| l'organisation proposée, à peu de différence près, existe déjà et fonctionne en Suisse comme en Belgique — seuls pays sur le Continent qui peuvent posséder une organisation régulière — et qu'il n'y a pas lieu d'y apporter des modifications ; 15
4° Que l'article 10 du règlement général dit :
Bien qu'unis par un lien perpétuel de coopération fraternelle, les sociétés ouvrières qui s'associeront à l'association Internationale garderont intacte leur organisation actuelle ;
Que par conséquent la Conférence ne peut pas abolir cet article 20 d'autant plus que cela porterait un préjudice grave à l'application des sociétés anglaises —
La Conférence décide =
1° de clore les débats sur cette partie du Mémoire —
2° de remercier fraternellement les membres des sections 25 Espagnoles pour ce travail, qui prouve une fois de plus leur dévouement à l'œuvre de l'association Internationale, explique le paragraphe des Statuts cité par Outine, il dit que ce paragraphe a été ajouté afin de pouvoir obtenir l'adhésion des sociétés anglaises — par l'abolition de cet article on s'aliénerait ces sociétés — il accepte les remerciements accordés aux sections Espagnoles — il reconnaît qu'il a été beaucoup fait dans ce pays, eu égard aux difficultés qu'il y avait à vaincre — il se rallie à l'ordre du jour proposé par Outine. 30
Le cit. MARX accepte aussi cet ordre du jour — attendu que plusieurs parties de son projet ont été adoptées ; il remercie la Conférence des éloges accordés aux sections ||5| espagnoles — il ne croit pas que ces éloges soient tout à fait mérités, mais il espère que bientôt les travailleurs Espagnols les mériteront entièrement — il se réserve sur la question des grèves. 35
Le cit. LORENZO Cet ordre du jour est adopté à l'unanimité, demande que l'on fixe à quelle époque seront discutées les propositions contenues dans la lettre des Sections allemandes. 40
OUTINE ENGELS— Nous sommes, dit-il, en présence de 3 propositions relatives à l'organisation générale — Celle du cit. Outine, **Celle** de Vaillant et 45

Procès-verbal de la séance du 20 septembre 1871 (après-midi)

celle de Delahaye — il pense que l'on doit fixer laquelle de ces
3 questions doit être discutée la 1^{re}.
FRANKEL est d'avis que la Proposition Vaillant doit être discutée immédiatement.
5 MARX propose que la série des propositions individuelles Sur l'organisation générale Soit close.
BASTELICA appuyé Marx — il pense que la proposition Vaillant peut entrer dans la discussion de l'adresse aux gouvernements — il faut, dit-il, discuter d'abord les questions d'organisation. Savoir ce que nous serons pour savoir ce que nous ferons.
10 VERRYCKEN et DE PAEPE présentent la Proposition suivante = mandat impératif du Conseil Fédéral Belge —
15 Le Conseil général se composera de deux ou trois délégués par nationalité —
Ils demandent que cette proposition soit discutée avant la question générale. |
6 VAILLANT soutient que sa proposition doit venir la première en discussion — il dit qu'il est essentiel que la question de principe soit nettement exposée et définie afin de pouvoir déterminer l'organisation qu'il convient d'adopter.
20 La proposition Marx est adoptée à l'unanimité.
BASTELICA et OUTINE proposent qu'il soit nommé une commission de trois membres — chargée de présenter après épuisement de l'ordre du jour, les propositions diverses —
25 De Paepe, Frankel et Serraillier sont nommés membres de cette commission.
MARX croit que l'on doit discuter 1^o la proposition Delahaye 2^o Vaillant 3^o celle des délégués Belges et 4^o celle des sections allemandes — l'ordre du jour proposé par Marx est secondé par Engels et adopté à l'unanimité.
30 La proposition Delahaye est mise en discussion.
Le cit. DELAHAYE a la parole — il développe sa proposition — il dit que si les mécaniciens de Newcastle étaient fédérés avec les mécaniciens de tous les pays ils seraient invincibles — que si plusieurs grèves d'un même métier se produisent dans des pays divers, les ouvriers sont exposés à se faire tort mutuellement — il ajoute que les ouvriers considéreraient cette fédération comme un moyen de résistance — ce qui faciliterait la propagande de l'association internationale.
35 40 VERRYCKEN dit que déjà une résolution en ce sens a été prise au Congrès de Bâle, ||7| Que cette organisation existe de fait — il a mandat de demander à la Conférence que la fédération des métiers soit internationale.
45

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

MARX	croit que ces résolutions n'ont pas été prises au Congrès de Bâle — après vérification il reconnaît que des décisions ont été prises dans ce sens — c'était un pieux désir — il croyait en ce temps — lui aussi — la chose possible — actuellement il est persuadé que les trades unions n'accepteront pas cette fédération — Les trades unions, dit-il, sont une minorité aristocratique — les ouvriers pauvres ne peuvent en faire partie : la grande masse des ouvriers que le développement économique chasse chaque jour des campagnes dans les villes — reste longtemps en Dehors des trades unions — et la masse la plus malheureuse n'en fait jamais partie ; il en est de même pour les ouvriers nés dans les quartiers est de Londres ; un sur 9 appartient aux trades unions — Les paysans, les journaliers ne font jamais partie de ces sociétés —	5
	Les Trades union ne peuvent rien par elles mêmes — elles resteront une minorité — elles n'ont aucune puissance sur la masse des prolétaires — tandis que l'internationale agit directement sur ces hommes — elle n'a pas besoin de leur organisation pour entraîner les ouvriers — l'idée internationale les séduit immédiatement — C'est la seule société inspirant pleine Confiance aux Ouvriers —	15
	La Langue s'oppose aussi à une union internationale 8 avec les trades unions —	20
FRANKEL	dit qu'il faut compter avec les éléments qui existent — Les Fédérations puissantes et riches n'accepteront pas l'union avec les fédérations faibles et pauvres — Le Conseil général de l'Internationale doit être le trait d'Union entre les diverses fédérations — La proposition Delahaye n'est pas praticable aujourd'hui ; elle pourra être appliquée quand la science sociale sera mieux comprise —	25
HERMAN	approuve les arguments de Frankel — il cite l'exemple des sociétés Belges — qui ont admis en principe la proposition Delahaye — on ne peut que fédérer les sections qui existent — Le conseil en cas de grève doit agir comme il l'a fait pour la grève de Newcastle, c'est-à-dire inviter les ouvriers de tous Pays à ne pas remplacer les grévistes.	30
VAILLANT	est d'avis que la proposition étant impraticable dans l'état actuel, il serait impolitique de la voter ; d'ailleurs, dit-il, si la solidarité que veut établir le cit. Delahaye existait — l'internationale n'aurait plus de raison d'être — c'est à elle qu'il appartient de remplacer ce manque de solidarité,	35
DE PAEPE	ne peut pas considérer les sociétés de résistance comme pouvant englober tous les ouvriers — il faut être capable de payer des Cotisations — tant que la terre — cet instrument 9 de travail — sera aux mains des capitalistes — les sociétés de résistance ne	40
		45

Procès-verbal de la séance du 20 septembre 1871 (après-midi)

- pourront devenir générales — pour lui ces sociétés initient les travailleurs aux études économiques, elles forment un noyau d'hommes — qui le jour de la révolution seront prêts — il soutient que les ouvriers d'un même métier doivent s'entendre d'une façon internationale — il est d'avis que l'Internationale doit favoriser les tendances de fédérations internationales corporatives—
- 5
ENGELS— Les résolutions des congrès ne sont pas pour nous des choses bibliques — notre critique n'est pas liée — Ce que Marx a dit sur les trades unions est vrai — Les ^{4/5} du Lancashire n'en font pas partie — Les trades unions ont plus de science économique mais — les ouvriers en dehors de ces sociétés ont plus de Justice et de bon sens — là où il n'y a pas de Trades union, les ouvriers s'entendent parfaitement — il cite l'époque où le coton arrivait difficilement — les fabricants furent obligés — après 4 ou 5 mois de grève de céder aux ouvriers ne faisant pas partie des trades union—
- 10
BASTEUCA— Les congrès et les conférences ont pour but de donner satisfaction aux besoins qui se produisent dans l'intervalle des sessions — mais la proposition Delahaye met en question l'existence même de l'Internationale — il se méfie des trades union qui ont un auteur royal, nous devons chercher le bien immédiat — il faut une phase nouvelle — La fédération des métiers — alors que beaucoup de [[10]] sociétés existent en dehors de l'Internationale, est un danger. Il craint qu'en trop légiférant les ouvriers perdent de vue le but essentiel la Révolution Sociale.
- 15
OUTINE observe que dans le fond la discussion porte sur les grèves — il est satisfait d'apprendre que les trades unions sont une minorité aristocratique et qu'il existe une masse de prolétaires en dehors d'elles—
- 20
25 Ceci facilitera la formation de sections de l'internationale — il cite les typographes de Genève qui, quoique unis avec ceux de France, de Belgique et d'Espagne, ont succombé dans leur grève — ce qui manque, dit-il, c'est : une bourse du travail.
- 30 STEENS est de l'avis de Marx et d'Herman — il pense que la fédération des corporations de métier doit rester propre au Continent de crainte qu'elles soient absorbées par les trades unions.
- 35 BASTELICA fait la proposition suivante =
- 40 La Conférence — s'en référant aux résolutions prises au Congrès de Bâle — passe à l'ordre du jour.
- MARX ne partage pas la crainte de Steens — relativement aux trades unions — elles n'ont jamais pu faire quelque chose sans s'adresser à nous — même les mieux organisées — celles qui ont des branches aux États-Unis — elles sont restées en dehors du plus grand
- 45

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

mouvement révolutionnaire de l'Angleterre — Depuis que l'internationale existe — c'est différent — si elles veulent user de leurs forces — avec notre aide — elles peuvent tout faire — elles avaient un paragraphe de leurs statuts qui leur défendait de se mêler à la politique — elles n'ont fait des mouvements politiques que sous l'influence de l'internationale — Le Conseil général a été pendant plusieurs années en rapport avec les trades unions — il existait un comité — actuellement il est encore en rapport avec 3 grandes villes — Manchester — Birmingham — Sheffield —

5

Les citoyens Leo Frankel — Bastelica — Outine — Serraillier — Lorenzo — De Paepe — présentent la proposition suivante —

Le Conseil général est invité de faciliter aux différentes Sections de métier d'un pays à s'entendre avec les sections de métier d'autres pays en envoyant à chaque chambre fédérale des métiers d'un pays les adresses de bureau des sections existant dans les autres métiers — et réalisent ainsi — dans la mesure des moyens que les lois des différents pays laissent à l'internationale — le projet du Congrès de Bâle au moyen de la statistique du travail.

15

demande que les délégués qui n'ont pas encore exprimé leur opinion soient entendus — Adopté.

20

dit au nom des travailleurs Espagnols qu'il faut solidariser la résistance — mais rien en dehors de l'internationale — il n'a pas voulu proposer l'organisation des trades unions.

On a exagéré — il ne craint pas les trades unions parce que les jeunes sociétés qui se forment possèdent toutes l'esprit révolutionnaire —

25

La clôture mise aux voix est adoptée — |
|12| Un membre fait observer que le cit. Coenen — Délégué — n'a pas été entendu —

30

La parole lui est unanimement accordée —

Les sociétés de résistance, dit-il, ont eu beaucoup d'utilité — la fédération de ces sociétés ressort des intérêts des ouvriers — il croit qu'il est du devoir de l'internationale de favoriser les tendances de fédération internationale. —

35

La proposition Bastelica, Frankel, Outine, Serraillier, Lorenzo est mise aux voix et adoptée à l'unanimité.

La Séance est levée à 6^h ¹₂ du soir.

C.Martin |

Procès-verbal de la séance du 20 septembre 1871 (après-midi)

[Auszüge aus den Mitschriften
von Constant Martin und Charles Rochat]

[Rochat :]
[S. 684.28-34] [1]

5 MARX = ce paragraphe qui laisse à chaque trade union le droit de se baser suivant leur droit = dans les premiers temps les Trades Unions ont été notre seule force. On ne peut donc pas toucher à cet article — accepte les remerciements aux Espagnols — Considérant la faiblesse numérique, ils ont fait plus peut-être que d'autres pays = remercie de leur zèle parce que la Catalogne est à peu près la seule province qui compte des ouvriers.

10
ENGELS - [S. 684.44-685.2] [1]
Motion d'ordre = 3 propositions devant nous — 3 propositions relatives à l'organisation Générale
15 — la première — Outine — en 4 points (sections allemandes)
— 2° — Vaillant — inséparables les deux questions — Politique — sociale
— 3° — Delahaye — organisation des Grèves.

20 FRANKEL- [S. 685.3-4] [1]
commencer par la question de Vaillant, ensuite celle de Delahaye et celle de Becker —
25 [S. 685.5-6] [2]
Proposition du cit. Marx qu'il ne soit plus présenté de rapport ayant trait à la discussion Générale avant cette discussion et pendant la discussion de l'ordre du jour et jusqu'à son épuisement complet.

MARX [S. 685.17] [2]
dit que c'est contraire aux statuts —
— proposition Marx adoptée à l'unanimité.

30 MARX- [S. 685.29-41] [2]
secondé par Engels — commencer avec la proposition du citoyen Delahaye = quant à la proposition des Suisses elle doit être la dernière — celle de Delahaye, Vaillant,
35 il veut que cela soit discuté dans la question Générale. C'est une grande chose de donner une déclaration expresse sur la politique = Statuts — mal compris —
Ordre de discussion proposé par Marx = Delahaye, Vaillant, Délégués Belges et Outine (sections allemandes)
(Discussion — proposition du citoyen Delahaye)

\n a été acceptée en principe par le Congrès de

^ la réussite des Grèves — chaque pas de fait
cipation sociale est un pas de fait vers la Révo-
•i cette fédération existait — les patrons de
\nt pas pu aller querir des ouvriers sur le
régulariser les Grèves —

décentralisation — le Conseil Général ne
_i les fédérations peuvent seules le faire —

.lavailleurs qui ne comprennent pas l'intérêt qu'ils 10

a. entrer dans l'association et qui préfèrent entrer dans des
sociétés de résistances où ils voient un intérêt immédiat —

[S. 685.42-45] [3]

VERRYCKEN dit que cette résolution existe de fait, elle a été votée par le congrès de Bâle = il a un mandat des mécaniciens de Belgique 15 pour faire une fédération avec ceux d'Angleterre = il y a cette lacune que toutes les fédérations n'ont pas adhéré à l'association Internationale.

[S. 686.1-23] [3]

MARX = un pieux désir = il était jeune, il croyait comme Delahaye la 20 chose possible — vous ne réussirez jamais = En Angleterre les trades unions existent depuis un demi-siècle et la grande majorité des ouvriers est en dehors des Trades Unions =

Nécessités économiques qui chassent les ouvriers des campagnes dans les villes — et ceux là sont en dehors des trades 25 unions — il y a à Londres des trades unions des pauvres = Ce ne sont pas seulement les ouvriers des campagnes mais encore leurs familles qui n'ont pas d'argent pour former [des] Trades Unions.

Pourquoi ces hommes sont-ils venus de Suède, de l'Allemagne, de Belgique, c'est parce qu'ils n'appartiennent [pas] aux Trades unions = la lutte internationale frappe immédiatement l'ouvrier et par son seul pouvoir a engagé les ouvriers à retourner chez eux parce que l'on s'est adressé à leur sentiment général. 30

Vous ne devez pas croire que l'organisation que vous rêvez = 35

(...)

Relieurs et compositeurs de l'Allemagne ont demandés à former une section générale de (...)

1° caisse internationale contre leurs statuts

2° [ne] connaissent pas leur langue

3° s'ils veulent, dans certains cas, correspondre avec eux, qu'ils le fassent par l'intermédiaire du Conseil Général.

Il nie que c'est la Commune de l'avenir parce que son projet

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

40

Procès-verbal de la séance du 20 septembre 1871 (après-midi)

repose sur la division du travail, principale cause de l'esclavage des ouvriers = cela peut améliorer un peu le sort des ouvriers, mais on ne peut pas présenter cela comme un idéal.

- 5 [Martin :] [S. 686.1-23] [3-4]
MARX nie que ces résolutions aient été prises au Congrès de Bâle — Sur l'observation qui lui est faite que ces résolutions ont bien été prises — il reconnaît — qu'en effet elles l'ont été — Le développement économique chasse chaque jour les ouvriers des campagnes vers les villes — la masse la plus malheureuse des ouvriers est toujours en dehors des trades unions — qui n'ont jamais pu se former — en grande partie — dont les meilleurs éléments au fur et à mesure absorbés — à l'est de Londres il n'y a pas de trades unions (1 sur 10) non seulement parmi les ouvriers qui arrivent — mais aussi pour ceux qui y sont nés.
- 10 Les trades unions seront toujours une minorité aristocratique. Elles ne peuvent [rien par elles-mêmes] — pourquoi les travailleurs de la Suède—de l'Allemagne (...) — mais l'Internationale agit directement sur ces hommes — elle n'a pas besoin de cette organisation pour entraîner les ouvriers — l'idée internationale frappe immédiatement l'ouvrier — qui est la seule société considérée pour les prolétaires — Les Langues s'opposent à une union internationale avec les trades unions — la division du travail est une des causes principales de l'esclavage des ouvriers —
- 15 [Rochat :] [S. 686.24-30] [4]
FRANKEL = c'est le résultat d'erreurs économiques — ils voient un bâtiment tout fait — on ne se rend pas compte des obstacles qui existent.
20 Il ne croit pas possible une fédération des trades unions — Allemand et Anglais =
- 25 [Martin :] [S. 686.31-36] [4]
HERMAN approuve les arguments développés par Frankel — il cite l'exemple des sociétés Belges — qui ont admis en principe la Proposition Delahaye — mais pour le moment — il croit que c'est le Conseil Général qui doit être le représentant de tous les travailleurs —
- 30 [S. 687.8-17] [4]
ENGELS dit — nous ne pouvons voter une résolution contraire aux décisions du congrès — il explique que dans le Lancashire où il n'y a pas des trades unions — les ouvriers s'entendent parfaitement — il cite l'époque où le coton arrivait difficilement — les

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

- DELAHAYE = Cette proposition a été acceptée en principe par le Congrès de Genève.
1° point de vue de la réussite des Grèves — chaque pas de fait dans une amélioration sociale est un pas de fait vers la Révolution sociale = Si cette fédération existait — les patrons de Newcastle n'auraient pas pu aller querrir des ouvriers sur le continent — et pour régulariser les Grèves — 5
2° au point de vue de la décentralisation — le Conseil Général ne peut pas l'obtenir et les fédérations peuvent seules le faire —
3° il y a des travailleurs qui ne comprennent pas l'intérêt qu'ils ont à entrer dans l'association et qui préfèrent entrer dans des sociétés de résistances où ils voient un intérêt immédiat — 10
- [S. 685.42-45] [3]
VERRYCKEN dit que cette résolution existe de fait, elle a été votée par le congrès de Bâle = il a un mandat des mécaniciens de Belgique 15 pour faire une fédération avec ceux d'Angleterre = il y a cette lacune que toutes les fédérations n'ont pas adhéré à l'association Internationale.
- [S. 686.1-23] [3]
MARX = un pieux désir = il était jeune, il croyait comme Delahaye la chose possible — vous ne réussirez jamais = En Angleterre les trades unions existent depuis un demi-siècle et la grande majorité des ouvriers est en dehors des Trades Unions = 20
Nécessités économiques qui chassent les ouvriers des campagnes dans les villes — et ceux là sont en dehors des trades unions — il y a à Londres des trades unions des pauvres = Ce ne sont pas seulement les ouvriers des campagnes mais encore leurs familles qui n'ont pas d'argent pour former [des] Trades Unions. 25
Pourquoi ces hommes sont-ils venus de Suède, de l'Allemagne, de Belgique, c'est parce qu'ils n'appartiennent [pas] aux Trades unions = la lutte internationale frappe immédiatement l'ouvrier et par son seul pouvoir a engagé les ouvriers à retourner chez eux parce que l'on s'est adressé à leur sentiment général. 30
Vous ne devez pas croire que l'organisation que vous rêvez = 35 (...)
Relieurs et compositeurs de l'Allemagne ont demandés à former une section générale de (...)
1° caisse internationale contre leurs statuts
2° [ne] connaissent pas leur langue 40
3° s'ils veulent, dans certains cas, correspondre avec eux, qu'ils le fassent par l'intermédiaire du Conseil Général.
Il nie que c'est la Commune de l'avenir parce que son projet

Procès-verbal de la séance du 20 septembre 1871 (après-midi)

repose sur la division du travail, principale cause de l'esclavage des ouvriers = cela peut améliorer un peu le sort des ouvriers, mais on ne peut pas présenter cela comme un idéal.

[Martin :]

[S. 686.1-23]

[3-4]

MARX

10

nie que ces résolutions aient été prises au Congrès de Bâle — Sur l'observation qui lui est faite que ces résolutions ont bien été prises — il reconnaît — qu'en effet elles l'ont été — Le développement économique chasse chaque jour les ouvriers des campagnes vers les villes — la masse la plus malheureuse des ouvriers est toujours en dehors des trades unions — qui n'ont jamais pu se former — en grande partie — dont les meilleurs éléments au fur et à mesure absorbés — à l'est de Londres il n'y a pas de trades unions (1 sur 10) non seulement parmi les ouvriers qui arrivent — mais aussi pour ceux qui y sont nés.

15

20

Les trades unions seront toujours une minorité aristocratique. Elles ne peuvent [rien par elles-mêmes] — pourquoi les travailleurs de la Suède — de l'Allemagne (...) — mais l'Internationale agit directement sur ces hommes — elle n'a pas besoin de cette organisation pour entraîner les ouvriers — l'idée internationale frappe immédiatement l'ouvrier — qui est la seule société considérée pour les prolétaires — Les Langues s'opposent à une union internationale avec les trades unions — la division du travail est une des causes principales de l'esclavage des ouvriers —

25

[Rochat :]

[S. 686.24-30]

[4]

FRANKEL =

30

c'est le résultat d'erreurs économiques — ils voient un bâtiment tout fait — on ne se rend pas compte des obstacles qui existent.

Il ne croit pas possible une fédération des trades unions — Allemand et Anglais =

[Martin :]

[S. 686.31-36]

[4]

HERMAN

35

approuve les arguments développés par Frankel — il cite l'exemple des sociétés Belges — qui ont admis en principe la Proposition Delahaye — mais pour le moment — il croit que c'est le Conseil Général qui doit être le représentant de tous les travailleurs —

40

[S. 687.8-17]

[4]

ENGELS

dit — nous ne pouvons voter une résolution contraire aux décisions du congrès — il explique que dans le Lancashire où il n'y a pas de trades unions — les ouvriers s'entendent parfaitement — il cite l'époque où le coton arrivait difficilement — les

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de Γ A. I.T.

fabricants ont résisté aux demandes des ouvriers — mais au bout de 4 ou 5 — ils ont avoué que les ouvriers avaient plus de raison que les fabricants et les trades unions —

[Rochat .]

[S. 687.8-17]

[4]

5

ENGELS— —J— Les résolutions des congrès ne sont pas pour nous des choses bibliques — cela ne lie pas notre critique. Ce que le congrès de Bâle a résolu ne nous oblige pas à la mettre en pratique si même

j— on ne peut pas la faire.

Ce que Marx vous a dit au sujet des Trades unions est vrai — 10

Les %s dans le Lancashire n'en font pas partie = Il est certain que ces gens-là sont bien plus instruits dans les luttes économiques — grève du coton — patrons voulaient diminuer les salaires, les ouvriers ont dit — nous travaillons en rapport avec —J- les ressources en coton de l'industrie, si nous travaillons I_1 , se- 15
maine, payez I_2 salaire.

Les patrons ont été battus faute d'union — la grève a duré près de six mois et les patrons ont dû reconnaître que les ouvriers avaient plus de bon sens qu'eux. |

[20 Septembre 1871]

[1] Séance du 20 Septembre 1871. Soir.

Jung président.

La Séance est ouverte à 9^h.

5

membres présents

Coenen	Flu se	Eccarius	Jung	Bastelica
De Paepe	Perret	Engels	Vaillant	
Steens	Outine	Marx	Frankel	
Verrycken	Lorenzo	J. Haies	Serraillier	

10

ABSENTS	(C o h n)	Herman
	v. McDonnell	Mottershead.

Lecture du procès-verbal est donnée (séance du 19 — au soir)

15 LORENZO

dit que le secrétaire a omis l'insertion de sa réponse à Mottershead et demande cette rectification.

— Le Procès-verbal est mis aux voix avec la *rectification demandée* — *il est adopté à l'unanimité*.

20 MARX

propose qu'on ne tienne qu'une seule séance le lendemain de 5^e du soir à minuit pour permettre aux commissions de se réunir et de présenter leurs rapports à la discussion.

25 FRANKEL,

Cette proposition mise aux voix est adoptée à l'unanimité.
rapporteur de la Commission pour rechercher les voies et moyens à employer pour récupérer plus régulièrement les cotisations des membres, donne lecture des propositions suivantes = 1° Que le Conseil général fasse imprimer des Timbres uniformes qu'il enverrait anuellement selon leur demande aux Conseils fédéraux.

30

2° Les Conseils Fédéraux feraient parvenir eux-mêmes aux conseils locaux ou à défaut aux sections de leur ressort le nombre de timbres, correspondant au nombre de membres qui les composent.

V

\

^ces-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

- 3° Ces timbres seraient alors appliqués sur une feuille ad hoc des livrets ou statuts individuels. 5
- 4° A la date du 1^{er} mars, les Conseils Fédéraux des différentes régions seront tenus d'envoyer au Conseil Général le montant des timbres employés et le solde des timbres leur restant en caisse. 10
- 5° Ces timbres représentant la valeur des cotisations individuelles porteront le chiffre de l'année courante.
- 6° Les sections adhérentes qui ne se soumettront pas au Règlement ci-dessus énoncé, sauf le cas de force majeure, seront dénoncées à chaque congrès qui statuera dessus. | 15
- [[2]] ENGELS trouve ce projet trop compliqué et trop bureaucratique. Il craint que les Conseils Fédéraux n'aient pas le temps de l'exécuter, mais ce qu'il reproche le plus vivement à ce projet, c'est de ne prononcer aucune pénalité contre les sections coupables de mauvaise volonté dans l'accomplissement de leurs obligations financières envers le Conseil Général. 15
- OUTINE appuie la proposition, mais il demande si ce nouveau mode de procédure ne nécessitera pas une augmentation dans la cotisation annuelle, ne faudra-t-il pas en effet payer de nouveaux frais pour impression et envoi des timbres aux Conseils Fédéraux = dans ce cas, il proposerait d'augmenter seulement de 5 centimes cette cotisation = Le projet lui semble bon = ce timbre appliqué sur la carte ou livret du membre sera la preuve qu'il aura acquitté l'impôt annuel = Quant au paragraphe 6 qui ne prononce pas de pénalité, il ne saurait le critiquer, il considère que la défense d'assister au congrès serait sensible à bien peu de sections, et la meilleure preuve qu'il puisse en donner est la vue du petit nombre de délégués qui assistent à la conférence. 20 25 30
- FRANKEL = En réponse à la critique du cit. Engels — explique la simplicité du projet. En effet, il s'agit tout simplement d'un seul embarras de plus que par le passé, c'est celui de s'occuper de l'impression de timbres et de leur envoi aux Conseils Fédéraux, mais à côté de cette légère complication de Travail, quels avantages immenses au point de vue du contrôle ne retire-t-on pas de l'application des moyens du projet = Quant à l'art. 6 à qui on reproche de ne pas prononcer de pénalité = il répond que les Statuts ont prévus le cas de la non-exécution des Charges que les sections ont envers le Conseil Général et qu'il réserve contre ces sections de ne pas les admettre à être représentées dans les congrès = 35 40
- MARX demande la suppression de l'art. 6 qui est en contradiction avec le but des cinq premiers articles = il est d'avis que le prix de l'impression des timbres ne doit pas être ajouté en augmentation au chiffre de la cotisation annuelle qui est fixée irrévocablement = 45

Procès-verbal de la séance du 20 septembre 1871 (soir)

il propose qu'on l'ajoute au prix du livret ou de la carte = il appuie les 5 premiers articles du rapport de la Commission. |
|[3]| STEENS fait remarquer que le projet de la Commission ne change en rien l'organisation de l'association, qu'en Belgique les sections et Conseils Fédéraux ont des moyens analogues pour constater le payement des cotisations, mais le timbre est remplacé par un cachet. =

MARTIN est de l'avis du cit. Engels, il croit que le système des timbres occasionnera une trop grande centralisation administrative, il préférerait que les Conseils Fédéraux fournissent une statistique numérique des membres qu'ils représentent et payassent d'après cette statistique.

DE PAEPE dit que ce projet se heurtera à mille difficultés pratiques. Sait-on au juste à quelques milliers près combien de cartes ou timbres on doit envoyer à tel Conseil Fédéral — Pour sa part il ne voudrait pas prendre la responsabilité d'accepter cette proposition qui lui semble inapplicable.

BASTELICA approuve le projet = Il a fait cette expérience et lui le premier doit en faire sa confession, c'est que les secrétaires négligeaient parfois de faire rentrer en caisse la cotisation annuelle. Les timbres auront cet avantage, qu'ils seront pour les Secrétaires une sorte de mémorandum permanent pour les engager à opérer le prélèvement des 0,10 par membre =

La clôture demandée est votée à l'unanimité
Les cinq premiers articles de la Commission sont mis aux voix et adoptés à l'unanimité moins 3 voix = celles de Fluse, De Paepe, Haies

MARX propose le vote pour le rejet du paragraphe 6
Rejet accepté à l'unanimité

Proposition Vaillant secondée par Longuet et C.Martin

En présence d'une réaction sans frein momentanément victorieuse qui étouffe par la force toute revendication de la démocratie socialiste et prétend maintenir par la force la distinction des classes

La conférence rappelle aux membres de l'association que la question politique et la question sociale sont indissolublement unies, qu'elles ne sont que la double face d'une seule et même question que l'internationale s'est proposée de résoudre : l'abolition des classes.

Les Travailleurs doivent reconnaître, non moins que la solidarité économique, la solidarité politique qui les unit et coaliser leurs forces, non moins sur le terrain politique que sur le terrain économique, pour le triomphe définitif de leur cause.

dit que sa proposition ne peut pas donner lieu à une longue

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

discussion puisque elle est l'expression jj[4]j affirmée de l'esprit des Statuts = Cependant il prévoit deux objections auxquelles il répond de suite.

On pourra dire que cette déclaration est imprudente et attirera sûrement sur l'association les rigueurs des gouvernements. = 5
Mais n'a-t-on pas toujours vu les gouvernements poursuivre l'association comme Société politique, il n'y a donc de ce côté aucune raison de s'abstenir de cette affirmation, et il y a au contraire à y gagner que tout malentendu désormais n'aura plus d'excuse. — 10

La 2^e objection est celle-ci = Il a entendu dire par un membre de la conférence que l'association ne devait pas s'occuper de politique = Il se souvient qu'à Paris, surtout parmi les fondateurs de l'Association, beaucoup partageaient cette manière de voir = Elle a servie pendant un temps à éloigner les ouvriers du vrai champ de bataille ; et en les égarant à retarder l'avènement d'une politique de salut. Ces mêmes hommes, s'appuyant sur une falsification des véritables Statuts, conseillaient l'abstention éternelle en politique = ne s'apercevant pas ou feignant de ne pas s'apercevoir que la première arme pour constituer une 15
société nouvelle était le pouvoir. 20

LORENZO dit que ceci est une question de principe qui ne peut pas être discutée par la conférence, qui du reste n'a pas qualité pour cela = Cette question doit être traitée dans un congrès et votée par les délégués dans le sens de leur mandat impératif = il demande le 25
rejet = *Bastelica appuie*

OUTINE dit que l'objection de Lorenzo est complètement erronée = La proposition ne contient pas un principe nouveau, mais elle ne fait que formuler d'une manière plus formelle ce qui est contenu dans les Statuts = La conférence a autant le droit de voter cette 30
proposition qu'elle a le droit de voter aussi la suppression de ces sections spéciales et sectaires qui portent des noms doctrinaires.

Cette déclaration, par son caractère net et tranché, doit mettre fin aux malentendus et rejeter hors de l'association les 35
abstentionnistes, véritables auxiliaires consciens ou inconscients de la Bourgeoisie. |

[5] SERRAILLER donne lecture de l'amendement suivant : Considérant :

Que la fausse traduction des Statuts originaux dans les différentes 40
langues a été la cause de diverses interprétations qui ont été nuisibles au développement de l'association Internationale

La conférence rappelle aux membres de l'Internationale que la question politique et la question sociale sont indissolublement unies et qu'elles ne sont que la double face d'une seule et même 45

Procès-verbal de la séance du 20 septembre 1871 (soir)

question que l'Association Internationale s'est proposée de résoudre = l'Abolition des classes.

Ils doivent donc saisir toutes les occasions opportunes pour affermir la revendication des principes sociaux qui sont la base et font la force véritable de l'association Internationale des Travailleurs.

- | | Serraillier Frankel |
|--------------|---|
| BASTELICA | demande si ce qu'on appelle de la politique est de gaspiller l'énergie des ouvriers pour faire nommer à la chambre ou au conseil municipal un ouvrier = cette politique d'agitations puériles lui semble signifiante. Vous nous avez accusés d'être abstentionnistes ; Est-ce que le 4 7 ^{me} et le 18 mars sont des résultats d'abstention ? Lisez la liste des morts et des proscrits et vous y verrez si l'association Internationale en France a fait son devoir.— |
| 10 | |
| 15 | Les internationaux de France ont fait 2 Révolutions en 6 mois — citez-moi quel peuple en a fait autant. |
| VAILLANT | a cru qu'il était inutile de faire précéder sa proposition de considérants ; l'association n'a pas à se justifier, ni se défendre ; dans les statuts, le principe de sa proposition est indiqué comme moyen pour arriver à l'abolition des classes, et dès l'origine tel a été l'esprit qui a inspiré la fondation de l'internationale, sa proposition ne fait donc que confirmer énergiquement un principe essentiel à l'association. |
| 20 | |
| 25 | Pour répondre au citoyen Bastelica — il dit qu'assurément il n'entend pas par le mot politique faire cette mince agitation qui consiste à envoyer un ouvrier au parlement, puisque se sont ces parlements qu'il faut aussi détruire. La politique de l'Association doit être socialiste et ne viser qu'un but = l'abolition des classes. |
| 30 FRANKEL = | Le considérant de la proposition Serraillier aurait pour but de donner la raison de la déclaration Vaillant, il appuie l'adjonction de ce considérant. |
| PERRET | est du même avis que Frankel, il veut mettre fin une fois pour toutes à cette fausse interprétation des Statuts = En Suisse la section Romande qu'il représente est de cet avis que l'association doit faire de la politique, et c'est aussi l'avis de la majorité des Internationaux en Suisse, seule une petite église a prêchée l'abstention et la conférence sait quelle lutte passionnée elle a livrée à l'association.] |
| 35 | |
| 40 | [6] Il veut qu'animés de ce principe que la lutte politique est un devoir, les ouvriers pénètrent partout, parlements et chambres, pour ronger cette vieille société et précipiter sa chute, |
| MARTIN | approuve de grand cœur le cit. Perret et pour cette raison il appuie la proposition de Vaillant comme étant plus concise et plus ferme que celle de Serraillier. |
| 45 | |

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A.I.T.

DE PAEPE	n'est pas opposé à ce que l'on répète ce qui est déjà dans les Statuts, mais il est convaincu que, malgré la rigoureuse clarté de la déclaration Vaillant, certaines Sections continueront à refuser de suivre cette ligne de conduite et créeront ainsi de nouveaux conflits = Cette immixtion de l'association dans les affaires politiques était en principe si bien acceptée de tous que même Tolain et Fribourg revendiquaient dans les congrès les libertés politiques pour la classe ouvrière.	5
	En Belgique quoique les ouvriers soient forcés par les lois à l'abstention, ils ne cessent cependant de lutter par le meeting et la propagande écrite pour obtenir les armes politiques qui leur manquent. Cependant, en supposant que les ouvriers Belges possédaient le droit de vote, et qu'ils puissent envoyer à la chambre un ou deux députés socialistes, il ne pense pas que cela donnerait aucun avantage au parti socialiste, il se souvient que les Socialistes De Potter et Castiau n'ont jamais réussi à faire entendre leur parole au parlement Belge où l'intolérance Bourgeoise étouffait par des cris ou des bruits de couteaux à papier leur tentative pour se faire écouter.	10
MARX =	Le citoyen Lorenzo nous a rappelé à l'observation du Règlement, et le citoyen Bastelica l'a suivi dans cette voie = Je prends les Statuts originaux et l'adresse inaugurale et je lis dans les deux que le Conseil Général sera chargé de présenter à la discussion des congrès un programme.	20
	[[7]] Le programme que le Conseil Général présente à la discussion de la conférence comprend = l'organisation de l'association ; et la proposition Vaillant se rapporte à ce point — la réclamation de Lorenzo et Bastelica n'est donc pas fondée =	25
	Plus ou moins dans tous les pays, certains internationaux, se basant sur la déclaration tronquée des Statuts votés au congrès de Genève, ont fait en faveur de l'abstention politique une propagande que les gouvernements se sont bien gardés d'interrompre. En Allemagne même, Schweitzer et autres à la solde de Bismarck essayaient de rallier les sections à la politique gouvernementale. En France cette abstention coupable avait permis aux Favre, Picard, et autres de s'emparer du pouvoir le 4 ^{7^e} — cette abstention laissait le 18 mars s'établir à Paris un comité dictatorial composé en majeure partie de Bonapartistes et d'intrigants qui ont perdus Sciemment dans l'inaction les premiers jours de la Révolution qu'ils devaient consacrer à son affermissement.	30
	En Amérique un congrès tenu récemment et composé d'ouvriers a résolu de prendre en main la question politique et de substituer pour les représenter, à ces personnalités qui font métier d'être hommes politiques, des ouvriers comme eux, chargés de défendre les intérêts de leur classe.	40
		45

Procès-verbal de la séance du 20 septembre 1871 (soir)

- En Angleterre il est moins facile à un ouvrier d'entrer au parlement. Les membres ne recevant aucun subside et l'ouvrier n'ayant que les ressources de son travail pour vivre, le parlement est inaccessible pour lui, et la Bourgeoisie, en refusant obstinément une allocation aux membres, sait parfaitement que c'est le moyen d'empêcher la classe ouvrière d'être représentée.
- Mais il ne faut pas croire que ce soit d'une mince importance d'avoir des ouvriers dans les parlements. Si l'on étouffe leur voix ||[8]| comme à De Potter et Castiau, si on les expulse comme Manuel = l'effet de ces rigueurs et de cette intolérance est profond sur le peuple = Si au contraire comme Bebel et Liebknecht ils peuvent parler, de cette tribune, c'est le monde entier qui les entend = d'une manière comme d'une autre, c'est une grande publicité pour nos principes = Pour n'en citer qu'un exemple = lorsque Bebel et Liebknecht ont entrepris contre et pendant la guerre qui se livrait en France = cette lutte pour dégager toute la responsabilité de la classe ouvrière en face de ce qui se passait — toute l'Allemagne était ébranlée, et Munich même, cette ville où l'on ne faisait de Révolutions que pour le prix de la bière = se livrait à de grandes manifestations pour demander la fin de la guerre.
- Les gouvernements nous sont hostiles, il faut leur répondre par tous les moyens possibles que nous avons à notre disposition, mettre des ouvriers dans les parlements, c'est autant de gagné sur eux, mais il faut choisir les hommes et ne pas prendre des Tolains.
- Il appuie la proposition du citoyen Vaillant avec l'amendement Frankel qui consiste à la faire précéder d'un considérant expliquant la raison d'être de cette déclaration, c'est-à-dire affirmant que ce n'est pas d'aujourd'hui que l'association demande que les ouvriers fassent de la politique, mais de tout temps, voudrait que les travailleurs montrassent moins d'indifférence politique, s'abstenir, c'est abandonner l'arme — et renoncer au triomphe du socialisme = Il dit que la proposition Vaillant devrait être divisée en deux parties, c'est à dire qu'elle ne devrait pas par exemple dire que la question politique et la question sociale *sont indissolublement unies et qu'elles ne sont que la double face d'une seule et même question*, ce qui n'est pas juste, la question politique cessant d'exister le jour où le but, *l'abolition des classes aura été atteint*.
- THEISZ trouve la proposition Vaillant trop concise, il voudrait la voir étendue dans un manifeste.
- MIENER Aujournée par 9 voix contre 8. |

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

[Auszüge aus den Mitschriften
von Charles Rochat und Constant Martin]

- [Rochat :]
[S. 694.12—695.2] [1]
- ENGELS trouve [ce] procédé très compliqué. C'est une question de Règlement inexécutable = ce serait un travail très étendu pour les Conseils Fédéraux = il demande un règlement plus simple pour faire rentrer les cotisations — il demande une pénalité et soutient que le meilleur est de les exclure du congrès et le principal vice de la proposition en dehors de sa complication, c'est de permettre encore aux sections d'envoyer leur délégué au congrès. 5
- OUTINE voudrait savoir si ce mode de procédure coûtera cher parce qu'alors on pourrait augmenter la cotisation annuelle — il défend du reste le projet — ce sera une bonne marque qu'on a remplis ses obligations envers l'association. Quant à la question de pénalité = il ne faut pas croire que les sections tiennent tant à envoyer des délégués — sans cela il y en aurait beaucoup plus ici = Il croit du reste que toutes les sections tiendront à honneur de payer leurs cotisations. 15
- FRANKEL - La critique du cit. Engels ne renverse pas la proposition. Il est dit dans les statuts que ceux qui n'auront pas réglé leurs cotisations ne seront pas admis au congrès. 20
- MARX Ce moyen a cela de bon qu'il permet le contrôle (timbres lithographiques, ce moyen est employé dans les sociétés de résistances). Tant qu'on n'aura pas d'autres propositions meilleures — il maintiendra la proposition, 25
- trouve mauvais que la résolution abolit toute pénalité (croit que c'est une contradiction le paragraphe N°6) = tous les membres d'avoir des Statuts = il s'oppose au paragraphe 6 = Quant au prix de l'impression — cela doit être mis sur les statuts et non sur les contributions à payer au Conseil Général — qui est fixé à 0,10 par les congrès — appuie la proposition en faisant réserve pour l'art. 6. 30
- [Martin :]
[S. 694.12-695.2] [1]
- ENGELS trouve le projet proposé trop compliqué et trop bureaucratique—il craint que les conseils fédéraux n'aient trop de besogne — et qu'il ne résolve pas la question — il trouve la pénalité trop insignifiante. 35
- OUTINE appuie le projet — il voudrait seulement savoir si la dépense occasionnée ne sera pas trop forte — il dit qu'un mode analogue est pratiqué en Suisse — il trouve la pénalité suffisante — 40

Procès-verbal de la séance du 20 septembre 1871 (soir)

- FRANKEL dit que les arguments du cit. Engels ont peu de valeur — et qu'en outre le système des timbres présente l'avantage du contrôle — observe que la pénalité est prévue par les statuts et que par conséquent le paragraphe art. 6 doit être retranché — quant aux frais — il croit qu'ils ne doivent pas porter sur la cotisation mais sur le prix des statuts. — Les livrets n'existent qu'en Suisse et en Belgique et — il ne doit pas être exigé — mais tous les adhérents doivent avoir les statuts ou les timbres — il approuve le projet dans ses autres parties —
- 10 [S. 695.28-29] [2]
MARX demande de nouveau que le 6^e paragraphe du projet soit supprimé — il dit que si les 5 premiers paragraphes sont exécutés, la pénalité est inutile et que d'ailleurs elle est prévue par les Statuts -
- 15 FRANKEL pour sa part — retire ce paragraphe — L'amendement Marx est accepté à l'unanimité moins 1 voix.
- [Rochat :]
[S. 696.27-37] [2]
OUTINE - Complètement erronée l'objection du cit. Lorenzo, nous avons parfaitement le droit de voter la proposition Vaillant aussi bien que nous avons voté la suppression des questions philosophiques etc. etc.
- 20 25 C'est une confirmation des statuts — tandis que les abstentionnistes et les calomniateurs accusaient l'association d'être des réactionnaires parce qu'ils s'occupaient ou non de politique — cette déclaration très bonne pour l'avenir.
- FRANKEL [S. 697.30-32] [3]
tient à ce qu'on mette le considérant pour les raisons exposées par Marx hier (Tolain et autres). Il appuie surtout le 2^e paragraphe qui est très explicite.
- FRANKEL— [Martin :]
[S. 697.30-32] [4]
35 il ne faut pas nous dissimuler la cause des différends dans l'Internationale sur cette question — c'est la fausse traduction des statuts — il faut donc mentionner cette cause —
- DE PAEPE [S. 698.1-699.40] [4-6]
40 craint que malgré ces déclarations — quelques Sections se refusent à suivre cette ligne de conduite — il dit que Tolain et Fribourg avaient fait une pareille déclaration au Congrès de Lausanne — ils l'ont reniée devant les tribunes. — D'ailleurs —

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

	dit-il — les Belges n'ont pas le suffrage universel — donc ils ne peuvent ni s'abstenir ni agir. —	
MARX—	Ils s'occupent de politique dans les meetings — mais ils ont des raisons pour ne pas prendre part aux luttes électorales — à cause du serment etc. — il ne croit pas que l'on puisse imposer à tous les pays — une ligne politique identique —	5
MARX—	Les statuts originaux et l'adresse inaugurale se commandent mutuellement — il y est dit que le Conseil général doit saisir les congrès et les conférences —	10
MARX—	Ceci est une question d'organisation — on ne veut pas uniformiser la ligne politique — En Allemagne Bismarck a payé pour pousser les sections à la politique gouvernementale. donne lecture de (...)	10
	Sans l'abstention de l'internationale à Paris on n'aurait pas nommé Favre et Trochu et Picard — Oui = l'internationale s'est abstenue malheureusement — en Février le mouvement a échoué parce qu'il n'avait pas été suffisemment préparé — En Amérique — le dernier congrès des ouvriers a résolu de s'occuper de politique — de choisir des ouvriers pour députés —	15
	En Belgique ils sont forcément abstentionnistes sur la question électorale —	20
	En Allemagne — où le suffrage universel n'existe qu'en apparence — Bebel a protesté de la tribune et contre la guerre et ceci a fait beaucoup de bien —	
	L'expulsion de Manuel de la chambre a donné une très grande impulsion à la révolution —	25
	Le pouvoir politique supprime la liberté des ouvriers — ainsi que le capital —	
	Les ouvriers anglais — vont lentement.	
	— Depuis la Révolution de Juillet la bourgeoisie a fait toujours des empêchements sans que les ouvriers s'en apperçoivent.	30
THEISZ—	Nos journeaux n'arrivant pas à la masse — la tribune est le meilleur instrument de publicité. En ce moment tous les gouvernements tombent sur nous, il faut leur répondre et faire contre eux une croisade générale. Il approuve la proposition Vaillant mais avec l'amendement Frankel relatif à la fausse traduction des statuts — pour montrer que cette question a déjà été résolue par les Statuts.	35
	La question soulevée par le cit. Bastelica lui semble erronée puisque les précédents congrès et les statuts mentionnent que les ouvriers doivent s'occuper de politique — Le cit. Vaillant semble mettre sur un même pied la politique et le socialisme — la politique ne doit être considérée que comme moyen — il craint que les ambitieux profitent de cette rédaction pour arriver à leurs fins — il dit que les internationaux se sont beaucoup occupés de	40
		45

Procès-verbal de la séance du 20 septembre 1871 (soir)

politique à Paris — qu'ils étaient parfaitement considérés, qu'il suffisait de se dire membre de l'Internationale pour être nommé sergent, capitaine, chef de Bataillon.

- 5 [Rochat :] [S. 698.20-699.31] [4-6]
MARX— Lorenzo nous a rappelé au Règlement et Bastelica l'a suivi dans cette voie. Les statuts et l'adresse inaugurale — il y est dit que le Conseil Général est chargé de présenter à la discussion des congrès un programme = c'est de l'organisation — On a fait de l'abstention, on a dit que ce n'était pas inscrit sur les statuts qu'on devait faire de la politique — Schweitzer et autres = comme moyen =
10 Les seigneurs de la terre et l'abstention ont produit le 4 ^{7^{me}} et le 18 mars — cela a produit Jules Favre et le Comité Central.
15 En Amérique le dernier Congrès des ouvriers a résolu de mettre à la porte toutes les personnalités qui font métiers politiques — mais il faut faire de la politique selon les conditions de tous les pays.
En Angleterre le payement des membres du parlement —
20 En Allemagne Bebel et Liebknecht avaient une grande tribune de laquelle ils parlaient au monde = cette chose à Munich a rallié beaucoup d'ouvriers à l'Association Internationale.
L'affaire des Castiau et des De Potter est très bonne — Manuel —
25 Le pouvoir général contre les ouvriers est le pouvoir politique, voyez la loi hypocrite qui a été votée contre les trades unions — seront la cause d'un grand mouvement en Angleterre et chasseront les Whigs et Tories.
C'est toujours une bonne chose de faire de la politique, seulement il faut choisir les hommes. Les gouvernements nous font une politique hostile, il faut leur répondre par tous les moyens qui sont à notre disposition. Il est pour la proposition du citoyen Vaillant en ajoutant un paragraphe de celle du cit. Frankel pour démontrer que ce n'est pas d'aujourd'hui que nous voulons que
30 les ouvriers fassent de la politique mais depuis toujours. |
35

[21 Septembre 1871]

Séance du 21 7^h

6^h du soir

Serraillier président

Membres présents

Outine, Perret, Verrycken, Fluse, De Paepe, Steens, Coenen, Herman, Marx, Engels, Bastelica, Serraillier, Frankel, Lorenzo, Vaillant

Jung	Haijs	Cohn	J. ABSENTS.
Eccarius	Mottershead	McDonnell	

Le secrétaire donne Lecture du procès verbal de la séance du 20 7^h. 10

FRANKEL observe que le nom du citoyen De Paepe a été omis au bas de la proposition qui consiste à mettre un amendement à la proposition Vaillant.

BASTELICA demande qu'au lieu du mot = auteur d'un livre sur les trades unions = on mette apologiste des Trades unions, 15

COENEN dit qu'on a omis de mettre au procès Verbal les noms et les motifs des abstentionnistes au vote de la proposition Delahaye.

Le procès verbal de la séance du jour du 20 7^h est mis aux voix avec *Rectification* — il est adopté à l'unanimité.

Lecture du procès verbal de la séance du 20 7^h soir 20
il est adopté à l'unanimité.

ENGELS La proposition du citoyen Vaillant entre en discussion soutient cette proposition, on doit absolument conseiller aux ouvriers de s'occuper de politique, car l'abstention est en contradiction, non seulement avec les statuts de l'association, mais encore avec les besoins de la cause socialiste. Les abstentionnistes en politique sont de ceux qui condamnent logiquement les efforts de la Commune de Paris où, pour la première fois, les ouvriers ont pris en main, avec le levier politique, le vrai moyen d'arriver au triomphe de nos principes. = Du reste il n'y a pas 25 30

Procès-verbal de la séance du 21 septembre 1871

véritablement d'abstentionnistes absous, lorsque nous lisons leurs journaux c'est à pleines colonnes qu'ils font de la politique. Quelques uns ont avancés que faire de la politique, c'était reconnaître l'état de choses actuel = mais est-ce reconnaître cet état de choses que de s'emparer de tout ce qu'on y trouve pour travailler à sa destruction = il appuie la proposition Vaillant parce qu'elle dissipera dans l'avenir tout malentendu =

Voir — ci-joint le discours Engels In extenso —

- LONGUET =
10
FRANKEL
que l'on fasse suivre les orateurs dans l'ordre du pour et du contre.
demande qu'on modifie la proposition Vaillant selon l'amendement qu'il a déposé à la dernière séance d'hier et qui est signé de lui et Serraillier. |
|[2]| OUTINE soutient la proposition Vaillant comme elle est formulée et refuse qu'on y adjoigne la raison de la fausse traduction des Statuts — il aurait peur qu'on ne tourne en ridicule cette association qui garde pendant 6 ans des statuts qu'un beau jour elle s'aperçoit avoir été infidèlement traduits = Il vaut mieux que cette déclaration vienne comme une nécessité des événements.
20
Il a toujours vu les abstentionnistes s'écrier — organisez-vous, mais surtout ne vous occupez pas de politique = Il n'y aurait qu'à voir ce que les positivistes comme Crompton conseillent aux ouvriers anglais pour la revendication de leurs droits, c'est-à-dire de s'abstenir complètement de politique, pour comprendre que nous *devons agir d'une* façon toute opposée = Aussi réfute-t-il le citoyen Theisz qui ne voulait pas que la proposition Vaillant contint ces mots = Que la question économique et la question politique étaient indissolublement liées — parce qu'à son avis c'était là 2 questions parfaitement différentes =
25
Il finit en disant que l'abstention amène la dictature et fait les ignorants.
STEENS dit que c'est avec plaisir qu'il voit aujourd'hui que le vent souffle à la politique. Il se souvient très-bien qu'au congrès de Bruxelles, lorsqu'il a émis ces opinions, il a été traqué par Tolain et ses amis = il appuie la proposition de Vaillant.
30
ROBIN n'a pas demandé [la parole] contre Ja proposition, mais seulement pour présenter quelques remarques contre ceux qui attaquent les abstentionnistes.
35
Les premiers qui prêchèrent l'abstention absolue furent les Tolains et les Murats et plus tard nous avons pu nous rendre compte de ce que voulaient ces hommes en les voyant courir à la curée des places.
40
Engels le reconnaît, dit-il, certains hommes qu'on appelle des abstentionnistes parce qu'ils refusent de faire cette agitation

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

qui n'a pas d'autre résultat après de pénibles efforts que de faire admettre un ouvrier à la Chambre = ont leurs journaux largement ouverts aux choses politiques = Il n'y a pas plus d'abstentionnistes d'un côté que de l'autre, la seule différence entre eux c'est qu'ils ne jugent pas de la même façon sur l'opportunité. | 5

| [3] | LONGUET dit que l'abstention à certains moments sous l'empire, par Exemple, était de la bonne politique — et ce dernier l'avait telle-ment compris qu'il poursuivit immédiatement après le plébiscite le Conseil Fédéral de Paris qui l'avait conseillé au peuple. | 10

Mais il est des pays où l'abstention est une lâcheté, en Suisse par exemple où le peuple possède tous les moyens de lutte. | 10

SERRAILLIER soutient son amendement à la proposition Vaillant — ce n'est pas la question de principe qu'il discute, c'est la question de la rédaction = il dit que cette proposition a l'air de ne s'adresser qu'à la France et de ne faire allusion qu'aux derniers événe-ments = Il est absolument nécessaire qu'on sache que le motif de cette déclaration est tout entier dans la fausse traduction des statuts qui a crée ces malentendus et a imprimée à quelques sections cette marche fatale = Il dit que la place du premier paragraphe de la proposition Vaillant est toute trouvée dans le manifeste aux gouvernements = | 15 | 20

Rentrant dans la question générale, il insiste fortement pour que la conférence adopte une déclaration énergique enjoignant aux internationaux de se mêler activement de la politique de leurs pays respectifs — que sans cela l'association n'a aucune portée et n'acquerra aucun développement et qu'ainsi la cause des travailleurs sera compromise. | 25

BASTELICA dépose la proposition suivante = La conférence est incomptétente pour trancher la question de principe, il suffit qu'elle prenne la résolution que les statuts soient réimprimés et passe ensuite à l'ordre du jour. | 30

La séance est interrompue à 8V4. |

[Auszüge aus den Mitschriften
von Charles Rochat und Constant Martin]

[Rochat :] | 35

[S. 704.24-705.8] [1]

ENGELS = Nous ne pouvons pas nous abstenir — cela ne nous est même pas possible — Commune —
On nous dit de ne pas faire de la politique, mais tous les journaux abstentionnistes font de la politique — les hommes que nous envoyons au Parlement nous trahissent — | 40

Procès-verbal de la séance du 21 septembre 1871

faire de la politique c'est — disent quelques uns — reconnaître l'état actuel des choses, mais est-ce reconnaître cet état si on s'empare de tout ce qu'on y trouve pour le détruire —

- [Martin .] [S. 704.24-705.8] [1]
ENGELS soutient aussi cette Proposition —
prié de faire passer ses arguments —
nous devons conseiller aux ouvriers de se mêler à la politique sans quoi ils en feront pour le compte de la Bourgeoisie
10 — Ce serait désavouer le Commune. Si le prolétariat ne se mêle pas de politique on en tirera le même résultat — il fera la révolution pour les bourgeois — ils ont toujours paru comme la queue de la Bourgeoisie —
mais tous les jours le parti abstentioniste fait de la politique — il blâme les gouvernements existants — si des hommes envoyés au parlement trahissent — ce n'est pas — journaux — pas de trésorerie — les moyens d'action — c'est la loi de la Presse — de réunions — le droit *d'association* etc. —
[S. 705.11-13] [1]
20 FRANKEL- Il est tout à fait d'accord avec Engels sur la question générale — on a cru qu'on devait appliquer les moyens politiques d'une façon uniforme dans tous les pays —
Il trouve que le 1^{er} paragraphe — que le conseil a déjà voté qu'on doit faire une adresse aux gouvernements et que là cette 1^{re} phrase sera plus longuement développée — il propose que le 1^{er} paragraphe soit — il maintient le 2^{me} — (quand — les travailleurs 3 pxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx) — il trouve qu'on parle de 2 solidarités — il propose un autre paragraphe de la Proposition de lui et de Serraillier —
25
30 [Rochat :] [S. 705.14-31] [1]
OUTINE se lève pour soutenir la proposition Vaillant — et Contre l'autre — Comment donc — après 6 ans voilà l'Association qui se réveille — ce sont les événements qui nous y poussent.
Les ouvriers doivent saisir toute occasion = à la moindre grève ou émeute on dirait = c'est l'internationale — et ce qu'a dit Theisz = économique supérieur à la politique = mais il trouve qu'ils sont indissolubles —
35 Le cit. Marx a parlé hier que les ouvriers anglais n'abandonneront pas le terrain politique (Ballot Bill) —
40 Les positivistes anglais ainsi que les abstentionnistes — Surtout pas de politique = organisez-vous.

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

[Martin :] [S. 705.36-706.5] [3]

ROBIN n'a pas demandé la parole sur la proposition Marx Contre les abstentionnistes — il cite Tolain et Murât — quant aux autres abstentionnistes — Engels a reconnu que ceux-là font de la politique dans les journaux — Il ne croit pas que ce soit la suppression de 2 mots dans les statuts qui ont pu causer de si grands désastres — peu d'ouvriers lisent les statuts — il n'y a entre ces derniers abstentionnistes et leurs adversaires qu'une question d'opportunité. I

5 10

[21 Septembre 1871]

111 Conférence 21 7^{me} 71

La Séance est reprise à 8^h V₂ du soir.

Président Serraillier.

5 Les cit. Outine et Perret — Steens — Frankel — Jôhn Hales → présentent la résolution suivante =
En reconnaissant la substance des deux résolutions, c'est-à-dire la nécessité de l'action politique du parti prolétaire ; plus que jamais dans les circonstances
10 actuelles — La Conférence laisse au Conseil général le soin de donner la rédaction finale aux deux propositions de Vaillant et Serraillier — Frankel —

Cette proposition est mise en discussion.

HERMAN 15 affirme que les dissensions sont venues de la fausse traduction des statuts — si les ouvriers les lisent peu — il y a des ambitieux qui les leur expliquent à leur façon — ; il faut admettre la Proposition Vaillant — parce qu'il faut attirer l'attention sur ce point. Pourquoi s'associer, s'organiser — si on ne veut pas faire de la politique ? C'est en nous mêlant à la politique que nous arriverons à l'affranchissement des prolétaires —

20 L'Internationale est assez bien organisée en Belgique — si ce pays obtenait le suffrage universel — les ouvriers prendraient immédiatement la direction du pouvoir dans beaucoup de villes — ; la Chambre elle-même a exprimé des craintes à ce sujet. Ils ne l'ont pas demandé jusqu'ici parce qu'on disait — il ne faut [pas] s'occuper de politique — il en est entièrement d'avis que l'on doit s'en occuper activement et seconde la Proposition Vaillant.

MARX 30 ne parlera pas contre la proposition Vaillant parce que hier il a parlé pour — il répond à Bastelica que dès le début de la conférence il a été résolu que cette question était toute d'organisation et non de principe — quant au règlement invoqué — il

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

rappelle [qu'il faut] lire ensemble les statuts et l'adresse inaugurale — dont il donne de nouveau Lecture.

Il fait l'historique de l'abstention — il ne faut pas s'irriter, dit-il, sur cette question — ce sont des utopistes de bonne foi qui ont propagé cette doctrine — mais ceux qui reprennent le même chemin aujourd'hui ne le sont pas — ils ajournent la politique après la lutte violente et jettent ainsi le peuple dans l'opposition formaliste et bourgeoise — qu'il est de notre devoir de combattre en même temps que le pouvoir — Nous devons démasquer Gambetta afin que le peuple ne soit pas une fois de plus abusé. Il est de l'avis de Vaillant — il faut que nous jetions un défi à tous les gouvernements en réponse à leurs persécutions contre l'internationale — qui (...) |

|2| La réaction existe sur tout le Continent, elle est générale et permanente — et même aux Etats-Unis et en Angleterre sous une autre forme —

Nous devons leur dire — nous savons que vous êtes la force armée contre les prolétaires — nous agirons contre vous pacifiquement là où cela nous sera possible — et par les armes quand cela sera nécessaire — il croit qu'il y a quelque chose à changer dans la rédaction de la proposition Vaillant — c'est pourquoi il se rallie à la proposition Outine.

Le cit. BASTELICA s'y rallie aussi — il pense qu'il faudrait se contenter d'admettre le principe — qu'il faudrait qu'un congrès définitive cette question — LONGUET — La proposition Vaillant n'a pas été réellement attaquée — on n'a fourni aucun argument —

La clôture est demandée — elle est mise au voix et adoptée à l'unanimité moins une voix.
Il n'a pas été fourni un seul argument Contre ma proposition que je ne retirerai que devant une proposition de forme plus accusée soumise à la Conférence — mais je ne puis la retirer et voter pour la proposition Outine qui au su ou à l'insu de l'auteur n'est qu'une fin de non-recevoir — En face des calomnies produites contre la ligne politique de l'internationale, il faut une réponse définitive — il faut que la Conférence se prononce et non le Conseil général déjà chargé d'une adresse — de plus la proposition Outine donnant comme base de la rédaction de la déclaration remise au Conseil général aussi bien qu'à ma proposition celle des citoyens Ser-raillier et Frankel qui me paraît en être la négation, ne demandant pour l'internationale l'action politique que dans certains occasions — dites opportunes — c'est-à-dire l'action politique intermitente — tandis que je la demande continue — je ne puis l'accepter — d'ailleurs — je n'ai pas le droit de retirer cette proposition, car je parle au nom d'une catégorie de citoyens qui demandent si oui ou non entrer dans l'internationale — s'allier avec elle —

5

10

15

20

25

30

35

40

45

Procès-verbal de la séance du 21 septembre 1871

ils attendent Votre réponse — J'ai demandé l'appel nominal afin de mettre en demeure les français ayant droit de vote d'affirmer leur opinion.

5

Je demande l'insertion de la note suivante dans les procès-verbaux.

10

Note = Je ferais observer que les paroles ci-dessus écrites de la main du Citoyen Vaillant ont été écrites et *apposées* après coup par le secrétaire (Martin) et recouvrent la réponse que je fis au Cit. Vaillant. La protestation que cette partialité infâme souleva en moi et que je formulais à la Conférence a été également supprimée —

A. Serraüllier

OUTINE-

15

Il lui est pénible de combattre Vaillant et Longuet avec qui il est d'accord sur le fond de la question — il sait, lui aussi, qu'un grand nombre de citoyens attendent cette déclaration pour entrer dans l'internationale — ce n'est qu'une question ||3| de rédaction — et il ne reste plus que 2 jours pour tout le reste de la discussion —

20

Ce ne sont pas, dit-il, des questions politiques ou économiques — qui sont en jeu mais des éléments politiques et économiques — il veut que la rédaction soit renforcée par le Conseil Général — et il espère que cette proposition sortira plus radicale de ses mains.

SERRAILLIER

et FRANKEL

VERRYCKEN

25

se rallient à la proposition Outine et à ses paroles — conteste à la Conférence le droit de discuter cette proposition — Les Sections n'ont pas été consultées sur cette question — il cite un paragraphe des statuts et dit que l'action doit rester libre — que l'on doit pouvoir se mêler de politique ou non selon les pays où on se trouve. —

30

La proposition Bastelica et Verrycken est mise aux voix à l'appel nominal =

			Votes
	Frankel	contre	Motifs d'abstention du cit.
	Serraüllier	contre	Eug. Steens =
	Jung	contre	«Je m'abstiens parce que cette question
35	Bastelica	pour	n'ayant pas été portée à l'internationale, je
	Vaillant	contre	ne puis m'arroger le droit de voter sans
	Marx	contre	mandat. »
	Mottershead	contre	Signé = Eug. Steens.
	Engels	contre	
40	Eccarius	contre	
	Haies	contre	
	Steens	contre	Motifs d'abstention du cit Bastelica =
	Herman	contre	«Acceptant le principe qu'indique la pro-
	Outine	contre	position, je motive mon abstention en ar-

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

Perret	contre	quant de l'incompétence de la Conférence	
Coenen	pour	en la matière. »	
Verrycken	pour		Signé = Bastelica
Lorenzo	pour		
Flu	se	abstention	5
McDonnell	absent		
De Paepe	dito		
13	4	12	
		[4] La 2 ^e proposition (renvoi au Conseil Général) est mise aux voix à l'appel nominal.	10

Votes

Frankel pour — Serraillier pour — Jung pour — Marx pour —
 Mottershead pour — Engels pour — Eccarius pour — Haies
 pour — Outine pour — Perret pour — (10)
 Vaillant contre — Herman contre — 15
 Bastelica abstention — Fluse abstention — Verrycken abstention —
 Lorenzo abstention —
 De Paepe absent — McDonnell absent — Coenen absent.

Les votes sont ainsi repartis — 10 voix pour — 2 contre — quatre 20
 abstentions et 2 absents —

Les cit. VAILLANT et HERMAN font remarquer qu'en votant
 contre ils votent pour la proposition Vaillant —

LONGUET demande si le conseil général tiendra compte de la proposition Serraillier dans la rédaction qui lui est renvoyée par la proposition Outine — Il continue de soutenir la nécessité de maintenir la rédaction Vaillant — et qu'en tout cas il croit que le conseil général ne doit 30 pas retenir un seul mot de la proposition Serraillier —

MARX I demande que le cit. Outine explique sa pensée.
 OUTINE ; répond qu'il est entendu que c'est la proposition Vaillant qui > est renvoyée au Conseil — que le Conseil est chargé de trouver 35 une rédaction meilleure — qu'il s'inspirera du procès-Verbal.

HERMAN demande si Cohn a répondu à l'invitation qui lui a été adressée de venir rendre compte à la conférence de sa mission en Belgique — il déclare que les délégués Belges ont des communications à faire 40 à ce sujet — | secrétaire — déclare qu'il n'a pas encore reçu de réponse du cit. Cohn.

Procès-verbal de la séance du 21 septembre 1871

JUNG

demande que les délégués Belges fassent un rapport au Conseil général.

Après quelques paroles des cit. Haies, Verrycken et Marx la question est renvoyée au lendemain.

10

La parole est au cit. Marx, rapporteur de la Commission, (conflit suisse) —

La commission avait nommé un Sous-Comité pour entendre les témoins — Les cit. Perret, Outine et Robin ont été entendus, mais le citoyen Robin après avoir parlé s'est éloigné sans vouloir entendre les réponses de Perret et d'Outine —

Il fait observer que le cit. Robin n'est pas présent.

15

Il dit que la société de l'alliance a publié ses Statuts avant de les faire connaître au Conseil général — c'était une conspiration — un membre de l'Internationale de Paris les a envoyé au conseil — ils les ont envoyés plus tard — et quelques mois après ils ont demandé au Conseil général s'il les approuve — oui ou non — Marx donne lecture de quelques passages de ces statuts — il est évident qu'ils sont entièrement opposés à ceux de l'internationale — ils ont répondu dans ce sens à l'alliance.

20

La confiance du Conseil général a été un moment surprise — à cause des signatures d'hommes connus — tels Becker — il a cru que l'alliance s'était amalgamée avec le Conseil de Genève —

25

Plus tard la lutte a éclaté entre les 2 éléments au congrès de 70 — d'un côté la fédération romande primitive et de l'autre l'alliance — on ne voulait pas admettre les délégués de l'alliance au Congrès — ils ont été admis par 22 voix contre 19 — mais il y avait un membre qui avait oublié son mandat etc.

30

On a fait appel au Conseil pour trancher cette question.

Afin d'éviter tout conflit quand il peut être évité, le conseil a résolu d'inviter l'alliance à prendre un titre local — ce qu'ils n'ont pas fait — ils ont fait beaucoup de mal — il donne lecture du rapport.

35

HERMAN

ne connaît pas cette question — il cite des exemples de Belges — jamais l'internationale n'a eu à craindre d'être absorbée — il faut que l'alliance soit condamnée — si les ouvriers sont un instant entraînés par les Coteries bourgeois, ils reviennent bien vite sous le drapeau de l'internationale dès qu'on leur démontre la vérité — il appuie le rapport Marx. |

40

6 MARX

a la parole pour une motion d'ordre — il propose que la Séance de demain ait lieu à 10^e du matin précises — cette proposition est adoptée.

PERRET

déclare qu'en sa qualité de représentant de la Fédération

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A.I.T.

	Romande il s'abstiendra dans la discussion — il n'interviendra que si la Vérité des faits contenus dans le rapport est contestée.	
	Marx est d'avis de séparer le rapport en 3 parties — et de les discuter et de les voter séparément.	5
	Cette proposition est adoptée à l'unanimité.	
DELAHAYE	donne Lecture de la Lettre suivante — du cit. Robin = « Appelé comme témoin à propos du différent Suisse dans la Commission nommée pour l'examiner, je m'y suis rendu avec l'espoir de contribuer à un apaisement.	10
	Mis directement en cause, je déclare formellement que je n'accepte pas le rôle d'accusé et je m'abstiens d'assister aux séances de la conférence où sera discutée la question Suisse — »	
	Londres le 19 ^{7^{me}} 1871	
	signé = Robin	15
MARX	nie cela totalement — le cas est contraire, dit-il — le cit. Robin a parlé longuement — il s'en est allé sans vouloir entendre les réponses de Outine et de Perret —	
	Outine lui a dit — je ne veux pas parler de vous pendant votre absence, mais je déclare que vous êtes le principal instigateur des intrigues de l'alliance —	20
OUTINE	regrette de ne pouvoir se joindre complètement à la déclaration de Perret — car en présence de la lettre de Robin et de son arrogance — il veut s'expliquer —	
	[7] L'homme que j'ai accusé en face d'être le premier instigateur du Conflit refuse de venir déposer et se défendre devant la Conférence et cela après que la Solidarité — organe de ces hommes — nous a toujours menacés d'un jugement du Conseil général ou du Congrès — et que ces menaces ne se sont pas même arrêtées lors des graves événements de la Commune — époque à laquelle la Solidarité a reparu — la véritable cause de leur absence c'est la persuasion que le jugement de la Conférence serait prononcé contre eux —	25
	— On aurait pu croire que le cit. Robin aurait au moins la plus simple honnêteté de se défendre — Ces hommes se jouent de la Conférence — après avoir porté de graves préjudices à l'internationale pendant 2 ans — ils veulent retarder maintenant la liquidation de ce conflit — en donnant de faux prétextes de leur absence — et cela pour pouvoir continuer impunément leurs intrigues jusqu'au prochain Congrès —	35
DE PAEPE	déclare que le Conseil général Belge a écrit officiellement à l'alliance pour la désapprouver — et pour l'engager à se dissoudre — il accepte entièrement la 1 ^{re} partie du rapport —	
	La 1 ^{re} partie du rapport est mise aux voix et adoptée à l'unanimité moins deux voix (Serraillier, Herman)	40
		45

Procès-verbal de la séance du 21 septembre 1871

	SERRAILLIER	propose l'amendement suivant = Il demande qu'un blâme Sévère soit infligé aux fondateurs et aux propagateurs de l'alliance qui ont employé des procédés occultes et ouverts qui ont précédé ou suivi sa formation et d'inviter ces derniers à ne pas perpétuer plus longtemps ces procédés qui ne sauraient alors être considérés que comme des entraves systématiques apportées au développement de l'association internationale des travailleurs en Suisse —
10	DE PAEPE	8 Cet amendement est appuyé par Herman, est contre cet amendement dans son ensemble — le blâme est distribué d'une façon trop Générale — il est persuadé que plusieurs fondateurs et propagateurs étaient de bonne foi. — VAILLANT est de cet avis — il dit que le rapport est modéré, ferme et énergique —
15	SERRAILLIER MARX DE PAEPE	retire son amendement — il s'en sert pour motiver son vote — donne lecture de la 2 ^e partie du rapport. croit que la Conférence est Compétente, mais il regrette que les dissidents n'aient pas été officiellement avisés.
20	JUNG	explique qu'il leur a écrit plusieurs fois et qu'il n'a jamais reçu de réponse —
	MARX	observe que dans le rapport même les raisons données par Jung sont développées — Jung n'avait pas le droit de leur écrire — il les aurait ainsi reconnus —
25		— que le Conseil général — pour montrer qu'il n'était pas accessible aux intrigues — a admis le cit. Robin dans son Sein — malgré les plaintes portées contre lui par Brismée et par des membres de l'internationale de Paris —
	HERMAN-	Les correspondants ne doivent correspondre qu'avec ceux qui les ont nommés —
30		La 2 ^e partie du rapport est mise aux voix et adoptée à l'unanimité —
	MARX OUTINE FRANKEL	explique et résume la 3 ^e partie du rapport — la seconde — elle est adoptée à l'unanimité — voudrait que les journaux qui méritent d'être blâmés soient désignés — il fait la Proposition suivante : La Conférence désapprouve les actes du journal la Solidarité qui traitent les questions devant être portées devant le Conseil général ainsi que tous les journaux de l'internationale qui se serviront des mêmes procédés —
35		seconde cette Proposition, il ne faut pas que le blâme puisse rejaillir sur les journaux dévoués —
40	OUTINE	se rallie à cette Proposition avec les mots « pareil à la Solidarité et au Progrès. »
	MARX	La Proposition — adoptée — unanimité.
45		Séance levée. I

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A.I.T.

[Auszüge aus den Mitschriften von Constant Martin
und einem unbekannten Protokollanten]

	[Unbekannter Protokollant :] [S. 709.29-710.28]	
MARX	rappelle les arguments qu'il a opposés à Bastelica — il explique que la proposition Vaillant n'est pas en contradiction avec les règlements — il combat les abstentionnistes en disant qu'ils sont des sectaires — ce sont des hommes sincères mais leurs tendances sont rétrogrades. Cependant on serait porté à suspecter leur loyauté —	5 10
	Ce n'est pas seulement contre les gouvernements, c'est aussi contre l'opposition bourgeoise que nous voulons l'action —	
	La Déclaration Vaillant doit être jetée à la face de tous les gouvernements, même en Suisse et aux Etats-Unis, car la réaction existe partout sous des formes différentes —	15
	Nous leur disons qu'ils sont la force armée contre le prolétariat. Marx est pour la proposition.	
OUTINE et PERRET—	Il vaut mieux différer la rédaction pour ménager le Temps de la séance —	20
LONGUET	demande la parole contre la clôture à cause de cette dernière proposition qui doit être discutée — et puis Vaillant dit qu'il va leur dire pourquoi ils maintiennent leur proposition —	
ENGELS SERRAILLIER	insiste pour la clôture — propose que la parole soit accordée au citoyen Bastelica sur la question —	25
Le citoyen BASTELICA	est d'accord avec Marx = il faut affirmer le principe et bien tout placer sur le terrain de la lutte afin de déjouer les plans de la bourgeoisie qui s'agit vivement en Angleterre — La proposition doit être présentée au Conseil Général —	30
LONGUET	s'oppose à la Clôture et veut défendre la proposition — La Clôture est adoptée à l'unanimité moins une voix —	
	[Martin :] [S. 710.3-6]	35
	[1]	
	Il ne faut pas s'irriter sur la question de l'abstention — ce sont des utopistes — qui font des luttes partielles — pas de mouvement de classes — les parties des ouvriers qui ont compris les questions — se (...) — ils deviennent toujours réactionnaires — ils enrichissent —	
	Voulons-nous réduire à ce point de départ cette conférence — ce serait ridicule —	40

Procès-verbal de la séance du 21 septembre 1871

		[S. 712.42-713.5]	[5]
	HALES	croit qu'il ne serait pas juste de prendre une détermination ce soir — il ne lui a pas écrit de se présenter ce soir et peut-être se présentera-t-il demain.	
5	HERMAN	tient à ce que le Conseil se prononce sur cette question — Cohn — amendement (...)	
	VERRYCKEN-	il en a rendu Compte à la mecanic [trade union] — il a une partie de son rapport entre les mains, il demande qu'il soit invité à se présenter demain — il préfère qu'il soit présent —	
10	MILNER MARX	demande que les délégués belges s'expliquent ce soir — appuie Verrycken —	
		[Unbekannter Protokollant :]	
		[S. 712.42-713.5]	[3]
	HALES	croit qu'il ne faut pas adopter la résolution ce soir car Cohn pourrait venir demain —	
15	HERMAN	reproche à Cohn de n'être pas venu rendre compte au Conseil en arrivant et il tient à faire savoir sa conduite aux délégués Belges — partage le mécontentement d'Herman, mais il désire que Cohn soit appelé demain —	
	VERRYCKEN		
20	HALES MILNER MARX	demande que la question soit remise à demain — prie les délégués belges de donner les explications ce soir — veut que Cohn reçoive un blâme pour n'avoir pas bien rempli sa mission — renvoi à demain — renvoi adopté à Funanimité —	
		[Martin :]	
		[S. 713.25-33]	[6]
		Plus tard la lutte a éclaté entre les 2 éléments au congrès de 70 — d'un côté la fédération Romande — primitive — grande masse ouvrière — dans ce congrès le point de lutte était l'admission de l'alliance au Congrès — les neufchâtelois ont voté pour — Majorité — 23 voix contre 2 — l'un avait oublié son mandat — [...] Le congrès s'est divisé en 2 parties.	
30		On a fait appel aux sections et demandé au Conseil de prendre au sérieux son droit de suspendre — par les Statuts le droit n'est pas Reconnu —	
		Le Conseil évite toujours tout mouvement autoritaire quand il peut être évité —	
35		Avons résolu que la fédération Romande garde son titre et l'autre aussi — et prendre un titre local — ils ne l'ont pas fait — il ne veut pas démontrer le mal que l'alliance a fait à l'association.	
40			

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

	[Unbekannter Protokollant :]		
HERMAN	[S. 713.36-41]	[3]	
	donne les raisons pour lesquelles il appuie les résolutions du rapport — Section Liégeoise formée par une dizaine de Bourgeois combattue et anéantie par 2 hommes —		
	au moyen des vrais principes de l'Internationale — Il cite plusieurs exemples de tentatives faites par des ambitieux pour culbuter l'Internationale et prendre sa place — Il faut de l'union — ceux qui font le contraire sont des ennemis — Il faut que les ambitieux tombent — et c'est pour cela qu'il appuie le rapport —		10
MARX	[S. 714.4-5]	[3]	
	dit que la Γ partie a seulement rapport à l'alliance de la Démocratie Socialiste qui s'est dissoute elle-même, et l'on veut qu'une pareille association ne puisse pas se reconstituer.		
SERRAILLIER	[S. 715.1—8]	[4]	15
	vote contre parce qu'il veut proposer d'abord un amendement ainsi conçu =		
ENGELS	dit que Serraillier pouvait faire son amendement après l'acceptation de la 1 ^{re} partie du rapport —		
MARX	[S. 715.16]	[4]	20
	a la parole sur la 2 ^e partie du rapport —		
	Les intéressés attaqués prétendent que la Conférence n'est pas compétente ; celle-ci est appelée à Répondre —		
JUNG	[S. 715.19-27]	[4]	25
	cite des faits établissant la mauvaise foi des accusés — il a écrit à Guillaume qui a prétendu n'avoir pas reçu ses lettres etc.		
MARX	dit qu'en dehors de ces raisons le rapport explique pourquoi on ne pouvait pas se mettre en rapport avec eux —		
	Le Conseil Général pouvait les suspendre, attendu qu'ils n'existaient pas légalement, mais il a préféré user de modération ; il a même admis Robin qui avait attaqué le Conseil Général —		30

[22 Septembre 1871]

11] Conférence.

Séance du 22 7^{bre} 71

La Séance est ouverte à 11^h 1/2 du matin.

Serraillier président

5 Le cit. Delahaye est adjoint au Secrétariat.

Rectifications au Procès-Verbal

Le cit. MARX

dit qu'il a donné lecture d'un passage des décisions du Conseil général et non des statuts de l'Alliance — il n'a pas dit qu'en écrivant à l'Alliance Jung la reconnaissait comme faisant partie de l'Internationale.

10

SERRAILLIER

demande que son vote motivé sur le Conflit suisse soit rectifié selon la pièce signée qu'il avait déposée au bureau et dont voici la teneur :

15

«J'ai voté contre la conclusion du 1^{er} paragraphe parce que je crois que la Conférence avait le devoir de voter un blâme sévère aux fondateurs et propagateurs de l'Alliance, qui ont employé les procédés occultes et ouverts qui ont procédé ou suivi sa formation, et d'inviter ces derniers à ne pas perpétuer plus longtemps ces procédés, qui ne sauraient alors être considérés que comme des entraves systématiques apportées au développement de l'association internationale des travailleurs »

20

Comme membre de la Conférence il repousse la Lettre du cit. Robin — elle est injurieuse pour la Conférence et pour la Commission — il demande que cette lettre ne soit pas insérée au Procès Verbal.

25

OUTINE

explique que le différend existe entre la Fédération Romande et les représentants des sections des montagnes Jurassiennes — il appuie la motion Serraillier mais il veut que la lettre soit insérée au Procès-Verbal — Il demande en outre que le cit. Robin soit invité à donner sa démission de membre du Conseil général — La

30

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

	bonne foi du Conseil a été surprise — c'est un peu la faute de la Fédération Suisse —	
VAILLANT	Robin en soutenant, de Paris, les dissidents Suisses les a engagés à exister en dehors de l'internationale — Il a montré, par ses procédés envers la Conférence, comment il a toujours agi = est d'avis que l'on doit inviter Robin à retirer sa lettre et à donner des explications — il la considère comme une suspicion envers la Conférence — mais elle doit être insérée au procès-verbal puisqu'elle a été lue en séance — il rappelle que Robin n'a pas dit à la Commission qu'il se croyait accusé — il a dit tout d'abord qu'il était 2 obligé de partir —	5
ENGELS	demande que l'incident soit vidé par les soins du Conseil général — mais que le Conseil ne soit saisi de la question que si le cit. Robin ne retire pas sa lettre — il fait la Proposition suivante =	10
	Considérant que la lettre adressée à la Conférence par le citoyen Robin contient des assertions qui ne sont pas d'accord avec les faits et constituent une atteinte à l'honneur de la Commission nommée par la Conférence et à celui de la Conférence elle-même	15
	OIK: la Conférence ne peut pas admettre cette lettre ;	20
	La Conférence invite le cit. Robin à retirer cette lettre en le prévenant qu'au cas contraire l'incident sera remis au Conseil Général qui en statuera —	
FRANKEL	appuie cette proposition. Elle est adoptée à l'unanimité.	
	Le procès verbal de la veille est mis aux voix et adopté à l'unanimité.	25
DELAHAYE	se rallie entièrement à cette proposition — il explique que Robin l'avait laissé libre de lire ou non sa lettre — qu'il a cru devoir le faire parce que Robin a été mis directement en Cause.	
FRANKEL	croit qu'il n'a été question de Robin qu'après lecture de sa lettre.	30
	La proposition — Vaillant-Engels est mise aux voix et adoptée à l'unanimité.	
PERRET	<i>Discussion sur le rapport de la Commission des Finances =</i> lit le rapport de la Commission — il critique au nom de la Commission la comptabilité trop primitive du Conseil Général — il désire qu'elle soit faite de façon que l'on puisse s'en rendre compte facilement — il voudrait qu'à l'avenir les sommes perçues à un congrès fussent appliquées à l'année qui s'ouvre — que les sommes qui ne font que traverser la caisse du Conseil, pour les grèves, par exemple, figurent sur un livre spécial — il engage le conseil à avoir un registre à souche — c'est un moyen de contrôle. Il espère que le Conseil tiendra compte de ces observations, s'associe à Perret, il dit que d'abord c'était Eccarius qui tenait les	35

Procès-verbal de la séance du 22 septembre 1871

5	3 MARX	livres — d'une façon primitive il est vrai mais claire — il fut remplacé par Harris — qui avait mission de tenir une comptabilité parfaitement en règle —, mais c'était trop long — il ajoute que le Conseil général est saisi d'une proposition afin que les livres soient tenus par un spécialiste —
10	OUTINE	est d'accord avec Perret et Engels. Le Conseil général a voulu laisser la tenue les livres dans les mains des ouvriers et surtout des ouvriers anglais — à cause de la méfiance que les ouvriers ont en général dans les questions financières — Il fallait trouver aussi un homme sûr.
15	FRANKEL	comprend les raisons de Marx et d'Engels — il propose que la comptabilité soit faite par un spécialiste — mais qu'il soit nommé une commission de vérification composée d'ouvriers.
15	PERRET	voudrait simplement un livre sur lequel d'un côté seraient inscrites les recettes et de l'autre les dépenses.
20	MARX	pense que pour simplifier la besogne on pourrait nommer un receveur et un trésorier. Le receveur encaisserait et le trésorier tiendrait la comptabilité.
20	PERRET	demande que le Conseil général soit invité à avoir une comptabilité plus claire.
25		déclare que la Commission approuve la gestion financière du Conseil général pendant le dernier exercice — elle lui donne pleine décharge et le remercie de son dévouement. Elle a été étonnée qu'avec si peu de recettes le Conseil général ait pu faire tout ce qu'il a fait.
30		La proposition suivante est mise aux Voix = « La Conférence approuve la gestion financière du Conseil général et se rallie aux Conclusions de la Commission en appelant toute l'attention du Conseil général sur l'introduction d'une comptabilité plus claire. »
		Les délégués seuls ont droit de vote — Elle est adoptée à l'unanimité.
35	DE PAEPE—	<i>Discussion de la Proposition des Délégués Belges.</i> Proposition = Le Conseil général se composera de 2 ou 3 délégués par nationalité — (par mandat impératif de la part du Conseil fédéral Belge)
40		Il sait d'avance que cette résolution ne peut être votée que par un congrès — il voudrait que le Conseil général se formât sur le type des Conseils fédéraux — sans cela le Conseil général est exposé à admettre des membres qui n'ont pas l'estime et la confiance des sections — il cite Robin. Il craint que le Conseil général soit débordé par les membres de la Commune de Paris — on disait en Belgique que tous les membres de la Commune avaient été reçus au Conseil général. Le délégué Cohn confirma

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

	ce bruit, ils ont appris avec satisfaction en arrivant ici que le conseil n'avait admis que des hommes connus et estimés — cependant il pense que ce système est un danger,	
MARX	cite des fragments des statuts et démontre que le Conseil général a pu agir comme il l'a fait — ils permettent au Conseil général de s'adjointre des travailleurs de tous les pays. Le Conseil général a toujours agi comme le voudrait De Paepe, dans la mesure du possible — Ce sont les moyens pratiques qui manquent — il est impossible de trouver 3 membres de chaque pays. Il rappelle que Robin avait fait partie du Conseil général Belge et de celui de Paris — Quant aux réfugiés, on n'a admis que des membres de l'internationale et la plupart membres de la Commune de Paris. I	5
4 BASTELICA	est d'avis que la Conférence en appelle à la discrétion du Conseil général pour le Choix et le nombre des admissions.	10 15
	Il est fait lecture de la <i>Proposition</i> suivante présentée par Outine secondée par Serraillier =	
	En général, pour tout candidat, le Conseil général informera la branche nationale relative et la Fédération locale où le candidat aura séjourné et n'admettra définitivement le nouveau membre que si sous l'espace de trois semaines il ne reçoit aucune objection sérieuse.	20
	Avant de nommer un nouveau secrétaire correspondant, le Conseil général invitera la fédération respective de recommander un candidat pris dans le sein du Conseil général.	25
OUTINE -	Ces propositions ont été présentées pour arriver à un résultat pratique — En les votant on débarrassera le Conseil général lui-même — dans les cas où des demandes d'admission inopportunes lui seront faites.	
VERRYCKEN—	Les délégués Belges ne peuvent pas retirer leur proposition — faite par mandat impératif. — Elle demeure suspendue jusqu'au prochain congrès — il dit que les nationalités peuvent se faire représenter par des membres résidant à Londres — il se rallie à la Proposition Outine.	30
DE PAEPE ENGELS	se rallie aussi à cette proposition qui offre des garanties. appuie Outine.	35
	Les cit. Verrycken et De Paepe présentent la <i>Proposition</i> suivante =	
	• La Conférence invite le Conseil général à limiter le nombre des membres qu'il s'adjoint et à éviter que ces adjonctions ne 'l se fassent trop exclusivement parmi les citoyens appartenant à une seule nationalité —	40
VERRYCKEN	ne blâme pas la Conduite que le Conseil général a tenu jusqu'ici — cette proposition est faite dans le but de prévenir un danger — il cite l'exemple de la Belgique où le Conseil Fédéral attend pour se compléter la réunion des sections.	45

Procès-verbal de la séance du 22 septembre 1871

	SERRAILLIER - ENGELS —	Sept réfugiés seulement ont été reçus membres du Conseil Il sera agréable au Conseil que la Conférence émette le vœu que les admissions soient limitées — mais le Conseil n'est pas seulement administratif — il est aussi socialiste et politique — il faut un public suffisant pour discuter des questions de cet ordre — En outre, il faut arriver à agir sur l'élément anglais — il faut donc que tous les vrais révolutionnaires anglais — puissent y entrer.
10	MARX	rappelle que jusqu'à ce jour la France n'a été que très peu représentée. On ne s'est pas plaint — il faut tenir compte de la diversité des langues qui nécessitent diverses traductions —
15		Le 1 ^{er} paragraphe de la Proposition De Paepe et Verrycken est mise aux voix et adoptée à l'unanimité — Le 2 ^{ème} paragraphe est adopté à l'unanimité moins 2 voix et 2 abstentions —
	OUTINE	La première proposition Outine est mise aux voix et adoptée à l'unanimité —
	5 DE PAEPE	La deuxième dito moins une voix. propose à la Conférence de ratifier l'adjonction des membres que le Conseil général a admis dans son sein,
20	VAILLANT	désire que la Conférence déclare seulement qu'elle approuve les sentiments qui ont guidé le Conseil général en s'adjointant des membres de la Commune de Paris — c'est un hommage —
	OUTINE	dit qu'il demeure bien entendu que le Conseil général conserve le droit d'expulsion.
25		La proposition De Paepe est mise aux voix et adoptée à l'unanimité.
	ENGELS MARX	fait lecture de la lettre des sections allemandes de Genève, pense qu'en dehors de la proposition qui a trait à la propagande dans les campagnes il n'y a pas lieu de discuter cette lettre,
30	FRANKEL	est d'avis que la propagande doit être étendue à l'armée — de ne pas exiger de Cotisation de la part des soldats,
	ENGELS	observe que cette propagande mettrait l'association en Péril — même en Angleterre.
35	FRANKEL et OUTINE	La proposition contenue dans les paroles du cit. Marx est mise aux voix et adoptée à l'unanimité moins une voix.
		sont d'avis que la Conférence doit inviter les conseils fédéraux à envoyer fréquemment des délégués dans les campagnes et à provoquer des meetings.
40	Les cit. FLUSE et VERRYCKEN M (. . .) MARX —	présentent la proposition suivante = (sections agricoles) (...) (...)
45		Il faut diviser cette proposition — discuter d'abord de quelle manière on peut arriver à fusionner les intérêts des travailleurs des villes avec ceux des travailleurs des Campagnes — et ensuite celle de la propagande. (Cette division est adoptée)

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

STEENS—	Les moyens de fonder des sections agricoles sont en étude en Belgique — cette proposition sera présentée au prochain congrès.	
+	Il existe beaucoup de sections dans les campagnes Belges — mais elles sont industrielles et non agricoles — Les laboureurs, les journaliers, n'ont pas de société de résistance. Nous ne pouvons que manifester un vœu en attendant le Prochain Congrès,	5
FLUSE	approuve le cit. Steens	
BASTELICA -	Il faut recommander de préparer le terrain et faire de la Propagande — il demande que cette question fasse partie de l'ordre du jour du prochain Congrès.	10
MARX	propose — que la Conférence invite le Conseil général et les Conseils fédéraux à préparer des rapports sur cette question pour le prochain Congrès et que le Conseil général instruise les Conseils fédéraux d'avoir à présenter ces rapports et de faire de la propagande dans ce sens.	15
	β La première partie de la proposition Marx ainsi formulée = En attendant les Résolutions définitives qu'un prochain Congrès prendra sur la question concernant la propagande dans les campagnes les conseils fédéraux sont invités à envoyer des agitateurs dans les campagnes pour y organiser des réunions publiques et y faire la propagande pour notre association.	20
	Cette Proposition — secondée par Frankel — est adoptée à l'unanimité.	
OUTINE	voudrait que le Conseil Général instruise par une circulaire les conseils fédéraux des résolutions de la Conférence,	25
MARX	accepte.	
	Le cit. Marx fait la proposition suivante = (Conseil fédéral anglais)	
	La Conférence invite le Conseil général que les sections des branches anglaises (Londres) forment un comité central et se mettent en rapport avec les provinces et les trades-unions et qu'il soit reconnu par le Conseil général — comme Conseil fédéral anglais.	30
MARX-	Le travail du Conseil général est devenu immense — il doit faire face aux questions générales et aux questions Nationales — Si le Conseil général s'est opposé jusqu'ici à la formation d'un Conseil fédéral, c'était pour forcer les anglais à venir s'inspirer au Conseil général de l'esprit international et socialiste — actuellement leur éducation est faite.	35
OUTINE	crain que les anglais localisent le mouvement politique — il propose la Création d'un bureau Anglais.	40
FRANKEL—	Les ouvriers anglais sont majeurs — depuis 4 ans, ils ont fait leur éducation.	
MARX—	D'après nos statuts les anglais ont le droit de former un Conseil	45

Procès-verbal de la séance du 22 septembre 1871

fédéral — mais les principaux Républicains anglais font partie du Conseil général. Le Conseil fédéral ne se formera pas si nous y sommes opposés — mais depuis la Commune le besoin s'en fait surtout sentir. Il ne craint pas que le mouvement tombe dans les mains des agitateurs anglais qui attaquent l'internationale — beaucoup de membres du Conseil utiliseront mieux leur influence en agissant dans leurs centres respectifs.

- La proposition Marx est adoptée à l'unanimité,
10 MARX fait lecture des propositions du Conseil Général (plans d'organisation), t
7 VERRYCKEN pense qu'en France l'Internationale peut exister sous forme de société économique — sous un nom quelconque — en ne rendant pas publique son adhésion à l'internationale,
15 BASTELICA croit qu'on ne peut rien faire en France sous quelque forme que ce soit. On ne peut qu'inviter ses amis à faire de la propagande —
15 VAILLANT— On peut faire ce que conseille Bastelica, mais il y a autre chose à faire — la compression et les persécutions donnent toujours plus d'extension aux sociétés qui en sont l'objet — il est d'avis que l'association peut être formée dès à présent sous le couvert des sociétés économiques.
20 FRANKEL combat les paroles de Bastelica — la question, dit-il, est de savoir s'il faut protester en France contre la loi Dufaure en formant des sociétés sous le couvert des sociétés économiques.
OUTINE— Ce malheureux système des relations individuelles a fait déjà beaucoup de tort à l'internationale — on se grise avec — et on se figure qu'il y a de grands hommes quand il y en a de tout petits — il cite les derniers événements de Lyon. La Conférence ne peut pas recommander les relations individuelles, n'ayant aucun moyen de les contrôler. Il est entièrement d'avis que l'internationale peut être réorganisée en France — Les ouvriers, dit-il, sentiront que puisqu'on les persécute — c'est que leurs ennemis ont intérêt à les empêcher de s'affilier.
30 LONGUET dit que la loi Dufaure sera impuissante — que les chefs seuls pourront être frappés.
35 SERRAILLER- Il s'est formé sept sections à Bordeaux depuis la Commune — la loi Dufaure n'est pas votée — on peut organiser des sections avant qu'elle le soit — elle sera impuissante, elle sera éludée,
PERRET ne partage pas les craintes de Bastelica — il dit que certains groupes du midi de la France — du Creusot etc. ont du mal à se constituer — il demande que le Conseil général autorise le Conseil fédéral de Genève à recevoir des délégués de ces sections.
40 MARX— Sous Bonaparte l'internationale n'a jamais existé ouvertement — Le Conseil général avait donné mandat à un Blanquiste qui était dans nos principes d'organiser des sections ; il continuera d'agir en ce sens —

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

	Le Conseil Général vient de recevoir du Havre et d'autres lieux des demandes de formation des sections — il ne connaît pas les hommes — le Conseil agira avec prudence. Il est difficile, dit-il, à la police d'agir contre les sections locales. Il observe qu'il présente ces propositions au nom du Conseil général.	5
8 MARX-	Il demande en son nom personnel s'il ne serait pas temps de commencer à s'organiser ouvertement en France et d'inviter les travailleurs à se déclarer partout sections de l'internationale — fait lecture des propositions suivantes =	
Le cit. OUTINE	<i>Résolutions de la Conférence sur la situation de l'association Internationale en France</i>	10
	1) La Conférence exprime sa ferme conviction que toutes les poursuites ne feront que doubler l'énergie des adhérents de l'internationale — Que les sections continueront à s'organiser, sinon par grands centres, au moins par ateliers et fédérations d'ateliers correspondant par leurs délégués.	15
	2) En conséquence la Conférence invite toutes les branches à ne pas abandonner le Concours qu'elles doivent prêter à la propagande des principes de notre association en France et à faire importer en France les publications et Statuts de l'internationale en aussi grand nombre qu'elles le peuvent.	20
	3) Le Comité fédéral Belge, le Comité fédéral Romand et le Comité fédéral Espagnol sont autorisés de servir d'intermédiaires des sections françaises avec le Conseil Général et de recevoir leurs adhésions.	25
	4) Le Conseil général est invité à publier une adresse appellant les travailleurs français à lutter ouvertement contre le gouvernement au nom du développement de notre œuvre émancipatrice et à s'organiser d'après nos statuts malgré toutes les persécutions et toutes les lois prohibitives —	30
VAILLANT—	La Conférence dans son manifeste doit inviter les travailleurs à s'organiser ouvertement en sections de l'internationale. La Province n'est pas terrorisée comme Paris. Il faut une lutte ouverte.	
STEENS—		35
HERMAN		
et VERRYCKEN	se rallient aux propositions Outine.	
ENGELS,	Les quatre propositions Outine sont adoptées à l'unanimité, secrétaire de l'Italie — fait l'historique du Développement de l'association dans ce pays — c'était Caporosso qui fut l'initiateur de l'association en Italie — il fut arrêté et subit 15 jours de prison — il en sortit doux comme un agneau et s'attribua sur les fonds de la société 300 fr. pour s'indemniser de sa prison.	40
	Actuellement c'est le cit. Cafiero qui est chargé de la réorganisation des sections en Italie — il a formé divers comités qui ont été dissous par la force armée — les archives ont été saisies —	45

Procès-verbal de la séance du 22 septembre 1871

A Naples il s'est mis en relation avec diverses sociétés — il est sorti de prison — son procès n'est pas terminé. ||9| A Rome, et en dépit de la bulle papale de Mazzini — il y a eu un banquet en l'honneur de Ricciotti Garibaldi — On y a porté un toast à la santé du cit. Marx.

Dans la crise où se trouve en ce moment l'Italie — il ne croit pas que la Conférence doive lui tracer une ligne de conduite à suivre.

est d'avis qu'il faut adresser un manifeste à l'Italie — qu'il faut louer les ouvriers de leur conduite au sujet de Mazzini et les encourager et les inviter à se grouper comme ceux de la France. Ils verront que la Conférence s'est occupée d'eux, se rallie à la Proposition Marx

Serraillier, Outine et Vaillant l'appuient.

Cette proposition est adoptée à l'unanimité, fait l'historique de l'association en Amérique — il résume une adresse des sections de ce pays. Le conseil général y est très influent — il a délivré des mandats à deux citoyens (...) très influents sur les trades unions — il n'y a pas de raison pour leur retirer le mandat — les Yankees demandent à être directement en rapport avec le Conseil général. Le conseil ne peut pas rompre avec ses mandataires — il a agi dans ce sens.

Il fait la proposition suivante =

Considérant la situation de l'internationale dans les Etats Unis la Conférence approuve la politique suivie par le Conseil général.

appuie Marx — En Amérique, dit-il, l'élément étranger est forcé de travailler à plus bas prix que l'élément indigène — Que les 2 sections américaines qui se sont jointes sont des sectes sans influence sur les ouvriers.

La proposition Marx est adoptée, (une abstention) s'abstient à cause de sa qualité de Secrétaire des Sections d'Amérique.

Russie —

On peut croire qu'en Russie il est absolument nécessaire de former des sociétés secrètes — nous n'en avons pas besoin — Bakounine a fait abus du nom de l'internationale — il espère que dans le manifeste le Conseil insérera quelques paroles à l'adresse des prolétaires russes.

approuve Outine et dit qu'il a une très grande espérance dans le mouvement social russe — presque tous les étudiants y sont pauvres — ils donnent une forte impulsion aux Classes ouvrières — les sociétés secrètes y sont inutiles — l'internationale y est parfaitement accessible — il y a beaucoup d'esprit d'asso-

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

	ciation et de solidarité — On y jouit d'une grande liberté individuelle.!	
10 OUTINE	ajoute que les sociétés secrètes sont usées en Russie et que Bakounine a eu recours au nom de l'association Internationale pour grouper les ouvriers. Il explique longuement la situation de la Russie.	5
VAILLANT	ne voudrait pas que le manifeste défendit la formation de sociétés secrètes — L'internationale agirait au delà d'elle même. Les coups d'Etat étant fréquentes dans ce pays — Les sociétés secrètes peuvent être nécessaires.	10
MARX	approuve Vaillant en ce qui touche aux sociétés purement politiques, — mais malheureusement toutes sont créées sous le couvert de l'internationale.	
DE PAEPE	veut qu'on ne conseille ni qu'on ne déconseille la formation de sociétés secrètes — mais il ne veut pas qu'elles s'autorisent du nom de l'internationale.	15
	Proposition Outine :	
	(...)	
MARX	demande qu'il soit ajouté — « en ce qui concerne les sociétés politiques pleinement justifiées » — l'assemblée approuve.	20
LORENZO	Espagne lit un rapport des sections Espagnoles. L'assemblée, vu l'importance de ce document charge le cit. Engels d'en faire la traduction en Anglais, il sera joint au Procès-Verbal.	25
BASTELICA	L'assemblée passe à l'ordre du jour sur la question Espagnole. déclare avoir reçu une lettre où il est dit que tous nos amis arrêtés à Barcelone viennent d'être remis en liberté. La séance est levée à 7 ^e du soir.	
	[Auszüge aus dem Protokoll von Constant Martin und den Mitschriften von Constant Martin und Victor Alfred Delahaye]	30
	[Delahaye :] [S. 719.4] [1]	
	Appel nominal — sont présents : Lorenzo, Engels, Perret, Marx, Herman, Frankel, Vaillant, De Paepe, Verrycken, Steens, Fluse, Outine, Bastelica, Serrailier	35
	Lecture du procès-verbal du 21 7 ^{RE} .	

Procès-verbal de la séance du 22 septembre 1871

- MARX— [S. 719.9] [1]
On a reconnu le nom de *section romande* à la 2^e fédération •
- ENGELS [S. 720.34] [1]
donne lecture du rapport de la Commission financière —
[Protokoll Martin :] [S. 720.36] [2]
la Comptabilité trop primitive du Trésorier du Conseil général
- OUTINE [S. 721.11-13] [3]
comprend les raisons de Marx et d'Engels — il propose que la
comptabilité soit laissée entre les mains des ouvriers et faite par
un spécialiste —
- MARX [Delahaye :] [S. 721.19-20] [2]
demande une résolution prise par la Conférence —
- DE PAEPE— [S. 721.38-722.3] [2]
Que le Conseil général soit formé d'un même nombre par nationalité. Il dit qu'on n'est pas satisfait en Belgique de l'adjonction
de certains membres, entre autres Robin.
- VAILLANT [Protokoll Martin :] [S. 722.9-11] [4]
il cite l'admission du cit. Robin
- ENGELS [Delahaye :] [S. 722.35] [2]
se rallie à Frankel en entendant la garantie de moralité des
candidats. Il croit qu'on devrait réviser l'admission des membres
actuellement adjoints.
- MARX [Mitschrift Martin :] [S. 722.36] [4]
appuie Outine mais la rédaction devrait être changée — pas
d'instruction formelle au Conseil général — Il voudrait dire que
si les renseignements sont mauvais — il est défendu d'accepter
[ces] membres —
- MARX [S. 722.46] [4]
demande que le Conseil général ne soit obligé que de s'adoindre
[des membres] à la nationalité —

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

MARX	[S. 723.9-11]	[5]	
	rappelle qu'il n'y a eu que 7 réfugiés admis — pendant toute la guerre il n'y avait pas de secrétaire français — la France pas représentée — on ne s'est pas plaint — c'est une chose différente — Conseil général — fédération — langue — travail bien plus grand —	5	
	[Delahaye :]		
	[S. 723.17]	[3]	
	Outine modifié par Engels. Approuvé moins une voix.		
MARX	[S. 723.22]	[3]	
	réclame l'adresse des Américains qui est égarée.	10	
	[S. 723.26-35]	[4]	
	La séance est suspendue de 2V4 à 3 heures.		
	Réouverture — proposition Becker		
	^ donne lecture des 4 propositions		
ENGELS	dit que l'on ne peut s'occuper que de la 3 ^e relative à l'organisation	15	
MARX) des sections — les trois autres étant impossibles.		
	La proposition est adoptée moins une voix,		
	s'abstient comme représentant Suisse.		
OUTINE	sur la propagande en Campagne — dit qu'elle est indispensable,		
MARX—	mais pas seulement au point de vue d'empêcher le militarisme.	20	
	[Mitschrift Martin :]		
MARX	[S. 723.43-46]	[6]	
	trouve cette proposition trop étroite — la grande question est de savoir comment on peut concilier l'intérêt des villes et celui des campagnes.	25	
MARX-	[S. 724.15]	[7]	
	On s'est trop occupé des ouvriers citadins — nous échouerons toujours — presse — délégués — communications — Bebel a bien commencé en Allemagne		
	[Protokoll Martin :]	30	
	[S. 724.15]	[7]	
	Il existe, dit-il, en France 2 petites sections agricoles		
	[Delahaye :]		
MARX—	[S. 724.28-40]	[4-5]	
	proposition du Conseil général - Organisation générale des	35	
	sections de l'internationale —		
	I ^e partie — formation d'un Conseil fédéral anglais.		

Procès-verbal de la séance du 22 septembre 1871

		Le Conseil s'y était d'abord opposé, parce qu'on craignait que la bourgeoisie s'empare du mouvement — mais aujourd'hui il y a un soi-disant mouvement en faveur de la république, à la tête duquel il y a Odger et Bradlaugh qui sont payés par des membres du parlement.
5		
		[Protokoll Martin :] [S. 724.43-725.7] [8]
	OUTINE MARX	caint que les anglais localisent le mouvement — répond que le Conseil aura toujours le pouvoir de dominer la situation —
10		
		[Mitschrift Martin :] [S. 725.6-7] [8]
		Beaucoup de membres du Conseil ont peu d'utilité — ils seront plus utiles en agissant dans les quartiers respectifs — Le Congrès pourrait toujours arrêter ce débordement — Les ouvriers ont confiance au Conseil — ils se sont adressés pour les élections —
15		
	MARX—	[S. 725.9-10] [8]
		lecture — proposition du Conseil général (plans d'organisation) — Des sociétés dans ce genre existent en Allemagne — mais elles déclarent à Chaque Congrès qu'elles adhèrent à l'internationale.
20		
	VAILLANT	[Delahaye :] [S. 725.16-20]
25		croit qu'on peut réorganiser l'internationale comme en Alle- in magne sous forme de parti démocrate socialiste ou sous forme /d'écoles ouvrières.
		[Martin :] [S. 725.21-23] [8]
	FRANKEL	est étonné des paroles de Bastelica qui se dit abstentionniste.
		[S. 725.33-34] [9]
30	LONGUET—	La loi Dufaure vise aussi les sociétés analogues — les poursuites ne nous feront aucun mal. Il cite l'exemple — le procès de l'Internationale. Il est bon que nous puissions démontrer qu'on nous fait mauvaise chicane — cela hâtera — les chefs seuls seront poursuivis —
35		[Protokoll Martin :] [S. 725.34] [8]
	ENGELS	observe que la loi Dufaure n'est pas encore votée.

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

	[Mitschrift Martin :]		
	[S. 725.37]	[9]	
	— il seconde la proposition de Marx et Outine.		
	[S. 725.37]	[10]	
BASTELICA- ENGELS	Il y a eu des conditions en France pour l'internationale — le nie — sociétés illicites — après la loi Dufaure votée — sera éluée —		5
	[S. 725.44]	[10]	
	Tolain n'y étant pas		
	[S. 726.6-8]	[10]	
MARX	observe que Serraillier a dit que proposition en son nom — c'est du Conseil général — il parle à son nom personnel et demande s'il n'est pas bon de conseiller aux ouvriers de s'organiser ouvertement — invitons à guerre ouverte — déclarons partout — sections Internationales — au lieu attendre		10
			15
	[S. 726.34]	[10]	
STEENS -	L'Internationale sort de son enfance, nous entrons dans le préambule révolutionnaire — mais il faut une lutte ouverte et pas mystérieuse — donc il faut afficher quand même le nom de l'in- ternationale on nous jette le gant — nous devons le relever. Le 20 jour où Malou formula sa (...) — ils lutteront ouvertement, les persécutions feront des martyrs — il cite un fait relatif à Roubaix — ils ont invité les ouvriers à former une société de résistance — il adhère à la proposition Outine.		
	[S. 726.38-727.8]	[11]	
ENGELS -	secrétaire de l'Italie — depuis quelques années — les sections désorganisées — et Caporosso initiateur et membre de l'alliance — il a été arrêté — 15 jours de prison et sortit doux comme un agneau — il a été exclu de l'association à Naples — et par compte financier s'était approprié 300 f sous prétexte de dommages, 30 intérêts pour sa prison —		25
	après est venu Cafiero — chargé de réorganiser les sections en Italie — il les a mises en relation avec le Conseil général — qui a été dissous par force armée — en pleine séance saisi — arrestation — réformé sous un autre nom — à Naples il s'est mis en relation avec 35 d'autres sociétés — gendarmes dito — en plus prison Cafiero — on l'avait prévenu — il n'a pas voulu fuir ni cacher ses papiers — prétend être dans la légalité — persécutions — il dit que c'est la meilleure chose pour l'association — est sorti de Prison — procès non réglé —		40

Procès-verbal de la séance du 22 septembre 1871

5 En dépit des efforts de Mazzini — qui a fait bulle papale — banquet donné par tous les représentants à Ricciotti Garibaldi à Rome — toast — enthousiasme — bu à la santé de Marx. Vu cette crise — ne croit pas que la Conférence puisse tracer la ligne de conduite pour l'Italie.

[Protokoll Martin :]
[S. 727.8] [9]
mais il a pleine confiance dans le développement de notre association.

10 [Delahaye :]
[S. 727.13] [6]
ENGELS propose que, indépendamment du manifeste aux divers gouvernements, on en fasse un en particulier pour l'Italie.

15 [Mitschrift Martin :]
[S. 727.13] [11]
ENGELS est d'accord — sur le fond — il propose que cette résolution prendra place quand on [fera l'adresse générale aux gouvernements —
MARX- Il y a urgence de la faire pour la France.

20 [Protokoll Martin :]
[S. 727.16-22] [9]
MARX fait l'historique de l'association en Amérique — il dit que le Conseil général a une grande influence en Amérique — il y a 2 correspondants — on leur a donné des mandats — il y a eu dissension entre le Comité Central et les groupes — le conseil a cherché à amener une conciliation — sans vouloir rompre avec nos mandataires —

25 [Delahaye :]
[S. 727.16-26] [6]
30 MARX fait l'historique de l'Association en Amérique et contrairement à la demande du Comité Central dit qu'on ne peut pas refuser de correspondre avec les trades unions et demande que la Conférence approuve l'action du Conseil Général.

35 [Mitschrift Martin :]
[S. 727.40-728.2] [13]
MARX— comme secrétaire des sections russes — appuie Outine, il a la plus grande espérance sur le mouvement du prolétariat en Russie et aussi sentiments socialistes sont exprimés — il cite Netchaïeff — procès — etc.

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

Les étudiants y sont beaucoup plus liés avec le peuple — ils sont presque tous pauvres — elle a donné un exemple tout nouveau par son dévouement au peuple —
En Russie il y a beaucoup d'esprit d'association ouvrière — grande liberté individuelle et solidarité — la société secrète n'est pas nécessaire — les sections de S'Petersbourg sont de cet avis — 5

[Protokoll Martin :]
[S. 728.18] [11]
OUTINE explique longuement la situation de la Russie — il est de l'avis de Marx. 10

[Delahaye :]
[7]
OUTINE formule sa proposition en disant qu'il ne faut pas que la jeunesse soit sacrifiée dans les sociétés secrètes et les invite à entrer dans l'Internationale 15

[Mitschrift Martin .]
[S. 728.19-20] [13]
MARX demande qu'il soit ajouté qu'en ce qui concerne les sociétés politiques — pleinement justifiées — le Conseil Général n'y est pas opposé 20

[i] Séance du 22 7^{bre} au soir. 9^h moins 7₄
Serraillier président.

(membres présents)

Outine, Perret, Verrycken, Fluse, De Paepe, Steens, Coenen, Herman, Marx,
5 Engels, Bastelica, Frankel, Serraillier, Lorenzo, Eccarius, Vaillant.

McDonnell Jung Cohn ↗ ABSENTS
Haes "Mottershead)

- 10 Continuation des rapports des délégués et secrétaires sur la situation de l'Association Internationale dans les pays qu'ils représentent.

MARX— *Représentant de l'Allemagne* = Vous savez qu'en Allemagne l'organisation de l'Association ne peut exister sous son propre nom, les lois ne permettant pas à aucune société locale de s'affilier à une société étrangère, mais l'association existe cependant et a acquis dans ce pays un immense développement sous le nom de parti démocratique socialiste dont l'adhésion à l'association est déjà ancienne. Mais une seconde adhésion a été faite avec éclat au Congrès de Dresde. Il n'y a donc pas à proposer pour ce pays aucune mesure ni déclaration analogues à celles votées pour les contrées où l'association est persécutée.
15 — S'il a dit du mal des Etudiants Allemands, il n'a rien à dire contre les ouvriers ; pendant la dernière guerre qui était devenue entre les classes un sujet de lutte, l'attitude des ouvriers Allemands a été au delà de tout éloge, du reste, le *parti Démocratique Socialiste* sentait bien que cette guerre avait été entreprise par Bonaparte et Guillaume, pour l'étouffement des idées modernes bien plus que pour des idées de Conquête = Le Comité de 20 Brunswick tout entier fut arrêté et conduit à une forteresse sur la frontière Russe et la plupart de ses membres sont encore aujourd'hui prisonniers sous l'accusation du crime de haute
25 30

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

trahison. En plein Reichstag, Bebel et Liebknecht, les représentants de la classe ouvrière allemande, ne craignaient pas de déclarer qu'ils étaient membres de l'Association Internationale et qu'ils protestaient contre la guerre pour laquelle ils refusaient de voter aucun subside — le gouvernement n'osa pas les faire arrêter en pleine séance, ce n'est qu'à la sortie que la police s'empara d'eux et les conduisit en prison. 5

Pendant la Commune les ouvriers Allemands n'ont pas cessé par les meetings et par les journaux qui leur appartiennent d'affirmer leur solidarité avec les Révolutionnaires de Paris. ||[2]|| Et 10 la Commune vaincue, ils ont tenu à Breslau un meeting que la police Prussienne a vainement essayé d'empêcher ; dans ce meeting, et dans d'autres de différentes villes de l'Allemagne, ils ont acclamé la Commune de Paris = Enfin lors de l'entrée triomphale à Berlin de l'empereur Guillaume et de son armée 15 c'est au cri de Vive la Commune que ces triomphateurs ont été reçus par le peuple =

En parlant de l'Angleterre, le citoyen Marx avait oublié de faire la Communication suivante.

Vous n'ignorez pas qu'il a existé de tout temps entre les ouvriers 20 anglais et les ouvriers Irlandais un antagonisme très-grand, dont les causes du reste sont très-simples à énumérer. Cet antagonisme prenait sa source dans les différences de langue et de Religion, et dans la concurrence de salaire que les ouvriers Irlandais font aux ouvriers anglais — Cet antagonisme en 25 Angleterre est la digue de la Révolution, aussi est-il exploité habilement par le gouvernement et les classes supérieures qui sont persuadés qu'aucun lien ne saurait réunir les ouvriers Anglais et Irlandais = Il est vrai que sur le terrain politique aucune union n'eut été possible ; mais il n'en est pas de même sur le 30 terrain économique et des deux côtés se forment des sections internationales qui en cette qualité devront marcher simultanément au même but = avant peu les sections Irlandaises seront très-nOMBREUSES.

OUTINE— Les ouvriers allemands ont été calomniés pendant la dernière 35 guerre et nous avons tous vu leur conduite admirable et leur dévouement aux principes de l'association, dévouement pour lequel beaucoup sont encore en prison. En conséquence, il propose que le Conseil Général, dans une des adresses qu'il est invité à faire, déclare que les ouvriers allemands ont parfaitement 40 rempli leur devoir pendant la guerre.

HERMAN *appuie cette proposition qui est mise aux voix et adoptée à l'unanimité (with abstention of the Germans present.)*

FRANKEL parle de l'Autriche et dit que ce pays mérite l'admiration pour la lutte courageuse qu'il soutient depuis près de 3 ans contre son 45

Procès-verbal de la séance du 22 septembre 1871

gouvernement = Là, les ouvriers ont compris qu'il ne fallait pas séparer la politique du Socialisme et les persécutions que subit l'ASSOCIATION démontrent clairement combien les gouvernements redoutent l'immixtion des ouvriers dans la politique.]
donne lecture de la proposition suivante Ns (...)

5 [31 MARX

Dans les pays où l'organisation régulière de l'Association Internationale est momentanément devenue impraticable en conséquence de l'intervention gouvernementale, l'Association et ses groupes locaux pourront se reconstituer sous diverses dénominations mais toute société secrète proprement dite est formellement prohibée.

10

Par organisation secrète on n'entend pas parler de Sociétés secrètes proprement dites, qu'au *contraire*, il faut combattre. En France et en Italie où la situation politique est telle que le droit de réunion est un délit, les hommes auront des tendances très fortes à se laisser entraîner dans ces sociétés secrètes dont le résultat est toujours négatif. Du reste ce genre d'organisation est contraire au développement du mouvement prolétaire parce qu'au lieu d'instruire les ouvriers ces sociétés les soumettent à des lois autoritaires et mystiques qui gênent leur indépendance et faussent leur raison = il demande l'adoption de la proposition.

15

VOTE : ADOPTÉE à l'UNANIMITÉ

20

MARX =

Réponse aux Gouvernements.

Numéro

25

Le Conseil général publiera une adresse en réponse aux attaques des différents gouvernements contre l'Internationale, elle sera rédigée dans l'esprit des discussions qui ont eu lieu pendant la conférence.

30

OUTINE =

Il serait bon que la Suisse et la Belgique donnassent communication de leurs griefs particuliers contre leur gouvernement, cela pouvant servir à la rédaction de l'adresse.

35

PERRET—

N'a rien à dire sinon que les ouvriers sont bien décidés à s'emparer du pouvoir aussitôt que cela sera possible, c'est l'affirmation du parti politique ouvrier.

40

DE PAEPE-

Puisqu'il s'agit des gouvernements, ne serait pas fâché qu'on n'oublie pas dans l'adresse celui de la Suisse, plus réactionnaire encore que n'importe quelle monarchie constitutionnelle — Il cite un pays du canton de St. Gall où dans une grève les ouvriers ont été expulsés du pays par la force publique à la demande de leurs patrons.

Le Gouvernement Belge a été un des plus hostiles à la Commune et lors de la chute de cette dernière, il a édicté des mesures très rigoureuses pour interdire le sol Belge à tous les réfugiés. En ce moment un certain Malou, ancien ministre clérical, fait une loi

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

	tendant à interdire la liberté de la parole. Malgré que cette loi soit très-impopulaire, même parmi les bourgeois libéraux — il se pourrait bien qu'elle soit votée par le parlement dont la majorité est catholique. I	
[[4]] HERMAN	dit que si le gouvernement Belge est réactionnaire = il n'en est pour cela pas plus à craindre parce qu'il est trop lâche pour faire exécuter les mesures formidables qu'il ne manque pas de prendre à toute occasion.	5
MARX	désire que l'adresse contienne quelques mots au sujet de la Belgique, parce que les Américains et Anglais considèrent ce pays comme possédant l'idéal du gouvernement monarchique Constitutionnel.	10
BASTELICA	demande qu'on mette aux voix la proposition ainsi formulée = La conférence accepte-t-elle l'idée de l'adresse contre les Gouvernements — cette adresse se fera au nom du Conseil Général.	15
VERRYCKEN	<i>Proposition — Adoptée à l'unanimité</i> demande qu'on publie cette adresse en brochure.	
OUTINE	appuie, mais il veut que les traductions paraissent simultanément à l'original.	20
HERMAN	ajoute à ce qu'a dit Outine que la Belgique et la Suisse payeront s'il le faut le prix de la traduction.	
OUTINE	propose que le Conseil Général prenne toutes les mesures possibles pour faire publier simultanément l'adresse en Français, Allemand et Anglais.	25
	<i>Vote — Adopté à l'unanimité</i>	
	<i>Procès Russe — abus du nom de l'association</i>	
OUTINE.	Outine doit remettre par écrit le résumé du discours qu'il a prononcé le 21 ^{7^{me}} au soir. Après la guerre de 1854 le tsar, voyant qu'il était Battu par Bonaparte sur le terrain militaire, 5 se prit d'une subite passion pour le libéralisme. Parmi les réformes qu'il accomplit, il n'oublia pas les universités.	30
	De tout temps les universités Russes ne pouvaient accepter plus de 300 élèves. Le Tzar augmenta considérablement ce chiffre et l'université de St. Pétersbourg fut en très peu de temps augmentée de près de 900 élèves — sans compter 800 étudiants en médecine.	35
	Le premier soin de ces jeunes gens dont la plupart était très pauvre, et qui avaient à un très haut point l'esprit de solidarité, fut de fonder des sociétés de secours mutuels. Les nobles Russes qui tenaient à se montrer protecteurs de la jeunesse et des Sciences en alimentaient les caisses et les étudiants par d'autres moyens cherchaient à faire prospérer leur société = mais les	40

Procès-verbal de la séance du 22 septembre 1871

meetings répétés qu'il avait été nécessaire de tenir pour la bonne organisation des *sociétés* avaient développés chez ces jeunes gens l'esprit Révolutionnaire.

A cette époque, l'argent des étudiants était entre les mains des universités qui s'en servaient pour payer les mouchards que le gouvernement Russe avait jugé prudent d'enrôler parmi eux, ce que voyant les étudiants résolurent de rentrer en possession de leur caisse et d'en conserver la gestion — en même temps se passait à Varsovie l'insurrection dont la répression fut si extraordinairement barbare = Les Etudiants firent des manifestations et de meetings en faveur des polonais à la suite desquels tous les étudiants polonais furent chassés ou imprisonnés = Les Russes protestèrent et Herzen que vous verrez venir plus tard écrivait dans le Kolokol cette flatterie au tsar = *que il y avait eu des protestations autorisées*, et insinuait que Tschernyschewski éfai payé par la police, pourrait être récompensé.

20 Cependant l'empereur s'était sauvé de St. Pétersbourg et le
gouvernement, non content de leur avoir volé leur caisse,
excluait par une loi tous les étudiants qui ne pourraient pas
payer 200 francs par an = on invita les étudiants à formuler leur
grieves et à nommer des délégués à cet effet. 5 furent nommés
qui furent aussitôt emprisonnés et relâchés au bout de 3 mois
sous la condition qu'ils seraient sous la surveillance de la
police. I[δ] alors — pleins du désir de se venger — ils résolurent de
25 faire de la conspiration =

	Bakounine revenu depuis (...) était reparti de Londres, il envoyait des manifestes en faveur du mouvement panslaviste.
7 DE PAEPE—	Ce n'est pas la première fois qu'il entend contre Bakounine des accusations excessivement graves = Il a même fait partie d'une commission d'arbitrage pour régler un différend entre Liebknecht et Bakounine, il doit reconnaître cependant que Liebknecht fut forcé à une rétractation. — Il regrette que Bakounine ne soit pas ici pour se défendre lui-même, ou qu'il n'y ait pas un avocat pour prendre sa défense. Quoiqu'il en soit, il y a à vider la question du procès Russe où l'association est compromise = <i>il demande qu'On fasse à cet effet immédiatement une déclaration formelle que l'association n'y est absolument pour rien</i> , et cela est d'autant plus facile que le principal meneur de ce procès, l'agent Netchaïeff, ne fait pas partie de l'association, que sa soi-disant fondation de section à Bruxelles est une imposture, qu'il n'est venu à Bruxelles <u>chez un particulier membre</u> de l'association que pour y acheter les collections complètes du journal l'Internationale et du journal de l'association qui existait avant, et qu'en un mot, on n'a pas pu charger d'aucune mission un homme qu'on ne connaissait pas.
30	
35	
40	
45	

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

OUTINE	récète de nouveau que ce Netchaïeff se servait d'un cachet portant la mention d'association Internationale des Travailleurs,	
MARX	propose que le citoyen Outine fasse la traduction du procès Russe et qu'avant la publication et pour dégager sa responsabilité cette traduction soit soumise à un examen qui en garantira la fidélité—	5
	<i>Outine accepte</i>	
	<i>Proposition Vaillant</i> = Le citoyen Outine publiera dans le journal l'Egalité le compte rendu in-extenso d'après les journaux Russes du procès Netchaïeff.	10
	Adopté à l'unanimité moins la voix de Lorenzo qui motive ainsi son abstention :	
	« Sur la proposition Vaillant je m'abstiens me fondant en mon ignorance absolue du sujet préalablement à la discussion entamée et que les arguments fournis pendant son cours ne me sont parvenus assez clairement pour que j'aie pu me faire une opinion.	15
	Lorenzo. »	
DE PAEPE	propose que l'association fasse aujourd'hui une déclaration formelle que l'association est absolument étrangère au procès Netchaïeff et qu'on a abusé de son nom.	20
	<i>Vote — Adoptée à l'unanimité </i>	
[81] MARX =	Il y a encore à l'ordre du jour la lecture du rapport du Conseil Général mais il n'a pas été possible de le faire dans ces derniers temps, il propose donc que ce rapport soit envoyé aux conseils fédéraux.	25
PERRET	fait l'observation qu'il est étonné que ce rapport ne soit pas prêt et surtout, qu'il ne l'ait pas été au commencement ; le conseil Général, ayant convoqué la conférence, devait prendre ses mesures en conséquence.	
OUTINE	pour son compte se déclare satisfait, il considère que le rapport du Conseil Général a été fait en quelque sorte dans les diverses séances précédentes où il a été touché à tant de questions sur lesquelles le Conseil Général a chaque fois donné sa manière de voir.	30
FRANKEL	trouve même qu'il n'y a pas utilité de le faire après la conférence ; il faut, dit-il, se rendre compte que le Conseil Général sera considérablement chargé de besogne après la Conférence, pour aviser à l'exécution des résolutions qui y ont été votées.	35
MARX	dit que du reste il ne lui aurait pas été possible de présenter un rapport complet, n'ayant pas reçu les communications des sections.	40
	<i>Clôture demandée et acceptée à l'unanimité (moins Perret)</i>	
DE PAEPE-	qu'il y ait un rapport pour le prochain congrès —	
	<i>proposition Acceptée à l'unanimité</i>	

Procès-verbal de la séance du 22 septembre 1871

PERRET

dépose les recommandations suivantes =
1° Nous avons connaissance qu'une société nouvelle ou section
de l'Internationale s'est fondée à Genève et qu'elle a demandée
son entrée dans l'association au Conseil Général directement
et sans demander son admission à la fédération des sections
genevoises.

5

2° Nous recommandons au Conseil Général de bien vouloir
appliquer dans des circonstances semblables l'art. 5 des
résolutions administratives votées par le Congrès de Bâle,
ceci afin d'éviter de nouveaux conflits.

10

Pour la fédération Romande, le délégué, Perret.
= *Bonne note est prise par le Conseil Général de cette
recommandation.*

BASTELICA

15

dépose la proposition suivante =

En accord avec les résolutions prises par la conférence sur un sujet analogue nous proposons :
Que le Conseil général soit également chargé de faire traduire dans les différentes langues toutes les résolutions prises dans les divers congrès ou conférences en dehors des Statuts.

20

Bastelica Marx

Accepté à l'unanimité |

[[9]] OUTINE

demande ce que les délégués pourront communiquer à leurs sections de ce qui a été résolu à la conférence.

MARX—

25

Il ne faut rien publier, excepté cependant ce qui regarde le Conflit suisse. Quant au reste vous pouvez dire verbalement à vos sections ce qui a été fait à la conférence, sans parler toutefois ni des finances, ni que l'association peut se réorganiser dans certains pays sous d'autres noms.

30

Il ajoute que la publicité de la conférence, bien entendu en ce qui doit être publié, se fera plus ou moins selon l'opportunité politique de la publicité.

DE PAEPE
et STEENS

35

déposent la proposition suivante =

« Nous proposons que la conférence laisse à l'appréciation du Conseil Général de juger de l'opportunité des événements pour fixer le jour du prochain congrès ou d'une conférence et le pays où il se tiendra. »

OUTINE

40 VAILLANT
THEISZ

trouve qu'on travaille beaucoup plus dans les conférences que dans les congrès,
est du même avis.

dit que les congrès ont beaucoup plus de poids que les conférences parce qu'ils ont les avantages d'une immense publicité.

La proposition De Paepe et Steens est acceptée à l'unanimité

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

Affaire Cohn

HERMAN =	Je regrette profondément que le citoyen Cohn ne soit pas présent, ayant des accusations très-graves à formuler contre lui au nom des sections Belges, cependant, comme aujourd'hui est la dernière séance de la conférence, il n'est plus possible de remettre à plus tard l'accusation ; et d'un autre côté il est urgent que la conférence se prononce sur ces faits.	5
	Il donne lecture d'une lettre du Conseil Fédéral Belge... Il ajoute — le citoyen Cohn devait avant de partir se faire délivrer un pouvoir par le Conseil Général = il n'en a rien fait, il est parti en Belgique comme quelqu'un qui ne tient aucunement à voyager avec un pareil papier = Il devait prendre les adresses des divers Conseils Fédéraux et sections. Je lui avais donné Rendez-vous Chez moi pour la veille de son voyage de 10 ^e du matin à 6 ^h du soir afin de pouvoir [10] lui remettre tous les renseignements nécessaires à sa mission. Sans doute que le cit. Cohn a jugé que cela ne lui était pas indispensable puisqu'il s'est abstenu de me visiter.	10 15
	A Anvers et Bruxelles ce n'est pas au Siège de l'association qu'il va, mais chez les cigariers, ses amis. S'il se présente une fois par hasard au Conseil Fédéral Belge à Bruxelles c'est accompagné d'un de ses amis qui est l'ennemi le plus déclaré de l'association. = En Belgique il dit aux uns qu'il est délégué des mécaniciens ; il se met en rapport d'affaires avec les cigariers, mais il oublie complètement qu'il appartient à l'Association internationale = En Angleterre, lorsqu'il revient, son premier soin est de publier dans le Bee Hive un Roman grotesque de ses aventures dans lequel il s'approprie toute la gloire d'avoir arrêté les enrôlements d'ouvriers, fait des délégués de Newcastle. Ce qui n'est pas vrai, le cit. Cohn n'ayant fait que de se promener en Belgique, et l'association Internationale ayant prévenu les mécaniciens bien avant son arrivée qu'ils ne devaient pas aller en Angleterre.	20 25 30
COENEN	accuse Cohn d'avoir déconseillé aux cigariers de s'affilier à l'association.	35
VERRYCKEN et STEENS	affirment que Cohn n'a absolument rien fait, qu'il n'a pas convoqué aucun meeting, que déjà avant son arrivée, les diverses sections étaient prévenues et qu'ils considèrent le voyage du cit. Cohn comme une tournée d'agrément pour celui-ci.	40
DE PAEPE	dit que les mécaniciens Belges qui sont allés à Newcastle ne sont pas des Internationaux.	
	Il a mandat de voter contre la réélection du cit. Cohn au Conseil Général. Il ajoute que le seul bon résultat pour l'association du voyage Cohn est son expulsion de Belgique qui a été une cause de protestation de la part des Internationaux de ce pays.	45

Procès-verbal de la séance du 22 septembre 1871

ENGELS demande que les Belges donnent la mission à Herman de poursuivre cette affaire devant le Conseil.
Accepté à l'unanimité moins Eccarius
VERRYCKEN propose qu'à l'avenir le Conseil Général fasse passer les fonds destinés à soutenir une grève quelconque par le canal des Bureaux Internationaux.
Cette proposition est prise en considération par la conférence.
Séance levée à 12^{1/2}.j

[Auszüge aus dem Protokoll von Constant Martin
10 und den Mitschriften von Charles Rochat und Constant Martin]

[Protokoll Martin :]
[S. 735.13-736.41] [1]
MARX— (partie de son discours) — même à Berlin au moment où le roi faisait son entrée avec ses troupes — les ouvriers ont crié — Vive la Commune — et ont insulté les soldats — Ils ont montré qu'ils sont le seul parti en Allemagne qui représente les aspirations socialistes —
15 En parlant de l'Angleterre — il a oublié de dire que dans la lutte des Anglais contre les Irlandais — différence de religion — longue oppression de l'Irlande — ont créé l'antagonisme des peuples — et perpétué le pouvoir des tyrans.
20 McDonnell, qui est l'homme le plus populaire en Irlande, a déjà fondé des sections en Irlande — bientôt nous aurons plus de sections irlandaises que de sections anglaises — elles agiront toujours avec nous —
25
OUTINE— Les ouvriers allemands ont été calomniés surtout pendant la dernière guerre — le journal — La Solidarité disait — ainsi que bien d'autres journaux — qu'il n'y avait que Bebel et Liebknecht qui défendent nos principes —
30
[Rochat :]
[S. 735.13-736.34] [1]
MARX— Sur l'Allemagne = l'organisation ne peut pas exister sous son propre nom — mais sous le nom de la partie démocratique-socialiste = Congrès de Dresde — ils ont formulé leur adhésion, ils ont nos Statuts — il n'y a donc pas de mesure à proposer comme celles proposées pour l'Italie et la Russie. S'il a dit du mal des étudiants allemands, il n'a rien à dire contre les ouvriers — au contraire, pendant la guerre etc., c'est même devenue une question des classes = dès le début ils ont considéré la guerre comme
35 *
40

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

une question contre le parti socialiste — le comité à Brunswick — arrêté — conduit à une prison à la frontière de la Russie = il y en a encore beaucoup en prison — ils sont accusés du crime de haute trahison = Bebel et Liebknecht ont déclaré appartenir à l'association internationale = ils ont déclaré — protesté contre la guerre et voté contre les subsides — arrêtés à la sortie de la séance — pendant la Commune — adhérer — pendant l'entrée triomphale ils ont crié — Vive la Commune — ils ont tenu à Breslau un meeting deux fois interrompu, ils adhéraient solonellement à la Commune de Paris — à Vienne et d'autres villes même meeting = 5
Angleterre — lutte entre les ouvriers anglais et les ouvriers Irlandais — différence de la langue et de Religion — antagonisme exploité par les classes supérieures et les gouvernements — personne n'a osé croire qu'il serait possible de créer un lien entre ces deux parties = McDonnell a déjà fondé des sections ouvrières de l'Internationale et il est certain qu'avant peu il y en aura beaucoup — des deux côtés ils se laisseront diriger par le Conseil Général et ce sera un des plus grands résultats que l'Association aura obtenu. 10
15

[Protokoll Martin :] 20
[S. 737.5-21] [2]

Le cit. MARX donne lecture d'une résolution du Conseil Général — la première partie de cette résolution étant déjà votée — il ne parlera que sur la Dernière partie (sociétés secrètes) —
Les sociétés secrètes désorganiseraient l'esprit de l'Association Internationale — c'est bon pour des carbonari — elles ne peuvent pas répondre au mouvement prolétaire — leur manière d'être est contraire à son développement — il faut faire l'éducation des ouvriers — les éléver dans la liberté — dans l'indépendance — ces sociétés sont mystiques et autoritaires — elles sont un danger 25 contre l'esprit de l'association. — 30

[Rochat :] 35
[S. 737.5-21] [2]

MARX= Pour les pays où l'organisation de l'association est devenue impraticable etc....
La première partie peut être exécutée.
— l'association peut être etc.
On a déclaré — on entend pas parler des *sociétés secrètes* proprement dites = parce que comme nous l'avons dit de la situation présente de la France et de l'Italie, serait disposée à former de pareilles sociétés — mais ce genre de sociétés est complètement en contradiction du mouvement prolétaire — Ils s'y glisseront des mouchards etc. etc. et l'organisation particulière de ce genre de 40

Procès-verbal de la séance du 22 septembre 1871

société est contraire à notre développement — au lieu d'instruire les ouvriers — vous les soumettez à des autorités mystiques.

- 5 VERRYCKEN
ENGELS—
[Mitschrift Martin :]
[S. 737.18-20] [2]
demande si l'original sera en anglais seulement.
Le Conseil Général fera selon ses forces — sous la Commune on n'a pu la faire qu'en anglais et en allemand — il pense qu'à présent il y a assez de français au Conseil et que l'adresse sera publiée aussi en Français.
- 10 OUTINE-
[S. 738.22] [2]
Les manifestes perdent leur intérêt — ils ne sont pas complètement traduits — les journaux en publient des fragments. Il demande qu'à l'avenir le Conseil Général Communique aux diverses fédérations les manifestes qu'il élabore et qu'on leur envoie la copie en même temps que l'on donne à l'impression — Il propose aussi que les fédérés Belges s'entendent avec ceux de la Suisse et que l'impression soit faite à Genève —
- 15
ENGELS
[S. 738.22] [2]
demande que l'adresse soit publiée en forme de brochure de prime abord —
- 20 MARX
[S. 739.27] [3]
OUTINE—
MARX
[S. 740.1-6] [4]
prire de Paepe de s'expliquer —
Ce qu'il a raconté n'est pas son impression personnelle — c'est des extraits du procès — Liebknecht avait dit que Bakounine était un espion Russe — c'était absurde — il ne peut pas soutenir l'accusation —
Bakounine après la défaite accuse toujours ses victimes il est toujours utile de publier des extraits du procès — il est d'avis que nous ne pouvons prendre aucune mesure de rigueur envers Bakounine sans entendre un défenseur — il est d'avis que la conférence doit donner mission à Outine de publier des extraits du procès —
- 25
30
MARX-
[Protokoll Martin :]
[S. 740.1-6] [3]
OUTINE
DE PAEPE
déclare qu'il n'acceptera pas seul Cette responsabilité,
demande que sa proposition soit mise aux voix —
- 35 MARX
propose que Outine traduise et envoie ce travail en expertise au Conseil Général.

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

	[Rochat :]	
	[S. 740.1—6]	[5]
MARX =	nous ne pouvons pas juger Bakounine sans un débat contradictoire, mais il s'agit de publier le procès.	
OUTINE =	Il veut qu'avant la publication on fasse examiner cette traduction,	
BASTELICA-	pas besoin de faire examiner la traduction,	
OUTINE	ne veut pas —	
OUTINE—	attendre la publication pour que la conférence fasse sa déclaration.	10
FRANKEL—	un comité = 2 membres à Genève et 2 à Londres.	
BASTELICA -	impossible — 2 membres à Londres avec la Circulaire —	
MARX—	Outine traduira et il enverra la traduction à Londres.	
	[Protokoll Martin :]	
	[S. 740.19-30]	[3]
MARX	observe que dans tous les journaux on a publié ce procès comme produit de l'internationale —	15
DE PAEPE	est d'avis que le Conseil général fasse cette déclaration immédiatement.	
MARX	approuve —	20
	adopté à l'unanimité.	
MARX	La discussion est ouverte sur le rapport général du Conseil.	
	dit que depuis l'ouverture de la Conférence il n'a pu s'en occuper;	
	il propose que le Conseil général l'envoie aux fédérations —	
PERRET	observe qu'on avait promis de le présenter avant la fin de la 25 Conférence — il est étonné qu'on en tarde la présentation.	
MARX	explique qu'il a été accablé par les réfugiés — la question Suisse etc.—	
	[Rochat :]	
	[S. 740.43]	[6]
SERRAILLIER—	Que le Conseil Général soit tenu à donner un rapport aussitôt qu'il aura reçus les rapports de tous les pays —	30
DE PAEPE	demande qu'il y ait un rapport pour le prochain congrès.	
ENGELS	appuie.	
	[Protokoll Martin :]	
	[S. 741.22-31]	[4-5]
MARX	demande que la Conférence donne pouvoir au Conseil Général de publier des extraits et résolutions des Procès-Verbaux de la Conférence.—	
OUTINE-	que le Conseil fasse savoir dans le plus bref délai aux fédérations 40 ce qui doit être publié et ce que les délégués peuvent communiquer aux sections —	

Procès-verbal de la séance du 22 septembre 1871

- MARX propose de laisser au Conseil la faculté de décider ce que doit être publié.
- [Rochat :] [S. 741.22-31] [6]
- 5 MARX = La Conférence donne un pouvoir Général au Conseil Général de publier aussi vite que possible ce qu'il jugera convenable = et doit au plus vite montrer aux Gouvernements que l'Association Internationale existe.
- OUTINE = Conférence privée = demande ce que les Délégués peuvent communiquer à leurs sections de ce qu'on a fait.
- 10 MARX- Ce qui regarde les Choses Suisse, ils peuvent le publier — et ne pas dire qu'il doit le publier dans le plus bref délai mais bien selon l'opportunité.
- PERRET = sacrifices des sections — lui dire ce que les délégués seront autorisés à dire —
- 15 MARX- tout excepté les finances, l'Association peut se réconstituer sous d'autres noms etc.
- [Protokoll Martin :] [S. 742.23-25] [6]
- 20 Il a prétendu qu'il n'était pas Délégué de l'internationale mais des mécaniciens.
- [Rochat :] [S. 742.36-743.2] [7-8]
- VERRYCKEN = lit une lettre de (...)
- 25 Mensonge — Les ouvriers de Verviers venaient de faire une grève qui avait réussie avant l'arrivée de Cohn en Belgique et le délégué de Verviers pourra le dire —
- Nous demandons que le cit. Cohn soit appelé à s'expliquer devant le Conseil Général pour s'expliquer sur ce fait —
- 30 COENEN = Cohn a déconseillé aux cigariers de s'affilier — les sections anversoises —
- STEENS trouve extraordinaire que le Cohn — soit allé voir les cigariers mais pas les mécaniciens — il est venu avec Robyns — on a traduit ce qu'il a dit.
- 35 Pour lui prouver que lui n'a rien fait = c'est l'association Internationale — tous les meetings ont été faits par le concours international —
- 40 Le mouvement des 10^h se fait = Les mécaniciens se sont immédiatement organisés en sociétés de résistances. Il a été expulsé de la Belgique = protestations des journaux libéraux et de l'association = il était Danois et non Anglais — ça n'a rien produit.

Procès-verbaux de la Conférence de Londres des délégués de l'A. I.T.

- DE PAEPE = Les dires de Mottershead, et le rapport de Cohn — c'est injurieux pour les Internationaux —
Ces mécaniciens Belges qui sont allés à Newcastle ne sont pas des Internationaux.
Ce cicéron — **V2** heure, il est venu faire une promenade ridicule — ils ont mandat de voter contre la réélection de ce cit. Cohn — il n'y a eu qu'une bonne chose en Belgique — c'est son Expulsion, à Verviers il est venu se promener = il n'a rien convoqué = je suis arrêté — je ne peux pas venir.
- FLUSE— demande qu'on donne la mission à Herman de poursuivre cette 10 affaire devant le Conseil Général qui pourra Statuer =
- ENGELS les mécaniciens l'ont accepté non pas parce qu'il était membre du Conseil Général mais parce qu'il est président d'une trades unions — ils n'ont voulu qu'un seul délégué qu'ils choisissaient, le cit. Cohn = c'est aux mécaniciens qu'il faudra vous en prendre 15 si Cohn ne savait pas la langue du pays.
- [Protokoll Martin :]
[S. 742.36-40] [6]
VERRYCKEN donne lecture d'une pièce qui lui a [été] communiquée par les 20 mécaniciens —
Cette dernière affirmation est un mensonge flagrant — tous les bassins avaient été instruits de la grève de Newcastle — leur grève avait déjà réussi lors de l'arrivée de Cohn en Belgique — il demande que Cohn soit invité à s'expliquer devant le Conseil — a demandé à Cohn de demander aux cigariers de s'affilier à 25 l'internationale — il a refusé de le faire —
- COENEN—
- DE PAEPE [S. 742.40-45] [7]
affirme que c'est l'internationale qui a tout fait — Cohn a fait une promenade ridicule — son cicéron le traduisait d'une façon pitoyable — il n'y a eu qu'une bonne chose dans son voyage — 30 c'est son expulsion —
- ENGELS - [S. 743.1-2] [7]
Il paraît que la mission de Cohn n'a pas été fidèlement remplie — il est d'avis de charger le cit. Herman de poursuivre cette affaire devant le Conseil Général — vu l'absence de Cohn — il raconte 35 comment le Conseil général a été amené à déléguer le cit. Cohn —
- [S. 743.7] [8]
Demain séance à 3^e V 2 précises • Newman Street.