

THE HAGUE CONGRESS

SEPTEMBER 2-7 1872



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



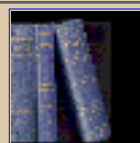
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INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION Fifth Congress at The Hague, Holland

COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE THE ALLIANCE

On September 5, the Congress nominated a Commission to investigate the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. It consisted of five people:

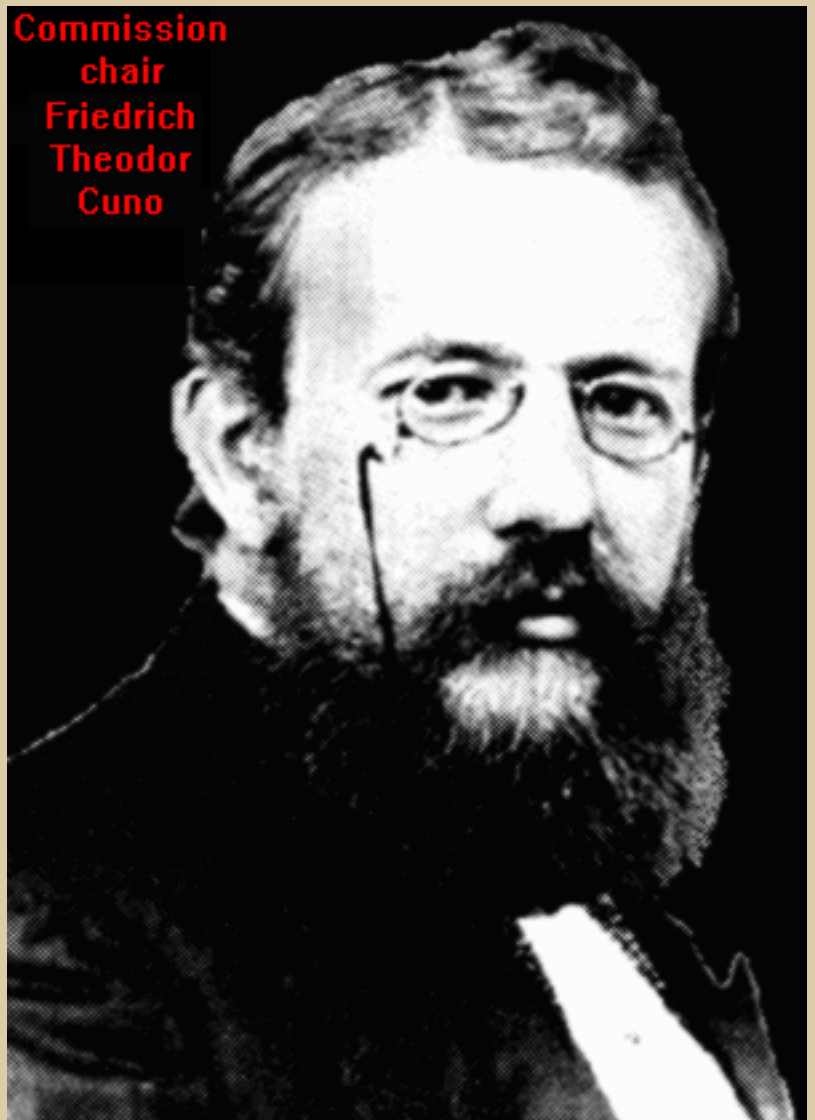
Chairman: Cuno (*Stuttgart*)

Secretaries: Lucain and Walter (*France*)

Members: Springard (*Belgium*) and Vichard (*France*)

It reported to the Congress that the Alliance did exist, and its rules were contrary to the nature of the International. The Congress would resolve to expel Bakunin (24 votes for, 6 against, 7 abstentions) and Guillaume (25 for, 9 against, 8 abstentions) and voted against expelling Schwitzguebel (15 for, 16 against, 7 abstentions).

After Cuno's departure for America, and Lucain's death, the task of drawing up the final report on the Alliance fell to the commission engaged in editing the minutes of the Hague Congress -- Marx, Engels, Le Mossu, Frankel, Dupont and Serrailier. The main task was taken up by Marx and Engels, with substantial assistance from Paul Lafargue. The commission started compiling the report in April 1873 and in August it was published as the pamphlet *The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the IWMA*.



Commission
chair
Friedrich
Theodor
Cuno

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THE HAGUE CONGRESS

SEPTEMBER 2-7, 1872

The Fifth Congress of the
International Working
Men's Association, held in
The Hague, Holland

RESOLUTIONS

Drawn up by Marx and Engels

Official publication of Hague Congress resolutions was
the London November 1872 pamphlet

Résolutions du congrès general tenu à la Haye du 2 au 7 Septembre 1872, Londres, 1872

Also published in newspapers

La Emancipacion No. 72, November 2, 1872, and
The International Herald No.37, December 14, 1872

Online version from *The International Herald*

Transcribed for the Internet by director@marx.org.

I. --

RESOLUTION RELATIVE TO THE GENERAL RULES

The following article which resumes the contents of Resolution IX of the Conference of London (September 1874) to be inserted in the Rules after Article 7, viz.: --

Article 7a -- In its struggle against the collective power of the propertied classes, 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.

This constitution of the working class into a political party is indispensable in order to insure the triumph of the social revolution, and of its ultimate end, the abolition of classes.

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.

The lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies, and for the enslavement of labour. The conquest of political power has therefore become the great duty of the working class.

Adopted by 29 votes against 5, and 8 abstentions. [\[1\]](#)

II. -- RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO THE ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS

1. Powers of the General Council.

Articles II, 2 and 6 have been replaced by the following articles: --

"Article 2. -- The General Council is bound to execute the Congress Resolutions, and to take care that in every country the principles and the General Rules and Regulations of the International are strictly observed.

"Article 6. -- The General Council has also the right to suspend Branches, Sections, Federal Councils or committees, and federations of the International, till the meeting of the next Congress.

"Nevertheless, in the case of sections belonging to a federation, the General Council will exercise this right only after having consulted the respective Federal Council.

"In the case of the dissolution of a Federal Council, the General Council shall, at the same time, call upon the Sections of the respective Federation to elect a new Federal Council within 30 days at most.

"In the case of the suspension of an entire federation, the General Council shall immediately inform thereof the whole of the federations. If the majority of them demand it, the General Council shall convoke an extraordinary conference, composed of one delegate for each nationality, which shall meet within one month and finally decide upon the question.

"Nevertheless, it is well understood that the countries where the International is prohibited shall exercise the same rights as the regular federations."

Article 2 was adopted by 40 votes against 4; abstentions, 11. [\[2\]](#)

2. Contributions to be paid to the General Council: --

With regard to the proposal, on the one hand to raise, on the other to reduce, the amount of their contributions, the Congress had to decide whether the actual amount of 1d. per annum, should be altered or not. The Congress maintained the penny by 17 votes against 12, and 8 abstentions. [\[3\]](#)

III. -- RESOLUTION RELATING TO THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF TRADES' SOCIETIES

The new General Council is entrusted with the special mission to establish International trades unions.

For this purpose it will, within the month following this Congress, draw up a circular which shall be translated and published in all languages, and forwarded to all trades' societies whose addresses are known, whether they are affiliated to the International or not.

In this circular every Union shall be called upon to enter into an International union of its respective trade.

Every Union shall be invited to fix itself the conditions under which it proposes to enter the International Union of its trade.

The General Council shall, from the conditions fixed by the Unions, adopting the idea of International union, draw up a general plan, and submit it to the provisional acceptance of the Societies.

The next Congress will finally settle the fundamental treaty for the International trades unions.

(Voted unanimously minus a few abstentions, the number of which has not been stated in the minutes.)

IV. -- RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO THE ADMISSION OF SECTIONS

[\[4\]](#)

1. **Section 2 (New York, French) of the North American Federation.** -- This Section had been excluded by the American Federal Council. On the other hand, it had not been recognised as an independent Section by the General Council. It was not admitted by the Congress. Voted against the admission, 38; for, 9; abstained, 11.
2. **Section 12 (New York, American) of the North American Federation.** -- Suspended by the General Council.

In the course of the debate on the credentials of Section 12, the following resolution was adopted by 47 votes against 0; abstentions, 9:

The International Working Men's Association, based upon the principle of the abolition of classes, cannot admit any middle class Sections. [\[5\]](#)

Section 12 was excluded by 49 votes against 0; abstentions, 9. [\[6\]](#)

3. **Section of Marseilles.** -- This Section, quite unknown to the General Council, and to the French Sections in correspondence with the latter, is not admitted. Against the admission, 38; for, 0; abstentions, 14.
4. **Section of Propaganda and Revolutionary Action, at Geneva.** This Section, which is but the resurrection of the (public) "Alliance de la Democratique Socialiste", of Geneva, dissolved in August 1871, had been recognised neither by the Romance Federal Committee nor by the General Council, which, indeed, had returned its contributions when sent by the

Jurassian Federal Committee. The Congress resolved to suspend it till after the debate on the second [secret] Alliance. The suspension was voted unanimously, less a few abstentions not counted.

5. *New Federation of Madrid.* -- The new Federation of Madrid was formed by the members of the previous Spanish Federal Council, after the old Federation of Madrid, in flagrant breach of the rules then in force, had expelled them for having denounced the conspiracy of the secret alliance against the International Working Men's Association. They addressed themselves, in the first instance, to the Spanish Federal Council, which refused to affiliate the new Federation. They then addressed themselves to the General Council, which took upon itself the responsibility of recognising it without consulting the Spanish Council, amongst whose eight members not less than five belonged to the Alliance.

The Congress admitted this Federation by 40 votes against 0; the few abstentions were not counted.

V. --

AUDIT OF THE ACCOUNTS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

The Committee appointed by the Congress for the auditing of the accounts of the General Council for the year 1871-72, was composed of the following citizens: -- Dumont, for France; Alerini, for Spain; Farkas, for Austria and Hungary; Brismée, for Belgium; Lafargue, for the new Federation of Madrid and for Portugal; Pihl, for Denmark;

J. Ph. Becker, for German Switzerland; Duval, for the Romance Swiss Federation; Schwitzguébel, for the Jurassian Swiss Federation; Dave, for Holland; Dereure, for America; and Cuno, for Germany

The accounts submitted to this Committee were approved and signed by all its members excepting Dave, absent.

The accounts having been read, the Congress approved of them by a unanimous vote.

VI. --

POWERS ISSUED BY THE GENERAL COUNCIL, AND BY FEDERAL COUNCILS

The Congress resolved,

"To annul all powers issued, as well by the General Council as by any of the Federal Councils, to members of the International in such countries where the Association is prohibited, and to reserve to the new General Council the exclusive right of appointing, in those countries, the plenipotentiaries of the International Working Men's Association."

Adopted unanimously, less a few abstentions not specially counted.

VII. -- RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO THE ALLIANCE

The Committee charged with the inquiry regarding the (second/secret) Alliance of Social Democracy, consisted of the citizens -- Cuno (33 votes), Lucain (24), Springard (31), Vichard (30), and Walter (29).

In its report to the Congress, the majority of this Committee declared that "the secret Alliance was established with rules entirely opposed to those of the International."

It proposed: --

"To exclude from the International Michael Bakounine, as founder of the Alliance, and for a personal affair.

"To exclude Guillaume and Schwitzguébel, as members of the Alliance.

"To exclude B. Malon, Bousquet (Secretary of Police at Béziers, France) [*The Committee was not acquainted with the fact that M. Bousquet, upon the demands of his Section, had already been excluded by a formal vote of the General Council*], and Louis Marchand, as convicted of acts aiming at the disorganisation of the International Working Men's Association.

"To withdraw the charges against Alerini, Marselau, Morago, Farga Pellicer, and Joukowski, upon their formal declaration that they no longer belong to the Alliance.

"To authorise the Committee to publish the documents upon which their conclusions were based."

The Congress resolved --

"1. To exclude Michael Bakounine. Voted for, 27; against, 6; abstentions, 7. [\[7\]](#)

"2. To exclude Guillaume. 25 for, 9 against, 8 abstentions. [\[8\]](#)

"3. Not to exclude Schwitzguébel. For exclusion 15; against 16; abstentions, 7. [\[9\]](#)

"4. To refrain from voting upon the other exclusions proposed by the Committee. Adopted unanimously, minus some few abstentions.

"5. To publish the documents relating to the Alliance. Adopted unanimously, minus some few abstentions."

It is to be noted that these votes upon the Alliance were taken after a great number of French and German delegates had been obliged to leave.

VIII. -- RESIDENCE AND COMPOSITION OF THE NEXT GENERAL COUNCIL

1. Vote upon the change of residence of the General Council. Voted for the change, 26; against, 23; abstentions, 9. [\[10\]](#)
2. The seat of the General Council has been transferred to New York, by 30 votes against 14, for London, and 12 abstentions. [\[11\]](#)
3. The Congress resolved to appoint twelve members, residing in New York, to the General Council, with the faculty of adding them to that number. The following were elected: --

Votes

29	Bertrand (<i>German</i>)
29	Bolte (<i>German</i>)
29	Laurel (<i>Swede</i>)
29	Kavanagh (<i>Irish</i>)
29	Saint Clair (<i>Irish</i>)
28	Leviele (<i>French</i>)
28	Carl (<i>German</i>)
26	David (<i>French</i>)
26	Dereure (<i>French</i>)
25	Fornaccieri (<i>Italian</i>)
23	Speyer (<i>German</i>)
22	Ward (<i>American</i>)

IX. -- PLACE OF MEETING OF NEXT CONGRESS

The proposition that the new Congress should meet in Switzerland, and that the new General Council should determine in what town, was adopted. There voted for Switzerland 15, for London 5, for Chicago 1, and for Spain 1.

X. -- COMMITTEE TO DRAW UP THE MINUTES

The following were appointed, without opposition: -- Dupont, Engels, Frankel, Le Moussu, Marx and Serraillier.

Committee:

F. Dupont

F. Engels

Leo Frankel

Le Moussu

Karl Marx,

Auguste Serraillier

London

21st October, 1872

NOTES

[1] The French text of the resolutions has here:

Voted for: Arnaud, J. Ph. Becker, B. Becker, Cournet, Dereure, Dumont, Dupont, Duval, Eccarius, Engels, Farkas, Friedländer, Frankel, Hepner, Heim, Johannard, Kugelmann, Lafargue, Longuet, Le Moussu, Mottershead, Pihl, Ranvier, Serraillier, Sorge, Swarm, Vaillant, Wilmot, MacDonnell.

Voted against: Brismée, Coenen, Gerhard, Schwitzguébel, Van der Hout.

Abstained: Van den Abeele, Dave, Eberhardt, Fluse, Guillaume, Herman, Sauva, Marselau.

The Congress officially decided to recognise as valid the votes of the delegates who could not attend the sitting because of their work in commissions.

The following delegates voted for: Cuno, Lucain, Marx, Vichard, Walter, Wróblewski; 6 in all. Not a vote against.

In Engels' manuscript the following passage has been deleted:

"As the resolution obtained more than two-thirds of the votes, according to Article 12 of the General Rules, it henceforth becomes part of the General Rules."

[2] The French text of the resolutions has here:

Voted for: Arnaud, Barry, J. Ph. Becker, B. Becker, Cournet, Cuno, Dereure, Dumont, Dupont, Duval, Engels, Farkas, Frankel, Friedländer, Hepner, Heim, Johannard, Kugelmann, Lafargue, Lessner, Le Moussu, Longuet, Lucain, MacDonnell, Marx, Milke, Pihl, Ranvier, Roach, Sauva, Scheu, Serrailier, Sexton, Sorge, Swarm, Schumacher, Vaillant, Vichard, Walter, Wróblewski.

Voted against: Fluse, Gerhard, Spingard, Van der Hout.

Abstained: Alerini, Coenen, Dave, Eberhardt, Guillaume, Herman, Morago, Marselau, Farga Pellicer, Schwitzguébel, Van den Abeele.

Article 6 -- adopted by 36 votes against 6, abstentions, 16.

Voted for: Arnaud, Barry, J. Ph. Becker, B. Becker, Cournet, Cuno, Dereure, Dupont, Duval, Engels, Farkas, Frankel, Friedländer, Hepner, Heim, Johannard, Kugelmann, Lafargue, Lessner, Le Moussu, Longuet, Ludwig, MacDonnell, Marx, Milke, Pihl, Ranvier, Serrailier, Schumacher, Sexton, Sorge, Swarm, Vaillant, Vichard, Walter, Wróblewski.

Voted against: Brismée, Coenen, Fluse, Herman, Sauva, Spingard.

Abstained: Alerini, Cyrille, Dave, Dumont, Eberhardt, Guillaume, Lucain, Marselau, Morago, Mottershead, Farga Pellicer, Roach, Schwitzguébel, Van den Abeele, Van der Rout, Wilmot.

[3] The French text of the resolutions has here:

Voted against the contribution being altered: J. Ph. Becker, Brismée, Coenen, Cyrille, Dupont, Duval, Eberhardt, Eccarius, Farkas, Fluse, Gerhard, Herman, Hepner, Serrailier, Sorge, Swarm, Wilmot.

Voted for the contribution being altered: Dumont, Engels, Frankel, Heim, Johannard, Lafargue, Le Moussu, Longuet, Lucain, MacDonnell, Pihl, Sauva.

Abstained: Alerini, Dave, Dereure, Guillaume, Marselau, Morago, Farga Pellicer, Schwitzguébel.

The following delegates, obliged to leave The Hague before this question was discussed, handed in their vote in writing for the raising of the contribution: Arnaud, Cournet, Ranvier, Vaillant.

[4] The French text reads: Admission and Exclusion of Sections.

The Mandate Commission was composed as follows: Gerhard (50 votes), Ranvier (44), Roach (41), Marx (41), MacDonnell (39), Dereure (36), Frankel (22).

[5] After this the French text of the resolutions has:

Voted for: Arnaud, J. Ph. Becker, Barry, Brismée, Cournet, Cuno, Coenen, Dave, Dereure, Dietzgen, Dupont, Duval, Eberhardt, Fluse, Farkas, Frankel, Friedländer, Guillaume, Gerhard, Heim, Hepner, Herman, Johannard, Kugelmann, Lafargue, Le Moussu, Lessner, Lucain, Marx, Milke, Mottershead, Pihl, Ranvier, Sauva, Scheu, Schumacher, Serrailier, Sexton, Sorge, Spingard, Swarm, Vaillant, Vichard, Wilmot, Wróblewski, Walter, Van den Abeele.

Abstained: Alerini, Eccarius, Harcourt, Marselau, Morago, Farga Pellicer, Roach, Schwitzguébel, Van der Hout.-Ed.

[6] After this the French text of the resolutions has:

Voted for the exclusion: Arnaud, Barry, J. Ph. Becker, Brismée, Cournet, Coenen, Cuno, Dave,

Dereure, Dietzgen, Dumont, Dupont, Duval, Eberhardt, Fluse, Farkas, Frankel, Friedländer, Gerhard, Heim, Hepner, Herman, Johannard, Kugelmann, Lafargue, Le Moussu, Lessner, Lucain, MacDonnell, Marx, Milke, Pihl, Ranvier, Roach, Sauva, Scheu, Schumacher, Serrailier, Sexton, Sorge, Spingard, Swarm, Vaillant, Van den Abeele, Van der Rout, Vichard, Wilmot, Wróblewski, Walter.

Abstained: Alerini, Eccarius, Guillaume, Harcourt, Marselan, Morago, Farga Pellicer, Mottershead, Schwitzguébel.-Ed.

[7] The French text of the resolutions has here:

Voted for: J. Ph. Becker, Cuno, Dereure, Dumont, Dupont, Duval, Engels, Farkas, Frankel, Heim, Hepner, Johannard, Kugelmann, Lafargue, Le Moussu, Longuet, Lucain, MacDonnell, Marx, Pihl, Serrailier, Sorge, Swarm, Vichard, Wilmot, Walter, Wróblewski.

Voted against: Brismée, Dave, Fluse, Herman, Coenen, Van den Abeele.

Abstained: Alerini, Guillaume, Marselau, Morago, Sauva, Spingard, Schwitzguébel.

[8] The French text of the resolutions has here:

Voted for: J. Ph. Becker, Cuno, Dumont, Dupont, Duval, Engels, Farkas, Frankel, Heim, Hepner, Johannard, Kugelmann, Lafargue, Le Moussu, Longuet, Lucain, Marx, Pihl, Serrailier, Sorge, Swarm, Vichard, Walter, Wilmot, Wróblewski.

Voted against: Brismée, Cyrille, Dave, Fluse, Herman, Coenen, Sauva, Spingard, Van den Abeele.

Abstained: Alerini, Dereure, Friedländer, MacDonnell, Marselau, Morago, Farga Pellicer, Schwitzguébel.

[9] The French text of the resolutions has here:

Voted for the exclusion: J. Ph. Becker, Cuno, Dumont, Engels, Farkas, Helm, Hepner, Kugelmann, Le Moussu, Marx, Pihl, Spingard, Walter, Vichard, Wróblewski.

Voted against: Brismée, Coenen, Cyrille, Dave, Dereure, Dupont, Fluse, Frankel, Herman, Johannard, Longuet, Sauva, Serrailier, Swarm, Wilmot, Van den Abeele.

Abstained: Duval, Lafargue, Lucain, MacDonnell, Marselau, Morago, Farga Pellicer.

[10] The French text of the resolutions has here:

Voted for: Barry, I. Ph. Becker, Brismée, Cuno, Dave, Dumont, Dupont, Engels, Harcourt, Johannard, Kugelmann, Lafargue, Lessner, Le Moussu, Longuet, MacDonnell, Marx, Roach, Sauva, Serrailier, Sexton, Sorge, Swarm, Vichard, Van den Abeele, Wróblewski.

Voted against: Arnaud, B. Becker, Cournet, Dereure, Duval, Farkas, Frankel, Friedländer, Gerhard, Heim, Hepner, Herman, Lucain, Ludwig, Milke, Pihl, Ranvier, Schumacher, Spingard, Vaillant, Wilmot, Walter, Van der Hout.

Abstained: Cyrille, Eberhardt, Fluse, Guillaume, Marselau, Morago, Farga Pellicer, Schwitzguébel, Alerini.

[11] The French text of the resolutions has here:

Voted for New York: J. Ph. Becker, B. Becker, Brismée, Cuno, Coenen, Dave, Dumont, Dupont, Engels, Farkas, Fluse, Friedländer, Herman, Kugelmann, Lafargue, Lessner, Le Moussu, Longuet, Lucain, MacDonnell, Marx, Pihl, Roach, Serrailier, Sexton, Springard, Swarm, Vichard, Van den Abeele, Wróblewski.

Voted for London: Arnaud, Cournet, Dereure, Duval, Frankel, Helm, Hepner, Ludwig, Milke, Ranvier, Schumacher, Vaillant, Wilmot, Walter.

Abstained: Cyrille, Eberhardt, Gerhard, Guillaume, Johannard, Alerini, Marselau, Morago, Farga Pellicer, Sorge, Schwitzguébel, Van der Hout.



INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

Fifth Congress at The Hague, Holland

CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

These documents, varying in character, contain extensive material on the work of the International and on the working-class movement in individual countries.

They include general and financial reports of the General Council, the local reports of the North American Federal Council, a number of French federations and sections, the Basle Section and the Italian Section at Porto Maurizio, the Portuguese Federal Council and others, and also messages, statements, greetings, and so on, sent to the Congress by local congresses, federations, sections and individuals.

Though intended to be read aloud to the Congress, as the minutes show, only a few of these documents so read -- due to lack of time. Instead, they were generally passed on to a special commission, which was to read them and then pass back to the Congress a summary report. (This task was never completed, however.)

The detailed report drawn up by Eugels on the financial administration of the General Council since the time of the London Conference (1871) and the general balance of its income and expenses refute the calumny levelled by the bourgeois press and by the Bakuninists against the leading members of the General Council alleging their irresponsibility in spending the funds collected by the workers. Marx observed that "whereas, as the accounts



show, individual members of the General Council were emptying their pockets and purses for the organisation, it was mendaciously said that they were living on the pennies of the workers!"

French sections submitted proposals to improve the International's organisation. Proposals by the Portuguese and the North American federations wanted to strengthen the role of the General Council, demanded a stricter approach to the admission of new members and to the approval of new sections, and emphasised the importance of centralising the proletariat's forces, of strengthening its unity and its ideological cohesion based on the principles of the International.

The Paris, Narbonne and Ronen sections noted the success achieved by the working-class movement, duly recognised the merits of the General Council in respect of the working class and demanded that the Council should be given wider powers to fight against splitters within the Association and against international reaction.

The Portuguese workers, who were the victims of particularly cruel exploitation and had only recently taken the path of independent political activity, wrote in their address to the Congress that the organisation of the working class was an indispensable condition for its emancipation "and that the existence of the General Council, which has been discussed so much, is indispensable, and if there were no General Council it would have to be created."

The New Madrid Federation saw the main task of the Congress in strengthening and extending the organisation, reorganising "it so that it can better achieve its aim ... so that it... may be practically effective". Discerning a serious danger in the secret intrigues of the Bakuninist Alliance and calling for the expulsion of sectarians from the International,

the Spaniards appealed to the Association's General Congress delegates for energetic action.

From Germany, Switzerland, Britain, Spain and other countries letters and telegrams arrived at the Congress containing greetings and expressions of solidarity with the delegates and calling for a courageous and persistent struggle to achieve working-class unity.

DOCUMENTS PRESENTED TO THE CONGRESS:

1. [Report of the General Council to the Fifth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held at The Hague, from the 2nd to the 7th September, 1872](#)
 2. International Working Men's Association. *Summary of the General Council's Financial Administration in 1871/72*
 3. [Report of the North American Federal Council to The Hague Congress](#)
 4. [Modifications to the General Rules proposed by the Ferré Section](#)
- FRENCH SECTIONS:*
5. [Narbonne Section. Message to The Hague Congress](#)
 6. [Declaration of the Paris Sections to the delegates of the International Association assembled in Congress](#)
 7. [The Ferré Section to the delegates of The Hague Congress](#)
 8. [Paris Section of Workers' Rights to the members of The Hague Congress](#)
 9. [Report of the Rouen Federation](#)

10. [Report of the Portuguese Federal Council](#)
11. [Message from the Porto Maurizio \(Italy\) Section](#)
12. [Report of the Basle Section](#)
13. [The Congress of the Geneva Federation to the Congress of the International Working Men's Association at The Hague](#)
14. [Message of Greetings from Francois Ostyn](#)
15. [The New Madrid Federation to the International Congress assembled at The Hague](#)
16. [Invitation to the Congress delegates to visit the grave of A. Barbes in The Hague](#)
17. [Address of the Federal Council of Holland](#)
18. [Greeting from the Amsterdam members of the International](#)
19. [Statements by Rudolf Schramm](#)
20. [Greetings telegram from Cassel, member of the International](#)
21. [Note of the contents of separate messages received by the Congress](#)



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STATEMENTS and PROPOSALS

Translated into English by Richard Dixon and Alex Miller,
for Progress Publishers, 1976.

Transcribed for the Internet by director@marx.org.

Wednesday, September 4, 1872

No. 1

PRELIMINARY AND URGENT PROPOSAL

We request that the Congress, inspired by the principle of justice, should decide that previous to anything else it will discuss the manner of voting, in view of the fact that during the whole checking of the delegates' mandates the delegation of the Spanish Federation has been deprived of the possibility to take part in the voting.

T. Gonzales Morago
Farga Pellicer
Alerini

To the General Congress at The Hague September 4, 1872
Written by Morago
Submitted to the fifth sitting
September 4, 1872
French original

No. 2

Considering the loss of time caused by the checking of the mandates and the personal questions hindering all useful discussion,

Considering the importance of the order of the day,

We demand that the question of the Alliance be submitted to a commission nominated by the Congress and discussed in a closed sitting and that the order of the day be immediately proceeded with.

Ranvier
Alfred Herman
A. Sauva
J. Van der Hout
Roch Spingard
D. Brismée
Duping
H. Gerhard
P. de Fluse
Ph. Coenen
J. Johannard
Victor Dave

I sign, protesting against investigation of a secret society by the Congress. *J. Guillaume*

Farga Pellicer
Marselau
T. Gonzales Morago
N. Eberhardt
H. Van den Abeele
J. George Eccarius
Dumont
Th. Mottershead
Cuno

Submitted to the fifth sitting,

September 4, 1872

Written by Ranvier

French original

No. 3

Considering that the delegates of Germany, Austria and Hungary have to go to a workers' congress opening on the 7th inst. in Mayence, that the delegates of Switzerland and Denmark have to return to their countries, and a certain number of French delegates to go to London,

the undersigned move that after the most indispensable formalities have been carried out the Congress should proceed immediately to discuss the powers of the General Council, its seat and the place of assembly of the next congress, after which the Congress will immediately go on to the revision of the General Rules.

Ludwig Heim

Lafargue

P. Wilmot

Th. Duval

Submitted to the sixth sitting

September 4, 1872

Written by Heim

French original

No. 4

The delegates of the Spanish Regional Federation, obeying the imperative mandate imposed on them, submit the following proposal to the Congress:

Considering that the procedure followed up to the present at International congresses of adopting decisions by the majority of the delegates present is not equitable,

The delegation of the Spanish Federation proposes:

1. That the votes be evaluated proportionally to the number of members of the International represented by the delegates provided with an imperative mandate, in which mandate the number of these members must be stated.
2. That the votes of members not provided with an imperative mandate will not count until the sections or federations represented by them have discussed and voted on the questions debated at the Congress.

In order to make this ruling practicable and so that the resolutions of the Congress will be the true

expression of the thought of the International Working Men's Association, the resolutions adopted will come into force only two months after the Congress. During this time the sections which had not provided their delegates with an imperative mandate on the questions discussed and also those which have been unable to send delegates will express their votes by publishing them in the newspapers of the International and informing the Federal Council which will be designated and charged with counting the votes and announcing the result. [*Written by Alerini, date added by Morago, followed by the respective signatures.*]

The Congress of The Hague,
September 4, 1872

Alerini
Morago
Marselau
Farga Pellicer

Submitted to the sixth sitting,
September 4, 1872
French original

No. 5

We have the imperative mandate to demand vote by national federations on administrative questions.

The Belgian delegates:

Alfred Herman
Roch Splingard
P. Fluse
N. Eberhardt
Brismée
Ph. Coenen

Submitted to the sixth sitting,
September 4, 1872
French original

Thursday, September 5, 1872

No. 6

I request the Chairman to agree to the nomination of a commission consisting of three members to compare the manuscript text of the Spring Street Council's letter with the text printed in the Bulletin de la Federation jurassienne in order to ascertain whether there was on the part of the Jura Federation the falsification mentioned by Citizen Le Moussu.

J. Guillaume

Submitted to the seventh sitting
September 5, 1872
French original

No. 7

[The text of the message and the signatures of Schwitzguébel and Morago are in red ink, the rest is in pencil.]

The Congress of the International Working Men's Association, assembled at The Hague, expresses in the name of the world proletariat its admiration for the heroic fighters for the emancipation of labour who fell victims of their devotion, and sends fraternal and sympathetic greetings to all those who are at present persecuted by bourgeois reaction in France, Germany, Denmark and the entire world.

Adhémar Schwitzguébel, delegate of the Jura Federation
A. Sauva, delegate of the 2 American sections
D. Brismée
N. Eberhardt, Belgian delegates
Victor Dave, delegate of The Hague
Cuno, Germany
Ph. Coenen
T. Gonzales Morago, delegado de la federacion regional español.

Submitted to the eighth sitting,
September 5, 1872

French original

Published in the newspaper
La Liberté No. 37, September 15, 1872 and the
Bulletin de la Fédération jurassienne
No. 17-18, September 15-October 1, 1872

No. 8

I hereby inform the bureau of the Congress of the International Working Men's Association assembled here that urgent circumstances demand my return. I expect and request of my party comrades at the Congress that they will take over my share of the work and carry the business of the Association to a successful end.

J. Dietzgen

The Hague, September 5, 1872

Submitted to the ninth sitting,
September 5, 1872

German original

No. 9

TO THE GENERAL CONGRESS
OF THE INTERNATIONAL
WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION
SITTING IN THE HAGUE, HOLLAND

Citizens,

For the first time since the fall of the Commune, the delegates of the proletariat which was massacred in Paris, is persecuted everywhere and everywhere oppressed, have assembled at an international congress. Therefore all eyes are turned at this moment towards The Hague -- our enemies expecting an admission of weakness or fearing a challenge which would provide proof of the impotence of their furious reaction. For its part, the people expects from those in whom it sees its representatives: a word of hope, the promise of energetic efforts in view of imminent revenge, of early and final victory.

Therefore, in the assurance that, conscious of its duty, the Congress will not fail in it, we, *Communards*, delegates to the Congress, come in the name of the machine-gunned, deported, proscribed people, in the name of the suffering people, to ask of you that word of hope which you will not refuse to it, because it will be the contract which will prove to it that you are worthy of its

confidence.

In face of the repression, which is as savage as it is sense-less, on the part of the victorious bourgeoisie against the defeated proletariat,

In face of the necessity to organise the proletarian forces disorganised by defeat in view of more energetic action,

In face of the weakness towards the bourgeois powers shown by certain groups of the International Association which cover up their desertion of the people's cause with the pernicious doctrine of abstention in political matters or betray this cause by alliance or compromise with bourgeois parties whatever be their name,

Considering that the social revolution can no more be enclosed in formulas than it can be resolved by petty measures and that it must be approached as a whole and in its totality if it is to be achieved,

That the destruction of every capitalist property regime,

That the abolition of the classes, the social revolution, can be achieved only by mustering all the energy of the revolutionary forces,

That abstention from political action is the negation of the first duty of the working class: the conquest of political power for the purpose of sweeping away the old society and creating the elements of the new by the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat,

That any alliance with a bourgeois party whichever shade it belongs to, under any pretext whatever, is desertion of the proletariat's cause on the part of any individual or group guilty of it,

That if the formation of societies of resistance, their federation, beginning the organisation of the working class, provides it with the weapons to fight capitalist oppression,

That if the strike is one means of revolutionary action, the barricade is another, and the most powerful of all,

The Congress declares:

1. The organisation of the proletariat's revolutionary forces and of the political struggle is placed on the order of the day of the next congress.

The General Council is instructed to submit a project for this organisation.

2. Any individual or group claiming to belong to the International who is proved to have by weakness, cowardice or doctrinarian stupidity deserted the cause of the revolutionary proletariat will no longer be allowed to remain in the International Association.

The General Council will have the power to exclude such individuals or groups from the International pending a final decision by the Congress.

Ant. Arnaud

F. Cournet

Dereure

Le Moussu

[Here the name of Lafargue is heavily struck out]

Ranvier

Ed. Vaillant

The citizens submitting this proposal request the Congress to place its discussion on the order of the day immediately after the revision of the General Rules.

Submitted to the ninth sitting,

September 5, 1872

French original

Published in *La Liberté*

No. 37, September 15, 1872

No. 10

Amendment

The General Council has no power over the sections and federations. Its functions will be those of an intermediary between the different regional federations; its activity will be limited to that of a correspondence and statistics centre with full freedom of initiative to propose to the different regions or to the congress the decisions which it finds most appropriate taking into account the data obtained by means of correspondence and statistics.

Tomás Gonzales Morago

Submitted to the ninth sitting,

September 5, 1872

Spanish original

Friday, September 6, 1872

No. 11

We propose that the Congress should immediately proceed with the discussion of the Rules.

2. That only two speakers speak for, and two against.

3. That each speaker should speak for no more than five minutes.

[The document is written by Duval, followed by the respective signatures. The signatures of Lafargue, Pihl, B. Becker, and Milke are in pencil, the others in ink. In the left-hand corner is the date: September 6. -- Ed.]

*T. Duval, F. A. Sore, Adolf Hepner, S. Pihl,
Joh. Ph. Becker, P. Lafargue, Fr. Milke,
Bernhard Becker; Georg Schumacher, Ludwig
Heim, Gustav Ludwig, Le Moussu*

[Then comes an amendment written in another hand and the respective signatures. -- Ed.]

Amendment to point 2.

2. That only one speaker speaks for and one against.

F. Cournet
Ant. Arnaud
Ed. Vaillant
Ranvier
L. Kugelmann, Dr.

Submitted to the tenth sitting,
September 6, 1872
French original

No. 12

[The document was copied out in Cuno's hand together with a statement by the Congress minority -- see [Document 40.](#)]

We request the Congress to open immediately the discussion on the following articles:

Art. 2. -- The General Council is bound to execute the Congress Resolutions, and to take care that in every country the principles and the General Rules and Regulations of the International are strictly observed.

Art. 6. -- The General Council has also the right to suspend Branches, Sections, Federal Councils or committees, and federations of the International, till the meeting of the next Congress.

Nevertheless, in the case of sections belonging to a federation, the General Council will exercise this right only after having consulted the respective Federal Council.

In the case of the suspension of an entire federation, the General Council shall immediately inform thereof the whole of the federations. If the majority of them demand it, the General Council shall convoke an extraordinary conference, composed of one delegate for each nationality, which shall meet within one month and finally decide upon the question.

Nevertheless, it is well understood that the countries where the International is prohibited shall exercise the same rights as the regular federations.

F. A. Sorge

Joh. Ph. Becker

T. Duval

Adolf Hepner

P. Lafargue

S. Pihl

Fr. Milke

Bernhard Becker

Le Moussu

Georg Schumacher

Ludwig Heim

Gustav Ludwig

French original

Submitted to the tenth sitting,

September 6, 1872

Published in *La Liberté* No. 37,

September 15, 1872

No. 13

Proposal

The undersigned citizens request that the order of the day of public sittings of the Congress be regulated as follows.

As soon as the articles of the Rules and Regulations relating to the General Council have been voted, the Congress will examine:

1. The proposal to include in the Rules the resolution of the London Conference on political action of the working class as an article of the General Rules.
2. The proposal of citizens Ant. Arnaud, Cournet, Dereure, Le Moussu, Ranvier, and Ed. Vaillant

on the organisation of the proletariat's revolutionary forces.

3. The chapter of the Administrative Regulations relating to the subscriptions to be paid to the General Council.

4. After this the Congress will proceed to discuss a~ articles of the Rules and Regulations which have not yet been discussed, examining them in the order in which they are included in the latest edition of the Rules.

Ed. Vaillant

Ant. Arnaud

F. Cournet

Ranvier

Le Moussu

Submitted to the tenth sitting,

September 6, 1872

French original

No 14

[The text is written on the back of the sheet containing a statement by A. Herman, R. Spingard and others (see Document No. 5). -- Ed.]

To the Chairman of the Congress

We, the undersigned members of the Congress, protest against the way in which the majority of the members of the Congress who speak other languages disregard the elementary rights of those who only speak English. The difficulty, amounting almost to impossibility to know what is going on or even to be heard on any question, makes our delegation insignificant and our presence a joke.

Signed:

Barry

Mottershead

Roach

Sexton

MacDonnell

Submitted to the tenth sitting,

September 6, 1872

French original

No. 15

Immediately after the discussion of the two proposals concerning the duty of the General Council to see to the strict observance in all countries of the fundamental principles of the Association and watch over the relations of the General Council with the federations, we ask for the question of the inclusion of the resolution of the Conference on political action of the working class in the General Rules and for the question of the subscriptions to be paid to the General Council to put on the order of the day.

[The document is written by Vaillant and followed by the signatures of Arnaud and Cournet. On the back is the name of Ranvier. -- Ed.]

*Ed. Vaillant
Ant. Arnaud
F. Cournet*

Submitted to the tenth sitting,
September 6, 1872
French original

No. 16

We propose that for the year 1872/73 the seat of the General Council be transferred to New York and that the Council be composed of the following members of the Federal Council of North America: *Kavanagh, Saint-Clair, Cetti, Levièle, Laurel, F. J. Bertrand, F. Bolte, and C. Carl.* They shall have the right of co-option but the total number of members of the General Council shall never exceed 15.

*Karl Marx
F. Engels
Walery Wróblewski
Ch. Longuet
A. Serrailier
MacDonnell
Eugene Dupont
F. Lessner
Le Moussu
M. Maltman Barry*

The Hague, September 6, 1872

Submitted to the tenth sitting,
September 6, 1872
Translated from the
French according to
Cuno's copy

No. 17

Considering that Spain has the largest number of socialist newspapers; that consequently the socialist organisation there is stronger than anywhere else; that freedom of assembly exists there; that meetings have a larger attendance there than anywhere else;

Considering that we can obtain clarity only through discussion, that the discussion which has been taking place in London since 1869 is almost *nil*;

I propose Madrid or Barcelona as the seat of the General Council.

N.B. The distance is no longer an obstacle for the telegraph.

Translated from the French original
Submitted to the tenth sitting,
September 6, 1872
French original

No. 18

Proposal

In the name of the Spanish Regional Federation we propose:

1. That the General Council should include two representatives from each federation, elected directly by them and subject to revoke only by them.

That the General Council should have its seat in Belgium. That the Belgian Federal Council be instructed to transfer its powers to the General Council which will be elected.

B. Farga Pellicer
Alerini

Submitted to the tenth sitting,
September 6, 1872
French original

No. 19

The document is written on blue squared paper by Farga Pellicer and signed by him and Alerini. There are notes in pencil.

We demand that before the end of this evening's sitting the debate be closed and a vote taken on the inclusion as an article in the General Rules of the resolution of the Conference on political action of the working class.

*F. Cournet
Ed. Vaillant
S. Dereure*

Submitted to the eleventh sitting,
September 6, 1872
French original

Saturday, September 7, 1872

No. 20

[The document is written by Cournet and followed by the respective signatures. -- Ed.]

Citizens,

Being compelled to return to London, we ask you to kindly excuse our departure and our absence from the last sittings of the Congress.

Greetings and Fraternity.

*F. Cournet
Ranvier
Ed. Vaillant*

[This addition written by Ranvier. -- Ed.]

The above-named being in no way disinterested, despite their departure, in the questions to be debated, wish to leave their vote on the question of politics discussed yesterday, on which they vote for.

They also vote for an increase of the subscriptions to be paid to the General Council.

Ranvier

Submitted to the twelfth sitting,
September 7, 1872
French original

No. 21

To the Bureau of the International Congress

As I have to leave immediately, I am herewith placing the names of those for whom I wish to vote in the election of the General Council on the office table, so that I do not lose my vote through being unable to stay on to the end of today's sitting. I vote for the citizens indicated on the enclosed note. [*Enclosed note with the names of the candidates to the General Council not extant.*]

Bernhard Becker,
delegate for *Brunswick, Chemnitz and Bielefeld*
The Hague, September 7, 1872

Submitted to the twelfth sitting,
September 7, 1872
German original

No. 22

I respectfully beg permission to retire from the Congress after this sitting, having urgent professional business that requires my presence in London.

Sexton
5.8.72
[Inadvertent error on date]

September 7, 1872
German original

No. 23

The Hague
Sept. 7th, 1872
[error -- it was the 8th]

TO THE PRESIDENT OF
THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S CONGRESS

Dear Citizen,

I regret that I am compelled by necessity to leave The Hague this morning for London. I wish you therefore to inform the Congress that only actual necessity would make me forego the pleasure and the duty of remaining until the termination of the proceedings.

I sincerely hope that the further action of the Congress may be guided by wisdom -- that unanimity and good feeling may characterise its proceedings and that its result may be a glorious triumph for the cause of the Universal Proletariat.

I am, Citizen,
fraternally yours,
F. Lessner, delegate, German Section, London

Submitted to the twelfth sitting,
September 7, 1872
English original

No. 24

To the Chairman

As I am compelled to depart today I herewith depose my ballot paper for the election of the members of the General Council. [Ballot paper not found.]

Gustav Ludwig, delegate for Mainz

Submitted to the twelfth sitting,

September 7, 1872

German original

No. 25

The Hague

September 7, 1872

To the Citizen Members of the Congress

Obliged as a result of news received from London yesterday evening to leave The Hague, I request the Congress kindly to excuse me if I do not take part in its work today, but as I could not wait until Tuesday morning, I find myself obliged to leave today.

It is with regret that I leave you, perhaps we shall meet again in happier circumstances.

I avail myself of this occasion to inform you that I vote for the inclusion in the Rules of our proposition on the policy of the working class; and for an increase of the subscription.

Greetings and equality.

Ant. Arnaud

Submitted to the twelfth sitting,

September 7, 1872

French original

No. 26

As it was not possible for me to speak yesterday on the political question, I hereby beg the Chairman of the Congress to tell that although I am the only delegate from Denmark here, the membership in Denmark is very large and that in the name of the Danish branch I adhere to the policy of the General Council. And we shall regret very much if it should happen that the General Council were composed of members such as we could not adhere to.

S. Pihl

Submitted to the twelfth sitting,

September 7, 1872

German original

No. 27

My mandate instructs me to defend *energetically* Article IX (political action of the working class) and its inclusion in the Rules.

I therefore demand a final decision.

*Swarm
Duval*

Submitted to the twelfth sitting,
September 7, 1872
French original

No. 28

On behalf of the section of political refugees of X, which I represent at the Congress, I adhere to the programme expounded by Citizen Dumont for the Paris sections.

Lucain

Submitted to the twelfth sitting,
September 7, 1872
French original

No. 29

I propose that 12 persons should be nominated and that they should be given the right to co-opt three others; and that the sitting be adjourned for five minutes.

P. Lafargue

Submitted to the twelfth sitting,
September 7, 1872
French original

No. 30

I propose that all powers granted by the General Council, the councils, committees, sections in the countries where the *International* is banned should be cancelled and that the new General Council alone should have the right to nominate representatives in those countries.

A. Serrailier

Dumont, Paris sections,

Lucain, French delegate

Paul Vichard, French delegate

Eugene Dupont

Swarm (French sections)

J. Johannard

Ch. Longuet, French delegate

Submitted to the twelfth sitting,

September 7, 1872

[Written by Serrailier]

No. 31

I abstain -- because on this question I should have explained my imperative mandate and have not been able to do so, the discussion having been ended before time.

Victor Cyrille [France]

Submitted to the twelfth sitting.

September 7, 1872

French original

No. 32

[The document bears on the top the words "Danish delegate" in black ink and "Peel" (for Pihl) in pencil, in an unknown hand. -- Ed.]

I vote for declaration IX but I protest in the name of the legality of the vote because the opponents of the declaration have not been allowed to speak.

Dumont, Paris sections

Submitted to the twelfth sitting,
September 7, 1872
French original

No. 33

We propose that the subscription should remain as fixed by the General Rules.

Dupont
A. Serrailier
J. G. Eccarius
Thomas Mottershead

Submitted to the twelfth sitting,
September 7, 1872
French original
[Written by Dupont]

No. 34

I propose that payments should be spread out and take place every three months.

[The document bears on the back the list of candidates for the new General Council: "Kavanagh, Saint-Clair, Laurel, Fornaccieri, David, Levièle, Bertrand, Bolte, Cad, Ward, Dereure, Speyer."]

P. Lafargue,
Swarm, French sections,
B. Wilmot,
Th. Duval,
Dumont

Submitted to the twelfth sitting,
September 7, 1872

French original

[Written by Lafargue]

No. 35*Proposal*

On behalf of the Portuguese Federation and the New Madrid Federation I propose:

That the new General Council be charged with the special mission of organising international trade unions.

For this purpose, will, within the month following this Congress, draw up a circular which shall be translated and published in all languages, and forwarded to all trades' societies whose addresses are known, whether they are affiliated to the International or not.

In this circular every Union shall be called upon to enter into an International union of its respective trade.

Every Union shall be invited to fix itself the conditions under which it proposes to enter the International Union of its trade.

The General Council shall, from the conditions fixed by the Unions, adopting the idea of International union, draw up a general plan, and submit it to the provisional acceptance of the Societies.

The next Congress will finally settle the fundamental treaty for the International trades unions.

Paul Lafargue

seconded by ***F. A. Sorge***, on behalf of the American Federation,

Bernhard Becker,

Fr. Milke, printer, delegate from Berlin,

S. Pihl, Copenhagen,

Swarm, France,

E. Vaillant (France),

Leo Frankel (France),

Joh. Ph. Becker,

Th. Duval, Romance Federation,

Brismée,

F. Cournet (Denmark),

Ant. Arnaud (Switzerland),

Adolf Hepner (Leipzig),

Walter,

S. Dereure (America),

Lucain, France,

Dumont, French section

Submitted to the twelfth sitting,

September 7, 1872
French original
[Written by Lafargue]
Published in *La Emancipacion*
No. 65, September 14, 1872
and *La Liberté*,
No. 37 September 15, 1872

No. 36

Cuno's vote:

On Article IX (on political action) -- For.

Increase of subscriptions: *For*.

Cuno

Submitted to the twelfth sitting,
September 7, 1872
French original

No. 37

Vichard is for Article IX.

Against increase of subscriptions.

Submitted to the twelfth sitting,
September 7, 1872
French original

No. 38

Sorge on behalf of the American Federation tables:

1. a proposal relating to the questionnaire on statistics;
2. a proposal relating to representation at congresses;
3. a proposal aimed at simplifying the designation of the societies, etc. adhering to the International Working Men's Association;

4. the resolutions of the American congress on the position of the General Council and the accusations levelled against it, expressing energetic support of the General Council and demanding complete centralisation of our forces.

Submitted to the thirteenth sitting,
September 7, 1872
French original

No. 39

I consider it necessary to state publicly that my letter does not imply that the commission has acted without due consideration and made conclusions without proof. I would point out that I withdrew yesterday evening and that at that moment, besides my personal conviction, I had strong presumptions, which, as a result of subsequent evidence, would perhaps have been transformed into certainty. Fully trusting the commission's loyalty, I would in any case have supported its conclusions and voted for expulsion, but under the influence of a few words which escaped Citizen Alerini I am sufficiently clear on the situation, the more so since Citizen Guillaume defended Bakunin's honesty and integrity before the whole Congress and in front of me, then a member of the commission, whereas authentic and irrefutable documents prove his infamy and the swindle perpetrated by him to the prejudice of a St. Petersburg publisher.

Walter

The Hague, September 7, 1872
Submitted to the twelfth sitting,
September 7, 1872
French original

No. 40

We the undersigned, members of the minority at the Hague Congress, supporters of the autonomy and federation of groups of working men, faced with a vote on decisions which seem to us to be contrary to the principles recognised by the countries we represented at the preceding congress, but desiring to avoid any kind of split within the International Working Men's Association, take the following decision, which we shall submit for approval to the sections which delegated us:

1. We shall continue our administrative relations with the General Council in the matter of payment of subscriptions, correspondence and labour statistics.

2. The federations which we represent will establish direct and permanent relations between themselves and all regularly constituted branches of the Association.
3. In the event of the General Council wishing to interfere in the internal affairs of a federation, the federations represented by the undersigned undertake jointly to maintain their autonomy as long as the federations do not engage on a path directly opposed to the General Rules of the International approved at the Geneva Congress,
4. We call on all the federations and sections to prepare between now and the next general congress for the triumph within the International of the principles of federative autonomy as the basis of the organisation of labour.
5. We resolutely reject any connection whatever with the so-called London World Federalist Council and with any similar organisation alien to the International.

P. Fluse, delegate of the Vesdre Valley Federation
Tomás Gonzales Morago, delegate of the Spanish Regional Federation
Alerini, delegate of Spain
Adhémar Schwitzguébel, delegate of the Jura Federation
James Guillaume, delegate of the Jura Federation
H. Van den Abeele, delegate of Ghent (Belgium) section
Ph. Coenen, delegate of Antwerp
N. Eberhardt, delegate of Brussels
H. Gerhard, delegate of the Federal Committee of Holland
D. Brismée, Brussels section
J. Van der Hout, delegate of Amsterdam
Victor Dave, delegate of The Hague
N. Alonso Marselau, Spanish delegate
B. Farga Pellicer, delegate of the Spanish Federation
Sauva, delegate of sections No. 22 and 42 of North America
Roch Splingard (Belgium)
A. Herman (Belgium)

[A passage was written, then scratched out: "I sign to declare that the Congress of The Hague has been but a mystification, that social science has derived no profit from it. Victor Cyrille, French delegate."]

The Hague,
 September 7, 1872

Submitted to the fifteenth sitting,
 September 7, 1872

Published in *La Liberté* No. 37, September 15, 1872;

Bulletin de la Fédération jurarsienne, No. 17-18, September 15-October 1, 1872;

L'Internationale No. 191, September 29, 1872;

Mémoire présenté par la Fédération jurassienne. Sonvillier, 1873, pp. 277-78

French original

No. 41

1. I propose that the World Congress in session at The Hague should invite the American Federation to assemble in a national congress on the first Sunday in March 1873 for the purpose of settling the differences dividing that federation,-the congress will be open only to delegates of sections which are in order with the General Council as regards subscriptions. The General Council is instructed to name the place where the congress will be held.

2. That the World Congress should reverse the expulsion decision which it took against Section No. 2 of New York.

3. That the Congress should take note of the memorandum of Section No. 10 of New York.

Submitted to the fifteenth sitting,

September 7, 1872

French original

No. 42

Considering that the emancipation of the working people can be achieved only by the working people themselves,

that all their efforts must be aimed at asserting and acquiring their capability without any influence of political and capitalist patronage, which by its very nature could only lead to the abortion of their attempts at emancipation, the Congress declares that any society or individual adhering to the Association recognises no other rule of conduct than the principles expanded in the Rules and undertakes to conform to them.

Dupont

French original



[The Hague Congress
Archive](#)



[1st International
Archive](#)



[The Marx / Engels
Archive](#)



[The Marxist writers'
Archives](#)

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION Fifth Congress at The Hague, Holland

REPORT OF THE MANDATE COMMISSION TO THE HAGUE CONGRESS

*Report written in French by Gabriel Ranvier and Simon Dereure
and signed by the seven person commission.*

*It was read during the Congress' second sitting,
Monday, September 2 1872.*

The documents of the mandate commission include the manuscript of its report signed personally by its members; it lists all the mandates found valid and also states the reasons why nine mandates were not declared valid. Included also are the nominal list of the delegates published during the Congress, and individual mandates of a number of delegates (unfortunately not all the mandates are extant). Besides there are three collective imperative mandates which were issued to the delegates of the Portuguese, Jura and Spanish federations; these were published at the time in newspapers or in the form of leaflets.

Many mandates contained instructions to the delegates. For instance, New York Section No. I instructed its delegate Karl Marx to uphold "taut organisation and above all centralisation" against the intrigues of the Bakuninists "who obviously intend to decentralise the International Working Men's Association" (p.316). The Workers' Educational Society in Geneva instructed the veteran of the working-class movement Johann Philipp Becker in his mandate to vote for the preservation of the General Council. The Dijsseldorf Section instructed Theodor Friedrich Cuno to vote against the Bakuninist Alliance. The Central Section of Working Women in Geneva suggested in the mandate issued to Harriet Law, a prominent figure in the atheist movement, to aim at achieving for women equal working conditions and equal pay with men. The Bakuninist sections, for their part, demanded decentralisation of forces, the transformation of the General Council into a mere correspondence centre, and so on.

Here are the names of the delegates whose mandates are acknowledged in order as originating from sections which have fulfilled all the formalities relating to the Rules of the General Council.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Mandate from a French section
for Citizen..... | Swarm |
| 2. A French section represented by
Citizen..... | <u>Lucain</u> |
| <i>The same delegate has also received
mandates from several other French sections.</i> | |
| 3. A French Section..... | Longuet |
| 4. A French Section..... | Johannard |
| 5. The Ferré Section, France..... | Ranvier |
| 6. A French Section..... | Voillant |
| 7. A French Section..... | Frankel |
| 8. A French Section..... | Waiter |
| 9. A French Section..... | Vichard |
| 10. A French Section..... | Wilmart |
| 11. A French Section of Brussels..... | Cyrille |
| 12. A French section without a
delegate but which has sent a
letter that the corresponding
secretary is to read to the
Congress after the
verification | |
| 13. American section of the
Federation represented by..... | Dereure |
| 14. For the New York Congress..... | Sorge |
| 15. Section No. 1, New York
Mandate from the General Council
Leipzig
Mayence..... | <u>Marx</u> |
| 16. Jura Federation..... | James Guillaume
and Adhémar
Schwitzer |

17. German section of Eszlingen.....
 2nd mandate as representative of Austria **Heinrich Scheu**
 3rd mandate for Königsberg
18. Sections No.29 and 42 of America.....
 For the same delegate a mandate
 from Section No. 2, which the
 commission feels bound to ask you **Citizen Sauva**
 to nullify, this section having
 no powers to delegate a
 representative to the Congress
19. 2 sections of Pest..... **Citizen Carl Farkas**
19. A section of Bohemia..... **Heim**
20. Irish Section..... **MacDonnell**
21. Brunswick Section..... **Bernhard Becker**
22. 2nd mandate from Chemnitz..... **Bernhard Becker**
23. French-speaking Section, London..... **Le Moussa**
24. General Council..... **Doctor Sexton**
25. Charleroi Section..... **Citizen Roch**
 Courcelles Section, Belgium **Splingard**
 Gouy Section
26. Federal Council, England **Thomas Roach**
 Federal Council, Stratford Branch.....
27. Solingen, Rhenish Prussia..... **Georg Schumacher**
28. From the Brussels Federal Council..... **Eberhardt**
 The same delegate represents the
 following corporations: leather
 workers, bootclosers, tailors,
 joiners, painters, hide dyers,
 marble workers
29. Madrid Federation..... **Citizen Lafargue**
 2nd mandate from Alcalá de Henaresi
 3rd mandate from Federal Council, Lisbon

30. Celle Section.....	Kugelmann
31. Dresden Section.....	Dietzgen
32. Section No.8, New York.....	<u>Adolf Hepner</u>
33. Central Council of Copenhagen 2nd mandate from the General Council.....	Cournet
34. From the General Council.....	E. Dupont
35. French Section of La Chaux-de-Fonds.....	Vaillant
36. Carouge Section.....	Ant. Arnaud
37. Polish Section, London 2nd mandate from the General Council.....	Wróblewski
38. Amsterdam Section.....	S. Van der Hout
39. Lukes Section, Victoria, Australia.....	E. Harcourt
40. Section No.3, Chicago.....	Barry
41. General Council 2nd mand. Fr. Section of Montpellier.....	Serrailier
42. Hackney Road Branch Section, London.....	Hales
43. Brussels Section.....	Désiré Brismée
44. Breslan, Prussia 2nd mandate from New York.....	<u>Fred. Engels</u>
45. Berlin 2nd mandate from Crimmitschau, Saxony.....	Milke
46. The Amsterdam lithographers.....	Gilkens
47. Bethnal Green Branch, London.....	Mottershead
48. German Section, London.....	Lessner
49. Düsseldorf Section, Prussia Stuttgart Section, Württemberg.....	<u>Cuno</u>
50. Moulders' Section, London.....	Eccarius
51. Motilders' Section, Antwerp.....	

Coenen

52. Basle Section.....
 2nd mand. Swiss Romance Federal Committee
 3rd mand. another Basle Section
 4th mand. German Section, Geneva
 Zug (Switzerland)
 Lucerne

J. Ph. Becker

53. Ghent Section.....

Van den Abeele

54. Copenhagen Section.....

Pihl

55. Federal Council of Holland.....

Gerhard

56. Zurich.....

Hugo Friedländer

57. Liege Basin Federation by mechanics,
 the Union of Trades, the united joiners,
 the united marble workers and the united
 sculptors.....

Herman

58. Munich Section.....

Rittinghausen

[59 -- struck out -- "German section of
 Geneva, J. Ph. Becker"]

60. Hague Section.....

Victor Dave

61. Vesdre Federation (Belgium).....

Fluse

62. Swiss Romance Federal Committee.....

**Duval, Theodore,
joiner**

**Imperative Mandate of the
 Portuguese Federation to its Delegate at the Hague Congress**

**Imperative Mandate Given to the
 Jura Delegates for the Hague Congress**

**Imperative Mandate given by the
 Spanish Federation
 to Comrades Nicolas Alonso Marselau, Tomas Gonzales**

[Morago,](#)
[Rafael Farge Pellicer and Carlos Alerini,](#)
[its Delegates to the International Congress](#)

The commission proposes suspension of the mandate of [Citizen Dave](#) pending explanations to be given by the Brussels sections; this citizen is delegated by a section of The Hague (Holland).

It proposes suspension of the mandate of [Citizen Alerini](#) as delegate of the Marseilles Section pending explanations by the General Secretary for France.

The commission proposes that [Citizen Zhukovsky](#), delegate of the Section of Propaganda and Socialist Revolutionary Action in Geneva should not be admitted, this section not having been admitted either by the Romance Federal Committee or by the General Council.

The commission proposes that the following Spanish delegates -- [Alerini](#), [Morago](#), [Marselau](#), and [Pellicer](#) -- should not be admitted until the subscriptions owing by the Federation to the General Council have been paid.

The commission proposes to annul the delegation of Section No. 2, New York, this section having been expelled by the New York Federal Council.

The commission proposes to annul the delegation of Section No. 12, New York, represented by Citizen West for the following reasons:

1. Citizen West is the delegate of a suspended section whose suspension has not been lifted by the General Congress.
2. Citizen West was a member of the Philadelphia Congress, which declared that it did not recognise the General Council.
3. Citizen West is a member of the Spring Street Federation, which declared that it did not wish to pay the subscriptions to the General Council.

The commission invites the delegates to take back their mandates and to communicate the instructions of their electors to the Congress.

The Mandate Commission:

S. Dereure,
Leo Frankel,

***J. P. MacDonnell,
Karl Marx,
Gerhard,
Thomas Roach,
Ranvier***

French original



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THE SETTING FOR THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

A narrative from *Karl Marx* (1936)
by Boris Nicolaievsky and Otto Maenchen-Helfen

Everyone who attended it knew that the Hague congress would be the last of the united International.

When it met at the Hague on 2 September, the town was swarming with journalists and secret agents. No assembly of the International had roused the world's attention like this one. It was the first after the Commune -- a "declaration of war of chaos on order". An attempt had been made to persuade the Dutch Government to forbid the congress. Jules Simon had travelled from Paris to the Hague to present his Government's request to this effect, but he had as little success as others who wanted the same. Next it had been announced that the congress would resolve on acts of terrorism, and that it was a rendezvous of regicides. But the Dutch Government refused to be intimidated.

Next an attempt had been made to incite the population against the congress. The *Haager Dag blaad*, for instance, warned the citizens of the Hague not to allow their wives and daughters to go out alone during the sessions of the congress, and called on all the jewellers to draw their shutters. The police, however, took no action and seemed actually to regard the congress with benevolence. A Berlin secret police agent reluctantly reported that up to 5 September all the meetings were strictly private, and

not only does the Dutch police keep no watch whatever on them but protects the meeting-place in the Lombardstrasse 50 scrupulously that the public is not even allowed a look into the ground floor where the meetings are held, or even so much as make an attempt to overhear through the open window a single word of what is taking place within.

As long as the sessions remained secret there was nothing for the journalists to do but wander round the meeting-hall and describe their "impressions". A few of them faked interviews with Marx. Others described the delegates, and Marx in particular. The correspondent of the *Indépendance belge* wrote that the impression that Marx made on him was that of a "gentleman farmer", which was friendly at any rate.

The congress was not very numerously attended. No more than sixty-five delegates were present. Congresses of the Inter. national had been better attended in the past, and among the delegates were many who were not known from before. But it was the first International congress attended by Marx and Engels. The first and private sessions were devoted to examination of the delegates' mandates, and there was bitter strife about each one, for each one was important. At previous congresses this part of the proceedings had been regarded as but a superfluous formality. It soon became clear that there was a majority for Marx, with forty votes to twenty-five. There were two opposing factions, each united as far as internal questions affecting the International were concerned, but far from united politically. The opposition was held together by antagonism to Marx. It consisted of all the Belgian, all the Dutch, all the Jurassian and nearly all the English and Spanish delegates. The majority was more united, consisting of the Germans, the German-Swiss, the Hungarians, the Bohemians, the German *émigrés* from America, but it included many French *émigrés* and delegates of illegal sections in France too. The Blanquists were particularly well represented among the French *émigrés*.

This grouping by no means bore out the theory of the contrast between the state-worshipping Germanic races who were loyal to Marx and the freedom-loving, anti-authoritarian Latins. Guillaume, leader of the Jurassian section, was extremely astonished when Eccarius told him "que le torchon brûlait au Conseil général". He had believed that the English delegates, who were trade unionists, were devoted followers of Marx. He now found out that they were "en guerre ouverte avec ceux qui formaient la majorité". He was just as surprised when he found there was Dutch opposition to the General Council. Attempts to unite the opposition were made before the opening of the congress, but it was only towards its close that the fundamental political differences between the various groups made it possible to come to a common understanding.

Violent disputes took place during the examination of [the mandates](#). The English delegates were unwilling to admit their fellow countryman, Maltman Barry, who was provided with a mandate

from an American section, on the ground that he was not a known trade union leader. At that Marx sprang indignantly to his feet. It was an honour to Citizen Barry that that was so, he exclaimed, because almost all the English trade union leaders were sold to Gladstone or some other bourgeois politician. That remark was held against Marx for a long time. The mandates of the delegates of the German sections were also disputed. During their trial for high treason at Leipzig in 1872 Bebel and Liebknecht had declared the solidarity of their party with the International, though the party did not belong to the International and its local groups were not sections of the International. This was formally correct. To prevent their party from being banned Bebel and Liebknecht could not have done otherwise. The Bakuninists, relying on this statement, demanded that the German delegates' mandate should not be recognized. Now the sections the German delegates represented were not very big and had only been formed specially for the congress, but behind many a Bakuninist mandate there was not exactly a mass organization either. The German mandate was accepted. Fully three days were occupied with these and similar matters. The real congress did not begin until 5 September. It met in a working-class quarter of the town. A French newspaper remarked sarcastically that next to the congress hall was a prison, "then laundries, small workshops, many pothouses, tap-rooms, here called *taperij*, and clandestine establishments such as are used, as one would say in congress style, by the Dutch proletariat". The sessions took place in the evening, in order to enable workers to attend. "The workers certainly did not fail to put in an appearance. Never have I seen a crowd so packed, so serious, so anxious to see and hear." The events of the evening of 5 September were described by *Le Français* as follows:

At last we have had a real session of the International congress, with a crowd ten times greater than the hall could accommodate, with applause and interruptions and pushing and jostling and tumultuous cries, and personal attacks and extremely radical but nevertheless extremely conflicting declarations of opinion, with recriminations, denunciations, protests, calls to order, and finally a closure of the session, if not of the discussion, which at past ten o'clock, in a tropical heat and amid inexpressible confusion, imposed itself by the force of things.

The first question discussed was that of the extension of the General Council's powers in accordance with the resolution passed at the London conference. The opposition not only wanted no extension of the General Council's powers, but objected to the powers the General Council already possessed. They wanted to reduce it to a statistical office, or even better, to a mere letterbox, a correspondence office. These advocates of autonomy were opposed by Sorge, who had come from New York. He said that the International not only needed a head, but one with plenty of brains. Guillaume, who describes the scene, says that at this people looked at Marx and laughed. The congress gave the General Council its extended powers. The resolution stated that it was the duty of the General Council to carry out the decisions of the International congress and to see that the principles and general intentions of the statutes were observed in every country, and that it had the power to suspend branches, sections, committees and federations until the next congress. Thirty-six delegates voted for this resolution, with fifteen against and six abstentions.

When the ballot was over Engels rose and proposed in his own and Marx's name that the headquarters of the General Council be transferred from London to New York. This caused an

indescribable sensation. A few weeks previously, when somebody had suggested removing the headquarters of the International from London, Marx had opposed it strenuously, and now here he was proposing it himself. Vaillant, speaking for the Blanquists, made a passionate protest. So far as he was concerned, transferring the General Council to New York was equivalent to transferring into the moon. The Blanquists could not possibly have any influence on the General Council unless it remained where it was, i.e. in his place of exile, London. But Marx had calculated rightly. If the Blanquists, who otherwise supported him, opposed him in this, there were plenty of opposition delegates to support him. A General Council in America would obviously mean a General Council without Marx. And so they voted for the resolution. It was carried by twenty-six votes to twenty-three.

Then the political debate began. The General Council proposed that the following resolution of the London conference be incorporated in the statutes.

In its struggle against the collective power of the possessing classes, the proletariat can only act as a class if it constitutes its own distinct political party, opposed to all the old parties formed by the possessing classes. The forming of a political party by the proletariat is indispensable in order to assure the triumph of the social revolution and its ultimate object, the abolition of all classes. The coalition of working-class forces, already obtained in economic struggles, must also serve as a lever in the hands of that class in its struggle against the political power of its exploiters. The lords of the earth and the lords of capital always use their political privileges to defend and perpetuate their economic monopolies and to enslave Labour, and therefore the conquest of political power is the great duty of the proletariat.

Every point of view was represented in the discussion, from that of the extremists opposed to political intervention of any kind on the one hand to that of the Blanquists, who had no patience with the economic struggle, on the other. The Blanquists accepted the principle of the strike as a means of political action, but their real interest remained the barricade. They wanted to put "the militant organization of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat and the proletarian struggle" on the programme of the next congress. Guillaume, as spokesman of the "anti-authoritarians", stated that the majority wanted the seizure of political power and the minority wanted its annihilation. The General Council resolution was carried by twenty-nine votes to five, with eight abstentions. By this time many delegates had left, being unable to remain at the Hague any longer, and others no longer took part in the voting, having lost interest. The Blanquists attacked the General Council for having caused the revolution to take flight across the ocean and left the congress. The Bakuninists, however, decided after reflection that the situation was far better than it had seemed at first. "The authority of the General Council, voted for in principle by the majority, is in fact abolished by the choice of New York", Guillaume wrote in triumph.

On the last day the congress discussed the desirability of expelling members of the Bakuninist Alliance from the International. A special committee was appointed to examine the evidence submitted to it by the General Council. Guillaume was invited to appear before it but refused, giving the same explanation as he had given at the congress in Latin Switzerland in April 1870. "Every member of the International has the full and complete right to join any secret society, even

the Freemasons. Any inquiry into a secret society would simply be equivalent to a denunciation to the police," he maintained. The utmost to which he would consent was to a "private conversation" with members of the committee. Clever as he was, he could not answer the weighty evidence against him. Nechaiev's letter to Liubavin made a great impression. Bakunin and Guillaume were expelled from the International.

The congress ended on 7 September. On 8 September a meeting, organized by the local section, took place at Amsterdam. Among the speakers were Marx, Engels, Lafargue, Sorge, Becker and others. Marx's speech was reported in *La Liberté*, the Brussels organ of the International, and in the *Allgemeen Handelsblad* of Amsterdam, and was by far the most important made by him at the time of the congress. In it he summed up its results.

He proclaimed the necessity of the working classes fighting the old, decaying society in the political field and in the social field alike. The worker must one day seize political supremacy in order to establish the new organization of labour. He must overthrow the old politics sustaining the old institutions.

The International had proclaimed the necessity of the political struggle and repudiated pseudo-revolutionary abstention from politics. But he indicated the future path in general outline only. No prescription for the seizure of political power was valid for all countries and all times, as the Blanquists, and others too, pretended.

But we have never said that the means to arrive at these ends were identical. We know the allowance that must be made for the institutions, manners and traditions of different countries. We do not deny that there exist countries like America, England, and, if I knew your institutions better, I would add Holland, where the workers may be able to attain their ends by peaceful means. If that is true we must also recognize that in most of the countries of the Continent force must be the lever to which it will be necessary to resort for a time in order to attain the dominion of labour.

Marx ended his speech with a defence of the decision to transfer the General Council to America. America was the land of the workers, to which hundreds of thousands emigrated every year, whether banished or driven by want, and in America a new and fruitful field was opening for the International. As far as he himself was concerned, he was retiring from the General Council, but he denied the rumours that he was retiring from the International. On the contrary, freed from the burden of administrative work, he would devote himself with redoubled energy to the task to which he had devoted twenty-five years of his life and would continue with until his last breath, namely his work for the liberation of the proletariat.

Marx's motives for transferring the General Council to New York have been much discussed. At the congress he had done all in his power to gain the victory, and he had gained it, though in some things his victory was more apparent than real. He had conducted a ruthless struggle against the Bakuninists and seemed determined to conduct it to the very end, i.e. the complete extermination

of anarchism. And then all of a sudden he caused the General Council to be banished from Europe. He must obviously have realized that his influence on the life of the International would be very seriously impaired. It has been suggested that Marx had grown weary of the strain and the petty cares that his work on the General Council involved, of the ever-increasing burden of correspondence that he had to conduct, the exhausting and fruitless debates with the English members, the meetings and conferences and visits, and the whole troublesome, time-robbing labour that devolved mainly upon his shoulders. It has been suggested that he wished to be free of all this and to return to his most important task, the completion of *Das Kapital*. Certainly Marx often complained of how little time his work on the General Council left him for his scientific work. But he always laid everything else aside when the International demanded it. "He was above all a revolutionary." One recalls those words of Engels. Besides, after the Hague congress, Marx could have done much more scientific work without sacrificing any of his political work whatever, for Engels now lived in London and could have represented him on the General Council and carried out his wishes. But in spite of this he insisted on the General Council moving away from London.

Marx had other reasons. For the General Council to have remained in London would have spelled the ruin of the International. Bakunin had been expelled, but the spirit of Bakunin lived on. Nearly all the sections in Southern Europe, in Italy and Spain, were "anti-authoritarian". The Commune inspired and inflamed them, and their watchword was action, action all the time. They wanted all or nothing, and their only battle-cry was the social revolution. Marx and Engels saw the danger. "Spain is so backward industrially that there can be no talk of an immediate, complete emancipation of the working class. Spain must pass through various stages of development before it comes to that, and a whole series of obstacles must be cleared out of the way." The Bakuninists violently attacked the young Spanish republic, which was threatened on all sides as it was. Marx and Engels regarded the blind, impetuous radicalism of the Bakuninists as fatal. "The republic offered the opportunity of compressing those preliminary stages into the shortest possible time, and of rapidly removing those obstacles." But the Bakuninists did not listen and did not look. Anything but attack and again attack and barricades was "politics", "idolizing the state", cowardly and counter-revolutionary. It was necessary for the International to part from them. "If we had been conciliatory at the Hague", Engels wrote to Bebel at the end of June 1873, "if we had hushed up the split, what would the consequences have been? The sectarians, namely the Bakuninists, would have had a whole year's time to commit far greater stupidities and infamies in the International's name."

The Hague congress had also shown that all the Proudhonist groups, the Dutch, the Belgians and others as well, would have been ready to follow the Bakuninists as soon as they left or were expelled from the International, and all that would have remained would have been the group that supported Marx during the congress. It would very soon have melted away. The German party was bound to avoid anything that might imperil its legal status, particularly after the outcome of the Leipzig high treason trial. Marx approved of their policy in this. It would be impossible for them to share in the life of the International, at least for a long time to come. Of Marx's majority at the congress that only left the Blanquists.

Marx esteemed Blanqui very highly and had a high opinion of the Blanquists' courage, and he had not a few personal friends among them. But a whole world divided him from them politically. He had had several serious disputes with them even before the congress. At the congress they had

followed him as long as it was a question of fighting against the "anti-politicians", the "destroyers of the state". The Blanquists stoutly asserted the omnipotence of the state. It must not be destroyed but seized, but there was only one way of seizing it, and that was the barricade -- whether in Spain or France, England or Germany made no difference. In their eyes the single duty of the International was to organize armed risings.

We shall return to Marx's Amsterdam speech in another connection. It alone gives the explanation of the decision to transfer the General Council to New York. Had it remained in London, Marx would only have been able to maintain his ground with the aid of the Blanquists. The International would have become Blanquist, and its programme would have shrunk to the single word: barricade.

The congress had decided to transfer the General Council to New York for the year 1872-3. Marx was convinced that developments in Europe would be so rapid and so favourable that after a year the General Council would be able to return from exile. This was a mistake. Marx correctly estimated the direction the workers' movement was taking; as happened more than once, he was mistaken about its tempo. He soon recognized his error. A year after the Hague congress he gave up the International for lost. Its history in America is that of its gradual death. Its slow decline was occasionally interrupted by petty crises, by splits and splits again, and it is impossible to establish for certain even the date when it finally expired. When Engels rose at the Hague congress and proposed that the General Council be transferred to America, the International ceased to exist.



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INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

aka

The First International

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

IMAGES

[Original notice of meeting](#)

[Membership form](#)

[Engels' membership card](#)

MINUTE BOOKS

MINUTES FROM CENTRAL
COUNCIL: October 1865 to
December 1866

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

WRITINGS

1864

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

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

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

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



Central Council (*M*)

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

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

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

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

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

1865

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1865 05-09: Address: To US

President Johnson (M)

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

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

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

1866

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

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

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

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

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

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

1867

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

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

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

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

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

1868

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1869

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1870

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

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

1870 02-21: The English Government

and the Fenian Prisoners (*M*)

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

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

1870 03-28: [Confidential](#)

[Communication](#) (*M*)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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- On the Political Action of the Working Class (*E*)
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- Resolutions of the Conference of Delegates of the IWMA Assembled at London from 17th to 23rd September 1871 (*ME*)

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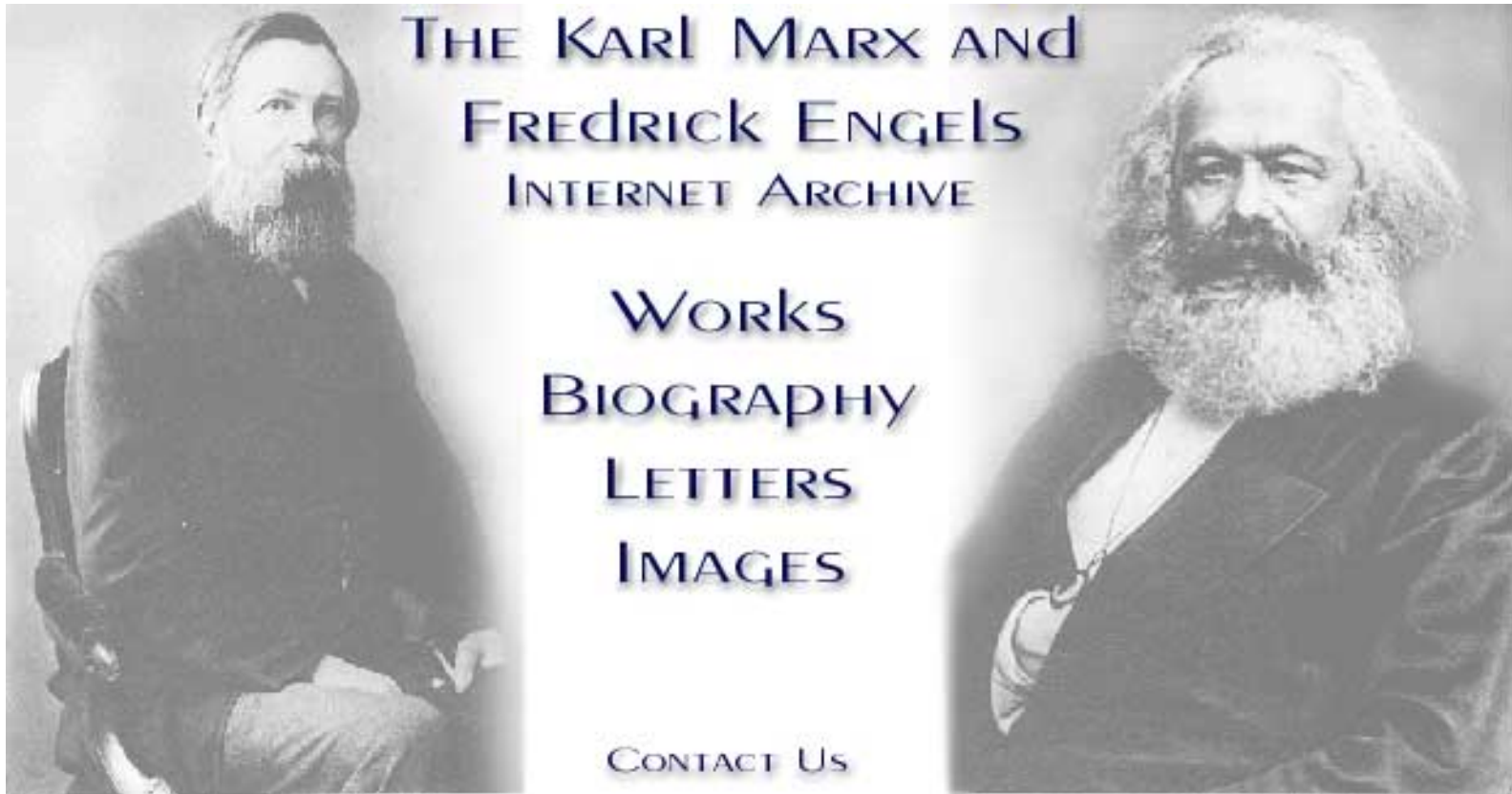
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