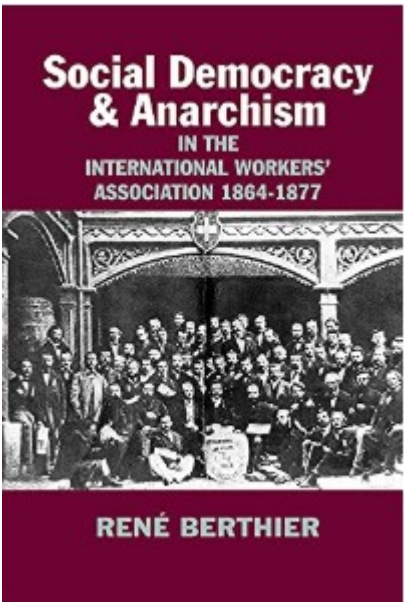
The question of the conquest of power and the programme in *Social-Democracy & Anarchism in the International Workers' Association 1864–1877*



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Introduction

The problem of how the workers' movement should be organised has been set out as the 'Marx-Bakunin' debate. But there was no debate – at least not in the sense of two adversaries faithfully elaborating their positions against each other. The Marx-Bakunin 'debate' resulted with Bakunin, James Guillaume, the Jura Federation, and then almost the whole of the labour movement (as organised at that time), being excluded

from the rump IWA. Bureaucratic manoeuvres that were a model of their kind were used by Marx, Engels and friends. According to George Haupt, Karl Marx's refusal to engage with Bakunin in a debate on policy

was above all of a tactical order. Marx's every effort tended to diminish and minimalize Bakunin, to deny his rival any theoretical consistency. He refuses to recognise Bakunin's system of thought, not because he denies his consistency, as he peremptorily affirms, but rather because Marx seeks in this way to discredit him and to reduce him in dimension to the head of a sect and an old-fashioned conspirator.[5]

Sometimes it is forgotten that the confrontation within the International between Bakuninists and Marxists took an 'institutional' form reflecting divergent interpretations of IWA statutes. The former affirmed that 'the economic emancipation of the working class is the great aim to which, as a means, all political movements should be subordinated'. Such a rendition suited Bakuninists well but did not suit Marx, although it was something he had written. In the years that followed the creation of the International the Bakuninists attached themselves to a wording which Marx sought to modify. He succeeded only by recourse to terrible manipulation after having expelled from the IWA the quasi-totality of the contemporary international workers' movement.

Certainly, the Inaugural Address, also written by Marx, had affirmed that 'the conquest of political power has become the first duty of the working class' – but this document was never put to a vote.[6] Marxists would consider the 'conquest of power' as agreed policy and for them it came to have the force of statute, whereas activists in this era viewed the Inaugural Address as nothing more than the expression of one author's viewpoint.

In the 1860s a number of activists realised that an international workers' organisation was needed. The initiative to create an organisation came from two groups of workers, each involved in struggles in their own countries: a group of English trade union leaders and a group of French mutualists inspired by Proudhon. The English working class was strongly organised in the trade union field. In 1859 a great building workers strike in London had forced trade union leaders to consider solidarity with the continental workers' movement as a practical necessity to prevent the use of strike breakers. The French workers' movement suffered ferocious repression after the revolution of 1848 and with the inauguration of the Imperial regime of Napoleon III. In 1861, a Parisian typesetters' strike met

a crushing defeat. A new generation of activists appeared, influenced by Proudhon's ideas supporting workers' organisation, co-operatives, and mutual credit.[7]

In 1862, on the occasion of the Universal Exhibition in London, a delegation of 340 French workers arrived in the British capital. They made contact with British trade unionists and considered recent technological and economic developments. British workers took advantage of this opportunity to propose a rapprochement with their French comrades. Ongoing relations were established on both sides of the Channel. French workers were amazed by the level of organisation of their comrades on the other side of the Channel. In 1863, English trade unionists invited French comrades over, on the occasion of a demonstration in favour of Polish independence. Large meetings were organised. About this time German workers also organised around an energetic leader, Ferdinand Lassalle. Italian workers sought unity. In 1863 Garibaldi was enthusiastically received by British trade unionists. So there was some real effervescence in Europe.

On 22 July 1864, a meeting brought together the principal London trade union leaders and six French workers. The following day the British invited the French to a closed meeting where the basis of an entente was agreed. The International Workers' Association was constituted definitively when Henri-Louis Tolain and Joseph-Etienne Perrachon, accompanied by a lace maker, Limousin, made a journey to London in September 1864. The IWA was constituted officially on 29 September 1864 at a meeting in Saint Martin's Hall. A French proposal to create European sections linked by a central committee and to be called a General Council was approved. James Guillaume, citing one of those who put their signature to the manifesto of the Sixty,[8] wrote not without reason that the International was 'a child born in the workshops of Paris and nourished in London'.[9] An Englishman,

George Odger, was nominated as president of the General Council.

The new – essentially Franco-British – organisation did however take in Italian, Polish and German émigrés. A provisional committee involving Marx, Jung and Eccarius was charged with drawing up statutes for the organisation. Contrary to the discourse of Marxist historians, the International was in no way Marx's creature. He had remained a stranger to the preparatory work which took place between 1862 and 1864. 'He joined the International at the moment when the initiative of French and English workers had brought it into being. Like the cuckoo he came to put

his egg in a nest that was not his own. His design, from the first moment, was to make of the great workers' organisation an instrument for his personal views.'[10] The work in which James Guillaume expressed this perspective was published long after Marx's death. No doubt he was not without some bitterness, nor was the vigour of his perspective wholly unaffected by his expulsion [at The Hague] as a consequence of Marx's bureaucratic manoeuvres. Nonetheless, the image of a cuckoo is not false one.

The structure of the International was that of a workers' association, akin to one in a workplace or union.[11] A General Council was to establish 'relations between various workers' associations in such fashion that workers in each country should be constantly aware of developments in their class in other countries.' This was an important phrase; it was around this point that divergences would rapidly crystallize between partisans of Marx and partisans of Bakunin concerning the functioning of the General Council. The antagonism between centralisation and federalism would then make its appearance.

Local workers' sections and national federations were to be set up alongside the General Council. IWA congresses were to be sovereign and were to be held annually. On the continent sections in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, Italy and the Netherlands formed very rapidly but in Britain much of the trade union movement remained aloof.

The International had provisional statutes, to be ratified by its first congress, which was scheduled to meet in Belgium in 1865 but did not take place. It was replaced by a conference in London which brought together Varlin, De Paepe, Jung, Eccarius, Dupleix, Becker, Odger, Marx and a few others. The first congress of the International was held in Geneva from 3–8 September 1866. Marx was absent;[12] Bakunin was as yet not a member. Sixty delegates attended representing sections from Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland. Hermann Jung, a clock-smith from Saint-Imier living in London, presided., according to L. Lorwin a 'neo-Christian humanist',[13] was one of the Congress secretaries. Coullery and Jules Vuilleumier represented the section of La Chaux-de-Fonds, James Guillaume the section of Le Locle, and Adhémar Schwitzguébel that of Sonvilier.

This first congress was somewhat confused, but it was notable for adopting resolutions in favour of the eight-hour day, for international legislation to protect women and children and for the abolition of night work for women. The congress pronounced itself in favour of the

abolition of wage-labour. It adopted statutes written by Marx that were vague enough to permit all workers to join. There was no mention of the article on the conquest of political power that Marx would have inserted in 1872. Later, [in 1868] Bakunin would describe the Geneva congress in these terms:

The International Workers' Association has a fundamental law to which each section and member must submit, on pain of exclusion. This law is presented in the general statutes proposed by the General Council of the association to the Geneva congress of 1866, discussed and unanimously acclaimed by this congress, and finally definitively agreed by their unanimous acceptance by sections in all countries.

The 'Considering' clauses that are to be found, prefacing the general statutes, clearly define the principals and aims of the International Association. Above all they establish: That labour's emancipation must be a work of workers themselves; That workers' efforts must tend towards the development for all of the same rights and same duties – that is to say political, economic and social equality; That the subjection of workers to capital is the source of all political, moral and material servitude; That for this reason workers' economic emancipation is the great aim, to which all political movements are to be subordinated; That workers emancipation is not a simply local or national problem – but international.[14]

In reality such thinking simply reflected the [draft] statutes of the International written in 1864 by… Marx himself and approved by the Geneva congress. Proudhon had died the previous year and indubitably it was his doctrine which had predominated at this congress, and would do so at the next one in Lausanne (2–8 September 1867).

In Geneva, and later at the Lausanne congress, little enthusiasm was inspired by the positions of the General Council, which is to say of Marx. In these first years, in a rather cordial atmosphere, various ideas coexisted and confronted each other. This second congress had a busy programme: the creation of banks to facilitate free credit for workers was advocated, mutual assurance societies were recommended, and trades societies [unions] were invited to create and fund co-operative production societies.

The perspective of this congress was one that looked to start with concrete and immediate measures, directed towards emancipating the working class. Resolutions were voted on the subject of free education, taxes, the abolition of state monopolies, the establishment of political freedoms and workshopschools. In the discussion on private property, Pierre Coullery, a partisan of individual property, was opposed by the

Belgian César De Paepe, who favoured collective property (something that that Internationalists would support at a later date). The problem would feature on the agenda of the third Congress of the International. At this congress, too, it was the ideas of Proudhon that would predominate, enraging Marx. He wrote to Engels on 11 September 1867:

At the next Congress in Brussels I shall personally break the necks of these Proudhonist jackasses. I have managed the whole thing diplomatically and did not want to come out personally until my book (Capital) was published and our International had struck root. In the official report of the General Council (despite all their efforts, the Parisian babblers could not prevent our re-election to it) I will moreover give them a good hiding.

Several times in this letter Marx speaks of 'our International'. The desire of the cuckoo to take over the nest was beginning to take shape. It was at the Brussels congress, in 1868, that matters began to change. On the agenda were questions of compulsory and free education, and of women's rights and equality. The mutualists, who had opposed the examination of political problems, lost their majority. For men like Eugène Varlin and César De Paepe, the examination of political problems could not be avoided; but such problems had to be addressed within the International. Important social questions featured on the agenda of the Brussels Congress. The strike was considered as workers' main weapon. Many participants advocated the creation of cahiers du travail – books of labour's grievances and complaints – which were reminiscent of the cahiers de doléances – books of grievances of the French revolution of 1789. Delegates declared their general support for land being made the property of the collective.

There was a real turning point at the Basel Congress (6–12 September 1869). Bakunin was now a member and right-wing Proudhonists were decisively beaten by an alliance of Bakuninists, Blanquists and Marxists. This fourth congress of the International took a position on the rights of property [in land]. The Brussels Congress had certainly dealt with this question, but partisans of private property, who had then been in the minority, re-launched the debate, saying it was a complex problem and had not been resolved. The Congress, after a lively discussion, clearly expressed itself in favour of collectivism.

The question of inheritance was the second item on the agenda and produced a war of words. There was no fundamental interest in the question,[15] but for the Marxists it served as a pretext to count votes. The

Marxists [aligned with the General Council] presented an amendment to the resolution, which was rejected; so amongst the congress delegates voting on this amendment and motion, the weight of the various currents appeared to be:

63 % around 'Bakuninist' collectivist texts.
31 % around 'Marxist' texts
6 % supporting Mutualist convictions.[16]

The problem of 'caisses de résistance' – strike funds – was indubitably the most important discussion in Basel. Their creation was recommended to all sections. Trustees were recommended to support federal organisations – regional, national, and international – and through these to support prolonged strikes helping workers to struggle against the bourgeoisie.[17] Federalist delegates voted through administrative resolutions which they had failed to weigh up properly, and, later they would have reason to regret their lack of attention. These resolutions gave the General Council the right to refuse admission to new associations and to suspend sections – decisions which had to be submitted to a subsequent congress. In 1872 James Guillaume wrote:

We were all inspired by the most complete goodwill in respect of the men from London. And so blind was our confidence that we contributed more than anyone to the vote in favour of these administrative resolutions which gave the General Council authority, authority which they were to use so despicably. A profitable lesson and one which opened our eyes to the true principles of federalist organisation.[18]

It was at this Basel congress – with Bakunin having become a member of the International – that the two opposing currents came openly face to face. These differences were already present in Brussels, but now they became clearly delineated. On one side were those were those seen as federalists and revolutionaries: the Belgians, most of the French, the Spanish and the Jurassians; on the other side the General Council, the Germans[19] and some of the Swiss – who were centralists and Social-Democrats.

The coexistence within the International of different conceptions, such as those of statist socialists, Anti-Authoritarians and Proudhonists, and diverse tactics (political action, abstentionism, syndicalism [trade unionism], cooperation, etc.), was replaced – after the Basel Congress (September 1869) – by the aggressive action of authoritarian, statist parties, of which the principal centres were the Geneva Fabrique,[20] the German Socialist Party and the London General Council.[21]

Evidently for Marx the situation created by the Basel Congress was unacceptable. It was after this congress that systematic and most violent attacks began against Bakunin. 'This Russian, it is clear wants to become the dictator of the European workers' movement. Let him take care or he will be excommunicated' prophesied Marx in a letter to Engels dated 27 July 1869. Engels responded on the 30 July: 'Fat Bakunin is behind all this – that is evident. If this damned Russian really thinks to place himself through his intrigues at the head of the workers' movement it is high time to put him in a place where he can do no harm.' After breaking the necks of those 'Proudhonist donkeys' it was now time to excommunicate the Bakuninists.

It is true that Marx and Engels had reason to be wary. Before he joined the International Workers' Association, Bakunin had created the International Alliance for Socialist Democracy, which had requested membership of the International Workers' Association. That application was refused by the General Council for perfectly legitimate reasons, since at first the Alliance had thought of itself as an international organisation. To conform to the statutes of the International, the Alliance transformed itself into a simple IWA section. Its membership was accepted subject to this condition. Its role as an International section was not negligible since it was at its instigation that the Spanish Federation was created.

Marx and Engels developed a truly paranoid obsession with the Bakuninist 'Alliance'; they saw the worst in it and thought it was behind every initiative that, from their own perspective, erred from the proper course. The phantom of the Alliance – with Bakunin standing behind it – haunted Marx and Engels. Franz Mehring, a perfectly orthodox Marxist militant and historian, would write in his biography of Marx that there was nothing that could substantiate Marx and Engels' accusations against Bakunin – however, they were not entirely wrong.

The IWA was affected by profound changes after 1866. In Europe, artisan production – still important – declined in the face of the development of larger scale industry. The introduction of machine production successively proletarianised various branches of artisan production; new industries were developing. This restructuring of production led to price and wage movements, redundancies, unemployment and cyclical crises. A strike movement spread across Europe. The frequent use of ferocious repression served only to increase the influence of the International that had been created two years earlier. Strikes, which had hitherto been characterised as fortuitous, developed

into full scale class conflicts. They provided workers with some practical experience of solidarity and support, which on occasion arrived from abroad.

The creation of the IWA was a turning point for Anarchism and Marxism. It may be useful to momentarily step back to adjust perspective and to put 'theoreticians' in their proper place. The Marxist Franz Mehring is one of the rare few who saw the situation accurately. Writing on the Bakuninist opposition, he says: it was apparent that the reason why it used Bakunin's name was that it believed that in his ideas it found solutions to those social conflicts and antagonisms, which had brought about its very existence.[22]

Strictly speaking the same might be said of Marx. So in these matters Mehring does not take an ideological approach.[23] His analysis is made in terms of class and of the contending social forces. Moreover, it is precisely here that the key to unravelling the conflict in the IWA is to be found. Bakunin and Marx invented nothing, they witnessed events and theorised about them. Let us examine the organisations which Marx thought he might rely on, organisations which could also find, in Marx, a justification for their own institutional activity:

English workers, for some years after its launch, neither showed any interest in the IWA nor formed IWA sections. Trade union leaders used the International only to help obtain electoral reform. The newly formed English Federation (constituted, note, eight years after the foundation of the IWA...) nauseated by Marx's intrigues, drew close to the positions of the Jura Federation after the congress at The Hague (1872).[24]

The German IWA never amounted to much. Franz Mehring underlines that older IWA organisations in Germany – sections that had been created by Becker – withered and declined as the Social-Democratic Party began to develop.

Four months before the congress at The Hague, which was to expel Bakunin and James Guillaume, Engels wrote an urgent letter to [Wilhelm] Liebknecht:[25] 'How many membership cards, for how many members; and where roughly have you distributed them? The 208 calculated by Fink can't amount to all of them!' As he writes there is almost a puff of panic blowing: 'Matters are becoming serious and we need to know just where we are; if not you will force us to act for ourselves, considering the Social-Democratic Workers' Party as a stranger to the International and will relate to it as an unattached body.'[26] It would be difficult to express more clearly the lack of interest that German Social-Democracy had for

the International. By way of comparison, the Spanish Federation had a membership of 30,000.

As for the section in Geneva, is was composed of an aristocracy of citizenworkers in the watch- and clock-making industry bent on building electoral alliances with bourgeois radicals – 'with [its fingers] stuck in electoral compromises with bourgeois radicals', as Bakunin said.

So, when Marx decided in September 1872 to exclude federalist collectivists he was – apart from his control of the organisational apparatus – singularly lacking in trumps. Bakunin too did not have a firmer position within the International and his real 'authority' was no greater. Moreover, when the Geneva Alliance section dissolved itself, [27] its activists did not even ask Bakunin's opinion – which says a lot about the 'dictatorship' he supposedly exercised. In any case the Franco-Prussian war would put the brake on the momentum of the international labour movement, and would disperse its activists.

The intrigues of Marx and his entourage culminated in the decision to exclude Bakunin and James Guillaume, a decision made by the London conference of 1871 and made effective at the Congress of The Hague. Obviously it was no accident that at the same time article 7a was forced into the statutes of the International, declaring amongst other things that 'the conquest of political power had become the great duty of the proletariat'. Article 7a, a synthesis of the resolution adopted in 1871 at the London Conference, was included in the statutes by the decision of the Congress at The Hague, a totally rigged event, as no serious historian today denies.

Doubtless, this was why it was the only one in which Marx participated.

Key questions

The question of the conquest of power

Marx sought over many years to have the IWA adopt the principle of the conquest of power as a prerequisite for workers' emancipation. The overwhelming influence of the Russian revolution over interpretations of Marxist theory tends to obscure the fact that Marx and Engels scarcely ever considered political activity as anything other than the conquest of power through parliament. That strategic vision was founded on the fact

that the proletariat was expected to be a majority, and for the most part would vote for socialists. For a long time German Social-Democrats rejected the idea of electoral alliances to win power; whereas Bakunin, who was well aware of the mechanisms of the parliamentary system, believed that socialists would not get into government without some alliance with fractions of the liberal bourgeoisie. From this it inevitably followed that the socialist programme would be adulterated. There is no need to elaborate – future developments would show he was on the right track.

Bakunin's argument was that it was quite simply impossible for socialists to come to power through elections. The 'classes of owners, exploiters and governors,' said he, 'will never make any concession to the proletariat voluntarily, for the sake of justice or out of generosity, however urgent it may be, however feeble it may seem;' 'the proletariat should wait for nothing from the bourgeoisie: neither intelligence, nor equity, least of all their politics – be that the politics of bourgeois radicals or that of the bourgeoisie who call themselves socialist.'[28]

For some time this aspect of Marxist political strategy has been obscured by post-Leninist Marxism. Marxist revolutionaries applied in Europe not the principles that Marx had developed for industrial societies, but rather those of Lenin and/or Trotsky had, for agrarian and underdeveloped societies. Indeed, from a strictly Marxist viewpoint the politics elaborated by the French Communist Party, at least after the disappearance of the Comintern, was perfectly orthodox. It is not without some irony that the heirs of Bakunin see those of Lenin and Trotsky returning to Marxist orthodoxy – that is, to Social-Democracy.

In Germany the Social-Democratic Party created by Liebknecht and Bebel [in 1869], 'under the auspices of Mr Marx' says Bakunin, 'announced in their programme that the conquest of political power was the prerequisite for the economic emancipation of the proletariat and that in consequence the immediate object of the party should be the organisation of widespread legal agitation for the conquest of universal suffrage and all other political rights.'[29] (See appendix.)

The conquest of political power, as it was discussed in the debates of the International, should be considered in context. Problems as they were posed then cannot be judge in the light of subsequent developments. Marx's discourse – whether he wished it or not – bolstered the position of those organisations which might, or believed that they might, obtain an improvement in their lot through elections. Those who expected nothing

from electoral activity swung towards Bakunin: the foreign workers of Geneva,[30] the badly paid, the despised, those without political rights, Italian youth with neither a class nor a future, the peasants of Andalusia and Italy – starved by big landlords, the miserable proletariat of Italy; workers in Catalan industry and the Belgian miners of the Borinage, two regions where there existed a concentrated and militant proletariat, where no peaceful reform could be expected, and where the smallest strikes were drowned in blood. The latter could find nothing to help or sustain them in Marx's discourse, and even where there were Marxists (we should say people who, in claiming leadership of the International, preferred activity within the law), the latter took care to destroy any movements whose demands might scare off electors, as was notably the case in Switzerland. [31]

Divergences over strategy were therefore largely based on concrete differences of living conditions amongst the European proletariat; this is a fact that cannot be passed over. These differences existed nonetheless before the foundation of the International and the latter served only as the place where they would confront each other. Indeed, over and above differences between the two principal IWA currents, the question of the necessity of the conquest of political power through elections was only one element of a wider picture:

- Should one organise in national parties to conquer through elections the power apparatus of the bourgeoisie, conserving its general form and using it in the interest of proletariat;
- Or should one conquer social power, creating new and radically different forms, in fitting with the nature of the proletariat, forms through which it would be able to go forward to social reconstruction?

In this lay the basis for the opposition between the two currents of the IWA, that would become on the one hand Marxism, and on the other Anarchism. It would be an error to see this as an opposition between Marx and Bakunin. As we have seen, these two men did not create the two contending currents. Marx had posed the problem of power in the Communist Manifesto, and after 1847 and down the years would revise it only in marginal fashion: 'The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class to win the battle of democracy.'

Such terms are not anodyne – 'the battle of democracy' meant universal suffrage and the representation of the working class in state institutions.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degree, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total productive forces as rapidly as possible … Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes … Centralisation of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly … Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.[32]

Here again the terms are not neutral. The 'political supremacy' of the working class, evoked here, is linked to two factors: the proletariat is the most numerous class, and it comes to power through elections. The Communist Manifesto, a basic text and work of reference for all communists, including those revolutionary Marxist currents emerging out of the experience Russian revolution, is a manifesto only for the conquest of parliamentary democracy and workers' participation in elections. A refusal to participate in elections is perceived by Marx and Engels as a rejection of all political activity. There is only parliamentary political activity. Thus Engels accused the partisans of Bakunin: 'These gentlemen demand complete abstention from all political activity, and in particular non-participation in all elections.' (Letter to Louis Pio, 7 March 1872), which implied that no alternative is possible. The bitter opposition of Marx and Engels towards abstentionists arose because, without elections, communists would never come to power!

Three comments are in order: a) Electoral abstentionism was conflated with the rejection of political activity; b) This critique of abstentionism – except for very rare and brief exceptions – served to pass over and disregard the other solutions that were proposed at the time; c) Lastly as far as Bakunin was concerned, one should note that his attitude was in fact not at all dogmatic and on many occasions he advised friends to participate in elections. One should remember that Proudhon was himself elected as a deputy in 1848. Marx understood Bakunin's project perfectly, but on this matter he expressed himself only in private correspondence, and never in a public text:

The working class should not do politics. Its duty is to limit itself to organising in unions. One fine day, with the help of the International, they will supplant every existing state. (Marx even adds:)

This donkey hasn't even understood that all class movements are as such necessarily political movements, and have always been so. (Letter to Lafargue, 19 April 1870.)

Despite the polemical tone, this was a perfect summary of Bakunin's thought:

a) The class structure of the International – by and large its form in unions

– is a draft and sketch for the organisation of society of the future;

b) Whilst not taking part in the game of bourgeois institutions (parliament) the activity of the International is fundamentally a political activity.

This is exactly what Bakunin thought; he did not reject political activity as such, but denied that it was confined to parliamentary activity. As for Marx, his thought was more complex than Bakunin could know – given the writings that Bakunin could then access. If Marx did not exclude the use of extra-parliamentary activity – violence – he did so only marginally, in order to impose parliamentary forms.

While the Manifesto remained a basic text of Marxism, it was obvious that over many decades the founders of so-called 'scientific' socialism were able to vary their analysis a little. So, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Paris Commune, Engels, writing a preface to The Civil War in France, exclaimed:

Of late, the Social-Democratic philistine has once more been filled with wholesome terror at the words: dictatorship of the proletariat. Well and good, gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the dictatorship of the proletariat.[33]

Thus the Commune was presented as the form in which working-class power was to be exercised. This did not correspond with anything that Marx and Engels had said before the 'Commune-alist' insurrection, or with anything that they might say afterwards. The Civil War in France is a work in which Marx describes the Commune from a federalist viewpoint – for his own reasons, since he hated federalism. One finds a similar process regarding the Russian revolution with Lenin's State and Revolution; it appears to be the acme of Marxist theory on the wasting away of the state, but the latter is only a formalistic concession used

rhetorically in this text. In the same way that Marx wrote The Civil War in France hoping to draw towards him followers of Blanqui, Lenin wrote State and Revolution to try to conciliate the very active Russian libertarian movement, at a time when the Bolshevik Party did not amount to much. Franz Mehring saw The Civil War in France as an isolated episode of flirting with libertarians.

The expression 'dictatorship of the proletariat' encompassed completely different meanings: in 1850 it meant a Jacobin dictatorship with no popular representation – the opposite of what Engels would say in 1891. The 'dictatorship of the proletariat' was emptied of all its content – it could mean at the same time both the most authoritarian and the most libertarian of regimes! Nor was this the end of the matter. Returning to 1891, Engels criticised the Erfurt German Social-Democrat programme and affirmed the democratic republic as the specific form of the dictatorship of the proletariat: 'Our party and the working class can achieve domination only through the democratic republican form. The latter is itself the specific form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.' That same year Engels suggested as a model for the dictatorship of the proletariat a unitary Commune and democratic republic. In fact the formula 'dictatorship of the proletariat' encompassed at least three concepts:

In the Manifesto (1848), it meant a democratic and Jacobin republic; In the Eighteenth Brumaire de Louis Bonaparte (1852) and in Class Struggles in France (1850), it signified a revolutionary and highly centralised dictatorship with no popular representation;

In The Civil War in France it signified a vaguely libertarian federation.

An attentive reader might be tempted to see some incoherence in the manner in which the founders of so-called 'scientific' socialism addressed the question of forms of power. Their conceptions on this question were in fact determined much more by circumstances of time and place, than by precise principles – although they might have a change of perspective in the same year, as Engels did in 1891. The heirs of every tendency can find something for themselves – even those who wish to create a 'libertarian Marxism': one only has to do some digging for the right text.

Most of the works mentioned – from the Manifesto to The Civil War in France, and most of the texts in which there was some historical or theoretical reflection on power and its forms, were written before the unification of Germany and the creation of the Second Reich. After the Franco-Prussian war German Social-Democracy constituted a model in

the eyes of Marx and Engels, certainly an imperfect one, but a model nevertheless. Before the Commune and the unification of Germany under Prussian domination, the autonomy of sections of the International was not challenged by the General Council. Thus correspondence from the latter addressed to the Central Bureau of the Bakuninist Alliance declared: 'respecting our principles, we allow each section to formulate freely its own theoretical programme.'[34] The war and the unification of Germany changed things. Marx and Engels believed that the balance of forces had changed. Marx wrote a letter to Engels on 20 July 1870 in which he declared that the centralisation of the German state would be useful in centralising the German working class, assuring the dominance of the German proletariat on the 'world scene' (sic) and at the same time 'the preponderance of our theory over that of Proudhon'.[35] Allowing sections to 'formulate freely' their own theoretical programme was over. Marx and Engels reasoned now in terms of the hegemony of the German proletariat and the preponderance of 'their' theory over others. Relations within the proletariat itself had become power relations. The conquest of power was the objective, and if Marx and Engels criticised the party, going so far as to accuse its leaders of 'parliamentary cretinism', it was essentially because it was acting badly. It was this [German party] model that they attempted to impose on the International.

The idea which constituted the kernel of their doctrine was that parties represent different fractions of the bourgeoisie, that they succeeded one another in coming to power and would come to 'ruin' themselves – to use Engels' expression – before the proletariat succeeded them. Alliances between a workers' party and these parties might accelerate the process: 'And then it would be our turn.'[36]

At the Congress of The Hague (in the course of which Marx and Engels had Bakunin and James Guillaume excluded) Marx declared that the influence of institutions, customs and traditions in different countries had to be taken into account, and that it was possible that in Britain, the USA and perhaps the Netherlands workers 'may obtain their goals the peaceful means', he added, however, that 'force will act as the lever of our revolutions in most countries of the continent'. In despotic countries 'force' was the means by which the working class would accomplish political revolution to impose universal suffrage and a parliamentary regime.

The question of programme

The question of how expedient it was to conquer state power through elections was posed at the same time as the question of one single programme for the IWA. Since the Alliance for Socialist Democracy had elaborated a programme, Bakunin was not at all opposed to the principle of developing one,[37] and it was on this basis that its activists had spread propaganda to develop the IWA. Thus an Italian Bakuninist, Giuseppe Fanelli, travelled to Spain in 1868 and founded what would become the powerful Spanish Federation of the IWA. The organisational tool of the Bakuninists was the International Fraternity, which was a real organisation, in contrast with other secret societies which Bakunin had set up.[38] But for reasons of simple good sense, Bakunin opposed a definite political project being made compulsory for every national federation, because they contended with 'such different types of economic development, culture, and temperament…'[39] The heterogeneity of the International made it impossible to adopt a single programme, one applicable for all federations. Through a process of progressive development political debate should be allowed to define a collective position. One example is significant. After the English Federal Committee disavowed Marx's manoeuvres – which had resulted in the exclusion of Bakunin and of the Jura Federation – John Hales, in the name of the British Committee, wrote to the latter and in substance said they were in favour of conquering power but were not in favour of imposing such politics on all federations:

We fully believe in the utility of political activity, and I believe that every member of our Federation is so persuaded, as we have obtained some of our best results through fear and concessions by the wealthy classes… We feel that we should take political power before we can achieve our own emancipation. We believe that you would have come to the same conclusion as us – if you found yourself in the same place – and we think that future events will prove us right. But at the same time we acknowledge your loyalty, and we are perfectly aware that there may be a similar difference of opinion as to what political direction to take, to achieve the great principles we are all fighting for. This is yet another proof that the federal principle is the only one on which our Association can be based…. With things being this way it is certain that it would be impossible to adopt one single uniform politics which might be applicable in all circumstances and countries.[40]

Bakunin considered this good sense. A text in which he most clearly developed his viewpoint was his On the Knouto-Germanic Empire (Ecrit contre Marx) of 1872. He wrote that the International should not integrate philosophical and political questions into its programme. He referred to the 'Considering' clauses of the Geneva Congress which stipulated that the economic emancipation of the workers was the great goal to which all political movements should be subordinated'.[41] Bakunin believed that these key words 'broke the links which held the proletariat enchained to the politics of bourgeoisie'. Between the two tendencies opposed to each other on this point 'there is the same difference, the same chasm as between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie'. German Social-Democrats, setting out an electoral strategy, had 'attached the proletariat to the coat tails of the bourgeoisie', because such a political movement could only be directed by the bourgeoisie, or – even worse – by 'workers transformed by their ambition or vanity into members of the bourgeoisie'. In struggles, between different bourgeois fractions for the conquest of power, the working class would become a blind instrument. What divided Marx and Bakunin was not that the International should have politics, but the process through which it should define its programme. For the Russian revolutionary, some progressive development was needed, because between Britain and Italy or between Germany and Spain conditions were so diverse that imposing one single programme was not to be contemplated. So, such a programme should agree only a minimum and should be based on International solidarity. The single goal of the IWA is:

… workers' conquest of all human rights, through organised, militant, solidarity over and above differences: the diversity of trades and countries with political and national frontiers. The supreme and one might say, single law which each person takes on himself, when he joins this wonderful and salutary association, is voluntarily to submit themselves to the exigencies of that solidarity; and likewise thereafter: to submit all their acts, voluntarily, ardently and in full knowledge of causes; and in their own interest, as well as in the interest of their comrades of all conditions and countries.[42]

These principles are so broad, human, and at the same time so simple that one would have to be 'brutalised by bourgeois prejudices' not to understand them. So Bakunin affirms the basic principle – of the complete freedom of philosophical and political propaganda.

The International allows no reproof, nor an official truth in the name of which reproof might be issued, because it has never yet admitted that it

should present itself as a church or as a state; and it is due exactly to this abstention that it owes the incredible rapidity of its growth and development that has so astonished the world.

So, freedom of debate and the absence of an official obligatory programme are conditions for the development of the IWA as a mass organisation.

By eliminating from its programme all philosophical and political principles – not as objects for study and discussion but as compulsory principles it [the Geneva Congress] established the strength of our Association.'[43]

The Association should be able 'to draw into it and embrace the immense majority of the proletariat of every country of Europe and America'. So, with mass recruitment on a minimum programme Bakunin suggests a strategy for the unity of the international proletariat based on what unites workers rather than what divides them. 'Only a programme that is excessively general, i.e. vague and indeterminate, can work, because every theoretical determination corresponds fatally to some exclusion, to some practical elimination.'[44] Indeed, how could one hope that workers of every country, experiencing extremely different conditions – of culture, economic development – could submit and 'harness themselves to a uniform political programme?' If a political programme had to be introduced into the IWA, there could not be only one. If not, 'there would be as many Internationals as there are different programmes'. And so one programme would have to be imposed by force.

Since unity in political action is recognised as necessary, if there is no hope that it should arise freely from a spontaneous understanding between the federations and sections of each country, it had to be imposed on them.[45]

It was not freedom of thought and action within the International that was to be feared – because the real unity of the proletariat was to be found not 'in the philosophical and political ideas of the day', but in the material conditions of workers' existence and in their living class solidarity. Unity arose:

[F]ully formed in the interests, needs, real aspirations, and sufferings of the proletariat throughout the world. This solidarity is not at all something to be created, it exists in reality; it is constituted by life itself, in the daily experience of the world of workers, and all that remains to be done is to make it known, and to facilitate its conscious organisation.[46]

To define one unique politics for the International would signify an imposition of 'the political programme of one country alone, either by violence, or by intrigue, or by the two together'. Whenever attempts might be made to use the International as a political power in the struggles of parties in a state:

[I]t will immediately be demoralised, diminished, weakened and drawn in on itself; it would be sensibly destabilised and it will finish up by melting away in the hands of whoever might be so foolish as to imagine that they might to grasp its power.[47]

If Bakunin is opposed to the IWA having a political programme, an official philosophy, then this is for tactical reasons. Rather than emphasising the ideological unity of the organisation of the mass of workers, Bakunin insists on organic unity, as the condition of its power in the face of its class adversary. However this does not preclude that the IWA might one day consider the question of a political programme. Indeed limiting the role of the IWA to economic action alone would imply that the latter should undertake

comparative statistics, the study of the laws of the distribution and production of wealth, that it should busy itself – where and when such things are possible – exclusively with wage claims, the raising of strike funds (caisses de resistance), the organisation of local, national and international strikes, the creation of local, national and international trade unions (corps de metier), the formation of cooperatives societies – for mutual credit, consumption and production. Bakunin says such an eventuality is not foreseeable:

It would be death for the proletariat to preoccupy itself exclusively with purely economic interests. The organisation and defence of its interests – a matter of life or death – must indubitably constitute the foundations of its current activity. But, it is impossible to stop there, without renouncing its humanity and without depriving itself of the moral and intellectual strength, which it needs, to conquer its economic rights. Without doubt the first question which it has to face – in the miserable conditions to which it is now reduced – is that of its daily bread, of bread for the family. But more than with the privileged classes of today – the worker is a human being in the full sense of the word and as such has a thirst for dignity, justice, equality, freedom, humanity and science – and he fully intends to seize all of these at the same time as he conquers in full the enjoyment of the entire product of his own work. So, even if

philosophical and political questions had not been posed at all in the International, the proletariat will infallibly pose them.'[48]

So, a contradiction is apparent: on the one hand philosophical and political questions must be excluded from the programme of the International; but on the other hand they must necessarily be discussed.

In freedom a solution is found that arises from and out of itself. No philosophical or political theory should enter as its essential, official foundation, as the compulsory condition in the programme of the International, because, as we have just seen, all imposed theory would become – for all the federations which are now part of it – either the cause of slavery, or of division and a less disastrous dissolution. But it does not follow that all philosophical and political questions cannot nor should not be freely discussed in the International. On the contrary, it would be the existence of an official theory which would kill the development of its own thinking in the world of workers, by making lively discussion unnecessary.[49]

Bakunin's approach does not consist of denying the necessity of the search for a programme for the International and it is not on this point that the divergence with Marx is found. He believed that such research must result from ongoing collective elaboration, and such research would be the better for it not being imposed as 'official truth discovered scientifically by some isolated big head exceptionally and – why not – providentially provided with brains' (evidently he was thinking of Marx).

On the contrary, although no one has, nor can have the pretension to provide it, the search was on. Who is searching? Everyone, and above all the proletariat, which needs and thirsts for it, more than anyone. Many do not want to believe in this spontaneous search for philosophical and political truth by the proletariat itself.[50]

Obviously there was no magical role for revolutionary militants in this process of elaboration. What many authors pejoratively designate 'Bakuninist secret societies' are nothing other than revolutionary minorities active within the mass of workers.

The Hegelian background common to Bakunin and Marx allows us to transpose divergent approaches to the strategy of the labour movement to the philosophical domain, especially given that the question had already been set out as part of the framework of methodological differences between Proudhon and Marx, in the way that each of them explained the mechanisms of the capitalist system. Fundamentally it concerns the

question of the theory of knowledge: development by concept or development by nature.

Concerning understanding Hegel made the distinction between development by nature, (reality is first, thought is conditioned) and development by concept, as it appears to reason (empirical reality is the effect of reason). The first considers the real process as it confronts understanding: the empirical and that which can be sensed come first; thought is something conditioned. The second considers logical process as it confronts reason: thought annuls the real conditions on which it seems to depend and therein makes its own result. In the current relations between these two processes, Hegel chooses to accord reality only to the second. Marx – after a fashion – follows in Hegel's footsteps: the programme and the unique strategy which he intends to have the International adopt are an application of development by concept to proletariat politics. The concept (programme) comes first and around it is constituted reality (the International). Bakunin follows an inverse process: he begins with development by nature, and with the living reality of the European proletariat, to arrive by gradual stages at the concept, the programme. In some ways he adopts an experimental method, which all anarchist thinkers have considered as the only method that is really scientific.

There were limits on what could be demanded of the IWA, and however strong the forces that are pulling and pushing a mass organisation like the IWA, these limits were set in place precisely because of its diversity. Bakunin strongly underlined this. It is a substantial error, he said, to demand from an institution more than it could give. There was a risk of demoralisation and death should it go beyond its limits. 'Is this a reason to hope that one might make use of it as an instrument for political struggle?'[51] This is what Marx wanted to do and he ended up with the liquidation of the organisation.

At issue was a practical problem rather one than a theoretical one. The IWA had moved on from supporting isolated strikes to veritable class confrontation – on a European scale. It organised collections, appealed for solidarity beyond frontiers, sent funds to strikers, and encouraged the formation of unions and the regrouping of labour forces. The success of one building workers' strike in Geneva was due to the help of Parisian bronze workers. As strikes became widespread, the IWA's politics became more radical. This radicalisation did not captivate everyone. Bakunin denounced the Marxist current of the Geneva IWA when they made

building workers call off another strike in 1870 because, to use the expression of Utin, it would have been 'disastrous' for the election prospects of a certain Amberny, a lawyer.

According to Bakunin the definition of the International's programme should be a spontaneous process – and there should be no misinterpretation of the Russian revolutionary's notion of 'spontaneity' – a phenomenon is 'spontaneous' if it develops through the workings of its internal dynamics without outside intervention. It is therefore the opposite of a phenomenon that develops without a defined cause, through will alone or by chance. In consequence the concept of spontaneity is very close to that of ... determinism, which evidently goes against the grain of much common thinking. In short what was at issue was the question of how workers were to acquire class and revolutionary consciousness? The reply to a second question – what type of organisation was to be adopted? – also depended on how this first question was answered. Conscious awareness of the necessity of social transformation could never result from a purely bookish adherence, without some prior practical experience. Bakunin says, only a very small number of individuals 'are ready to reshape themselves in accordance with an abstract, pure "idea"'. To draw the proletariat into the activity of the International, it needs to be approached … not with abstract and general ideas but with a realistic understanding of real ills. Its everyday woes, which may have a general character for a thinker, though they may well really be the result of particular effects of general and permanent causes, are infinitely diverse, taking on a multitude different facets, and are the product of a multitude of partial and temporary causes.[52]

Workers, 'join the International in the first instance to organise only for an eminently practical goal: to demand together, all their economic rights, against the oppressive exploitation of the bourgeoisie of all nations.'[53] As a result of this single fact, the proletariat placed itself in an eminently political situation, destroying 'political frontiers and all international politics of states'. It also situated itself 'beyond the action and political play of all parties of the state'.[54] Its official programme is 'the organisation of International solidarity – for the economic struggle of labour against capital.' It is from this base that a new moral, intellectual and social world must arise.

To ensure that it should be so, all [trends of] thinking – all the International's political and philosophical tendencies should emerge from within proletariat, and should have as their principal – if not exclusive –

starting point this economic demand which constitute the very essence and goal of the International. Is this possible?

The programme is formed slowly 'sometimes bit by bit, sometimes all at once', in a three step process: [through]

- international strike solidarity, and the organisation and federalisation of strike funds;
- organisation and the international federalisation of trade unions (corps de metier);
- and lastly through 'the direct and spontaneous development of sociological and philosophical ideas within the International, which, one might say is an enforced and inevitable consequence and concomitant of these first two movements.'[55]

Thus, this 'self-enlightenment' that each person accomplishes for themselves, as to the reality of their own exploitation, could not be provided by the revelation of some self-proclaimed revolutionary scientist; it could only develop progressively, through personal and collective experience within a group sharing the same way of life. Bakunin described this process with great clarity. When a worker entered an IWA section:

[T]hey are taught that the same solidarity which exists between every member of one section is established equally between every section, or between every trade union (corps de metiers) of a locality; that the organisation of this wider solidarity, embracing without distinction workers of every trade, has become necessary because the bosses of every trade have come to an understanding amongst themselves.[56]

NOTES

[5] George Haupt, 'La confrontation de Marx et de Bakounine dans La première internationale: la phase initiale', in Jacques Catteau, Ed., Bakounine – Combats et débats, Paris, Institut d'études slaves, 1979.

[6] The Address was not considered by the first IWA congress.

[7] Proudhon is attributed with opposition to strikes. He says simply that strikes cannot fundamentally resolve social questions.

[8] A reference to a manifesto of sixty workers, drawn up by Henri Tolain, on the occasion of partial elections in 1864, to denounce the inequity of French society, Trans.

[9] James Guillaume: Karl Marx, Pangermaniste, Paris, A. Colin, 1915, p. 5. http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/book/lookupid?key=ha001745501

[10] Ibid.

[11] In the French text ‘de type syndical’. Trans

[12] Marx took part in none of the congresses of the International, except for The Hague congress, constituted of delegates chosen carefully by himself.

[13] Lewis L. Lorwin, Labor and Internationalism, New York: Macmillan, 1929.

[14] ‘Judging Mr Coullery’ L’Égalité (Geneva), 31 July 1869. (http://kropot.free.fr/Bakounine-PolInter.htm) The considering clauses are reproduced in an appendix. Trans.

[15] The abolition of inheritance had been a common demand amongst many socialists and featured in the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, Trans.

[16] Some congress members abstained and others were absent when it came to a vote. The votes of the representatives from the General Council were sufficient to prevent the majority of ordinary delegates obtaining a congress majority. Trans.

[17] Extracts from the debate and resolution are quoted in an appendix. Trans.

[18] Mémoire de la Fédération jurassienne, p. 82. See also: James Guillaume, L’Internationale, Book 1, Part 2, Chapter 11, 1905, p. 207.

[19] At a later moment, at the congress of The Hague, when it came to rounding up people for mandates, it became clear that there was no German Federation.

[20] ‘Fabrique’ denoted professional worker citizens and voters active in skilled trades: jewellery, clock and watch makers, etc. Trans.

[21] M. Nettlau, ‘Les Origines de L’Internationale anti-autoritaire’, Le Réveil, 16 September, 1922.

[22] Franz Mehring, Karl Marx, op. cit, p. 471.

[23] We consider as an ideological approach one that consists of taking an author’s ideas literally, without critical examination. In such a fashion, The Civil War in France would be taken as a history book on the Commune, to be taken as such, containing the truth about this event, rather than a book presenting Marx’s opinions on the matter, at given moment, and with particular reasons in mind.

[24] While they saw possibilities of progress through parliamentary elections, the English Federation respected the right of each national Federation to elaborate its own tactics and policies, in the light of its own situation. Trans.

[25] Liebknecht left Germany after the 1848 events and only returned in 1862; he was a democrat, and became a long serving Social-Democrat editor and leader. Trans.

[26] Engels to Wilhelm Liebknecht, 22 May 1872; Marx & Engels, Collected Works, Vol. 44, p. 376. http://www.dearchiv.de/php/dok.php?archiv=mew&brett=MEW033&fn=465-468.33&menu=mewinh

[27] The Geneva Alliance section was dissolved in August 1871, but a month later former members came together with exiled refugees from the Commune to found a ‘Section de propagande et d’action révolutionnaire-socialiste’ – (Section for propaganda and for socialist-revolutionary action.) James Guillaume, L’Internationale, Book 1, Third part, Chapter 10, 1905, p. 177ff. The London conference meeting shortly afterwards prohibited such sections.

[28] Michel Bakounine, November — December 1872, ‘De l’empire knouto-germanique’, in Michel Bakounine, Oeuvres, Vol. 4, Paris: Stock, 1910, p. 424.

[29] ‘Lettres à un français’, in Bakounine, Oeuvres, Book 4, pp. 42–3.

[30] Some 40% of the workforce. Trans

[31] [Consider Mehring’s comment]: And, when Marx wrote the General Council circular The Fictitious Splits in the International, indicting ‘young Guillaume’ for having denounced ‘the factory workers’ of Geneva as hateful ‘bourgeois’, that text did not pay the

least attention to the fact that the 'Fabrique' in Geneva was a section of highlypaid workers in the luxury trades which had concluded more or less dubious electoral compromises with the bourgeois parties. Franz Mehring, Karl Marx, op. cit, p. 479.

[32] In The Communist Manifesto, (Chapter II: Proletarians and Communists), Marx's list of measures reads: 1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes. 2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax. 3. Abolition of all rights of inheritance. 4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels. 5. Centralisation of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly. 6. Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state. 7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation of waste-lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan. 8. Equal liability of all to work. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture. 9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of all the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the populace over the country. 10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc, etc.

[33] 1891, introduction by Frederick Engels, 'On the 20th Anniversary of the Paris Commune', http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1871/civil-war-france/postscript.htm

[34] Letter of 20 March 1869.

[35] Letter of Marx to Engels, 20 July 1870 in Marx & Engels, Collected Works, Vol. 44, 1989, pp. 3–4. See also http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1870/letters/70_07_20.htm

[36] Engels, letter to Bernstein, 12–13 June 1883, in Marx & Engels, Collected Works, Vol. 47, 1995, pp. 35–6.

[37] See appendix. Trans

[38] It had the function of an international political party. Its principles were atheism, federalism, socialism, anti-state-ism, anti-patriotism, solidarity between nations, equality of rights between the sexes, beginning with the right to education. The programme of this Fraternity stipulated that the supporter 'should be convinced that … women – different, but not inferior to men, should be like him, in intelligence, as free and industrious as him, and must be declared to be his equal in all social and political rights.' As for children, Bakunin says, their education should be paid for by society, 'and the latter – whilst it protects them against stupidity, negligence, or any ill will from parents – will have no need to take them away; children belong neither to society, nor to parents, but – freely – to themselves.' Gregory P. Maximoff (Maxsimov), The Political Philosophy of Bakunin, New York: The Free Press, 1953. p. 327.

[39] Bakounine, Oeuvres Complètes: Ecrit contre Marx, Vol. 3, Paris: Champ Libre, 1972–83, p. 179; and Oeuvres, Vol. 4, Paris: Stock, 1910, p. 450.

[40] James Guillaume, L'Internationale, Vol. 2, part 5 Chapter 2, p. 25.

[41] Guillaume comments that the first IWA congress adopted the 'Considering' clauses unchanged, as drafted by Marx; but did not adopt his Inaugural Address. Bakounine, Oeuvres, Vol. 4, pp. 420–21. Trans.

[42] 'Fragment formant une suite de l'empire knouto-germanique' in Michel Bakounine, Oeuvres, Vol. 4, pp. 425–6. Trans

[43] Ibid, p. 406.

[44] Ibid, pp. 412–3.

[45] Ibid, p. 418.
[46] Ibid, p. 421.
[47] Ibid, p. 433.
[48] Ibid, pp. 433–4.
[49] Ibid, p. 435.
[50] Ibid, pp. 435–6.
[51] Ibid, p. 427.
[52] Michel Bakounine, 'Protestation de l'Alliance', Oeuvres, Vol. 6, p. 70
[53] Oeuvres, Vol. 4, Paris: Stock, 1910, p. 436
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid, p. 438.
[56] 'Protestation de l'Alliance'. Michel Bakounine, Oeuvres, Vol. 6, p. 73.