

Il y a 150 ans, l'Association internationale des travailleurs.

Colloque à Paris les 19 et 20 juin 2014.

Résumés / abstracts

Fabrice Bensimon (Université Paris IV-Sorbonne), « L'AIT et ses précurseurs à Londres »

L'histoire des organisations internationales – ou « cosmopolites » – qui précèdent l'AIT, a été écrite, notamment par Arthur Lehning: Fraternal Democrats (1845-1848), Comité international (1854-56), puis Association internationale (1856-1859). Lehning montrait que, dès les années 1830, des groupes cherchèrent à établir des contacts, à construire des passerelles entre les organisations ouvrières de différents pays. Cette communication aura pour premier objet de revisiter cette histoire, à la lumière d'une série d'apports réalisés depuis, notamment archivistiques, dans la presse, mais aussi par des monographies sur les circulations en Europe et sur les communautés d'émigrés et d'exilés politiques.

En conclusion, on essaiera d'esquisser ce que ces organisations précoces ont légué à l'AIT.

Fabrice Bensimon (Université Paris IV-Sorbonne), « The IWMA and its precursors in London »

The history of international – or « cosmopolitan » – organizations preceding the IWMA has already been written, in particular by Arthur Lehning: the Fraternal Democrats (1845-8), the International Committee (1854-6) and the International Association (1856-9). Lehning showed that, from the early 1830s, groups tried to set up contacts and to build bridges between working-class organizations in different countries. This paper will try to revisit this history, in the light of progress made in the archives, in the newspapers, but also by monographs on European circulations and on communities of exiles and political emigrants.

This paper will conclusively try and sketch what was bequeathed by these early international organizations to the IWMA.

Edward Castleton (MSHE, Université de Franche-Comté): “Proudhon's Legacy and the First International: A Revisionist Account”

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon died (19 January 1865) roughly at the very moment the First International was born (fall 1864). Discussing the influence of his ideas in the debates of the International Workingmen's Association (IWA) might seem an impossible task. If the First International has typically been discussed by scholars in terms of the conflict between Bakunin and Marx, and is typically considered a foundational moment in the history of anarchism, Proudhon's impact would appear at first glance to be rather secondary. The supposed disciples of Proudhon were marginalized by the 4th Congress held in Basle in 1869, as the orientation of the IWA became officially favorable to collectivization. Insofar as scholars have discussed Proudhon's influence on the IWA, they have typically dwelt on the working-class members of the Paris “Gravilliers” section, rather than examining the participation in the First International of Proudhon's non-working-class friends and executors such as Gustave Chaudey or Amédée-Jérôme Langlois. This has partly been because there has been a general tendency to describe the nascent French working-class movement as “Proudhonian” in light of its key figures' attraction to mutualism, the prominent presence of a skilled labor component, and the relative under-industrialization of France. Such an assimilation, problematic in part because of such assumptions, largely have corresponded to Marx's own attempts to brand the French labor movement as relatively backwards compared to that which was bound to emerge in more industrialized countries such as England.

Crucially, by excessively dwelling on a supposed overlapping relationship between class and ideology, scholars have forgotten that before the Marx-Bakunin conflict, the central conflict in the first 4 congresses of the IWA and the first two overlapping Swiss congresses of the Peace and Freedom League (over the subject of collectivization, land nationalization, class struggle and violence, and inheritance) were between the “Proudhonians”, represented notably by Chaudey and Langlois along with some of the members of the “Gravilliers” group, and Bakunin and his allies. These conflicts are particularly interesting insofar as they led the latter group to argue that the Proudhonians were unfaithful disciples to their late master. If these conflicts between “anarchist” factions have been overlooked, it is partly because scholars have overwhelmingly bought into the traditional narrative that there was a firm distinction between “anarchism” and “Marxism” in the First International, and that both doctrines were respectively united in their competitive opposition to one another. This paper would reexamine the conflicts between the rival anti-statist factions of the “Proudhonians” and Bakunin and his allies in the early years of the IAW. Its purpose would be to examine them in isolation from both social history (notably the reduction of Proudhon’s thought to his impact on the French working-class) and anarchist genealogy (which retrospectively suggests a united anti-statist inheritance at odds with the supposedly coherent “Marxism” of Marx and his allies).

Gregory Claeys (Royal Holloway London), "Professor Beesly, Positivism and the International: Nationality and the Patriotism Question"

In the chair at the founding meeting of the IWMA on 28 September 1864 was Edward Spencer Beesly, Positivist, trade-union activist, and Professor of History at University College London. Beesly inaugurated the new organisation with a brief well-received speech effectively outlining the Positivist vision of the co-operative venture outlined that day. This talk will explore the context and implications of Beesly's speech, focusing on the issues of patriotism and nationalism, and contending that a distinctive Positivist line on these questions was proposed which remained an interesting contrast to Marx's views in particular over the course of the next half century.

Michel Cordillot, « L’AIT aux Etats-Unis : quels enseignements peut-on tirer d’un cas aussi particulier ? »

Encore aujourd’hui, dans l’histoire de la Première Internationale, les États-Unis restent principalement le pays où le Conseil général de l’AIT « officielle » (ou « marxiste », ou « centraliste », au choix) fut transféré après le congrès de La Haye (septembre 1872), pour finalement décider sa dissolution en 1876 (congrès de Philadelphie). À tort, car avec ses cinquante sections et ses quelque 4500 membres encartés, les USA figurent plutôt en bonne place dans la liste des pays où l’AIT réussit son implantation, même si celle-ci y fut relativement tardive par rapport à l’Europe (encore que contemporaine de son essor en Espagne).

Cette communication aura donc un objectif triple.

En s’appuyant sur une analyse historiographique, elle tentera d’abord d’expliquer pourquoi le cas américain est longtemps resté si mal connu – la façon dont il fut (mal)traité lors du colloque de 1964 est de ce point de vue suffisamment révélatrice – et fera le point sur les connaissances désormais établies (naissance, spécificités, chronologie, éclatement, héritage idéologique...).

Elle examinera ensuite comment prolonger les travaux existant en proposant diverses pistes de réflexion, notamment à partir de l’étude des sections de langue française (en gros 1/3 des sections et des adhérents). Elle montrera notamment pourquoi il est important de compléter l’étude du contexte américain (essor économique, conséquences de la guerre de Sécession,

évolution de l'opinion publique...) par une prise en compte des différentes dynamiques (sociale, politique, migratoire ...) qui se sont combinées pour favoriser dans un premier temps la croissance de l'AIT aux États-Unis, avant d'entraîner son déclin irrémédiable.

Pour conclure, à partir de l'exemple des États-Unis, elle tentera de montrer comment un cas très particulier peut éclairer des problèmes plus généraux et nous aider à revisiter l'histoire de l'AIT.

Michel Cordillot, "The IWMA in the USA: What Lessons Can be Learned from Such a Particular Case?"

Even still today, in the history of the First International, the United States remains the principal country to which the general council of the "official" (or "Marxist," or "Centralist": the choice is ours) IWMA was transferred after the La Haye Congress of September 1872. Its dissolution was finally decided upon here, as well, at the Philadelphia Congress of 1876. This image is faulty, because with its fifty sections and 4500 registered members, the United States should actually be considered as a part of the list of the countries where the IWMA succeeded in its implantation, even if said implantation was relatively late compared with Europe (more contemporary than its boost in Spain).

This lecture will thus have a triple objective.

Based on a historical analysis, this paper will first attempt to explain why the case of the IWMA in the USA has, for so long, remained misunderstood—the way in which it was (poorly) treated at the 1964 conference reveals much concerning this standpoint—and will review already established knowledge (birth, specificities, chronology, dissolution, ideological heritage...)

The paper will continue with an examination of the ways in which existing works can be elaborated upon by way of proposing various avenues of thought, notably from the French language (roughly speaking 1/3 of sections and adherents). I will particularly attempt to show why it is important to complete this study of the American context (economic boost, consequences from the Civil War, evolution of public opinion...) taking into account the different dynamics (social, political, migratory) which were initially combined to foster the growth of the IWMA in the USA, before leading to its irremediable decline.

In conclusion, drawing from the example of the USA, this paper will attempt to show how a very particular case is capable of shedding light on more general problems as well as helping us revisit the history of the IWMA.

Nicolas Delalande (Sciences Po Paris): « La solidarité internationale en actes. Souscriptions, secours et cotisations au sein des sections de l'AIT »

L'objectif de cette communication est de réfléchir aux pratiques de collecte, de transfert et de redistribution de l'argent au sein de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs, à la fin des années 1860. La solidarité internationale que l'Association vise à créer n'est pas que politique, idéologique ou culturelle : elle suppose aussi la mise en relation des différentes sections et l'organisation, à distance, de pratiques d'entraide et de solidarité, par-delà les frontières étatiques nationales. Les transferts d'argent opérés à l'occasion de grèves ou de conflits sociaux prennent des formes diverses (secours, cotisations, prêts remboursables) qui font de l'Association internationale une instance de mutualisation des ressources ouvrières à l'échelle européenne voire internationale. En ce sens, on s'interrogera sur le degré d'institutionnalisation et sur l'économie politique de ces pratiques à l'intérieur de l'Association, ainsi que sur la manière dont elles s'articulent avec les prises de position de l'organisation contre le pouvoir de taxation des États-nations.

Nicolas Delalande (Sciences Po Paris): “International solidarity in acts. Subscriptions, aid, and dues within the IWMA”

The objective of this paper is the reflection upon the practices of collection, transfer, and redistribution of money within the IWMA at the end of the 1860s. The international solidarity that the Association aimed at creating was not only political, ideological, or cultural: it also expected the linkage of different sections and the remote organization of the practices of mutual assistance and solidarity, across national state borders. The money transfers which took place at the time of strikes or social conflicts were of various forms (various forms of aid, dues, reimbursable loans) which were for the International Association an instance of pooling of working resources on the European, or even international, scale. In this sense, we will interrogate the degree of institutionalization as well as the political economy of these practices at the interior of the Association, as well as the manner in which said practices hinged upon one another by way of the positions taken by the organization against the taxation power of nation-states.

Quentin Deluermoz (Paris 13 Villetaneuse / Institut universitaire de France), « L’AIT et la Commune : retour sur un bilan »

La question des relations entre l’AIT et la Commune est ancienne, tant pour l’histoire du mouvement ouvrier que pour celle du Paris insurgé de 1871. Elle a notamment fait l’objet de nombreux travaux, nourris d’archives nombreuses, dans les années 1960-1970. La communication se proposera donc dans un premier temps de faire un bilan de ces recherches. Elle rappellera leur contexte politique, leur environnement historiographique, les problématiques auxquelles elles répondaient, puis dégagera leurs principaux acquis, parfois négligés aujourd’hui. Elle s’attachera ensuite, à partir de ces derniers et de certains fonds documentaires, de voir s’il est possible de poursuivre le travail d’analyse sur la Commune de Paris. Il s’agira alors d’aborder des questionnements tels que l’insertion de la Commune dans une perspective transnationale, l’étude de la dynamique engendrée par les interrelations entre institutions provisoires, la place du travail dans la définition locale de la citoyenneté ou les réverbérations des événements parisiens au sein des instances londoniennes. Ce faisant, il sera aussi possible de reprendre la réflexion sur la manière dont l’organisation qu’est l’AIT a traversé l’évènement communard, c’est-à-dire d’observer la complexité des voies par lesquelles elle est intervenue, la manière dont se sont révélés ses divers visages et celle dont elle a été ébranlée par l’expérience parisienne de 1871.

Quentin Deluermoz (Paris 13 Villetaneuse/Institut universitaire de France): “The IWMA and the Commune: Returning to the Results”

The question of the relations between the IWMA and the Commune is an ancient one, as much for the history of the working class movement as for that of the insurgent Paris of 1871. This question has notably been the object of many works, nourished by numerous archives, in the 1960s-1970s. This paper thus proposes, as a first step, to provide a comprehensive review of this research. The political context and the historiographical environment of these studies will be called upon, as well as the issue to which they responded, and then clarify the principles acquired, which are, at times, neglected today. Furthermore, this lecture will aim to—based on the perspectives and documents just mentioned—see if it is possible to pursue the analysis of the Commune of Paris. Said analysis will deal with questions such as the insertion of the Commune in a transnational perspective, the study of the dynamics created by the inter-relations between provisory institutions, the place of work in the local definition of citizenship or the reverberations of Parisian events within these instances which took place in London. In doing this, it will also be possible to reflect once more upon the manner in which the organization which is the IWMA permeated the Paris Commune thus observing the

complexity of the ways in which it intervened in this event, the way in which the various faces of the organization were revealed, and the manner in which it was undermined by the Parisian experience of 1871.

Albert Garcia Balaña (Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona), “Global History and Local History in AIT Historiography: reconsidering 1871 in Spain”

From Max Nettlau’s foundational work in the 1910s and 1920s to the historiographical awakening during the 1960s and 1970s (with contributions by Martí, Lida, Termes, Álvarez Junco and Hennessy among others), two main and intertwined narratives galvanized the research on AIT-WMIA first years in Spain. On the one hand, an insistence on the driving force of its foreign sources and global connections, pointing out the early influence of Bakunin and his Swiss group also as a key explanation for the weakness of ‘political’ and Marxist ascendancy in 1870s and 1880s Spain. On the other hand, the high instability of Spanish politics during the crucial years 1868-1875 (from the fall of the Bourbon monarchy to its military Restoration following the failure of the short-lived Spanish First Republic), often presented as the contextual or ‘national’ contribution to the advancement of ‘antipolitical’ positions into the AIT / *Federación de la Región Española* (FRE) leadership and rank-and-file.

Most recent research in the fields of social and political history on 19th century Spain, produced during the last long decade, allow us today to complete, rather than to dispute, both historiographical legacies. National or regional actors already and strongly rooted before 1868, such as Trade Unionism (trade-based) and political Republicanism (and especially Federal Republicanism), were very active counterparts of European Internationalism coming to Spain. They played a key part in channelling and shaping AIT reception according to their own agencies and agendas, that is, due to local factors no less than to global debates and networks.

The paper will explore the explanation power of this Local-to-Global perspective through a meaningful but unattended episode: the shadow of the Paris *Commune* over 1871 Spain, and particularly its impact in Barcelona. The Spanish government invoked and used the Paris *Commune* to launch an early wave of repression against the AIT / FRE that would led to its first legal prohibition in the winter of 1871-1872, one that paved the way to its long outlawing of 1874-1881. By focusing on the *Commune* use and misuse in Spain most populated and industrial area –the province of Barcelona– the paper will argue that at least two local/regional and long-rooted disputes were actually behind the government-AIT clash of 1871-1872. The dispute between capital and union action still on the basis of trade’s ‘moral economy’, and the dispute between central government and a Republican ‘municipalism’ that was widely perceived as the fast way to a true extended franchise and an inclusive democracy.

Emilio Gianni : « 1864: un rendez-vous manqué en Italie »

S’il est vrai que tous les courants alors présents dans le mouvement ouvrier des différents pays ont concouru à la naissance de l’AIT, il est tout aussi vrai que celle-ci fut d’une part le produit de l’évolution historique du mouvement lui-même, fruit du développement capitaliste, et d’autre part le résultat de l’intervention théorique et politique de Marx et d’Engels en son sein. Dès lors, et à travers sa propre organisation internationale, le prolétariat comprit que son premier devoir était la conquête du pouvoir politique.

Le rôle de Marx a été fondamental dès la fondation de l’AIT, précisément dans le but de déjouer les tentatives d’intrusion de Mazzini. Celui-ci visait principalement à utiliser l’AIT à ses fins démocratico-nationales et, secondairement, à marquer de façon interclassiste sa politique ouvrière. Ces tentatives ayant échoué, l’AIT finit par passer presque inaperçue en Italie. Toutefois, les causes de ce désintérêt étaient autres et plus importantes : l’arriération

économique, un mouvement ouvrier encore à ses balbutiements et, principalement, la question nationale encore irrésolue.

Le malaise provoqué par la façon dont s'était conclue la III^e guerre d'Indépendance en 1866 et l'échec de la tentative de libérer Rome l'année suivante, avec l'arrestation de Garibaldi de surcroît, jeta l'organisation démocratico-mazzinienne toute entière dans une crise profonde. C'est ainsi que de nombreux jeunes commencèrent à se tourner vers l'AIT. Incapables d'examiner de façon critique leurs échecs au cours du Risorgimento, mais avides de nouvelles aventures, ils trouvèrent dans le « socialisme » de Bakounine, et non dans celui de Marx, leur nouveau credo et le nouvel apôtre à suivre, surtout après la défection de Cafiero en 1872.

Mais ce fut seulement avec la Commune de Paris en 1871 que l'AIT fit irruption définitivement en Italie. La Commune fut la ligne de démarcation. Avec le soutien déclaré de Garibaldi et les attaques furieuses de Mazzini, une génération entière de jeunes disciples assoiffés d'action révolutionnaire franchit le pas. Ils trouvèrent dans la Commune un mythe et dans l'Internationale une nouvelle bannière. Toutefois l'enthousiasme prévalut sur la réflexion, le cœur sur le cerveau. D'où les nouvelles et inévitables déceptions qui en découlèrent, lorsqu'ils se rendirent compte que le socialisme n'était pas une question de jours, ni une affaire à résoudre par l'assaut à une barricade.

La « *La tradition des générations disparues pèse comme un cauchemar sur le cerveau des vivants* », écrit Marx en 1852. Tel fut le facteur « subjectif » qui détermina le retard de l'apparition du socialisme en Italie, malgré les causes « objectives », agissant certes de façon décisive, mais que l'on met toujours au premier plan dans la reconstitution historique. De l'« idéal » de la *patrie* on passait à celui du *socialisme*, ce dernier comme le premier, « accepté sans discussion », sans « nécessité d'analyser les faits ». Tel fut le trait typique de la psychologie de cette génération : une fois arrivée au socialisme, elle transmet ce caractère à son évolution ultérieure.

Idéalistes, peut-être même héroïquement voués à la cause, mais ignorants. C'est-à-dire qu'ils ignoraient et ne se préoccupaient pas de pénétrer les raisons profondes et objectives de leurs propres idéaux, mais se contentaient d'une phraséologie révolutionnaire qui apaisait leur état d'esprit inquiet. Des idéalistes prisonniers des mythes, et créateurs à leur tour de nouvelles mythologies : tel est le court-circuit, jamais complètement interrompu, qui a accompagné l'histoire du mouvement ouvrier italien jusqu'à nos jours. Une génération qui n'a jamais voulu tenir compte du célèbre avertissement d'Engels en 1874 : « *le socialisme, depuis qu'il est devenu une science, veut être pratiqué, c'est-à-dire étudié, comme une science* ».

Emilio Gianni: "1864: A Missed Opportunity in Italy"

If it is true that all of the currents present in the working-class movements of different countries were competing at the time of the birth of the IWMA, it is also true that the IWMA was, in part, the product of the historical evolution of the movement itself—the fruit of capitalist development—and on the other hand, the result of the theoretical and political intervention of Marx and Engels within. Since this intervention, and throughout its own international organization, the proletariat understood that its primary duty was the conquest of political power.

Marx's role was fundamental from the foundation of the IWMA, with the precise goal of foiling Mazzini's attempted intrusions. Mazzini principally aimed at using the IWMA for his democratic-national goals, and secondly, to distinguish, in an interclassist fashion, his working-class politics. These attempts having failed, the IWMA ended up passing nearly unnoticed in Italy. Nonetheless, there were other, and more important, reasons for this disinterest, such as: economic retardation, a still-spluttering working-class movement, and, primarily, the still unresolved national question.

The malaise provoked by the way in which the third war of Independence in 1866 concluded and the failed attempt to liberate Rome the following year, in addition to the arrest of Garibaldi, threw the entire démocratico-mazzinian organization into a profound crisis. It is due in large part to this that numerous young people began turning towards the IWMA. Incapable of examining in a critical fashion their failures during the Risorgimento, but eager for new adventures, they found themselves adhering to Bakounine's "socialism" rather than Marx's, with a new credo and a new apostle to follow, especially after Cafiero's defection in 1872.

But, it was only with the Commune of Paris in 1872 that the IWMA definitively burst on to the scene into Italy. The Commune was the dividing line. With Garibaldi's declared support and Mazzini's furious attacks, an entire generation of young disciples thirsty for revolutionary action took the first step. In the Commune they found a myth and in the International a new banner. Moreover, their youthful enthusiasm prevailed over their ways of thinking, hearts, and brains. From which came the ensuing new and inevitable disappointments, once they realized that socialism was not a question of days, neither an affair to be resolved by assaulting a barricade.

Marx claimed that "The tradition of lost generations weighs like a nightmare upon the brains of the living" in 1852. Such was the "subjective" factor which determined the delay of the apparition of socialism in Italy, despite the "objective" causes, acting without a doubt in a decisive manner, but that which is always put at the foreground of historical reconstitution. The "ideal" of the mother country was passed on to that of socialism, with socialism as the first ideology to be "accepted without discussion," without the "need to analyze the facts." Such was typical of the psychology of this generation: once they arrived at socialism, this character was transmitted to the subsequent evolution.

The youth were idealists, maybe even heroically devoted to the cause, yet ignorant. This means that they ignored, or didn't bother to preoccupy themselves with, the deep-seated reasons and objectives of their own ideals; but rather contented themselves with a revolutionary phraseology which appeased their uneasy state of mind. Idealists imprisoned by myths, and creators, in their own turn, of new mythologies: such is the short-circuit, never completely interrupted, which has accompanied the history of the Italian working-class movement up until our time. A generation that never wanted to reckon with Engels' famous warning of 1874: "socialism, since it has become a science, wants to be practiced, or studied, as a science."

Samuel Hayat (Conservatoire national des arts et métiers, laboratoire Histoire des technosciences en société, HT2S), « Le proudhonisme dans l'AIT : genèse et itinéraires »

S'il est couramment admis que la première section parisienne de l'Internationale, de 1864 à 1867, est "proudhonienne", des questions restent en suspens sur ce qu'est ce proudhonisme ouvrier, touchant à la fois à son origine, son contenu et sa diffusion postérieure. Dans cette intervention, je reviendrai d'abord sur la genèse de la référence à Proudhon parmi les ouvriers parisiens, en m'intéressant à la fois aux liens entre Proudhon et le monde ouvrier avant la fondation de l'Internationale et à l'itinéraire de certains membres clés de la section. Dans un second temps j'essaierai de montrer la façon dont la référence à Proudhon est mobilisée par les dirigeants de la section parisienne de l'AIT au cours des différents congrès, en accordant une attention particulière au *Mémoire des délégués français* du Congrès de Genève en 1866. Enfin, j'essaierai de montrer le rôle de cette mobilisation du proudhonisme au sein de la section parisienne de l'AIT dans la diffusion de certains de ses thèmes au-delà des frontières de l'organisation, ce qui me permettra d'inclure cette analyse du proudhonisme dans une réflexion plus large sur le rôle de l'AIT dans la circulation transnationale des idées socialistes.

Samuel Hayat (Conservatoire national des arts et métiers, laboratoire Histoire des technosciences en société, HT2S): “Proudhonism in the IWMA: Genesis and Itineraries”

If it is currently admitted that the first Parisian section of the International, from 1864-1867, can be deemed as “proudhonian”; there are questions which remain in suspense concerning what exactly is this working-class Proudhonianism, simultaneously at its origin, its content, and its posterior diffusion. In this intervention, I will return to the genesis of the reference to Proudhon among the Parisian working class, particularly taking an interest in the links between Proudhon and the working-class world before the foundation of the International and on the itinerary of certain key members of the section. Secondly, I will try to show the manner in which the reference to Proudhon was mobilized by the directors of the Parisian section of the IWMA during different congresses, according a particular amount of attention to the *Mémoire de délégués français* of the Geneva Congress of 1866. Finally, I will try to show the role of this mobilization of proudhonism within the Parisian section of the IWMA within the diffusion of certain of its themes beyond the frontiers of the organization, which will permit me to include this analysis of proudhonism in a larger reflection on the role of the IWMA in the transnational circulation of ideas.

Jürgen Herres (Herres@bbaw.de), “Karl Marx and the International Workingmen’s Association Revisited”

Although Karl Marx was not a founding initiator of the International Working Men’s Association (IWMA), he was nonetheless present at its creation and played a critical role in molding its identity. He not only authored the IWMA’s programmatic documents, the Inaugural Address, a second Communist Manifesto, and the Rules; he also drafted most of its statements, appeals, and reports. This paper addresses the broader contexts of Marx’s contributions. It explores how they conceptualized workers’ interests and their eventual social and political emancipation as a global project. But the paper furthermore embeds Marx’s writings and speeches as critical responses to the General Council’s discussions and its deliberations with European workers’ movements. Above all, this lecture explores how Marx’s writings, speeches, and his role in General Council debates utilized the new communicative space of the International to articulate a transnational community of workers’ interests. In so doing, the lecture throws fresh light on Marx’s analytical powers and rhetorical eloquence, thereby renewing a once-heated debate about Marx’s influence on the IWMA. Interpreting the political imaginary of internationalism, this paper argues, must begin with a fine-grained reassessment of Marx’s centrality for IWMA’s development.

Ad Knotter, “Transnational cigar-makers. Cross-border labour markets, strikes and solidarity at the time of the First International (1864-1873)”

Several authors have argued that the main goal, or perhaps even the *raison d’être*, of the International Working Men’s Association was to control transnational labour markets by organising cross-border solidarity. Much more than in the twentieth century, at the time of the First International, transnational labour markets emerged quite ‘naturally’ as a consequence of uneven economic developments in Europe (and also America). In the eyes of trade unionists, especially in Britain, uncontrolled cross-border migratory movements threatened to undermine wage standards and working conditions. Their solution was to organise internationally, both to prevent strike breaking and wage cutting by workers from abroad, and to support unions elsewhere to raise wage standards in their home countries.

Cigar-makers, whose migratory behaviour and early involvement in radical politics are well known, both operated on a transnational, cross-border labour market, and were very prominent in the First International. They are, in fact, a perfect illustration of the relationship

between transnational labour market behaviour and involvement in the International. In my paper, I describe the connections between the German, English, Dutch, Belgian and American cigar-makers as migratory workers, and their actions to stimulate, support, and coordinate trade unions internationally, both within and outside the International Working Men's Association. I argue that the international cooperation of cigar-makers, be it in the International or in a separate international union, was primarily motivated by a rather mundane wish to regulate their cross-border labour market, not so much by an abstract ideal of international solidarity.

Ad Knotter is professor of comparative regional history at Maastricht University, the Netherlands (e-mail: a.knotter@maastrichtuniversity.nl)

Mathieu Léonard, « Carlo Cafiero et l'Internationale en Italie. De Marx à Bakounine. »

L'émergence du socialisme italien correspond à la période de dislocation de l'Association internationale des travailleurs. Parmi les figures majeures de ce moment, l'anarchiste Carlo Cafiero, d'abord correspondant du Conseil général de Londres puis disciple de Bakounine, se trouve au cœur des différentes stratégies révolutionnaires, parfois contradictoires, qui vont se jouer durant la décennie 1870 dans la péninsule italienne.

Mathieu Léonard, "Carlo Cafiero and the International in Italy. From Marx to Bakounine."

Detlev Mares (Darmstadt University of Technology), « Des difficultés locales de peu d'importance: le Conseil général de l'Association internationale des travailleurs en tant qu'arène pour la politique radicale britannique »

Lors de la fondation de la Première Internationale par des travailleurs français et britanniques, des branches fédérales de l'Association furent établies dans nombre de pays. La Grande-Bretagne fit exception : lorsque le Conseil général de l'AIT se trouvait à Londres, l'établissement d'une branche britannique fut considéré inutile, les activités internationales étant gérées par le Conseil général même. Une section britannique distincte ne fut créée qu'après la conférence de Londres en 1871, quand la Première Internationale entra dans sa phase de déclin.

Cette communication examine à quel point la représentation d'un nombre considérable de radicaux anglais et de leaders syndicaux au Conseil général de l'AIT affecta le travail de cette institution. Dans quelle mesure le Conseil général parvint-il à influencer le mouvement ouvrier et radical anglais ? Et vice-versa : à quel point des controverses au sein de la politique radicale britannique influencèrent-elles le travail du Conseil général ? Ainsi, le Conseil général est considéré comme une arène de communication dans le contexte d'une politique britannique radicale de travail. Ce sujet sera illustré par trois exemples concernant les relations entre le Conseil général et le mouvement ouvrier radical anglais : la lutte pour l'établissement d'un organe de presse officiel britannique pour l'Internationale, le débat sur le fénianisme et les controverses autour de « La Guerre civile en France » de Karl Marx.

Detlev Mares, "Little local difficulties: The General Council of the International Working Men's Association as an arena for British radical politics"

When the International was founded by French and British workers, federal branches of the association were established in many countries. Britain was an exception: Since the General Council of the IWMA took its headquarters in London, a separate British branch was

considered unnecessary. International activities in Great Britain were administered by the General Council itself, a separate British section only came into existence after the London conference of 1871, when the First International entered the phase of decline. The paper asks how the representation of many English radicals and trade union leaders on the IWMA's General Council affected the work of this institution. How successful was the General Council in influencing the English labour and radical movement? And vice versa: How far did controversies from British radical politics influence the work of the General Council? Thus, the General Council is viewed as an arena for communication in the context of British radical and labour politics. The paper will address this topic via three selected examples for the relationship between the General Council and the English labour and radical movement: the struggle for establishing an official British press organ for the International, the debate on Fenianism and the controversies surrounding Marx's Address on the Civil War in France.

Jeanne Moisand (Paris 1-Panthéon Sorbonne), « Révolutions, républiques et AIT dans l'empire espagnol (autour de 1873) »

Depuis 1868, l'Espagne et son empire sont en révolution. Les adhésions espagnoles à l'AIT s'accroissent en 1871-1872, au moment du reflux de l'association en Europe du Nord et de son expansion américaine, dans le sillage de la réception de la Commune française (cf. présentation de A. Garcia Balañà). Peu après, et suite à la proclamation de la I^{ère} République espagnole le 11 février 1873, une multitude de républiques « cantonalistes » autonomes et révolutionnaires sont proclamées. Engels fait porter la responsabilité de leur échec à la direction bakouniniste de la Fédération Régionale Espagnole (FRE) de l'AIT, qui prône l'apolitisme et taxe les Cantonalistes de bourgeois. Sur le terrain pourtant, les Internationalistes participent massivement aux Cantons. Au même moment à Cuba, l'espace public est à nouveau ouvert : les migrants espagnols pauvres expriment des idées pro-abolitionnistes et de solidarité entre travailleurs de toutes les races, voire des sympathies pour l'AIT, alors qu'une partie des indépendantistes leur font la guerre au nom des mêmes valeurs.

L'expansion de l'AIT dans l'empire espagnol semble liée de près à la circulation de mouvements républicains radicaux et révolutionnaires, souvent présentés comme incompatibles avec l'idéologie anarchiste sur laquelle la version espagnole de l'AIT est réputée se baser. Comment se situent les adhérents espagnols de l'AIT par rapport à ces mouvements ? La culture politique internationaliste prend-elle ici une dimension véritablement universelle, s'attachant à l'égalité entre travailleurs quelle que soit leur race ? Je m'intéresserai aux interactions entre acteurs et idées du républicanisme radical et de l'internationalisme dans l'empire espagnol en révolution.

Jeanne Moisand, “Revolutions, Republics and IWMA in the Spanish Empire (around 1873)”

Since 1868, Spain and its empire were in the midst of a revolution. Memberships to the IWMA accelerated in 1872, coinciding with the reception of the French Commune (cf. A. Garcia Balana's presentation). Following the proclamation of the First Spanish Republic on February 11, 1873, a multitude of autonomous and revolutionary “cantonalist” republics were proclaimed in the peninsula. Engels blamed their failure on the Bakounist and “apolitical” direction of the Spanish Regional Federation (FRE) of the IWMA. However, the Internationalists massively participated in the Cantons despite their supposed anarchist impregnation. During this time in Cuba, the public space was once again opened up: the impoverished Spanish migrants were expressing pro-abolitionist ideas, as well as solidarity between workers of all races (and thus, sympathies for the IWMA), but were also involved in the colonial war.

The expansion of the IWMA in the Spanish empire seems thus closely linked to the circulation of republican movements, both radical and revolutionary, often presented as incompatible with the anarchist ideology upon which the Spanish version of the IWMA is reputed to be based. How did these Spanish adherents of the IWMA situated themselves in relation to these movements?

Iorwerth Prothero (Manchester): “The IWMA and industrial conflict in England and France”

The International Working Men’s Association was remembered afterwards, including among those who participated in it, as an organisation established to facilitate mutual help between trade unions in different countries. In fact it began as one of a number of overlapping radical associations created in London, all of which received support from radical trade union leaders and looked to trade union involvement as essential to the success of any popular movements in that great city. The involvement of the IWMA in industrial conflicts resulted not from the intentions of its founders but from the unprecedented scale in the 1860s of an autonomous periodic phenomenon common among artisan and building trades in both England and France, namely aggressive combinations in favourable economic circumstances involving members of rival and often antagonistic trade societies and also non-society men, to seek gains and improvements, especially over wages. In the conflicts that ensued some secured much wider support, usually when the employers tried to suppress trade unions or impose repressive conditions of employment, of it the authorities or government intervened on the side of employers. By the 1860s strikes in London sometimes exerted themselves to check the importation of strike-breakers from abroad. The combinations of the 1860s reproduced these features and did not rely on the IWMA, but they nevertheless changed its character as it became involved in assisting them. In the moral panic provoked by industrial conflicts the IWMA was blamed for them, while a belief in the possibility of extensive aid from wealthy English trade unions encouraged French trade unions to affiliate to the IWMA and frightened French employers to give way. However these industrial movements remained largely separate from the IWMA and co-operation between the two proved a limited and temporary chapter in the association’s history.

Jean Puissant, « L’Association Internationale des Travailleurs en Belgique (1865-1875), une approche globale ».

L’AIT a été pour la Belgique, un épisode fondateur pour l’évolution du mouvement ouvrier en Belgique. Il existe bien sûr des antécédents importants mais qui restent fondamentalement locaux, sectorisés malgré quelques fugaces contacts élargis (1848, 1859, 1861).

1° Il s’agit organisation nationales réunissant des associations de l’ensemble du pays qui créent des institutions « durables » (quelques années), presse, fédérations nationale, régionale qui réunissent divers types d’associations (rationalistes, syndicales, mutualistes, coopératives...)

2° Il s’agit des premières circonstances où les « associations politiques » qui regroupent surtout des artisans et des petits bourgeois des grandes villes (Bruxelles en particulier) entrent en relation avec les mouvements sociaux de la grande industrie en Wallonie.

3° Une pépinière de militants y font leurs premières armes et y acquièrent expérience, notoriété et relations qui serviront de 15 à 20 ans plus tard.

Mais son importance a été exagérée par les observateurs, les institutions officielles, notamment répressives, les acteurs eux-mêmes en Belgique, comme en Europe.

En effet l’AIT a été un feu de broussaille lumineux, brutal, spectaculaire, ses cendres ne se sont pas complètement éteintes, mais le ressac a été aussi rapide et impressionnant que la croissance l’avait été. Répression, divergences idéologiques et politiques internes et externes,

conflits personnels, conjoncture économique se sont conjugués. En 1875, ne subsistent plus que de maigres traces.

Plus même, il a fallu lutter contre les quelques anciens s'accrochant à leur passé, pour construire l'avenir.

Jean Puissant, “The IWMA in Belgium: A Global Approach”

The IWMA was, for Belgium, a seminal episode for the evolution of the working-class movement in the country. Important antecedents existed, of course, but they remained fundamentally local and thus, sectorized, despite a few fleeting contacts with more distant organizations (1848, 1859, 1861).

1. There were national organizations which reunited associations throughout the entirety of the country which created “durable” institutions (lasting a few years), press, national and regional federations which brought together various types of associations (rationalist, syndicalist, mutualist, cooperatives...)

2. The first circumstances in which “political associations” that regrouped, in particular, the artisans and “petit bourgeois” of the large Belgian cities (especially Brussels) entered into relation with the social movements of big industry in Wallonia.

3. A breeding ground for militants: here, they made their first arms and acquired experience, notoriety, and relations which would be useful to them 15 to 20 years later.

But, its importance was exaggerated by observers, and official institutions—notably repressive—the actors themselves in Belgium, just as in Europe.

Indeed, the IWMA spread like wildfire—luminous, brutal, spectacular—its ashes are not completely extinguished, but the downslide was as quick and impressive as the expansion. Repression, ideological and political divergences, both internal and external, personal conflicts, and economic conjuncture combined here. In 1875, only faint traces remained.

More still, to construct the future, it was necessary to wage conflicts against the older members hanging on to their past.

Jürgen Schmidt (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), “Global Values Locally Transformed. Solidarity, Emancipation and Participation: The International Workingmen’s Association in the German States 1864-1872/76”

As in other parts on “the continent” the International Working Men’s Association was in no way a mass movement in the German States in the 1860s. As in other countries the “International Workingmen’s Association” (IWMA) was based in Germany mainly on individual membership. Due to associational laws a direct membership of German associations to the IWMA was not possible. That the IWMA could win influence in Germany was made possible because of its transnational roots and connections. The paper will analyse these transnational influences under several aspects. First, through labour migration for example travelling (young) journeymen, but also intellectuals and salesmen in Switzerland (and France) got in contact with socialist ideas; this facet had traditions back to the pre-1848-revolution-period. Second, the Geneva German Section of the IWMA and its leader Johann Philipp Becker has to be seen as central point for organization building of the IWMA in Germany. Third, in Germany from a biographical perspective the role of Wilhelm Liebknecht – as emigrant and remigrant – and his comrade and companion August Bebel have to be seen as decisive for implementing the idea of internationalism in the German labour movement. This gives also insights in the milieu of the IWMA and its local affiliations. Fourth, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels as “spin doctors” of the IWMA with German background have to be considered as well. Finally, the form of the circulation of ideas and practices will be taken

into account, too, and how these ideas (emancipation, participation, solidarity) were adjusted in the local surroundings and milieus.

Antje Schrupp: “Intermediations: Bringing together feminism and socialism in the First International. The examples of Virginie Barbet, Elisabeth Dmitrieff, André Léo and Victoria Woodhull”

The International Workingmen’s Association was a predominantly, if not only-male organization as far it concerns its leading members or its international congresses. More than that: At least in the first years of its existence, due to the strong influence of proudhonist activities, the International was widely perceived by the public as an anti-feminist organization, opposing not only female work outside the family household but also female liberty in general.

Nonetheless some female socialists with strong roots in the feminist movements of their countries chose to take an active part in the International. Often that decision created conflicts and cost them credibility in their feminist communities. Why did they nonetheless participate in the International? How did they combine feminism and socialism in their political ideas? What strategies did they use to bring together two political goals that in their time were mainly considered as being opposed to each other? And: Were they successful or not?

I will examine those questions based on the political ideas and activities of four women Internationalists: Virginie Barbet, one of the leaders of the International in Lyon and member of the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy; Elisabeth Dmitrieff, a young Marxist, one of the leaders of the Russian Section in Genève and co-founder of the “Union de Femmes” during the Paris Commune; André Léo, Paris-located author and advocator of women’s rights, supporter and critic of the Commune and later leading figure in the protests against the “authoritarian” way of the General Council; and Victoria Woodhull, controversial leader of the American suffrage movement and free lover, who founded the first English-speaking sections of the International in New York, but was expelled from the organization at the Hague-Congress of 1872.

Obviously these four activists differed very much in their political ideas. It is not my intention do extract some kind of “female” view on the International that could be opposed to a supposedly “male” view. Quite the opposite: I’m going to focus on the differences between those four women in order to identify the controversies and topics that mattered to them. None of them was isolated in the movement, nor were their allies all-female groups; they all had also male supporters. But their goals, strategies and arguments point to aspects of the First International that tend to be overseen or under-valued when research focuses only on the topics that were discussed among men.

And, maybe not very surprisingly, some of them are still relevant in today’s social movements.

Horacio Tarcus (CeDInCI / UNSAM, Buenos Aires): « L’AIT en Amérique du Sud »

Quand s’est réuni à Paris, il y a cinquante ans, le colloque sur la Première Internationale, il revient à l’historien uruguayen Carlos Rama l’honneur de présenter une communication sur l’état des études sur “L’Amérique Latine et la Première Internationale”. Rama, qui avait étudié pendant près de vingt ans l’expérience de Montevideo, s’est efforcé de présenter les traces de l’existence de sections en Martinique et en Guadeloupe, à La Havane, Rio de Janeiro, Mexico, Buenos Aires et Santiago du Chili. Les indices semblaient si faibles et sa communication a dû être si peu convaincante, que l’un des participants, le Père Droulers lui a demandé si « en Amérique Latine, l’Internationale n’avait pas là comme ailleurs une valeur de mythe ». Rama comprit « la valeur de mythe » dans un sens sorélien et répondit qu’en effet, « l’AIT représentait pour les ouvriers [latino-américains] l’espoir d’avoir des appuis en

Europe pour leurs propres luttes ». Huit ans plus tard, l'historien chilien Marcelo Segall, qui a suivi des pistes similaires à celles de Rama dans son propre pays ainsi qu'à l'Institut d'histoire sociale d'Amsterdam, a cherché à documenter l'existence de sections de l'Internationale à Santiago du Chili et Valparaíso. Un historien de la génération suivante, Sergio Grez Toso, auteur d'une thèse monumentale sur les origines du socialisme au Chili, l'a réfuté : non, dit-il, « aucun indice sérieux, et encore moins de preuves, d'une action organisée par l'Association internationale des travailleurs de ce pays ». Et il n'hésita pas à décrire cette présence fantomatique comme un mythe « persistant et relativement imperméable à la preuve historique la plus élémentaire ». Maintenant, le jugement de Grez Toso peut-il être généralisée à l'ensemble du continent, et doit-on conclure, comme Droulers l'a suggéré, que la présence de l'Internationale en Amérique latine n'était qu'un mythe, c'est-à-dire un fantôme qui excitait les élites dirigeantes (surtout après la Commune de Paris) et un lointain espoir pour une poignée d'exilés européens ?

L'évolution de l'historiographie récente suggère que l'expérience de l'Association internationale des travailleurs a eu en Amérique latine un impact centré sur trois capitales, surtout les villes particulièrement réceptives de la migration et de l'exil européens: Mexico, Montevideo et Buenos Aires. C'est d'ailleurs une réception tardive, après l'expérience de la Commune. Les nouvelles sur l'Internationale se propagent massivement par la presse latino-américaine uniquement avec le déclenchement de la Commune de Paris. Et les sections qui sont créées dans ces trois villes semblent liées à l'exil des communards. Pourquoi cette réception fut-elle ainsi localisée et tardive? Globalement, parce que les processus d'urbanisation, de crise de l'artisanat et de formation du mouvement ouvrier moderne sont en gestation en Amérique latine, alors même que l'Internationale entame son déclin. Toutefois, si la mise en œuvre des sections de l'Internationale a été faible dans la capitale Argentine, elle a eu des conséquences dans l'histoire intellectuelle grâce à l'arrivée d'un envoyé de Marx : Raymond Wilmart. En outre, les sections de Montevideo et de Mexico ont révélé une plus grande intégration dans le mouvement ouvrier en cours de formation et également une plus grande continuité. Ces deux expériences apparaissent comme des moments préliminaires de la formation de l'anarchisme mexicain et uruguayen respectivement.

Antony Taylor (Sheffield Hallam University, United Kingdom): “Esoteric Sectarianism’: The First International Working Men’s Association in Britain and the United States”

This paper traces the later development of the First International Working-Men’s Association in Britain and the United States. Focussing on the later years of the movement it addresses the changes that resulted from the organisation’s move away from trade union support, to a greater engagement with the diverse overlapping constituencies of radicalism in both countries. Moving away from a historiography that stresses the weaknesses of the movement in its later stages, it re-examines Marx’s hostility to the presence of ‘follies and crotchets such as currency quackery, the false emancipation of women and so on’ in the movement. Through a close consideration of migrant politics in London and New York, it scrutinises the constituencies of support open to the organisation in large urban centres, and analyses its platform in relation to other agitations of radical protest. Rather than reaffirming the differences, this paper highlights the congruences between British and US radicalism in London and New York in the period of the late 1860s through to the early 1870s. In so doing it considers the role of a sympathetic media in promoting the values of the First International via the *International Herald* in London and *Woodhull and Claflin’s Weekly* in New York. The paper contends that the move away from a reliance on trades unionism and a broadening of the organisation’s support to include female suffrage campaigners like Victoria Woodhull in the US, and currency reformers like the O’Brienites in London, far from providing a

distraction, brought the IWMA back into the radical mainstream. In line with a new historiography of continuity in mid-nineteenth century radical politics, this paper argues that Instead of consigning the IWMA to the margins, in Britain in particular, these tendencies strengthened its position within a pre-existing radical political culture rooted in club and associational life. It concludes that once these broader links within the radical community were severed, the organisation atrophied. Considering the overlap between the IWMA and spiritualism, movements for racial equality, a free love platform, women's rights, and land and currency reform, this paper seeks a broader definition of radicalism that places the later period of the First International back in the mainstream of radical and reform politics, both in Britain and the United States.

Marcel van der Linden (IISH, Amsterdam), "The IWMA and the development of global solidarity in the labour movement"

Marc Vuilleumier (Genève) : « La Première Internationale en Suisse : nouvelles approches »

Tout en reprenant, dans ses grandes lignes, le schéma de 1964, on se propose de mettre l'accent sur les points suivants :

- Relation entre les hommes et les réseaux, les associations d'avant 1864 et l'AIT
- L'AIT des débuts, avant sa période collectiviste, rôle de Coullery (stade sous-estimé par James Guillaume)
- Les modalités de l'insertion dans la politique locale (Genève, Lausanne, Jura, Bâle, Zurich)
- L'articulation entre sections, industries (bâtiment, horlogerie), sections cantonales et fédération.
- La pratique de la solidarité et la transmission des expériences
- Les relations avec l'AIT des autres pays : voyage de militants, immigration et émigration ouvrières. Rôle de la Suisse dans l'AIT.
- La pratique de l'internationalisme et ses difficultés : relations ouvriers allemands et suisses (émeute de la Tonhalle à Zürich en 1871), intégration des réfugiés de la Commune au sein de l'AIT
- L'interprétation des résolutions officielles de l'AIT par la base et leur traduction dans l'action militante

Marc Vuilleumier (Geneva): "The First International in Switzerland: New Approaches"

In echoing the broad outlines of the 1964 schema, I will propose here a lecture focused on the following points:

- The relation between men and networks, the associations before 1864 and the IWMA
- The IWMA of the beginning, before its collectivist period, the role of Coullery (a stage underestimated by James Guillaume)
- The modes of insertion in local politics (Geneva, Lausanne, Jura, Bale, Zurich)
- Articulation between sections, industries (construction, clock-making), Cantonal sections and federation.
- The practice of solidarity and the transmission of experiences
- The relations between the IWMA and other countries: the travel of militants, immigration and emigration of workers. The role of Switzerland in the IWMA.

-The practice of internationalism and the difficulties it entailed: relations between German and Swiss workers (riot of the Tonhalle in Zurich, 1871), integration of refugees of the Commune within the IWMA

-The interpretation of official resolutions of the IWMA on a grassroots level, and their translation into militant action.