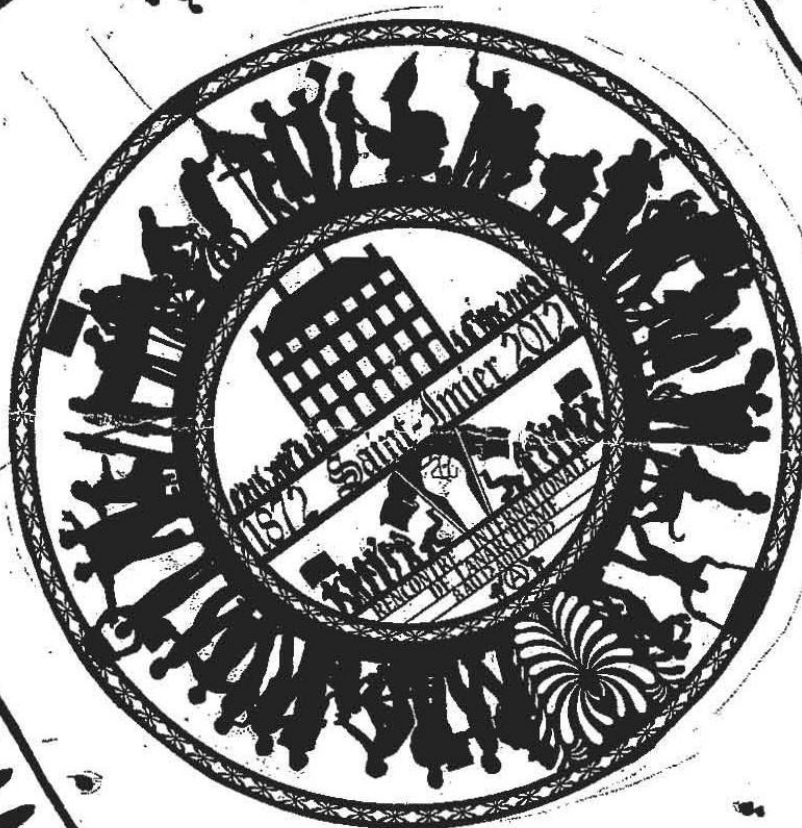


INTERNAZIONALE

FULL
VERSION

INSTANT COMIX

PRIX LIBRE SOUTIEN
À L'ORGANISATION



MARCO GASTONI
GIACOPO FREY
NICOLA GOBBI
2012

<http://dndrichico.noblogs.org/>

THE "INTERNAZIONALE" IS AN INSTANT COMIC
WRITTEN AND DRAWN LIVE FROM THE ANARCHIST
MEETING HELD IN ST IMIER-SWITZERLAND (8-12
AUGUST 2012) BY MARCO GASTONI,
NICOLA GOBBI AND JACOPO FREY.

ENGLISH ADAPTATION:
MARCO GASTONI AND BRUCE SCHOLTEN.

THE CARTOON WAS PUBLISHED IN FRENCH LANGUAGE
DURING THE MEETING IN THREE ISSUES,
RESPECTIVELY, EXPLAINING THE ORIGINS OF THE FIRST
INTERNATIONAL, THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE FIRST
ANARCHIST CONGRESS IN HISTORY, HELD IN ST. IMIER
IN 1872, AND THE SPIRIT OF WHAT HAPPENED IN THE
MEETING OF 2012.

THEN WE PRODUCED THIS BOOKLET VERSION
CONTAINING ALL THE TABLES.

WE WANT TO THANK ALL THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE
HELPED US BOTH ST IMIER, DURING PRODUCTION OF
THE COMIC, AND ALSO SUBSEQUENTLY FOR THE
ADAPTATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS.

THE COMIC CAN BE DOWNLOADED FREE OF CHARGE
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YOU ARE FREE TO PRINT IT IN ITS ENTIRETY AND TO
SPREAD IT ON SUBSCRIPTION TO FUND LIBERTARIAN
INITIATIVES.



THE INTERNATIONAL OPENING CONFERENCE, HELD IN LONDON IN 1864 WAS ATTENDED BY DELEGATES FROM FRANCE, SWITZERLAND, BELGIUM AND ENGLAND.

THE ACTUAL PROMOTERS OF THE MEETING WERE SOCIALISTS FOLLOWING THE IDEAS OF PIERRE-JOSEPH PROUDHON (THE FIRST THINKER AND SOCIAL AGITATOR TO DEFINE ANARCHY AS A POLITICAL IDEAL) AND THEY COINED ONE OF THE KEY PRINCIPLES OF THE INTERNATIONAL:

"THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKERS MUST BE THE TASK OF THE WORKERS THEMSELVES"





MARX WAS ASSIGNED THE TASK OF PREPARING THE DOCUMENTATION FOR THE FOUNDATION OF THE IWA AND HE USED IT AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO IMPLEMENT HIS POLITICAL HEGEMONY WITHIN THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL, BY PARTISAN INTERPRETATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE APPROVED MEETING RESOLUTIONS



INDEED, A STRATEGIC CONFRONTATION BETWEEN MARXISTS (ALSO KNOWN AS AUTHORITARIAN SOCIALISTS) AND ALL OTHER PARTICIPANTS IN THE ASSOCIATION EMERGED IMMEDIATELY.

IN THE MARXIST VIEW, THE INTERNATIONAL WAS SUPPOSED TO BE A PARTY ORGANIZED IN A HIERARCHICAL, CENTRALIZED FASHION, WITH MARX AND HIS ASSOCIATES AT THE TOP...



...WHILE FOR THE OTHER DELEGATES (MAZZINIANS, LIBERTARIANS, ANARCHISTS, TRADE UNIONISTS) THE ASSOCIATION WAS TO BE ORGANISED IN A FEDERALIST MANNER, LEAVING WIDE AUTONOMY TO ITS LOCAL SECTIONS. IT IS NO COINCIDENCE, THEN, THAT MARX AND HIS FOLLOWERS SEIZED CONTROL OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE IWA, IN ORDER TO IMPOSE THEIR OWN DIRECTION, WHILE THE ANARCHISTS, CHARACTERISTICALLY, WERE NOT INTERESTED IN THE TOP LEVEL OF THE ASSOCIATION AND, INSTEAD, THEY FOCUSED ON ACTIVITIES CARRIED OUT BY LOCAL SECTIONS





IN THE LATE 1860S, THE IWA DEVELOPED MAINLY IN FRANCE WITH OFFSHOOTS IN BELGIUM AND IN FRENCH-SPEAKING SWITZERLAND.


THE MARXIST SOCIALISTS WERE A MINORITY IN ALL COUNTRIES REPRESENTED IN THE ASSOCIATION: IN FRANCE, PROUDHONISTS WERE THE MAJOR COMPONENT, ANARCHISTS WERE STRONG IN SPAIN, THANKS TO THE BAKUNINIST PROPAGANDA DISSEMINATED BY GIUSEPPE FANELLI, WHEREAS, IN ITALY, MAZZINIAN AND LIBERTARIAN TENDENCIES PREVAILED

IN THE UK, THE VAST MAJORITY BELONGED TO THE TRADE UNIONS MOVEMENT WHILE ALL FACTIONS WERE REPRESENTED IN GERMANY, SWITZERLAND AND BELGIUM, WITH A CONSIDERABLE PRESENCE OF ANARCHISTS

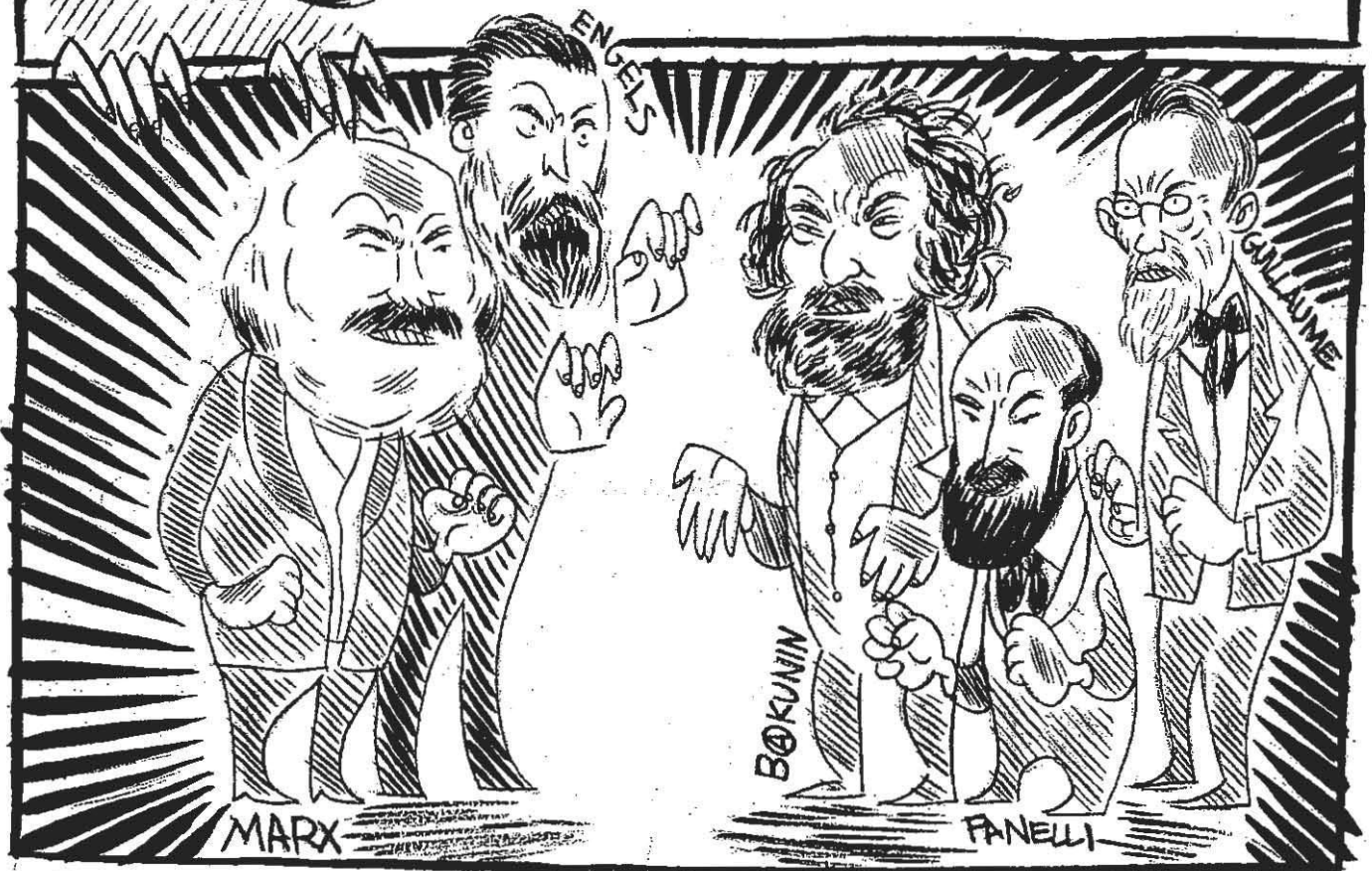


THE DRAMATIC END OF THE PARIS COMMUNE, IN 1871, DEEPENED DIVISIONS BETWEEN MARXISTS AND ANARCHISTS. THE FORMER WERE CONFIRMED IN THEIR PRIMARY PURPOSE OF WINNING POLITICAL POWER FOR THEIR FACTION, WHILE THE LATTER WERE EVEN MORE CONVINCED OF THE IMPERATIVE NEED TO IMMEDIATELY ABOLISH THE STATE AND ANY FORM OF DICTATORSHIP, EVEN IF TEMPORARY, IN ORDER TO PROMOTE FULL DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION






THE SEPARATION BETWEEN ANARCHIST AND MARXIST STRATEGY WAS FORMALIZED THROUGH CONGRESSES IN LONDON (1871), SONVILLIER (1871), THE HAGUE (1872) AND STIMIER (1872). THE FIRST AND THE THIRD MEETINGS SET THE STAGE FOR THE MARXIST DOCTRINE, WHILE THE SECOND AND THE FOURTH DEFINED THE LIBERTARIANS' STRATEGY FOR ACTION



ALTHOUGH MARXISTS WERE A MINORITY OF ORGANISED WORKERS IN ALL COUNTRIES, MARX SKILLFULLY MANAGED TO EXERT A HUGE INFLUENCE ON THE STATUTES OF THE IWA. HE CONTROLLED THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE ASSOCIATION, DISMISSING, IN SEQUENCE, ALL HIS OPPONENTS, FROM MAZZINIANS TO MUTUALISTS, FROM COLLECTIVISTS TO ANARCHISTS. FINALLY, IN THE HAGUE CONGRESS OF 1872, THE ANARCHIST FOLLOWERS OF MIKHAIL BAKUNIN (INCLUDING THE SWISS ANARCHIST JAMES GUILLAUME) WERE EXPELLED FROM THE IWA





WHILE THE REMNANTS OF THE MARXIST-LED FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONTINUED ACTIVITIES, WITH LITTLE SUCCESS, UNTIL THEIR DISSOLUTION IN 1876, THE ANARCHISTS OF THE SWISS JURA FEDERATION CONVENED AN EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL IN SAINT IMIER ON 15 SEPTEMBER 1872



BAKUNIN



FANELLI



PELLICER



SCHWITZGUEBEL



PINDY



MORATO



MALATESTA



LEFRANCAIS



COSTA



CAFFERO



GUILLAUME



SWISS, ITALIAN, AMERICAN, FRENCH, DUTCH AND SPANISH DELEGATES ATTENDED, WHILE GERMAN, BRITISH AND BELGIAN DELEGATES TURNED DOWN THE INVITATION. THE CONGRESS DECIDED TO DISAVOW THE PREVIOUS HAGUE CONGRESS (WHICH HAD RATIFIED THE EXPULSION OF THE ANARCHISTS) BECAUSE THE VOTE WAS MANIPULATED BY THE MARXISTS AND, AS A CONSEQUENCE, SUMMONED ANOTHER IN GENEVA FOR SEPTEMBER 1873 (WHICH, OF COURSE, WAS NOT RECOGNIZED BY THE MARXISTS). SINCE THEN, THE RIFT BETWEEN ANARCHISTS AND MARXISTS WAS NEVER HEALED AND FESTERS TO THIS DAY...

THE CONGRESS OF SAINT IMIER
IN 1872 CAN BE CONSIDERED
THE FIRST ANARCHIST CONGRESS
IN HISTORY.

THE PRINCIPLE OF AUTONOMY OF
THE FEDERATIONS AND SECTIONS
OF THE ASSOCIATION WAS FURTHER
EMPHASISED:

GENERAL OR REGIONAL CONGRESSES
WERE LEFT ONLY WITH THE FUNCTION
OF HARMONIZATION.

SINCE THEN, THE MAJORITY OF AN
ANARCHIST CONGRESS COULD NOT
IMPOSE RESOLUTIONS ON A MINORITY



THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
FEDERATIONS AND SECTIONS
SIGNED A PACT OF FRIENDSHIP,
SOLIDARITY, MUTUAL DEFENSE
AND SUPPORT.

IN ADDITION, IT WAS STATED
THAT THE DESIRE TO FORCE THE
PROLETARIAT TO ADOPT A UNIFORM
LINE OF CONDUCT OR A POLITICAL
PROGRAM, AS THE ONLY MEANS
WHICH CAN ACHIEVE WORKING-
CLASS EMANCIPATION, WAS
AN ABSURD AND
REACTIONARY CLAIM

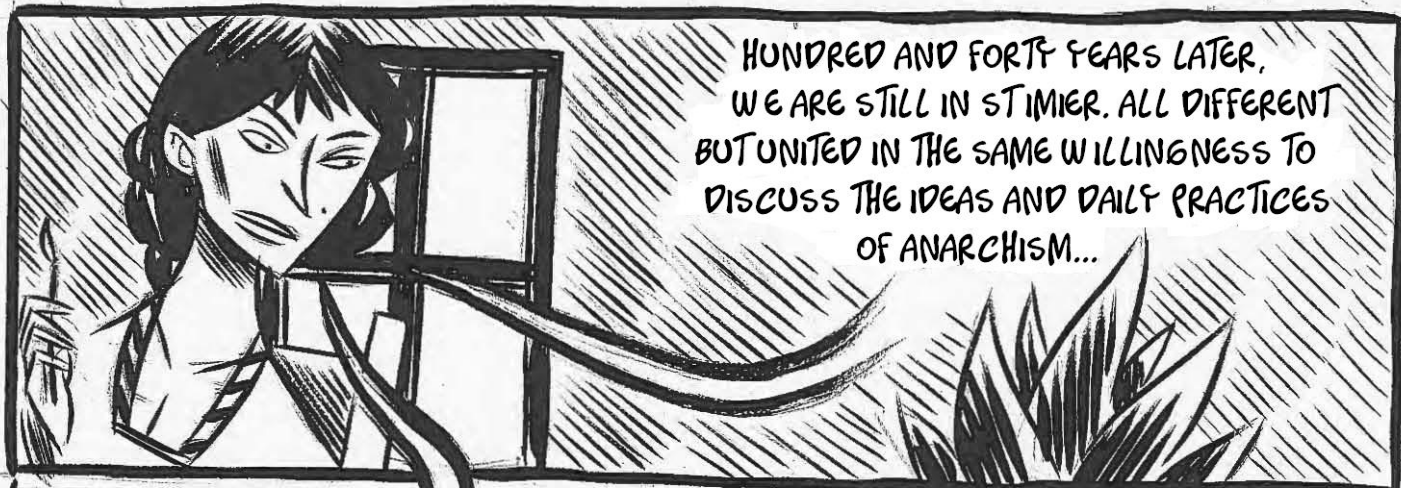


THE CONGRESS ALSO
PROCLAIMED THAT NO
POLITICAL ORGANISATION
CAN BE ANYTHING BUT
THE ORGANISATION OF RULE
IN THE INTERESTS OF A
CLASS TO THE DETRIMENT
OF THE MASSES, AND THAT
THE PROLETARIAT, SHOULD IT
SEIZE POWER, WOULD
ITSELF BECOME A RULING
AND EXPLOITING CLASS



THE
DESTRUCTION OF EVERY KIND OF
POLITICAL POWER WAS TO BE THE
FIRST TASK OF THE PROLETARIAT.
THE ORGANISATION OF POLITICAL
POWER, EVEN THOUGH NOMINALLY
TEMPORARY AND REVOLUTIONARY,
COULD HAVE BEEN NOTHING BUT
DECEPTION. FINALLY, THE
PROLETARIANS OF ALL LANDS,
SPURNING ALL COMPROMISES IN
THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE SOCIAL
REVOLUTION, SHOULD HAVE
ESTABLISHED, INDEPENDENTLY OF
BOURGEOIS POLITICS, THE
SOLIDARITY OF
REVOLUTIONARY
UNION!





HUNDRED AND FORTY YEARS LATER,
WE ARE STILL IN SAINT-IMIER. ALL DIFFERENT
BUT UNITED IN THE SAME WILLINGNESS TO
DISCUSS THE IDEAS AND DAILY PRACTICES
OF ANARCHISM...

MEETINGS, WORKSHOPS, DEBATES, LECTURES, CONCERTS AND
PREPARING AND SHARING MEALS ALLOW US TO CREATE
A FLOW OF ENERGY: A MOVEMENT!



IN
SAINT-IMIER
WE ENJOY
THE ON-GOING
CHANCE TO BUILD
PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS
IN OPTIMAL CONDITIONS FOR
CROSS-FERTILIZATION BETWEEN
THE COMRADES, IN OUR VARIOUS
WAYS OF UNDERSTANDING AND
PRACTICING OUR
STRUGGLES



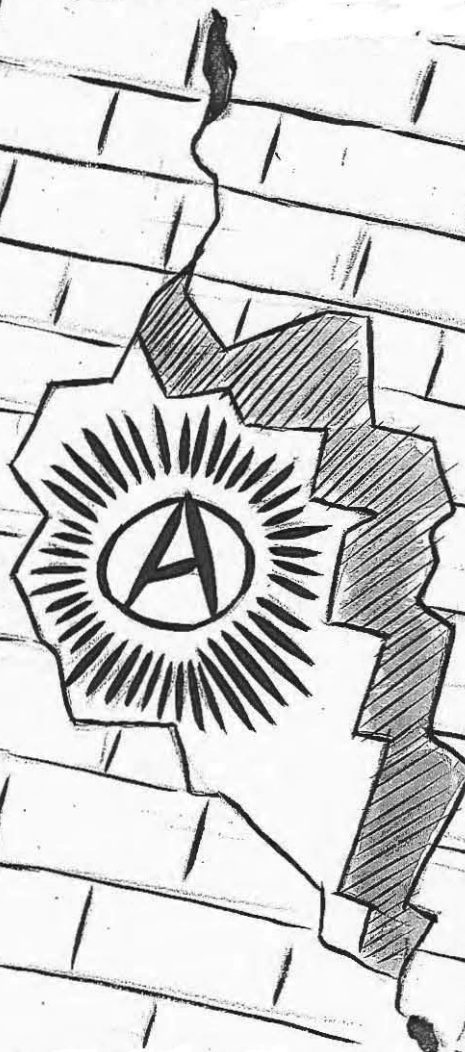
I'M A CHILEAN
STUDENT AND
I BELONG TO A
COLLECTIVE STRUGGLING
TO BUILD A UNIVERSITY
THAT IS FREE AND
OPEN TO ALL...

WE COME
FROM ISTANBUL AND
OUR GROUP FIGHTS
AGAINST RACIAL
DISCRIMINATION. AFTER
MAY 1 DEMONSTRATION,
REPRESSION BECAME
VERY STRONG!

I LIVE IN
THE WOODS AROUND
LUGANO, IN A HOUSE
THAT I BUILT BY MYSELF.
I AM AN ARTIST AND I
ONLY USE MATERIALS
THAT OTHERS THROW
AWAY...

I'M A PUNK
FROM BERLIN. WE
OCCUPY VACANT HOUSES
IN WHICH WE LIVE AND DO
POLITICAL AND CULTURAL
ACTIVITY. OUR PROBLEM IS
THE CONSTANT THREAT OF
POLICE EVICTION!

ONCE AGAIN WE FIND DIVERSITY: AS IN OUR NEIGHBORHOODS AND IN THE COLLECTIVE THOUGHTS AND STRUGGLES, THE RESPONSES OF ANARCHISTS ARE MANY AND VARIED. SINCE 1872, THE MOVEMENT HAS CHANGED A LOT, FINDING INNOVATIVE WAYS OF TACKLING PROBLEMS, IN LINE WITH SOCIAL CHANGE...



WITH FIRM ROOTS IN OUR HISTORY, WE CAN NOW LOOK FORWARD WITH CONFIDENCE AND HOPE, ALWAYS TRYING TO OPEN NEW PATHS TO FREEDOM... AND ...WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT WE SHALL MEET MORE OFTEN IN THE FUTURE!

* "ANARCHY BANZAI" WRITTEN BY A JAPANESE COMRADE AS A GOOD OMEN FOR ALL OF US
TEXT PARTLY DERIVED FROM J. GUILLAUME MEMORIES OF THE FIRST SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL
THANKS TO MARCO GASTONI AND BRUCE SCHOLTEN FOR THE ENGLISH ADAPTATION

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