"Hafner, [*The Real Causes of the War*]." *Workers Unite!: The International 150 Years Later*. Ed. Marcello Musto. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014. 233–234. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781501302367.0068>>.

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Hafner, [*The Real Causes of the War*]⁷⁶

The Congress of the International Working Men's Association, held in Lausanne,

Considering:

That war weighs chiefly on the working class, in that it not only deprives workers of the means of existence, but also compels them to spill their blood;

That armed peace paralyses the productive forces, demands of labour only useless works and intimidates production by placing it under the threat of war;

That peace, the first condition of general welfare, must, in turn, be consolidated by a new order of things in which there will no longer be two classes within society, one which is exploited by the other;

Resolves,

To fully and completely adhere to the Congress of Peace which will be held in Geneva on the 9th of September, to energetically support it and to contribute to all that it might undertake to bring about the abolition of standing armies and the maintenance of peace, with the aim of arriving as swiftly as possible at the emancipation of the working class and its liberation from the power and influence of capital, as well as the formation of a confederation of free states across all of Europe. [...]

The Congress,

Considering that the root cause of war is destitution and the lack of economic equilibrium,

⁷⁶ This text is an address voted by the IWMA and delivered to the Congress of Peace in Geneva, held from 9 September to 12 September 1867. It was presented by journalist Hafner [unk.], delegate of the Working Men's section of Murten (Switzerland) at the Lausanne Congress (1867), and later approved unanimously with an addition proposed by Tolain (see note 34). Published in L1867, it was later printed in PI, I: 235.

That, to put an end to war, it is not enough to do away with armies, but it is further necessary to change the social organization in the direction of an ever more equitable distribution of production,

Makes its agreement conditional upon the acceptance of the above-stated declaration by Congress of the Peace. [...]