

Resolutions

PASSED AT THE

ANARCHIST CONGRESS

HELD AT

AMSTERDAM

August 24-31, 1907.

Published by the International Bureau.

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We publish herewith the resolutions approved by the Anarchist Congress held in Amsterdam (August 24—31, 1907) at which the ANARCHIST INTERNATIONAL was constituted.

For those who are used to consider Congresses as legislative bodies that can dictate to the members of a party the official doctrine and the methods which should be used, it will seem strange that more than one resolution, more or less different between themselves, were taken on one and the same subject. But for the comrades, this will look nothing but quite natural.

The Amsterdam Congress, being a Congress of Anarchists, could not, and should not, have had the pretension of making laws for others: he simply desired to express the opinions of the comrades present, as well as of the groups represented, and to propose these opinions to the discussion and, possibly, the approbation of all anarchists.

It might have occurred that radically contradictory opinions should have manifested themselves — they would, all, have an equal right to publication and discussion. As a matter of fact, there was, as will be seen by the resolutions, no other difference than the more or less great importance which each member attributed to some method or other of action or propaganda — so that many congressists could, without contradiction, equally vote for the different resolutions. And it was that fact of fundamental agreement which persuaded all of us that it was necessary to establish between ourselves a permanent bond which, without diminishing anyone's liberty, facilitates our relations and our co-operation in the common work.

We hope that all comrades will decide in the same direction.



ORGANISATION.

The Anarchists, meeting in Amsterdam, Considering — that the idea of anarchy and of organisation, far from being contradictory, as sometimes pretended, complete and explain each other, the principle of anarchy residing in the free organisation of the producers:

that individual action, however important it may be, could not be sufficient without common action, just as common action could not be sufficient without individual action:

that organisation of the militant forces would give a new impetus to the propaganda and could only hasten the penetration of the ideas of revolutionary federalism in the working class:

that the workers' organisation, based upon identity of interests, does not exclude the organisation based upon identity of aspirations and ideas:

Are of opinion that the comrades of all countries should discuss, as a matter of vital importance, the creation of anarchist groups and the federation of the groups already in existence.

The anarchist federation is an association of groups or individuals, where no one can either impose his will or diminish the initiative of others. It has, in the present society, the concrete duty of changing all the moral and economical conditions, and in this direction, it supports the struggle by all adequate means.

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ANARCHIST INTERNATIONAL.

The anarchists (federations, groups represented and individuals) having met in Amsterdam, declare the Anarchist International constituted.

It will comprise the organisations already existing, the groups and individuals who will adhere later on.

The individuals, groups and federations remain autonomous.

An International Bureau is instituted. It will be composed of 5 members.

In case one of the members of the I.B. finds himself in absolute impossibility of fulfilling his duty, the remaining members, by a unanimous agreement, will have to replace him by another comrade.

The Bureau has, for its duty, the creation of international anarchist archives accessible to all comrades.

The Bureau gets into communication with the anarchists of different countries, either directly, or through 3 comrades chosen by the federation or groups of the countries in question.

To be members of the International as individuals, the comrades will have to be identified, either by an organisation, by the Bureau, or by comrades known to the Bureau.

The expenses of the Bureau and archives should be covered by the adhering federations, groups or individuals.

Three copies of each publication (journals and pamphlets) should be sent to the International Bureau (Archives) who will place them, if necessity arises, at the disposal of federations, groups or individuals who might want them as documents.

ANARCHISM AND SYNDICALISM.

Considering — that the present legal and economical régime is characteristic of the exploitation and slavery of the great mass of producers, and determines between them and those who reap the benefit from the present régime, an antagonism of interests absolutely irreducible which gives rise to the class-struggle;

that the syndicalist organisation uniting the resistances and the revolts on the economic ground, without doctrinary preoccupations, is the specific and fundamental organ of this struggle of the proletariat against the middle-class and all the bourgeois institutions;

that it is necessary that a revolutionary spirit, always more daring, should direct the efforts of the syndicalist organisation in the path of capitalist expropriation and the suppression of all power;

that the expropriation and the taking collective possession of the instruments and the products of labour, being only able to be accomplished by the workers themselves, the syndicate is called upon to transform itself into a producing group, and is therefore, in the present society, the living nucleus of to-morrow's society;

The anarchists recommend the comrades of all countries, without leaving out of sight that anarchist action is not entirely contained within the limits of the syndicate, to actively participate in the autonomous movement of the working class and to develop, in these syndicalist organisations, the ideas of revolt, individual initiative and solidarity — which are the essence of anarchism.

ANARCHISM, SYNDICALISM AND GENERAL STRIKE.

The International Anarchist Congress considers the syndicates as fighting organisations in the struggle with a view of bettering the conditions of labour, as well as unions of producers being able to help to the transformation of the capitalist society in an anarchist communist society.

Thus, the congress admitting the eventual necessity of creating separate revolutionary syndicalist organisations — recommends the comrades to support the general syndicalist organisations to which all the workers of one industry are equally admitted.

But the congress considers as the duty of anarchists, to constitute, in these organisations, the revolutionary element and to propagate and support only those forms and manifestations of "direct action" (strikes, boycott, sabotage etc.) which carry, in themselves, a revolutionary character and lead to the transformation of the society.

The anarchists consider the syndicalist movement and the General Strike as powerful revolutionary means, but not as substitutes to the Revolution. They recommend also to the comrades, in case a general political strike is proclaimed, to go out in strike, but invites them, in the same time, to induce the syndicates who are under their influence to voice their economic claims.

The anarchists think that the destruction of the capitalist and authority society can only be realised by armed insurrection and violent expropriation, and that the use of the more or less general strike and the syndicalist movement must not make us forget the more direct means of struggle against the military force of governments.

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GENERAL STRIKE.

I.

The class-war and the emancipation of the proletariat are not identical with the ideas and aspirations of anarchism which desires -- over and above the immediate aspirations of classes -- the economic and moral emancipation of the human personality, the society without authority, and not a new power -- the power of the majority over the minority.

Anarchism considers nevertheless, the abolition of class-oppression, the suppression of the economic dependancy of the majority of human beings, as an absolutely necessary and essential step on the path to the final object.

Anarchism must however be opposed to the struggle for the emancipation of the working class being conducted by certain means contradicting the idea of anarchism and being an obstacle to the precise object of this movement. Anarchism is therefore opposed to engage the struggle by the methods propagated by the marxist socialism, i. e. by parliamentarism and by a corporative syndicalist movement having only in view the bettering of the conditions of the working class -- these two methods being only able to help to the development of a new bureaucracy, of an intellectual authority -- may it be patented or not -- and to lead to the oppression of the minority by the majority. The anarchist methods for the suppression of the class-oppression being only those that derive directly from the affirmation of the individual personality: "direct action" and the "non-consent" of the individual -- i. e. the active and passive individuality either of one person, or of a whole mass penetrated with a common will.

The Anarchist Communist Congress rejects, therefore, the strike for political rights, (Politischer Massenstreik) the object of which is unacceptable to anarchism, but recognises, in the revolutionary general strike, i. e. in the refusal to work of the whole proletariat as class, the means capable of desorganising the economic structure of the present society, and of emancipating the proletariat from the wage-slavery. To realise this General Strike, the penetrations of the syndicates by the anarchist ideal must be considered as indispensable. A syndicalist movement imbued with the anarchist spirit can, by means of a revolutionary general strike, destroy the class oppression and open the path to the final object of anarchism -- the accession of a society without any authority.

II.

The Anarchist Congress in Amsterdam declares that the expropriating general strike is a remarkable stimulant to the organisation and the spirit of revolt in the present society, and it is the form under which can be accomplished the integral emancipation of the proletariat. The General Strike cannot be confounded with the Political General Strike (Politischer Massenstreik) which is nothing else but an attempt of the politicians to divert the general strike from its economic and revolutionary ends.

By strikes generalised to localities, to regions, or to entire professions, one will progressively raise the working class until it will come to an expropriating general strike which will comprise the destruction of the present date of society and the expropriation of the means of production as well as of the products.

ANTIMILITARISM.

The anarchists desiring complete liberty of all individuals, the integral emancipation of humanity, are naturally, essentially, the outspoken enemies of any armed force in the hands of the State (army, police, magistracy etc.) They engage the comrades, — and in general all men aspiring for liberty — to struggle by all possible means, according to their temperament and the circumstances — individual revolt, refusal of military service, individual or collective, passive or active disobedience, — for the radical destruction of all instruments of domination.

They express the hope that all nations concerned will answer by an insurrection to any declaration of war.

They declare that the anarchists should give the example, the more so that they spread these ideas in the syndicates.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

The representatives of the Anarchist Communists of Russia, N. Rogdaeff and Wl. Zabrejnev propose the congress to accept the following resolution:—

The congress — considering

a) that with the development of the russian revolution, it is more and more noticed that the russian people — the artisan and the peasant — will never be satisfied by the conquest of a vain political liberty. It requires the complete suppression of the economical and political slavery and employs those means of struggle which were always propagated by the anarchists as the only efficient. The russian people does not expect anything from above, but tries to arrive to the realisation of his demands by ne direct action.

b) that the russian revolution has not only a local and national importance, but that the near future of the international proletariat depends on it.

c) that the middle-class of the old and new world has united to defend its privileges so as to retard the moment of its destruction, and that it has given its moral and material help to the greatest support of the reaction — to the government of the tzar which it has helped with money and ammunition against the will of the russian people; that at the critical moment it is always ready to support them with its guns and rifles (as it is the case with the Austrian and German governments);

that the intellectual help is translated by the complete silence over the struggle lead by the russian people, as well as over all brutalities of the autocracy.

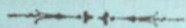
The congress recognises that: The proletarians of ail countries must oppose the most energetic action of which the Workers' Anarchist International is capable against all the agressions of the Yellow International composed of united capitalists and governments of all sorts: monarcho-constitutional or republican-democratic; by this action they will prove their solidarity to the russian proletariat in revolt. In their own interest, they must categorically refuse to take part in anything that might stifle the strikes and insurrections in Russia. Never should the foreign proletariat in uniform lend his hand to whatever action against his russian brother.

If the industrial proletariat, at the moment of a strike in Russia, could not have the possibility of declaring a general strike in the corresponding industry because of local conditions, he should then take up all other means of struggle — the sabotage, the destruction or deterioration of products sent to

the common enemy, the destruction of railway lines, ships etc. The congress recommends persistently all those who are of his opinion, the largest propaganda in favour of all means by which one could help and support the Russian Revolution.

ESPERANTO.

The Congress recognising the utility of an international method of communication, declares itself incompetent to judge on the proposed international language (Esperanto), but proposes to the comrades who are able to do so, to study the question.



The Congress has also passed the following resolution:—

The Congress ascertains that the Republican Government acts towards the working men as all governments have never ceased to act.

Sends his fraternal greetings to comrades Yvetot, Marek, Lévy, Bousquet, Corton, Lorulot, Berthet, Clementine Delmott, Gabrielle Petit; to the twelve antimilitarists now detained in Paris and to all Comrades who are in the Republican jails.

The Congress sends, in the same time, its hearty salutations to all the defenders of liberty who are in the prisons of the Worldly Capitalism and invites the International Bureau to defend and support all our imprisoned friends — as one of the first acts of its labours.

