Bart de Ligt - TOWARDS A FREE ORDER

I. BATTLE PLAN AGAINST WAR

“Plan of Campaign against all war and all preparation for war.

Proposed to the International Conference of the War Resisters' International (W.R.I.), held at Welwyn (Herts, England) July 1934.

AND OTHER PRACTICAL PROPOSALS FOR ANTIMILITARIST ORGANIZING.



Broken rifle evolution, starting in 'De Wapens Neder' ['Down the Weapons', 1909], Dutch periodical of the International Antimilitarist Union in the Netherlands with involvement of Bart de Ligt. Later symbol of the War Resisters' International W.R.I. - not to be confused with the peace symbol that is often understood as 'non-violent'. (Source: www.warresisters.org)

Bart de Ligt: anarchist, syndicalist, anti-militarist, activist, organizer – and his Battle Plans.
More relevant than ever in these crucial times.

-WAR OR REVOLUTION SERIES VOL 1. A.-

> “One can throw away a chair and destroy a pane of glass; but those are idle talkers and credulous idolaters of words who regard the state as such a thing or as a fetish that one can smash in order to destroy it. The state is a condition, a certain relationship between human beings, a mode of behavior; we destroy it by contracting other relationships, by behaving differently toward one another. One day it will be realized that Socialism is not the invention of anything new, but the discovery of something actually present, of something that has grown.... We are the state, and we shall continue to be the state until we have created the institutions that form a real community and society of men.”
>
> **—Gustav Landauer**

This is the weak side of modern imperialism, fascism, state-communism and neo-clericalism – despite superficial contradictions essentially the same phenomena of the time-, that they can tolerate the development of personality increasingly less and less. New conflicts must result from this. Multiple times the real future will be no less cruel and bloody than in the old legend of Golgotha.

Whatever may come, at last no system of coercion will resist the personality that awakens everywhere; at last humanity will surmount this crisis as well. Although it will probably be through apocalyptic horrors.

But even then – no end to the conflicts. This remains: that in every domain the leading feeling, thinking and wanting concentrates in relatively modest groups; that some will always be ahead of many in one way or another, and will therefore inevitably be at odds with the mass in some tension. And every human will in certain respects belong to the the proponents of new values, and in other respects belong more to the conservers of old and obsolete traditions. Probably no-one will be revolutionary over the whole line.

Bart de Ligt,

'The rebirth of Maria', 1926, in '[In memory of Bart de Ligt]', Bevrijding 1983-10 (pp 145-146)

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1. Introduction

This edition of Bart de Ligt's 'Battle Plan against War and War Preparation' is a practical annex to the new enlarged edition of 'The Conquest of Violence' and is itself in turn accompanied by some other texts.

De Ligt was a Dutch lifelong anti-militarist who evolved from christian over marxist and then syndicalist and anarchist. In these times of growing armed conflict, the anarchist movement can not and should not stand aside. We have a rich tradition of resistance not just against the symptoms but especially against the causes. And we have a long tradition of proposing alternatives going back to Proudhon's 'War and Peace' (which inspired Tolstoy's anarchism and anti-militarism) and even further back.[1]

For this practical guide we selected a series of texts that contextualize the '100 Minutes Speech' that introduced the 'Plan', both of which Bart de Ligt delivered on July 29, 1934 on the triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International[2] in Welwyn, Hertsfordshire, England. For this edition we used Dutch brochure 'Mobilisation against the war' as source.

Some other texts are included to illustrate how this 'Plan' wasn't made up behind a desk by a 'pacifist' liberal intellectual. The 'Plan' presented before the WRI was just one version of a long search for consistent strategies against war and its causes. And Bart de Ligt was not alone in developing it: Clara Wichmann, Proudhon, Pierre Ramus, Tolstoy, Domela Nieuwenhuis, Albert de Jong, Arthur Lehning and so many others contributed to it.

There were earlier versions of practical proposals in ('[The antimilitarists and their methods of struggle[3]' (1921) "[New forms of war and how to combat them][4]' (1927), '[Peace as Act][5]' (1933, 2 volumes, 718 pages and an shorter template for 'The Conquest of Violence'). Some of those or extracts are included in this separate brochure. First of all the '100 Minutes Speech' that is so necessary to understand the Battle Plan, but that was missing in previous editions of 'The Conquest of Violence'.

The broader context of his life, ideas and work are presented in the new edition of 'The Conquest of Violence' that accompanies this brochure, which follows the structure of the much smaller brochure ['The conquest of violence'] of 1935 that is included in this volume.

The 'Battle' Plan (a closer translation than 'Campaign' Plan) is useful for anyone inside or outside the anarchist movement who wants to reflect on what can be done to prevent war alongside their peers and without waiting for anyone's approval. Today the 'Plan' would probably be called 'Social Defence' as it is now popular in academic circles. It is what the likes of Gene Sharp (his '198 methods' are included here), Brian Martin (absolute reading suggestions like 'Social defence, Social Change'; 'Uprooting War), Véronique Dudouet, George Lakey and many others build upon.

This edition is not intended as a discussion on 'non/violence'. That would require a treatise on language and concepts (violence, pacifism, direct action, , etc) that mean different things to different people and in different languages and sub/cultures. Bart de Ligt didn't consider himself to be a

1 We hope to publish an anthology on anarchist anti-militarism in the near future. For now there is a sense of urgency that pushed us to start with a pivotal figure who bridged the era before and after the Spanish Revolution. We hope to return to this pivotal moment in the discussions on non/violence, anti/militarism, 'pacifism', etc within the anarchist movement.

2 https://wri-irg.org/, https://co-guide.info/,

3 'De antimilitaristen en hun strijdwijzen'; Square brackets [ ] used to indicate translated titles that existed only in Dutch before this publication.

4 'Nieuwe vormen van oorlog en hoe die te bestrijden'

5 'Vrede als Daad'

'pacifist' (he supported the Spanish Revolution but not the Civil War) and Gandhi supported participation in war and war preparation for an 'independent' India: "*I do believe that, where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence... I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should, in a cowardly manner, become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonor.*
But I believe that nonviolence is infinitely superior to violence, forgiveness is more manly than punishment. Forgiveness adorns a soldier...But abstinence is forgiveness only when there is the power to punish; it is meaningless when it pretends to proceed from a helpless creature...."
So even 'pacifists' don't exclude or condemn all violence.

My ambition as translator was first of all to contribute to the war against war. A more nuanced picture appears than may have been the case in recent debates. For now I think all anarchists and anti-militarists can agree that anarchism excludes militarism - understood as (to quote the IAMV[6]) "*the system of the coercive organisation of all means of violence, both living and non-living, established by a state in order to use it*

1. *to maintain its power if it thinks it is threatened*
    a. *by another state;*
    b. *by a revolutionary movement of its own population;*
2. *to enlarge its power if it sees the chance to do so."*[7]*,*

and "*Understanding as* ***militarism*** *the striving for and practicing of violence and humanicide organized by* ***states and groups organised to strive for state power,*** *we as anti-militarists recognize all those who resist it on the basis of principle and want to impair it as much as possible, individually as well as collectively.*"[8]

Later, according to Albert de Jong, "The IAMV Congress of 1921 also accepted the following resolution on revolutionary violence:
"*The IAMV makes* ***no propaganda for a red army****, declares itself to be* ***against every form of militarism****, i.e. a system of weapons in which participation is directly of economically enforced, but deems the participation in a revolutionary army, inasfar as the members do so individually voluntarily, not to be in violation of the IAMV principles*".
The IAMV as such now no longer had the right to propagate violence as a revolutionary means of struggle.
A new simplification of the declaration of principles in 1925 led to:
"*1. The IAMV understands as militarism* ***every system of monopolized violence.***
It fights against militarism ***in all its forms****.*
(...)
4. The IAMV wants to convince the workers of the fact that the ***destruction of militarism*** *is a main condition for social liberation.*
(...)
7. (...) takes (...) at the same time position against every attempt to reinstate it or to implement a new militarism in the name of socialism, communism, proletarian state, revolution or anything else.""[9]

6 I.A.M.V. or 'Internationale AntiMilitarlistische Vereniging in Nederland': Internatioal Anti-Militarist Association in the Netherlands. I use the Dutch acronym for consistency.

7 IAMV Congress Declaration of Principles at the 1919 Congress in Haarlem, as quoted by Bart de Ligt's article 'De toekomst van iamb. en iak.' [The future of IAMB and IAK] in 'De Wapens Neder', May 1937 p 2. Also published in 'Bevrijding', May 1937

8 Verslag van het anti-militaristisch congres 1921, Uitgegeven door het IAMB, Secretariaat Jos Giesen, p 61

9 Source: Albert de Jong, 'Revolutionary anti-militarism in the Netherlands' N.V. Nijgh & Van Ditmar, 's Gravenhage, 1954

I think we can also all agree that less violence is better. And that large parts of the anarchist, revolutionary, syndicalist, anti-militarist, feminist, etc liberation struggle is and will always be non-violent. That's what these volumes focus on, but without trying to limit people. There are other times and places to address other choices and tactics.

Gandhi used his reasoning to justify militarization and nationalism, the state and capitalism. We as anarchists do not accept militarism as a 'justified' form of 'violence' as Gandhi did, but Gandhi's quote on nonviolence or cowardess sums up Bart de Ligt's position on (non-militarist) violence rather well.

There are other platforms and moments to address discussions about the place of 'violence' in that struggle.

So I hope this practical guide finds you well and is of use to your organizing. Because theory without action is a waste of time.

The texts in this brochure are not intended as alpha and omega on any of the subjects that are touched upon. **START TALKING AND START ORGANIZING!**

ABOUT THE CHOICE OF TEXTS:

I have tried to include some close comrades of Bart de Ligt (BdL) over the two volumes. For several reasons not all of them could be included, be it for copyright reasons or simply because his network was so expansive in all different directions – he was on speaking terms with people from many backgrounds, ideas, convictions and walks of life.

I have chosen to separate the more practical texts and the more theoretical texts, although those two elements obviously need eachother. I thought it would nevertheless be more useful to gather the more practical texts separately because a smaller separate booklet is more practical for organizing and not everyone can afford or is interested in a big volume with more philosophical and historical backgrounds. The (many) footnotes are included for the same reason.

The texts are ordered by date to allow an insight in the developments and sequence in the context of de Ligt's life and his context both in the movement and in the world.

Some texts couldn't be included because of the volume of his published works. I hope I have struck the right balance in my choices to paint a picture of the diversity of theoretical and practical dimensions of his work and life. I think that he would be pleased to see his 'Battle Plan' embedded in its context: none of his advice was meant to be a manual that people could simply follow. He needs us to understand what we want, how we got to where we are and how we can get to a better place. He didn't promise an easy ride.

It's important to be aware of some of the strategic, ethical and tactical reasoning, and to understand some basic principles with their possible implications, considerations and dilemma's in order to translate history into our future.

For more on the subject: visit www.antimilitarism.org.

AmoRyRabiA,

J/M – Pépé.

2. Soldiers and workers, strike! (1918, 20p)[10]

It is a generally accepted fact that today's economic life serves not first of all meeting the needs of everybody, but the profits of a relatively small class of capitalists. Our society is overall separated into two clearly divided main groups: on the one hand millions of people without property, the proletarian class, whose members own nothing but their own physical and mental labor force; on the other hand a few hundred thousands, the capitalist class whose members are masters of capital. That is: land with its coal, ores, diamonds and on which grows grains, vegetables, fruits, flowers, trees and animals; the houses, factories and machines; the instruments and tools; the horses, cows and sheep; the ships and boats; the money – in short: land, resources, tools, products and trade goods, which they use to offer themselves ever increasing wealth, power and prestige. Numerous members of this class do nothing. They're parasites. They make others work for them. They live off interest -that is: the profits made off other people's labor- as they please. But many others work, at least part of their lives. Some even work very hard. But even if they worked without rest, day and night, they still wouldn't be able to work the land, mine the coal, produce the iron, steel, gold, make trains and cars and boats, assemble engines and make them run, to mow, to harvest, to weave, to build –that is: to produce all the products that we know in the civilised world-, to transport them via train and boat, to market them, etc. To turn its capital into an inexhaustible source of profits, the ruling class requires enormous amounts of labor. And that is what it uses the working class for. The propertyless class toils in wage slavery for the capitalists. It works for them in ten thousand ways, and usually receives much less value than it gives in labor. And everything that is produced is kept by the owners -every one of them as much as each of them is able to- in order to sell it for profits to eachother or mostly to the propertyless multitude that produced them in the first place, brought them into the world by the sacrifice of their brains, nerves, muscles, blood and life, so that they -forced by need- give their meager wages back to the ruling class in exchange for shelter, clothing, luxuries, etc

Between those main groups there are countless middle men. Within the capitalist class, endless variations in wealth and power. Within the proletariat there are those with big yearly incomes while there are collectors of meagre interests among the capitalists. It would take an elaborated description only to briefly describe all of the ranks and subclasses. But that is not necessary. It's a simple fact that social life is increasingly torn apart in two directions: big capitalists and proletarian masses. Also generally accepted is the fact that the owners of the biggest capitals control the whole of the social process –a few hundred people lead the economic life of Europe and America, of the world-, and that their interests are served by millions of earthlings in gruesome labor day and night. Some of them may live in relative comfort -as there were always privileged slaves-, the big majority lives in physical and mental misery: the needs of the international proletariat are without end.

It is also not a secret that -and the history of the world confirms it over and over, so much so that it is almost mind blowing- that the capitalist class as a whole, under the command of its most powerful and able members, works to maintain, confirm and expand this perverse, wrongly directed social process. No means too despicable, no method too despicable to grimly extort its privileges. Keeping what it has, it tries to get more – whatever it can. There is no fiercer and conscious class warrior usually, than the maintainers and defenders of their own class privileges, no matter how injust that is towards the propertyless. The modern bourgeoisie has succeeded in the last centuries, to serve its business interests in every -even the lowest- way, to the moral detriment of itself; to the

10 Published by J. P. Honnef, Korte Kade 48a, Rotterdam
Retrieved from http://www.antimilitarisme.org/ and from the full text on https://anarchief.org/wiki/De_Ligt,_Bart_-_Soldaten_en_arbeiders,_staak!_(1918) & https://anarchief.org/w/images/e/e9/De_Ligt%2C_Bart_-_Soldaten_en_arbeiders_staakt_%281918%2C_Rotterdam%29.pdf

mental and physical damage of the proletariat.

But the bourgeoisie of the world, united against the proletariat of the world, is internally divided in all kinds of opposing interests. In recent times those oppositions revealed themselves mainly in national groups, ruling over national capital. De proprietors already collaborate in a multitude of ways – and they will increasingly do so – against the proprietors in other nations. They want to expand their own dominion over as large a part of the earth as possible. To that end, they use the nations they control in any way they can imagine. They use the state they live in, not just as a means of coercion (against the proletariat) directed inward, but also as a means of coercion (against competing groups) directed outward. The secret diplomacy serves them. Army and fleet are under their control. The governments are willing servants of the bankers and big entrepreneurs, the mighty land owners and the crafty speculators. The world war turned out to be (even for the most blinded people) nothing more than one horrible battle between groups of capitalists that tried to push eachother aside, that tried to submit eachother in order to exploit -each for themselves- as large a portion of the world as possible, with all the plants, animals and people that populate it. Never was the word of Sombart more true than in these times (that even the 'N. Rotterdamse Courant' called a time of wars without ideals) that 'under capitalism all the virtues are subjected to one vice'. All the mental and physical forces of the peoples are put in motion, mobilized in the commercial interest of national *seigneurs* who only care for the conquest or defence of business realms, markets, regions with natural resources, investment opportunities, etc. All the 'civilized' states -the Christian ones first- are systematically turned into giant barracks in which even women and children hustle and slave so that the glory of the unified national bourgeoisie could flourish and flower, alienated more from, and antagonized deeper against the proletariat within the same borders, regardless of a shared language, official religion, race, etc by opposed interests, than a painter's assistant in Amsterdam or Berlin, a docker in Yokohama, a driver in Chicago and a porter in Constantinopel are.

But how is it possible that the proletariat lends itself to this? How can the ruling class again and again bring the proletariat to toiling in mines, clearing ships, working in factories, workshops, offices, in fields and roads, over seas? How can the ruling class bring tens of millions of proletarians of all possible races and religions who generally don't want war -and even less a business war- to the trenches for its most hideous plans, to push them into opposing groups that shoot, thrust, hew, maim and slaughter eachother? How do the capitalists push them into a struggle that is one big hellish curse against the interests of the millions that squirm through the bloodied mud? How is a relatively small clique of political-economic powerful people able to treat the big mass of people -the large majority- like one growling populace of slaves -sometimes a little better, sometimes a little worse- and instrumentalize them ruthlessly like work tools in peace time, and like a murder instrument in times of war?

We can point to three main reasons.

NECESSITY.
The proletarian is born in the world outside the world. As for baby Jesus, there is no place in the stable for the proletarian. In fact the proletarian belongs to the cattle of the ruling class, to the order of useful beasts. Most often not treated as well as the pet dog of the bilionaire's daughter, the race horse of the lord, the bull of the farmer. But the interest of gain implies dat they remain capable -because the mental and physical development of the propertyless is a consideration at least inasfar as it caters the interests of the owners- of their productive labor in peace time, their productive and destructive labor in war time. Whatever legal protection was installed was either extorted by the exploited that were whipped into desperate rage, or because the modern production process demanded it. Land needs to lie waste from time to time; a horse or cow need to be stabled; a sled dog needs feeding. And so it was understood that the new technology demanded that the worktime

was to be lowered precisely to increase the intensity of production; that -generally speaking- the living conditions of the proletariat must be improved from time to time.[11] This -and the struggle for self liberation of the modern workers- is the reason for the increasing number of laws to protect the prole more or less, that were voted since the 1850's on, to somewhat spare the pregnant women and the toiling children, to raise the standards of popular education slightly, etc. In the absence of a strong working class movement nothing happened other than the technology required; with a strong labor movement, a little more was achieved. That's how strong the bourgeoisie was. That's how the bourgeoisie insisted on its rights(?), hereditary control over the wealth of the earth, excelling by ability and knowledge, with the 'pastorship' of degenerate churches, the press apparatus, the school system, etc. Sure, there have always been exceptions among the ruling class who felt, who knew, that this was not how things should be, who didn't want this to continue. Here and there, some noble thinkers resisted the tyranny and exploitation that their class subjected the proletariat to. But how few they were! And counter them, the capitalist classes bought and bribed hundreds of the most able from the propertyless mass with their gold, their offices and their positions of power. Those often became the most zealous enforcers and endorsers of the social order...

The proletariat is born in a situation of complete and total dependence. The non-proprietors only have their body, their breathing lungs, their beating heart, their muscles, their thinking head. No food, no clothing, no dwelling. Even the very first conditions for life are lacking. Growing up, nothing but closed doors, gates and fences. 'No trespassing' grins back at them at every turn. What they're left with is the way to the office, factory, workshop, the meadow and the field, a church here and there, a little brush, a small park. Total misery drives them irresistably towards the capitalist for food, clothing, housing. And the capitalist holds the threat of hunger to their heads and says “Do you want to work for me or not? Of course you're free not to, as slavery has been abolished. We live in a free world. But if you don't, then I can't satisfy your hunger; then I don't have clothing for you, no roof for you to sleep under... unless in a jail or colony. So decide!” The capitalist not always uses words -many of them wouldn't or couldn't speak this way, they make others speak for them instead and have no idea of the way those people actually speak for them- this is how the capitalist speaks in facts; by his very existence; by his acts: by employing only those who are profitable to him at a given moment. As a plower of his lands. As an extension of his machine. As a profit producing force, in whatever fashion. The capitalist has no choice to speak like this if he wants to live according to the rules of today's social system. If he refuses, he gets into trouble himself (and the less he owns the sooner he gets in trouble). So he himself and his family will sink down into the proletariat -one of the greatest disasters imaginable. So there is a bonus for heartlesness for the proprietor. The less consience he has, the richer he can become; the more opportunity to satisfy his hunger for profit; but also to endulge in cultured pleasures, provide his wife and children with a dignified life, arts and sciences, philosophy. But there are grave penalties for acts of care. The more conscience, the poorer. The poorer, the less chance for intellectual development and providing for his family. That is why the capitalists raise their children from the first days of their lives to be able to take position in society. That is their life's task: to make it big in the world. First of all to 'stay on top' (of the proles). And then climb higher and higher. It's true that one crushes multitudes with every step. But that's just the way things are. The financial and business interest decides. Direct and indirect murder, lies and deceit are deemed normal, when profit demands it. Engels and Tolstoy didn't exaggerate at all when they said that humanity lives in the realm of beasts in a political-economic respect. Factually they sunk even beneath that level because humans have subjected their moral capacity to their greed. Today's social order is ruled by intellectual predators, and can be ruled only by such predators.

11 Just how widespread this opinion still is, is shown in the following words of the Notary-Overseer of the Pariliament in the 'Noord-Rotterdamse Courant' of last March 1: “Malnourishment surely needs to be prevented by any means necessary; an exhausted, emaciated people is surely weaker in the competitive struggle of the future.”

Born in the world outside of the world, the proletariat will be even more impotently dependent on the proprietors the weaker it is in understanding and mental strength. And how weak it is. The capitalist class is ahead of the proles in every possible way. It not only commands all the world's wealth, but also its knowledge. And knowledge is power. The physical and mental need of the people is used as levers to force them into any work at all, into the production of what is vulgar and even evil, malign, mean. It forces the people to build miserable houses to live in and to manufacture surrogates to buy and feed on. Life, and the possibility to live in limitles abundance for the ruling classes; for the ruled nothing but a grueling life, monotonous, always under threat of death.

How many have accepted distress as their fate? Generations were deluded into thinking that it was just the way things were, that there was no other way; that God wanted it like this; that this was ordained by Jesus Christ himself. Even today there are hundreds of thousands, even among the proletariat, who think they have to accept this 'social order': on religious ground even. Even in the name of Christ, even if Christ says:

“Jesus called them together and said, “You know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their high officials exercise authority over them. Not so with you. Instead, whoever wants to become great among you must be your servant, ,...” (Matthew 20:25, 26)

How many never thought and never think, and are moved by nothing but the most immediate desires in life. As long as their hunger is satisfied, their thirst is quenched, they're content. How many endeavor to earn all they can on the dead-end road. They rent themselves out to whatever. There are still today women who prostitute themselves, forced by need and with the good intention of feeding their old mother, their sick child; but many are driven by evil. They seek pleasure, peacockery, wealth, lust, power. Those women throw away their humanity, their divine value. One feels pity for them. One cannot venerate them: humane would be to choose hunger, suffering, death before such a life. But what do decent men, proper workers not lend themselves to! To the production of what is one massive onslaught on body, soul and spirit of the people.

But there were always women who rather die than to waste away body and soul and spread corruption! Men who didn't want to live at any cost. Who had an understanding of the Chinese saying:

“We desire life and we desire justice. If we cannot keep them both, we will dispense with life and choose justice. We desire life, but there is something that we desire more than life, and so we don't want to live by unpure means. We abhor death, but there is something that we abhor even more than death, and so there are situations in which we will confront danger.”

Men who preferred walking around hungry, falling by the roadside, before earning their living in the most disgusting way possible. Sure, capitalism weaves an iron net around us. Essentially all labor is more or less prostitution. But there is labor that has a social side, that is essential for the growing and blossoming of body, soul and spirit of us all and therefore relatively good, even if the product of it is foremost used to make profits for the capitalists. There is labor that should be preserved and expanded in a normal society, but directed differently: not for the profit of the few but for the benefit of all. Even if capitalism is our fate -we are all born in it- it is not an unescapable fate. We don't have to lend ourselves to just anything. Against fate we propose action. Mankind and its inner disposition is an active force in the world process. The conditions don't just impact on mankind; mankind impacts on the conditions as well. We can start now with accepting only good labor; refuse to lend ourselves to bad labor. We can wage a fight for a new society, for freedom, for a dignified life.

Unfortunately very few dedicate themselves to this struggle anymore with the sacrifice of their whole life. And yet in times long gone, in times of slavery and oppression there were those -here and there, in Judea, in India, in China, -hundreds of years before Christ- or in the Roman Empire 19 centuries ago-, who understood how deeply human it is to rise above the most difficult circumstances out of the strength of our inner impulse; that we uplift the world and revolve it with our inner strength; that we create better selves than our old selves and give birth to new times, even if we perish doing so ourselves; that we engage in battle for a society in which -like Kong Tse said- the only relation that exists will be the relation of friendship. Deep spiritual understanding and instinct for divine life calling pushed thinkers, dreamers, poets and sages towards holy war; brought them into conflict with rulers, oppressors and exploiters of their day; into resisting tyranny. They refused to serve as power tools for the capitalists. Oh no! They wanted to be fighters for godly peace throughout their whole lives. They called for a heroic struggle for a new time, that had to be born from and by the people themselves; but that could only be born if the people themselves were born again in the ideal that pushed them forward. The idea of the international brotherhood awoke amongst the peoples. First in the scattered few, here and there. But then widening and spreading over the earth. And in the end in the many. Surely, mostly still as a dream, a vague vision, rather floating above life than impacting on it. But for many heroic men, for many principled women this idea became so much their only the reality that they voluntarily sacrificed their lives. Oh they understood that -against the blind proliferation of those driven by greed, hunger for power, need and fear - we could only offer purposeful collaboration and voluntary organisation of each in the service of all.

How alive that idea was in the old christianity. Brotherhood in action to do Gods will was the great, world revolutionising principle. And even if it couldn't be implemented beccause of all kinds of external circumstances and internal contradictions, even if need, fear, greed and power hunger of the old church was victorious, there were always people and groups that remained faithful to the Highest and proved by deed that there is a source of happiness for all in their holy principle. By the sacrifice of their existence they brought us closer to a dignified life. Even now the churches say with reason that the gospel is the only adequate cure against sin and greed, against the urges to have and rule, from which the enormous, endless misery of this society was born and is still being born. If only they practiced it. But in reality the churches are on the side of the capitalists. The big orthodox churches most of all. Priests defend the treasuies with Christ's cross. Preachers deify the authority everywhere. Even if there always were priests -and there are still some-, even if even now there are many preachers who speak differently, speak better – the churches as such are at complete peace with the existing order. They dispute some details. But the main issues, the core principle, they leave untouched. Their servants serve Mammon in God's name, deliberateley or unconsciously, whatever their intentions. Now that the world war, this business war, broke out, they stand in line around the flags and thrones. In Jezus's name they inflame the peoples with outdated slogans and sophisms. They preach the Book of Judges as if Simson, who killed more enemies with his death than during his life, were the real Christ -and Jesus just an imposter- or Gideon, Barak, Jephta, and as if we had to follow in their footsteps...

It is the achievement of the atheist anarchists and social-democrats since the second half of the 19th century, that they accepted the social ideal of the original christians and medieval dreamers and used the new, scientific knowledge to pragmatically implement socialism. Even if we're convinced that christianity is much, much deeper than modern social-democracy or anarchy, and infinitely richer of life's possibilities, we gladly recongnize that -if socialists had remaine true to their principles of brotherhood, that they used to bring forward time and again, most often directly in opposition to official Christianity- the world war would not have been possible, even for all the (mis)leading churches. But socialism as well turned out to be empty talk and phraseology. The men of the International parade around in uniforms by their hundreds of thousands. They serve domestic capital

in the most despicable way.

What is the cause of all this?

It is mainly the FEAR, the urge for self-preservation: egoism and group egoism. The instinct to preserve mere survival of individual and people, and the urge to preserve -before all else- the privileges of the own party or national interest -at all and any costs-, makes christians and socialists fratricidal murderers by their millions.

A philosopher called the animal incarnated fear. He was right. Because fear means: fearing suffering, grief, need, fleeing death. Fear is in essence a dread for what endangers mere survival. It is the flip-side of the same coin of the desire to live forever, the instinctive urge for self-preservation. The animal is always intent on saving itself and its species from suffering and death. It can't will otherwise. And it is a similar fear -feral if not sub-feral- that keeps the millions in their trenches and into the ammunition factories. Without doubt there are many among them, blinded by delusion, who live in a trance, deluded by themselves or by others into thinking 'I defend my home and hearth!', 'The fatherland is in danger!', 'We were wrongly attacked!', 'We serve the culture!', etc. Nevertheless many -tens of thousands certainly- who would take their christianity or their socialism seriously, for whom their vision on life and the world are not just phrases, but for... the fear. Disobey and get shot. Everybody agrees that if there were no death penalty or jail for conscientious objectors, if they could be certain that the enemy would also defect, then...! then...! The press especially play into the fear. It depicts the enemy as beasts and demons: against their animalistic rage the fatherland, the women and the children must be protected, yes the whole wide world even! The press excites the instinct for self-preservation. And the governments show the example in phrases and deeds. No-one ever attacks... Everyone is a defender. Austria-Hungary had to 'defend itself' from Serbia; Russia had to 'defend' the Slavs against Austria-Hungary; Germany had to 'defend itself' against Russia; England had to 'defend democracy'... The fear took on the persona of self-sacrifice and courage. As if it was really all about the rights of the small countries and the glory of the French culture. The fear was whipped up and at the same time glorified as courage.... Oh! that happened on all sides. Didn't Germany 'protect Western Europe' from the attacks of Russian barbarians? Didn't Austria-Hungary just endeavor to 'create order and peace' in the Balkans? Isn't America 'fighting to rescue the whole world'? But behind everything lurks the fear. The rulers -born from greed and power mania- funneled the fears of the peoples by all disposable means. It turned into a peoples psychosis, one giant global nightmare descending into madness. And those who were not completely possessed, those who remembered that it was mainly disguised power hunger and masked greed, and all the other things that were born from animalistic blind hunger for life, - alas, most of them used their brains that remained more or less clear... to justify everything. Or to say that now -just now!- was not the best time to resist. Out of fear. Fear for their own life and limb. Fear for their wife and children. Fear of losing the masses that they had led for years. Fear of being chastised, imprisoned, killed by the rulers. Tens of thousands of christians, social-democrats and anarchists know very well that they act against what they hold most dear even right this moment-especially among their leaders there must be some who know-; and hundreds of thousands, millions could know it if they wanted to know it; but almost none of the leaders of the peoples dare to want to know. Why are they fighting? Why do they instigate others to fight? Why are they mobilising? Why are they saying: “The national idea trumps the national differences”? Out of fear. In God's name: kill in order to stay alive. Destroy other's countries to save your own. Beleaguer, starve, maime, kill other's women and children just to protect your own women and children. And woe! how protected they are. If you want to protect your women and children, then give everyone in the world the practical example, and stay home. Don't leave your own wife and children to attack other's wife and children, whose men attack yours - also to protect theirs. Even the conquering Germans were unable to protect their women and children: such misery amongst the people! And

has the Belgian army protected the women and children? Can even the American army protect the american women and children? Is not the world threatened by world famine? Fear makes people short-sighted. Fear makes blind. Blinded by fear, the peoples go for eachother's throats and carve up eachother's bodies, red with blood.

And here in the Netherlands, what is it that rules? Fear. Fear of the capitalist class for Germany, for England, for Japan. Fear in the first place, that the millions of people in equatorial lands are stolen (that have to yield so much profit to the Dutch capital)? The thief fears the other thief, the robber fears the other robber! Fear drove and drives the mobilisation forward. Fear of the Dutch Indies becoming resilient. The whole people was caught up in fear. The press, the school teacher, the priest, the preacher, the leader, the president of the government. Even the queen was gripped by fear. And all of that fear was diguised as courage: “We will proudly maintain neutral!” - The truth is that the Netherlands behaves spineless. It crawls and bends to all sides. It smuggles and profiteers from the war without end. The country is unable to maintain its neutrality if it is attacked. The queen knows; the generals know; the government knows; the parliamentarians, the people's leaders; even the priests and preachers can know. And still they kept up the bluff -until the factual situation became so clear and open that even the leaders of the S.D.A.P. could no longer maintain the pose – out of fear.

As policy.
“National unity” (says Troelstra) “trumps national differences. The moment has not yet come to remain faithful to our principles of solidarity and brotherhood. The conditions don't allow for it.We will support the government in its undertaking. That is where the interest of the Dutch proletarian class lies.” The truth is that Troelstra got carried away in the flood of fear that forced itself through Germany and The Netherlands. The Dutch social-democrats actively participated in the mobilisation. They supported the war funds; because of fear or because of worries for something else. They hoped to appease the bourgeoisie's government with their loyality... The ruling class took it and ran with it. And now, after supporting the bourgeois regime for three and a half years, even Troelstra has to recognize that the government betrayed the people, and are starving it.

As faith.
In the churches one could and can still hear this: “We stay loyal to the kingdom. We serve the trinity God, country and the King of Oranje.” They chose the fatherland over the father; the Dutch state over the great holy Christian church. They betrayed the supreme 'Or else...' out of fear.

How few are the people who know that war and christianity are like fire and water ; that world war and social-democracy are at odds with eachother; that anarchy and imperialism are not compatible? Toiling under the national scourge, with the militarist weaponry on shoulder and hip, heavily charged and tired troops shuffle along the borders drawn in blood, singing The International without fire in their hearts. Mobile preachers, on horseback in their majors uniforms, preach the gospel of the Savior of Peoples, who rode a mule to Jerusalem to suffer and die for the salvation of the world. Out of conscience, an unconscious fear: an urge for self-preservation; at least the preservation of this miserable country. As if this little Dutch state, that does not even exist for more than a century, would be the purpose of the world, and justify all means, even the abdication of christianity and socialism. The Netherlands, a small, fiercely imperialist country, leech of the Dutch Indies. The Netherlands that -like Germany, France, England, America- doesn't know national unity that everyone keeps speaking of. Everybody knows. Not just Troelstra, but even the president of the Chamber of Commerce in Rotterdam, who spoke very clearly at the beginning of the year. And why wouldn't the proletariat know it then, who experiences it first hand? And the preachers who must see it on their house calls? And the priests who hear it at confession? And the school teachers who can

read it from the bleak cheeks of their pupils while they sing the 'Wilhelmus van Nassauwe'[12] and the other nationalist hymns[13]! And the ladies in the central kitchen? Still, they praise the national unity very poetically, no matter how the mass sinks into misery and war profiteers rise in wealth and richess. It is recognized that the world war is a business war -yes, even that christians are not allowed to fight amongst eachother- and mobilisation continues, always ready to participate in the madness of the world as soon as the leaders of the political-economic process in Berlin, London, Washington or Paris decide the moment has come: always in fear. Because not the Dutch people, not even the Dutch big capitalist, but foreign powers decide about war and peace for us. Fear rules the Netherlands. Fear rules the world.

The proletariat is guilty, just like the ruling class is guilty. It is not only fear and need but mainly DESIRE that drives it towards service of the nationalist Mammon. The average proletarian is in essence not better than the average capitalist. Again and again the capitalists, businessmen, shopkeepers, clerks in all kinds of trades and businesses, workers on ships and in factories, prove that in today's social life, for nearly everyone -at least the big, big majority-, stealing is more or less normal, from the highest elites down to the lowest cesspools. For the proletarian as well, there is a bounty for ruthlesness, and a heavy fine for being faithful to one's conviction. First of all the state, that serves the interest of the ruling class, demands that a christian, a socialist will violate their consciousness routinely. And the employer keeps chasing those 'difficult' workers from his premises, his workshop, his fields and estates. School teachers are not allowed to speak out for active antimilitarism or revolutionary socialism – not even in their free(!) time. Driven by need on the one hand and dragged along by the example of the ruling class on the other hand, the proletariat had almost no other choice than to become materialistic, deceitful, greedy and power hungry. And that's what it became. It's not just weakened physically, but even more so morally. In the soul of the people, there lives a dhunger for always more, just like in the soul of the ruling class. Again and again one can see how one workingman oppresses the other; one group climbs the pyramid at the expense of the other; and so on. And even when they cooperate for the interest of their trade, this cooperation all too often lacks the moral value, as they struggle first of all (if not completely) for their own material interest. Gone is the care for the trade one works in, for the work one lives off. The words of Tr. Kruyt-Hogerzeil ring true:
“The workers no longer feel the all-encompassing urge inside to liberate themselves from the capitalist yoke. The worst evil thing that capitalism has done to them is that it has perverted the workers' mind, that it has killed their soul. The workers don't recognize themselves anymore as people with human value and responsibility towards eachother. The workers got used to doing everything for the money of the capitalist; they sell their labor, they have to do this and the capitalist misery has imprinted it on them by making their misery so awful, that they cannot think of anything else than to labor for a wage; that they no longer remember their humanity; that they no longer wonder if their labor doesn't destroy their humanity. The workers got used to no longer taking responsibility for their work; it doesn't matter whàt they produce as long as the pay is good.”

The ruling class exploits this desire. With the high wages it bribes the workers to turn against their faith or their socialism. It incites their mammonistic rage into war service. The assistent secretary of the american labor ministry explains (according to 'De Telegraaf'):
“Those who dare deny or seriously doubt that the American wage earners as a class are truly loyal to the cause for which their country fights? Whatever the trepidations in the past, they were born from distrust, not the country's cause, but of those profiteering elements who were traditionally dishonest towards them. Now that there is less dishonesty, the distrust diminished as well.
By the miraculous force of the workers, in the last four months forty new cities have risen from the earth that will house a million workers, and a thousand new ships will soon cruise the seas – as a

12 Tr. Note: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wilhelmus , national anthem of the Netherlands.
13 Tr. Note: 'Piet Hein', 'Wien neerlandsch bloed' in the text.

testament to the loyalty of the workers. Our monster cannons will soon make themselves heard on the Western front in Europe in the interest of the American workers.
The workers can stop the war tomorrow, but still the war continues. What better proof can one ask of the workers' loyalty? What better proof has any other class provided?
Look at the wharfs? No man is unemployed: even hundreds of thousands of stuccoers and sailors faithfully pay their dues. This is even more significant because there was confusion and chaos because of the necessity to radically transform the labor army, because of a few employers who used wrong methods, and because of the disgraceful rejection of workers by other employers and their unreasonable demand that the workers should be forced by the government to work for the employer's own profit.
The workers have proved themselves to be more than patient because they knew that this irritating situation would soon be over, and because in their hearts they feel the weight of their country's need in this fight for democracy and against the ambition of Germany to become a modern Roman empire. The American wage earner knows that our country -a developing democracy- went to to war for self-defence; and he knows the democratic possiblities too well not too defend them. He also knows that not the peoples of enemy countries threaten us, but the military caste that rules the people by autocratic means.
The American workers know that they have nothing to fear from free peoples, but everything to fear from almighty governments. The call for a half-hearted or unsecure peace has certainly not come from the workers, as we know that such a peace would imply a continuation of militarism, at home as well as abroad. They understand that the interests of those who threaten them abroad, are in sync with those who threaten them in their own country, and that they will beat the enemy at home at the ballots after they have beaten the enemy abroad with guns.
The best proof that the American wage earner understands these things is in his actions. Of all the American social interests, his own are the least represented in the government and yet he answers the call instantly when heavy and dangerous work is to be done. He suffered the most from the rising costs of living and basic commodities and yet did not hesitate in his dedication to the national cause, even with his distrust because these prices profit a few groups that think of him like the old slave states thought of their human cattle.
All of his actions demonstrate hat the American workers do not shrink back from any burden that their citizenship imposes on him. The labor conflicts that arose were related exclusively to matters of wages. There was not a single strike against the war. In the hundreds of cases where men and women expressed their fair grievances, they have all voluntarily submitted them to arbitrators and are back at the job."

Needless to reply to those phrases one by one. They have already been unmasked after what we described above and elsewhere. What matters here is the unsettling truth about the English workers, that one can also find in the 'Noord-Rotterdamse Courant': that the proletariat in the different countries capitalises on the war as much as it can. That it exploited the cirumstances and immediately tried to take as much advantage as possibly can at the cost of the miseries that inevitably result from war. That it endeavors to make its own lives more bearable within the national borders by serving death and destruction to those who live in 'enemy states'.

Need, fear and envy drive men, women and children into the ammunition factories. Need, fear and envy support the national resilience and in so doing the international world war. The majority of armies are proletarians. And they hurt mainly proletarians. They shoot them with their arms and legs and eyes. They poison them with toxic gasses. They starve them. They tear their guts from their bellies with their bajonets. They crush their skulls with the butts of their guns. Whatever noble thought the brains of the 'enemy' produced just now -their brains that splash from their heads already. "Long live the International! Away with the weapons of the barbarians! Praise Jesus Christ!" Proletarians spill the blood of proletarians; christians the blood of christians; priests the

blood of priests. The earth drips with blood. There is a stain on its cloth, a bloodstain that spans thousands of square kilometres. And it cannot wash it from its green dres. The stench of blood rises up towards heaven.

That horror is only possible because -behind the frontline- not just the men, but also and foremost the socialist and christian female proletarians work in the ammunition factories; because the proletariat of multiple countries -as far as it doesn't march to the trenches- forges the cannons and bullets, fills the granades with explosives, produces airplanes and bombs, guns, sabres, bajonets, -everything.

It has nothing human anymore, even nothing animalistic. This big duel of the war industries for capitalist interests, in which christians and socialists betray all their love and their ideals, is beneath the animal. It is hell on earth.

But away with it then! Let there be need and fear? Wasn't there always -amidst the need of the world- LOVE, and -despite thousands, billions of fears- COURAGE? Does really no-one see love being stronger than death? Will the lowest of desires win, and is there absolutely no RESTRAINT? What makes man human, cannot be that he is driven by blinded subanimalistic instinct, always fleeing death to which he will succumb anyway in the end as a miserable victim, -what makes man human is that he places an Ideal above his own brief life and sacrifices himself for it. As a reasonable moral creature, he chooses his own life; so he can abdicate his life when necessary?

There are indeed those who will sacrifice themselves for their father, their brother, their mother, their sister, their child. And others whose love has broadened far beyond the boundaries of the family. Still caught up in the naïve idealistic delusions, they leave their beloved families 'when the fatherland calls' because -when push comes to shove- lesser makes way for more. Yes, are there not ever more people in the world for whom the interest of the whole proletarian class comes first; and thus of the whole coming humanity; and yet others who recognize all the lower and more shallow, and feel the urge to let it take over, yet force it to subject to the demands of the bigger whole? There is still love and idealism in the world, sacred self-respect, moral pride! And does not love demonstrate itself in such way that -to save others from immeasurable need- we burden ourselves with need and death? Isn't it essential to be human that one dedicates oneself to the noblest they can think, the best they can want, the purest they can feel? And in dedicating oneself to this, they break the ever depressing circumstances; in their struggle they urge the world to rise with them! How else could the ideals of christianity and socialism ever even be approximated when the people would always be unfaithful at the crucial moment? Since forever, there were those who refused to sacrifice even the grain of incense to the bust of the caesar. They have improved the world. But not those who bowed in fear meekly, or blinded by desire, and entered the service of the worldly powers. And therefore, fellow socialist, fellow christian, if there burns even an ember in you of the holy fire, do not kneel for Mars and Mammon. Don't bow even in the harshest of circumstances. Do what you can to rise above those circumstances! Oh if you fight so hard for the new dawn of man that you can see just before you, that already lives within you, if you are so perfectly human, and fight for the freedom of the peoples, then you will radiate the redemptive realization that the source of freedom is within us. Socialism is not found in a red coat, not in a dress that one wears today and takes off tomorrow. You cannot simply betray your christianity when it matters. If it is true that this war is a business war, then no good socialist can participate. If the German is right, who said that war is only possible for a christian when a moral moratorium is declared, then christians should ban war -and not their christianity-, even if that costs them their life. Why choose to sacrifice your existence for the fatherland rather than for the Father who is a Sun to all the fatherlands, and a mild rain?

The real social struggle is not the spun-out skirmishes for immediate little gains here or acting

patiently hoping for eternal bliss there, but to be inspired by universal love, and daring to loose if so be; not in searching happiness for oneself, but finding happiness in the realization of the principle of comradery itself. It is a struggle that blooms from the inside out. From the abundance of life: one cannot contain one's own fire and enthousiasm: one simply has to! Like a tree can't contain its life inside in spring, but bursts out in buttons, leafs, flowers; and like the flowers that will offer their hearts to the sun and become fruits, - that is how truly social deeds spring from very deep, strong, indestructable persuasion, from love, that source of propulsion. Knowing is not enough. Knowing only increases the fear of the greedy. Love alone increases courage. Oh, only then would the bloodstain of the green cloth of the world be cleaned, if the peoples -out of a burning passion for the Highest- sacrifice themselves for self-discipline. Need and fear perish before love and courage. Desire bows before self-discipline. Don't give in to animalistic fears and subhuman urges. Before anything else : control yourself. How will you liberate others if you are still slaves yourselves? What would you accomplish? A people has the government it deserves. A slave people will sigh under tyrants despite christian phrases or socialist slogans. Those who are dominated by urges and desires destroy themselves even quicker under the best circumstances. Nothing more dangerous than freedom for the debauched. A new world will only be born from new people.

Because we all know all that very well, we are moved deeply by the actions of Liebknecht and Adler. Yes, Adler too. There is in his defensive speech, his whole demeanor, such a strong revelation of an honorable disposition that every moral human must honor this man. His action was -according to us- not the best possible. But how much better was it than the action of the millions of Austrian catholics, who abhor war unless they realize that it is a lawful holy war; who understand perfectly well that it cannot and should not continue this way and still can't break free; than the pious babbling and praying of the pope; the phraseology of the World League of Churches and the 'study' of the Anti-War Council. His morals even resisted a murder attempt. He evaluated everything and then made himself available in the service of justice as a reasonable, moral being while he was well aware that it would be life against life. And yet even in the end he testified before his judges:

“Following my convictions the killing of a human being is a non-human, an inhumane act; but I knew that all around me, barbarism vanquished and the people were forced to kill eachother. The war is, according to me, un-human, just like the revolution because that also implies bloodshed. But premeditated murder is even more abhorrent than that. It is our moral duty to -according to the words of Marx- give birth to a new society, whose only purpose is labor and peace.”

“A double moral tears the world apart today. One is revealed by the beautiful teaching of Christ: 'Thou shalt not kill!' It is the teaching of the true representatives of Christianity, not of those who dishonor Christianity; it is the teaching of Tolstoy”...

It is a violation of both christianity and socialism to shoot eachother for miserable ends. Therefore we are grateful for the actions of French, English, German, Austrian, Russian, American refractory: everywhere around, there are those who remained faithful to the end! Their hearts radiated like stars of bravery and courage! Their light permeated the walls of the dungeons, far beyond petty borders and sombre trenches. Proponents of the deepest revolution, christianity, that renews the whole person and thus the whole life, demonstrated their inner freedom. Social-democrats and anarchists here and abroad remained focussed with their whole lives on the world-encompassing goal. And now it awakes everywhere. In Russia awesomely. But also in Austria-Hungary, in Germany, in France, in England, even in America. People are disgusted with the blood-craft. People demand peace. Something of a new spring finally spreads over the world. People want to revolutionize the political-economic life; turn the slavery of peoples into the freedom of peoples.

In The Netherlands too the revolutionary spirit grows. But let us not be shallow in our judgement. Is

it often really much more than reacting to the immediate, ultimate need? A revolution can't be a stomach and gut reaction. The need grows immeasurably. But when the hunger of the people is satisfied, will it crawl back to its slums and alleys, ducking back into its shacks and huts? When the guts are satisfied, - what will be left of the unrest?

The suffering of the international proletariat has grown to the extreme. It bleeds from a myriad of wounds. It is exhausted. Even in The Netherlands that kept itself out of the actual war, the people groan. The national unity slowly falls apart globally. Here too there is a rough rupture. And it's sharp.

We deem that honest fracture to be infinitely better than the great lie of 'national unity' to continue, the war to rage, the women to starve and the children to die of misery allover the world: one giant bloody sacrifice without higher purpose. But now is the time to infuse the revolution with a new, pure persuasion. The strikes are spreading both abroad and domestically. Out of fear and despair surely, but also out of moral dismay, horror about the enormous human slaughter, deep inner hate against the capitalist regime. That is good! For the love of God, please let it surpass the simple begging for 5 cents per hour pay raise -even if the raise is a life necessity-, not just for a bite to eat or some happiness for oneself and their close ones, for one's own class or group; STRIKE BECAUSE YOU WILL NO LONGER TOLERATE THE VIOLATION OF YOUR PERSONALITY, NOR THE PERSONALITY OF YOUR SISTERS AND BROTHERS: BECAUSE DE PRINCIPLES OF HUMANITY AND OF THE DIVINITY ARE RIDICULOUS, AND BECAUSE YOU WILL NOT TAKE IT ANY LONGER.

That is how the strike becomes big and good. The proletariat, that has no other choice but to rent out its labor force, that lives in the daily drudge of slavery of Mars and Mammon, demonstrates -in the pricipled strike that awakens something of its inner strength in all the countries-, its coming freedom. It extracts one's personality from the despiccable service to capital for one, three, ten or twenty days. It is prepared to suffer damage for it. It's even prepared to lose for the time being. It's even prepared -in its most noble form- to go down fighting if needs be. Rather dying free than living miserably.

And maybe this way
Losing out after a short feast of freedom,
we perpare for comrades far away a victory
that doesn't fade...

The proletariat jumps into action, struggling for self-liberation. But how can it win? The whole machinery stands still if your mighty will tells it to. In all times there were some big, strong, gigantic slaves, physically amazing but mentally weak. But there have also always been those who seemed weak but proved to be so strong that they were able to rip apart their era by the sheer impact of their personality, and spread new joy over the whole of the earth. It is mental strength that we need, and want to awaken in the soul of the proletariat, in the heart of every person of good intent. And that is why we call for a principled strike.

First of all for a DURABLE, LASTING, PERMANENT STRIKE. Produce no weapons of destruction. Refuse to work in the gin distilleries; in factories where toxic surrogates are produced. Refuse to typeset crude language and lies -because the poison of the mind is the worst poison of all. Make yourself available for truly useful labor at the service of the community, rather dying in misery than to save one's miserable existence at the expense of the physical and mental well-being of one's fellow humans. Refuse to cheat and lie. Break free by any means possible from the moral damnation in which the unscrupulous profiteers want to capture you. And honor them and yourself

as personalities by cursing with your actions all the disgraceful work they try to make you do. -If -in spite of yourself- you already do such labor, don't you believe that you are a prisoner of fate. Break out, if you can, of the mental chains. Know that there are those who already wrestled themselves free, and who depend on you. And that every new man or woman who joins them -freed from that very deepest of humiliating slavery- makes them even stronger and more free – and they you; and that the greatest revolutionizing strength emanates on the world from a group of people who are personalities and prove that they are through their lives. - Down with the war service! And therefore refuse to fabricate ammunition, build battle ships, cruisers, torpedo hunters, mines, howitzers, cannons, machine guns, guns, granades, sabres, bajonets, military clothing, etc. Every bomb that you forge drives peace further away from your children and your children's children. Every sword you sharpen is an attack on your consciousness. Again: it's the capitalists who make the war; but it's the proletarians who make the war possible. And vise versa: without the proletariat, the ruling class is impotent in the war.

Don't be a tool in the war labor either. Be aware that the owners of your country can't unleash a war -even if they control all the tools of destruction you can think of- when the people doesn't want to fight. In the Netherlands, there are as yet more than 300 permanent military strikers. That's not much but still more than many would think. Because their action radiates on all barracks and camps; it is debated in parliament and in government; it is pondered upon by the queen; it awakens the consciousness of hundreds of soldiers. We know that there are many already who will never agree again to be weaponized against the 'domestic enemy'; and no fewer walk around with the outspoken plan to refuse if they ever face the 'domestic enemy'. The movement rises more and more. In the end it will be unstoppable.

There are workers in the ammunition factories -in the Netherlands as well- who curse and despise their own work. They lack the strength to break free from it because of their wife, their child, their old mother. And their own gasping lives demand maintenance too. But although forced by need, still they don't accept their work as inescapable fate. Although driven by fear, sometimes a ray of courage sparkles. In fact it means something -and sometimes a lot- if -here or abroad- men and women in the ammunition factories down their tools for a certain time. It's the first yank on the chain; a first flexing of the muscles: in the end their shackles will break and they will no longer serve the despicable forced work with their labor -following the example of that manufacturer here who refused to lend his factory to the government for the production of ammunition. For more and more people, the moment will come for them to refuse their hellish task because they have so much other, better things to do: good work, and so they sacrifice themselves for the salvation of the world.

In the permanent strike of the ammunition makers and soldiers we foremost honor the act of the independent personalities who know what they want to live and die for. But that act is a personal, life representing act that arouses others; it has the ability to inspire because we are all innately dispositioned for personality and we are all called to prove our mental independence amidst the hardships of life. That is why it resonates in the hearts of the mass, in the barracks and beyond. The ever growing permanent military strike needs to be supported by TEMPORARY STRIKES in so-called civilian life, ever growing in size, ever more interconnected to become MASSIVE, and become in crucial moments, A GENERAL STRIKE. Just like the refusal of military service we must understand the civilian strike not as a fight against the own employer for immediate gain, but as a struggle against all the employers of the world as far as Asia Minor, Japan, Australia, the Cape colonies, and for a dignified existence of all human life all over the world; not against the own government alone, but against all the capitalist governments together; a fight for all the workers and all the peoples and thus for the own people too; a fight for both friends and foes, even for the own oppressors and rulers, their children and children's children, the whole human kind; a fight for liberation of the world.

From the viewpoint of the christian-socialist, only the principled strike is permissible. But the smallest of strikes can be principled, and the biggest can be unprincipled. Everything depends on the motivation. For a conscious, moral human, the smallest struggle for more wages stems from a deep, principled conflict, or rather: that's what it results in. It is our first task to bring this forward even in the smallest of strikes. This too must be part of the world's struggle for a new, dignified life. Moreover it's possible that a big and strong popular action is born from a seemingly irrelevant cause (when even just a few workers refuse to accept all too humiliating conditions based on a moral pride).

But in the second place, precisely christian workers -along with whatever socialist proletarians- are obliged -MEANS OF TARGETED MASSIVE AND GENERAL STRIKES ON CRITICAL MOMENTS- TO PREVENT THEIR GOVERNMENTS OF COMMITTING CRIMES. Especially those who don't feel strong enough yet to refuse military service permanently, to break free from the ammunition factories and other workshops of war -and the country is full of them at the moment- will find a possibility here to prove that their soul is not completely addicted; that their imprisoned comrades don't hope for this great event in vain: that the people finally shall get in motion. -If the soldiers in the Netherlands would strike in their thousands and thousands -even just one single day- to protest against the malnourishment of the mass, it would be forever documented in the history books of the country. Soldiers! who cannot yet break completely with militarism, who can still tolerate wearing your humiliating suits, strengthen your inner selves and prepare yourselves - at least resist the business of the imperialist government and join the workers to resist alongside thousands and tens of thousands. WITH A TARGETED STRIKE WE DISMANTLE THE SYSTEM OF VIOLENCE UNDER WHICH HUMANITY SUFFERS. Workers! it is NOT to your shame that you sometimes strike. But it is to your shame that you keep doing evil work. Or if you do good work, that your labor is misused to make profits for the owners, to the detriment of humanity. Need, desire and fear have forced you to this. May love give you the self-discipline and courage to withdraw yourselves at least temporarily. And motivate in clearly outspoken manifestos the reasons for your action so that the ruling class may understand what offense it gives you -and therefore in the end to itself too. No-one has the right to force another into labor. The capitalist class forces you into even the most despicable of labor. No-one has the right to force another into killing. The government trains you like bloodhounds; those in power can order you at any given moment to burn, destroy, plunder and murder. The state, that instrument of the ruling class, forces christians and socialists 'if necessary' -and the secret diplomacy, that works for the crude business interests, decides about 'necessity'- to betray their international principles, and to kill brothers and sisters beyond the state borders. Every day, every second, the people is subjected to violence and horror.

Even forced to work, the workers are denied the necessary food. “No-one will go hungry in the Netherlands”, said minister Treub. But his colleague Posthuma seems to have understood 'in Germany'; that is to say: not in the German trenches and not among the German bourgeoisie. And certainly not among the Dutch bourgeoisie. That is: among the war profiteers and other owners. National unity for the militia, class contradiction in the distribution!

But how could so much be exported to Germany? Who loaded it on ships and trains? Who smuggled it over the border? That big, strong but soulless slave: the Dutch proletariat that -shortsighted- begs for a bit of pay. Even the N.V.V. And SDAP [14] lost sight on the main goal more and more in this crucial juncture in world history, now that imperialism tries to strengthen itself through war more than ever before. They postponed the the struggle for socialism until 'after the peace' – that is: until the day when the world's bourgeoisie has stabilized its relative balance of strength and has recalibrated their system of violence including the fundamental economic relations

14 christian and socialdemocratic political parties in the Netherlands

and technical demands. Again and again they demand: “No export of necessary means of living for the people!” And that is good: it is a pure, internationalist demand. Every people speaks like this to its own government, and urges it to provide its own people first of all with the available supplies, and to exchange the surplus against goods that are lacking, but are abundantly produced by peoples outside of the country where they need our surplus production in turn. If this happens everywhere, then the international shortage is over. But if there is a government somewhere in the world that does not fulfil its duty -and show me one government that does?- because of the profiteering of the owners, because of the inevitabilities of war (and those two things are essentially the same-) or for whatever other reason, THEN LET THE PEOPLE STOP THEIR labor. If the haulers refuse, if the rail workers refuse, then the government is impotent. It shouldn't be necessary that people like signalman Alders to turn the signals to 'unsafe' when trains with troops move towards Amsterdam: because there should be no train driver and no stoker in the Netherlands is to be found who will move the troops -and least of all to the capital, the heart of the country, where they will unleash them like Cossacks upon the hungry people. All the signals must be on 'unsafe', and all of the wagons should be empty, all the locomotives should stand idle when the export policy of the ruling class proves to be an onslaught on the welfare of the people.[15]

Without any doubt, misery will drive workers into the arms of the ruling class, as long as they prove to be unable to carry and lead the economic process. But precisely in the permanent struggle, not with the weapons of the barbarians but with the moral sword -with ever growing KNOWLEDGE that is power, with the strength of WILL that becomes stronger and stronger through exercise, like muscles- grows the self-discipline and organisation, dedication and solidarity, those virtues that we need more than ever today. The economic conditions allow for socialism. People! if among you there was less sloth! Don't let yourselves be forced into capitalism, militarism and imperialism.

The big Demonstrative Congres last February 17th in Amsterdam made it grippingly clear how far it's come in the Netherlands. It protested against the ongoing nationalization of the people; against the starvation of the mass; de disgraceful treatment of unemployed; the looming civilian service.

All of us know how the army is expanding; how hundreds of millions are spent to modernize the war equipment. How new fleet are being planned and developed, and how the arming of the Dutch Indies has started. Instead of finally breaking out of the hellish game with godly gravity, with human sense of responsibility; instead of pointing the nations in the direction of liberation by giving the example that all the peoples only have to follow in order to flourish in natural and mental regard as well as do well for others; the small Dutch state howls with the big wolves of the world as loud as it can. In doing so it carries the responsibility for all the present and coming wars: it already prepares the next war. This country -according to many of 'God's chosen ones'- behaves as if it answered the call of Satan. (And that is what it does, as the God of the Netherlands is Mammon; and his unholy Son -whose name is Mars- is worshipped as Immanuël, praise God-on-our-side.) “Well plotted and carefully prepared for mass murder on foreigners and compatriots for the perpetuation and expansion of capitalism, whether offensively or defensively” - that is how the realistically depicted militarism the first Congress resolution fills the spirit of the Netherlands more and more. That is why they who remained faithful to their internationalist stance -by the strength of their faith or their socialist conviction- and who still fight for brotherhood, solidarity and world peace, who are prosecuted by the military hierarchy in all kinds of ways, who are being insulted,

15 People may remark that the train personnel is not allowed to strike: it would be found guilty of breaking contract. But when the rail personnel strikes on principle, then it starts in fact to correct the injustice of subjugating itself to this wrong, humiliating condition. 1st it is always unreasonable when those in power extort promises from those without power, by threatening them with hunger; 2nd haven't the railroad workers not been able to foresee the consequences of all this, especially in the context of the war. As reasonable, responsible, moral creatures they are, according to us, even obliged to break their bonds as soon as possible, and every responsible worker should try to stay away from a servitude in which this kind of inhumane conditions are imposed.

imprisoned, banished. When De Jong declared clearly -in his preachings and lectures end of August 1914 in Eindhoven- that it was his holy conviction that christianity and war are irreconcilable, and had agitated his public -completely in line with his task as a preacher- to live according to their conviction, he was expelled from the territory of the 3rd division. When I -along with several allies and like-minded comrades- resisted the growing war spirit ever more strongly, and preached a simple truth before several communes of Noord-Brabant around Pentecost 1915 (that the Spirit of Pentecost is at odds with the raging war beast, and christian freedom is at odds with cadaver discipline), I was ousted from my commune and banished for years from the provinces of Limburg, Noord-Brabant and Zeeland. When a Manifesto was published in September 1915 in which humanists of different tendencies condemned the war from the depths of their hearts, and urgeded to be faithful to one's consciousness and to the noblest human laws, several of the subscribers were prosecuted for sedition. All of them who worked for the state were fired when they didn't back down under threat. And the government didn't hesitate to urge private employers to follow this example and do the same. In Christian schools, warning against the international war fever proved impermissible. The teachers were not allowed -neither in their free time nor in their public function- to fulfil their social duties according to their own moral convictions. And when young people carried so much idealism and fervor that they went against public opinion and the immense force of almost the whole world, and refused to serve as cogs in the war machine, they were imprisoned. While the government lures “volunteers” to India with misleading posters and promisses of financial rewards; even promotes the army and the navy with music concerts, army days and cosy gatherings (where comedians and even retired generals parade around), the government of the land of freedom of consciousness violated systematically the freedom of speech of people who acted against the madness of the world with the strength of their convictions and spoke out against it with lots of rational, sober arguments to call for actions in harmony with that consciousness. Van Wijhe was banished again from Gelderland and Overijssel because his 'propaganda in the spirit of the S.D.P.' and so was I as well, acting on behalf of the B.v.C.S. [Union of Christian Socialists]; Coenders, Schoel and Jansen were banned from Arnhem for the dissimination of an antimilitarist pamphlet; Wijnkoop, chairman of the R.S.C. [Revolutionary Socialist Committee (against the War and its Consequences)][16] in Overijssel was banned without even a semblance of a reason. The same government that implements proportional representation and forces the people to the ballots, makes it impossible for candidates of revolutionary socialist conviction to come into contact with the people. The same government that allows for freedom of consciousness when it comes to the oath, suppresses the freedom of consciousness when it comes to militarism, and systematically fosters spinelessness, not just with the postmen, but even with the teachers of our youths. The goal -the Dutch state- justifies all means. And the teachers in the Netherlands are already so degenerate that they let this pass. Always preoccupied with the struggle for pay raises, the big majority of them never think of stopping their despicable service once and for all, as one man, until that humiliating censorship is lifted. And the preachers are not really concerned with the fact that the generals exercise discipline over the teachings of the church. Most of them keep their mouths shut very solemnly, or... openly endorse the violence of the government. And the people allows all that to be done to it: partly in a nationalist daze, partly lulled by the leaders of the S.D.A.P. and the clergy of the 'Alone-beatific' Church. Strike, workers! craftsmen and teachers, strike! and you, preachers, forever incite from your pulpits to stop any service of hell anywhere the personality is harmed.

THE GENERAL MOBILIZATION LOOMS. Because -as it was strikingly formulated in the second resolution of the Demonstrative Congress- “the insane war for world domination amongst the different national groups of big industrialists, colonial capitalists and imperialists can only be waged

16 Tr. Note: R. S. C. or 'Revolutionair Socialistisch Comité (tegen de Oorlog en zijn Gevolgen', grown out of the 'Agitatiecomité der Samenwerkende Arbeidersvereenigingen' (Agitation Comittee of Collaborating Workers unions), later 'LRSC' or 'Landelijk Revolutionair -Socialistisch Comité' (National Revolutionary-Socialist Comittee): a 'left unity front' anti-militarist platform that included some anarchists; Wijnkoop was the leader of the communists around the time of the First World War.

if the military as well as the civilian part of the populace is completely subjected and enslaved by the imperialist project.” The country is transformed into one giant garrison. The last sparkle of civil liberties will be destroyed, the war will be more likely than ever, yes even probable. Workers! they are especially after you and your wives and children. Through the civilian draft men, women and children will fall under the military command. Don't tolerate it. Cling to your right to self-realization and life.

And while they enforce so much on the people and want to enforce even more, while they steal its rights and freedoms, they won't even feed it adequately. There is no doubt -as the third resolution says- “that the scarce life essentials as well as the driving up of prices could be prevented if major measures had been taken and the government had not chosen the interests of the imperialist capital over the interests of the big mass of exploited and the economically downtrodden class of the proletariat;
that the government neglected to take those measures -by a criminal negligence according to the declarations of specialists- to stimulate the production of life necessities (grains, potatoes, vegetables, beans, cheese, milk, eggs, meat, fish, etc), while at the same time facilitating a policy of export, so that high prices and scarcity brought our countrymen to the brink of famine and increasing misery, weakening, disease and early death; while this social disaster in the proletarian class coincides with an astounding accumulation of war profits by ruthless profiteering farmers, industrialist, trade capitalists and other speculators;
that this government policy has not only pushed the misery to unbearable hights, but also promoted the imperialism of warring countries and increased the war danger for our country.”

If the government was serious with its slogans, then why hasn't it -as would fit its modus operandi- confiscated stocks and distributed them according to the needs of all, especially the mothers, children, ill, aging, weak and those who do heavy labor? Then at least there would actually be some 'national unity'! The war profiteers live in wealth and disgusting opulence. The 'national wealth' is big. But for the people nearly everything is too expensive. Squandering on the one side, and on the other hand greedy accumulation of stocks value. And all that enforced in the name of the Law, in the name of Justice, in the name of God, in the name of Jesus Christ. People! you cannot allow all this to be done to you. You cannot do this to yourself. A people in uniform is its own tyrant. You are not only continuously being offended in your humanity, you hurt and humiliate yourselves too in every possible way; you insult the ruling class in Spirit by obeying its insane commands and by executing its most foolish, ego-centered decrees. Stop working for such a society. Pledge on your life to create a new society. You'll die anyway. See to it that you live and die for a good cause. So that your children and children's children no longer moan -desperately in the end- under this world's misery. Strike, and defend your wife and child against YOUR domestic enemy; yes, protect this enemy against his own criminality. Strike, so that the ruling class understand better than ever, how its whole existence depends on you, who empties its sewers and takes care of its bathrooms and hunting lodges, who builds its houses and sows its grain, who makes its clothes and luxury articles. So that it finally learns to respect your labor, and to be digusted by its own heartless violence.

Strike! so that others may work, or at least live. Tell the rulers by your actions: “We don't want to work for a class that threw our comrades on the cold streets as if they were dead tools when it could no longer 'use' them for their margins and profits. We demand -and we will not work for you if you don't comply- that you honour the human being in the workingman and the sacrifice in labor that you yourselves say is 'noble'. Productive work for the unemployed; at least full wage payment for the unemployed!” - Because the capitalist system inherently makes so many unemployed, that hundreds of families are now threatened by total demise; that same system that, right now, ensures that the wealth of the owners accumulates billions and billions.

Strike! mainly for the abolishing of the war plans: demobilization of the 'wehrmacht'. That is how you actively support the struggle of the anti-militarists in all the countries.

Never lose sight of your Ideal.

Tie your wage struggle to your class struggle, and your class struggle to your struggle for rights, and your struggle for rights to your struggle for a new humanity, and that struggle to the one for the Kingdom of God. Make everything subordinate to the Highest Of All. Most of all STRIKE INTERNALLY: abandon the service of mammon; wage an uncompromising battle against the fear and the desire that you recognize now in the war of blood and fire, magnified without end, raging outside of you allover the world. Did you know that this is how you were? That this potential is within you?

Christian workers especially, awaken! You dressed yourselves in the most beautiful of flags. But you turned it into a mockery. Do you want to be a kingdom, priestly, sacred people of workers, whose daily lives are lived in the service of God, then break with Mars and Mammon. Make exploitation impossible by your loyalty to the holiest of principles. Stop confusing worldly power with godly authority; dated and backward with eternal; slavish with christian; the principle of the Roman Empire with that of the Kingdom of God. Arm your members with the weapons of justice. Fight the good fight. Christianity is: standing up for freedom, - not the piety of lackeys.

Christian soldiers! it should be impossible to call you what I just called you. But now that you have made it so, will you now make it impossible again? I know that many among you recognize that what they do with their lives, and what they allow to happen for years, is not good. If you feel the ability to act within you, can you allow yourselves to be held back by hardships and griefs that will certainly be your fate if you remain faithful to the *militia Christi,* and withdraw yourselves from the military service to Mars? The world awaits your action – every day and every morning.

And never forget that we have A VERY POSITIVE TASK to fulfill. That we say “no” because we gave our word in a holy “yes” to a new, dignified world. Christians, stand up! and go to war -not just against a society whose fundamental principle is in conflict with the scripture- but for a new society in which one person honours the others like brothers; in which one people greets the others in admiration as a revelation of Spirit; where the economic process is centered around profits for the few to the mental detriment of all, and to the physical detriment of the proletariat, but is focused on providing in everybody's needs. Finally understand that your religion is the deepest, richest source of indestructible revolutionary energy. Mozes was a revolutionary, Jesus Christ, Saint Paul – in fact all the greats of all ages.

Orthodox and unorthodox soldiers and workers – STRIKE!

Orthodox people because the Book of Christianity doesn't allow for all this; not one moment longer. You know: that book you honour like the word of God's Son:

“You wil love the Lord your God with all of your heart, all of your soul and all of your reason. This is the biggest and first commandment. And the second -of equal importance- says: You will love your fellow human as you love yourself.”

Unorthodox people because the Spirit of Christianity does not allow for all this. Show in your actions that you are serious:

“The Lord now is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there freedom is.”

3. Exerpt from 'War or revolution, speech before the IAMV congress in Den Haag', 1920.

Will the people tolerate all this? Or - will it resist?

Will the revolutionaries be prepared?

It's unexcusable this time to be too late. This war was predicted when the last was at its peak. Even earlier!

We turn to our comrades here and in India; in Germany and Austria; in England; in America; in China, Japan and Mexico; in all countries of the world and call upon them

AT THIS MOMENT

to engage in a fierce battle against the threatening world fate!

We need a world action to **prevent** this demise of all civilisation and culture, and the downfall of the whole human race. England, America, Mexico, China, Japan, India in war means world hunger.

We need every person of good intention to **sabotage** their government in any way possible; and **obstruct** the current social system of which the consequences are hellish and satanic to no end.

We need the workers to **control** the ruling class completely. They know what goes on in the factories; what is transported on rails and in boats; etc. Everyone should **expose** -wherever possible- the war plans and the policies for violence of their government.

We need a revolutionary anti-militarism. We must **absolutely refuse** even now to produce ammunition, weapons and all that is in connection with them; even the transport.[17] We must prepare nationally and internationally for the partial and general **strikes**; for massive **refusal of military service**.

We should to counter the imperialist coercion and manipulation of the rulers with an ever stronger, never ending struggle for a free, communist society.

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17 [Note n° 21 in the original; 19 and 20 seem to be missing in the original]
The dutch are already involved in the new world conflicts. They should be aware of their responsibility through their labour! As a consequence of the complexity of modern life every act becomes a **world act**, for the good or for the bad. See what one could read on last thursday August in the evening in 'Het Nieuws van den Dag' ('News of the day'):

> "**Not for Poland, but for Mexico:** the 'Voorwaarrts' in Rotterdam, important from Hamburg on the German steamliner 'Alster'. The ship moored in the Park port opposite the warehouses of Van Es & Co on the terrain of Wm. Müller & Co. When the cargo was unloaded there turned out to be 300 boxes on board who appeared similar to the cargo of the steamer 'Bernisse' last week."

The director of the Central Union Junius and an editor of the 'Voorwaarts' have visited the storage facilities and observed that the boxes that were just now delivered were of the same type and size as the other 100 boxes that are still standing in another part of the warehouse. The last unloaded boxes are also made of wood and reinforced with iron. Some of the 'Alster's crew testified that the seamen -as soon as they noticed in Hamburg that their ship was loaded with boxes with guns, they refused to sail with this cargo. Then the shipping company, the Maatschappij Kersten in Hamburg, interfered and brought in the customs officers who declared -as did the other port authorities- that the weapons could be transported because they were destined for Mexico. The seamen then decided they no longer had a reason to refuse transporting the boxes because of that official statement.
Reader! what do you think about that?

Up until this moment we only spoke of a **possibility**. Probably the evolution of the world will be different. Today. Tomorrow. Beware; catch the fact. Combat the imperialism with sharp seeing eyes and flaming heart, everywhere, continuously, but especially in its most dangerous places and in its most perfidious moments.

Workers of all countries!

And you, who say you are animated by the spirit of christianity!

Fellow humans! whomever and wherever you are, if you are worthy of the title,-

understand what this time demands, its appeal to your whole humanity.

The danger is very real that what seems possible becomes **reality**.

See what **is** already realisty. The world offensive against Russia. Now nearly 3 years ago. Restless. How can you suffer it?

The world's revolutionary movement is still too weak.

But the imperialism is incredibly strong. In America; in Japan; in England even; in France; in the Netherlands especially.

Here the reaction reigns supreme. Here is one of the most powerful strongholds of the white world terror.

Suffer it no longer that the world is turned into an arena.

When the government calls you under the gun, don't answer the call. Prepare for the general refusal of military service by **personal refusal of military service**. Don't allow yourselves to be used against her domestic and her foreign 'enemy'. Render it impotent by the act of your comradely service!

Are you created by your father, born from your mother, brought into the world to become a thief and a killer, a tool of imperialism?

Don't you know what makes a human human? What is spirit? Universal awareness? Heart? Love? Freedom? Happiness?

Should all that disappear from the world?

Should all thhat remains be a beastly mess, because the humans have **submitted to the dictatorship of their evil ways of conduct?**

Only revolutionary action can save us. Only actions, aimed at pure internationalism, born from world solidarity.

But -so they say- England is big; Japan gigantic; America enormous. And us...?

Don't you know yet what could make a small country great?

Not the insane parotting of the vices and debauchery of powerful states. But by character and flaming common sense.

That's what can make a small country great:
cultural export;
export of ideas;
the revival of universal ideals;
the realization of visions and inexterminable dreams;
being an **enfant terrible**[18] out of a godly strength.
That is how even one person can be great. So that no government will harbour him except in one of their jails. His strength radiates through the iron doors and the stone walls.

Revolutionaries of every country! unite to break the world imperialism.[19]

Away with the war against Soviet Russia!

Away with every war which imperialism wants to torture the peoples with!

18 Horrible child. Child because of the purity of its morals; horrible because it speaks the truth (Jesus amongst the Pharisees)

19 Listen to the call of the International Federatiton Transport Workers ! Practice Rocker's words 'Down the weapons, down the hammers!" Follow the example of the american Industrial Workers of the World who refused the membership of the transport workers of Philadelphia any longer as members because they loaded ammunition for Wrangel ("Kommunismus" 1, n° 40 p. 1430).

4. The anti-militarists and their means of struggle (*1921)*[20]

The anti-militarists combat militarism because they consider it to be inhumane and demeaning. What makes a human humane is their personality; and precisely this human personality is incessently violated by militarism in all kinds of ways.
We are born self-centered. The little human animal is not much more than a sample of the human race. But as it grows up, it grows into a life alongside thinking, self-aware, acting creatures. From similar dispositions rises self-awareness: we learn that we are individuals among many others. 'I' isn't alfa and omega. Not even within the circle of the own existence. How small one's awareness of 'I' is, compared to the subconscious; how poor the brain turns out to be again and again, compared to intuitive or even instinctive wisdom: the humane itself envelops more than the individual 'I'; our own essence awakens an awareness of supra-individual order. And then: what I am, as a civilised, culturally developed human, I am in connection to everything else, not in the least with everyone else. Human is a historic creature. Being reasonable and moral, humanity struggles -through millions of families, billions of individuals- towards superceding the instinctive and animalistic. Being conscious of this, is awareness of personality; awareness of that is consciousness of of personality. Knowing that life is not just about the own urges and individual desires; recognizing that the individual just has to behave according to the general reason; finding outside of themselves but in themselves as well, a supreme life tendency. What makes human humane is that he **wants** to know all this, recognize all this, find all this; that he voluntary serves the highest recognized in civilisation and culture as a species and as an individual, or better formulated: lives from the deepest urge from it – civilisation: the ordering of the sub-individual within and around oneself; culture: the ordering of the individual and sub-individual in a humane-superhuman process of beauty, wisdom and goodness-. Being human is not being a wolf to the other; that one exploits and oppresses the other. Human is not: individual and group egoism. Humane is that the individual deliberately identifies with the highest tendency of it all and -living based on that- modulates its relations as best as possible; that the individual rises up as a universal personality.
The more it does so, the more it fathoms, understands and confirms in its actions that civilisation and culture revolve around reasonable collaboration, voluntary comradeship each of all, so that every specific individual can develop according to its inclinations and abilities as rich and diverse as possible; so that in the exchange of ultimate diversity the inexhaustible wonder of the one universal life reveals itself deliberately and free.
Those who say -with Marx and Tolstoy- that truly human history has barely started, are right. Only exceptionally, only in a few respects has the supreme principle of life -that of personality- revealed itself in human history. Even if it could be increasingly discerned, even if it increasingly interacted on the cultural history. It revealed itself through men and women in whom humanity recognized something of its own life purpose.
For many centuries the interaction between external circumstances and internal attitude of still animalistic human beings, growth and development of the free personality was allowed, first not at all and later only sporadically. Hundreds of centuries the ancestry remained sunk in almost animalistic life. Until -with agriculture and property, with the creation of classes and tiers, with the

20 Tr. Note: Source: 'Naar een vrije orde'. This text is a summary a 22 page chapter of the 98 page book with the same title (Den Haag, 1921). The other chapters are in large part prefigurations of his 'Battle Plan': Pacifism of the bourgeoisie, Red militarism, Violence and anarchy, A new spirit for the people, etc. I follow up with a short continuation of the summary, listing the other strategies and tactics that he mentions and explains. The list of tactics, target groups, etc in 'New forms of war and how to combat them' (1927) and 'The Conquest of Violence' follow roughly the same structure as well.
This just goes to show how the 'Battle Plan' wasn't something that was made up behind a desk on a rainy day. The practical means and strategies were an aspect of organizing that was constantly present in his life and work, and that developed over many years in dialogue with his comrades and cirncumstances. The many versions of his battle plans all vary to some degree, accentuating one element or another, building on experience.

creation of cities and states, mainly among the ruling classes- individuals started a one-dimensional and therefore in the end anti-cultural development. Individual, class and group egoism, selfishness of cities and nations raged. But because of, and despites, the thousand years of patriarchal, antique, feudal, bourgeois, imperialistic strife, ever higher life possiblities revealed themselves. Because of the constant expansion of the economic, political and cultural units, unwilling individuals and unruly, subordinate groups were more or less forced to practically consider the demands and interests of the greater whole. First in very small circles. Everything outside of this was met with indifference, animosity and as something alien. But the development continued without mercy. Social need, natural and mental requirements increasingly opened, widened the political-economic -and therefore the cultural scope- of those who suffered most and most intensely. Superficial contact with peoples evolved into structural and increasingly complex contact. Contradictions remained; horizontally between classes; vertically between states and peoples. But all powers and forces were under constant tension and in motion; borders were redrawn and lifted; the contradicting interests were generalized; the centripetal principles increasingly understood. And the assertiveness of individuals and groups devolved into self-centeredness and group egoism; turned into class and state selfishness that billions of people deemed to be the most self-evident matter on earth, for many dozens of centuries when -we've seen it- there came unrescindable personalities who, risen to the spheres of the spirit, represented the fundamental tendencies of the world's life. Through and despite a thousand wars, countless conflicts of individuals, of groups, of classes, and of all of them among eachother, these last centuries the world developed -with astonishing speed technically, economically, mentally, culturally- in the direction of free community that many already saw as their own and universal life's purpose. Now, after one-sided development of individualism among the ruling classes of the capitalist countries had enabled an extremely diversity of scientific, technical and economic possibilities; now the human understanding had practised millions of times, endlessly refined the esthetic and intellectual awareness while simultaneously -thanks to steam and electricity- the masses have learned to toil like never before and in increasingly larger social groups, we are alive at the awesome moment that the instinctual, classist, one-sided, selfish, group egoist action unequivocably proves to be objectively negative of the development of society and culture. Precisely in this time of individualistic chaos and imperialistic raging, everyone must in the end recognize, willing or not, that a reasonable and therefore freely ordered global human life is necessary and in everyone's interest.
Touched by the horrors and miseries of war times, we hear complaining because the world shows no sign of improvement - as if the complaints themselves were not living proof to the contrary. Unconsciously people internally experience the conflict between the new social, personal striving -the true reality- and the miraging existance, seemingly ruined forever, of the old, individualistic, classist life that multitudes recongize as practically and morally untennable. And the war, once considered to be a disaster that was irresistably unleashed upon the peoples by mysterious powers, is now understood in its political-economic causes and consequences. It is no longer wanted! While it used to be honored and worshipped as the highest-human in the idea of the divine hero, it is nowadays seen as sub-animalistic, and sees true heroism in mental resilience. Once seen as normal and as the pinacle of human activity, the murderous war is now seen as abnormal; and if not despised as life's lowest point, then reluctantly accepted at best as a 'necessary evil'.

Summarizing, the means of struggle of the anti-militarists are the following. First of all -this writing too is proof of it- **the awakening of insight**; restlessly exposing the nature of war and militarism; its economic, moral, biological and cultural downsides. The revelation of the background of war and militarism: the capitalist, imperialist mindset of money- and property owners, financiers, bankers, industrialists – most of all those who control the military capital- as well as the unworthy attitude of the proletarian mass that allows itself to be used even if war is finished whenever its will arises. The revelation of the fatal workings of the current social system that disperses human life into immoral rulers and spineless slaves.

The awakening of a new spirit was seen as an essential condition for the possibility of social rebirth by Marx, Bakunin, Keir Hardie, Landauer and all true revolutionaries in all ages. Inspired by Kropotkin and Guyau, Mrs. Kapteyn-Muyskens in the Netherlands demonstrated the necessity multiple times to create a new mental movement against the one of the war, one that grips war, conquers it and transforms it into itself. Only 'the revolution against all tendencies and urges that the war unleashed is able to create the conditions for a lasting peace'.

Out of all that flows the strife for **a completely different education**, like Ferrer and Domela Nieuwenhuis had propagated, and a general revision of schooling. Although the state and the church in the current society control almost all of the youth's education, it is not completely impossible to work in an anti-militarist direction by means of free school organisations. At humanitarian and other truly modern school institutions, not only the essentially anarchist Montessori-method will not just take biological experience and psychological insight into account, but will also apply this method in the service of a new, free spirit. If this doesn't happen, such institutions become truly despicable: corruptio optimi pessima[21]! Of course such schools will remain exceptions in this society.

Indeed **special propaganda among women**[22] -mothers of the new generation, the wives of men involved in the war most bloody- is especially necessary because they have generally remained culturally underdeveloped under capitalism.
By the way we should transform the one-sided battle of the sexes into the general-human struggle for a new society, like the revolutionary propagandists who focus especially on the proletarian women. It is for example an incorrect habit of some feminists to present women as one-dimensially pacifisst, or to suggest that their involvement in the 'democracy' will banish war and militarism from the world. On the contrary: in war time as well 'women turn into hyenas'; thousands of women have even presented their 'fulfilment of duty in the service of the country' as proof that they have matured enough for political life! Indeed woman under the current political-economic system *and* in war *and* increasingly in peace time fulfils such functions that governments -recognizing their 'merits' in this regard- have started to grant more and more active and passive rights to vote, etc. Woman has theoretically become social subject as well through capitalism. But she as well, just like man -unless she belongs to the leading political-economic powers or to the upcoming revolutionary forces- only count as object from an imperialistic point of view because of the militarization of the current social process. Even in the last world war not just man, but woman as well was responsible in principle for the international shredding. Behind the front the factories, the whole technical-economic apparatus, was mainly operated by women. Woman as well was 'in service'. And is increasingly so in the current social development.

Bart de Ligt continues in the same spirit with a range of strategies and methods:

- Awakening understanding
- Awakening a new spirit
- A completely different education (Ferrer, Domela Nieuwenhuis)
- Propaganda among women
- Action for freedom of conscience
- Appealing to action

21 Tr. Note: Latin for 'corruption of the best is the worst of all'.

22 Tr. Note: BdL was firmly convinced that the role of women and women's liberation was crucial for the revolution, as his book 'De wedergeboorte van Maria' [The Rebirth of Mary] (1926, Arnhem) that resulted from his lectures and courses at the 'Internationale School voor Wijsbegeerte' [International School for Philosophy] between 1919 and 1924. 'Women not only take their rightful place in society, but he describes the whole cultural process of humanity through feminine symbols', as M. v.d. Brink describes it.

- Personal refusal to serve
- Revolutionizing the spirit of the army
- Mass refusal to serve
- Intense propaganda against taking service in the voluntary corps, land storm, colonial armies, etc
- Refusal to pay taxes
- Sabotage
- Economic boycott
- General strike
- International propaganda

In 'New forms of war and how to combat them' (1927, 120 pages), that seems to follow the structure of a speech, he addresses:

- refusal of military service
- passive resistance
- sabotage
- breaking hypnosis
- mental resilience
- socialism and direct action
- church, university and school
- labour movement
- women
- cooperative
- successes of direct action
- revolution and war
- IAMB
- IAA (AIT-IWA)
- producing responsibly
- our mission
- Civil service?
- Collective mental illness
- Self-curing

In his introduction he writes: "It's easy enough to speak ill of the **mass**. Nevertheless it continues to exist and doesn't get any better from it […]. It is almost as easy to tell the masses what they want to hear, to flatter their prejudices or to passionately run after them pretending to lead them. It's more difficult to really control them and to lift them up to the best of one's ability. But it's still inferior. The mass is constituted by people. And people have a calling for personality.
According to the principles of the new pedagogy, all of which demand self-activity,
according to the conclusion of modern psychology that life is all about self-liberation,
according to the deepest motive of the most modern medicine,
we appeal to the peoples to **organize themselves effectively** for the actual battle for peace. By the will of the people who constitute it the mass is ever increasingly rising up to becoming a community of people who respect eachother, who irresistably drive the war out of this world through deliberate cooperation.
If you think this is bound to fail? Everything else surely fails. If we assume that neither method succeeds -neither that of politics nor that that of direct action. Then at least the anti-militarists have remained true to the best and the most beautiful. And will at least find comfort in the universal idea.
But is it so sure that it will fail?

It will be whatever it will be. But these days there are new and unknown possibilities that show themselves.
This book speaks about them.
BdL, Onex, Genève, April 17, 1927”

5. Positive revolution (1921)[23]

We don't say to the bourgeois pacifists: “Abandon your struggle for peace!” - but “Struggle consistently! Turn against the bourgeois society on the basis of your will for freedom; break with your government!”
We turn towards the social-democrats and say: “Morally overwhelm your smaller- and bigger-bourgeois leaders; break with **bourgeois**-democracy; paralyze the state; curse the League of Nations!”
We declare ourselves to be willing to turn against imperialism alongside the authoritarian communists and all honest revolutionaries; we want to relentlessly unmask it and expose its deception. We want to break the capitalist system. Just like them.
But as free communists we go further. It seems to us that the methods and ideas of the authoritarian communists are still too bourgeois. Most people don't understand the relation between means and ends well enough: the more pure the goal, the holier the means; or the means are alienated from the goal! The conduct of Lenin and his companions is of cultural-historic importance for the half-feudal Russia; of special inspirational value for the people in the west and even east if, especially under the force of unfavorable circumstances, their own coercion risks increasing entanglement with deplorable opportunism. But woe the world if the general struggle against imperialism deteriorates into military despotism because of an essentially anti-communist party terrorism. Surely the realization of socialism will go through phases of minority- and majority dictatorship. It is unimaginable that future revolutionary turmoil would occur without involving the use of violence. But that doesn't imply that the systematic propagation of practices of 'revolutionary' coercion and murder could be beneficial to the developing communist spirit. Thanks to the world war, a subhuman belief in violence arose. Many revolutionaries risk drowning in what Bernhard Boyneburg so well described as the despotism of the means.[24]
For them, in whom the conviction is strong that social revolution means renewal of the social foundation; that the deepest tendency of any revolution is towards moral and cultural rebirth, it is necessary to become aware of the gist of the treatise that H. N. Brailsford, one of the best scholars of the European mainland, wrote in the 'Daily Herald': the practice of war has removed all the safeguards of our nervous system, that make it difficult for a civilised person to wound or kill their fellow humans; military drill and numbing routine have taught all young men how easy killing is; as long as this generation is Europe's youth, the big questions will always be solved by violence – That is to say we are at risk of barbarization. What will be the end result of all this unless a strong counter-current is relentlessly active? War awakens and strengthens the spirit of war; the spirit of war awakens and reinforces the war. The development of war into the modern military system forces us -under penalty of moral and physic demise- to break through this fatal enchanted circle. Even now there have been self-labeled anarchists in multiple countries who support the necessity of a dictatorship. Arming the people is being propagated by many authoritarian communists, sometimes brutally so. This is especially pernicious in regions that are not nearly ready for a revolutionary crisis. Instead of doing everything possible to nurture a new spirit; instead of relating the propaganda to whatever pure feeling, reasonable thinking and higher ambition lives among the people as a whole, the cultivation of small clubs of tyrannical fanatics of violence; good elements are constantly pushed away, and so the possibility of the inner socialist development is impeded.

23 Tr. Note: Another intersting chapter in 'The anti-militarists and their methods of struggle' is this last chapter of the book, on 'positive revolution'. It accentuates that Bart de Ligt is a revolutionary of his day – and an anarchist revolutionary at that. He describes the role of anarchists in relation to other professed anti-militarists. And he warns that means and ends must be aligned.
Knowing allies from enemies is important to reach our goals or get side-tracked, and to formulate conditions for our networks.

24 Berhnard Boyneburg, 'Die Despotie der Mittel', I: 1918, II: 1920

-”But the majority of people is not ready for these ideas! And before you have results using propaganda, the crisis will already be upon us...”
Right. And yet it is the essence of life's development that everyone achieves their own purpose in the end. And even if they don't, they still should. That follows from the deepest tendency of the human being. Those who are deeply aware of this, bear great responsibility for the future. In 'State and Revolution' Lenin has acknowledged that the revolutionary movement that he dominates is nothing more than a transitional movement in the direction of a truly-communist society. In an exchange of ideas with proponents of principled refusal of service[25] he declared that he realized that war and socialism are essentially contradicting eachother. And anarchists, who still more or less defend the armed revolution, will still admit that Jos Giesen is right when he declares that all use of coercion and murder is at odds with their reasonable principles. Those who neither want to govern nor be governed must fight for the abolition of all coercion, all external authority, all physical and moral domination. That development must continue! And it can only do so if the people who are motivated by its tendency already open its future, right this moment. Completey in accord with even this, Mrs. Roland Holst writes near the end of 'The Means of Struggle for the social revolution”[26]:
“At the moment the progress of the proletariat seems to be mainly a matter of hightening awareness of its irreconcilable contradiction to the imperialist class and the growing realization of the necessity to win through direct mass action. But the era already beckons, in which this work will be largely accomplished and the progress will be able to choose a different path of rejecting the means of bloody, actual violence in favour of the moral-social path. In the first era the proletariat will mainly cleanse itself of its passivity, its dependence, its cowardice and slavishness; in the second (that has already started in Russia) of its wildness and limitlessness, its selfishness and rudeness. This progress as well needs pioneers. It will not be established by itself but through struggle. Struggle is simply one of the principles by which life achieves new goals again and again, and climbs higher and higher.”
This struggle will need to be waged by small minorities for the time being. They were always the ones to open new possiblities of life and culture for later majorities. To this day the truly humane has demonstrated itself only in a few people. Should they have smothered all of this within themselves because “the people” of their time didn't understand, and wanted it even less? Why not just ask the sun not to shine any more? What part of authoritarian communism was already possible when Marx started speakingt? And yet he continued; because he lived in a different idea than his era pushed him to; because he couldn't do otherwise by the force of his whole personality. And even if authoritarian communism realized itself across the whole world in a few years in the most perfect way imaginable -which is impossible-, would what the anarchists want not matter at all then historically? Just the opposite: their vision would then at last finally reveal itself. This is even more true now, at this moment and in a future in which authoritarian communism realizes itself very deficiently and imperfectly.
Jules Humbert-Droz -who used to be inspired by syndicalist and tolstoyan ideas, and pushed to his radical struggle against war not in the least by the example of the English conscientious objectors- has abandoned his convictions shortly after the world war and has since proven himself to be a staunch advocate of the Third International in 'Le Phare'. In 'Voies Nouvelles' of September 1919, he explains his shift of position. His discourse boils down to this: 'in this society it is simply impossible for the large majority of people to live according to their conscience and purest understanding. Humans are -as he now acknowledges- determined by economic life.
“This smothers the most commanding expressions of his conscience and suppresses the most noble urges of his heart.”
This determines his will and his actions. That is why he first wants the violent revolution so that it

25 Tr. Note: it's difficult to translate the Dutch word for 'Totaalweigeraar', literally 'Total Refuser'. Throughout my translation I use different translations for different contexts, but I'm aware it rarely sounds natural in translation.
26 Henriëtte Roland Holst, 'De strijdmiddelen der sociale revolutie'. A free Dutch version online: https://www.left-dis.nl/nl/RolandHolst_StrijdmiddelenDerSocialeRevolutie.pdf but it seems a highly politicized version by a lef-com project.

can liberate 'the Spirit' that is as yet shackeled by economic circumstances. For the time being the violence that Marx called 'the midwife of society' will be of eminent importance. But when the revolution has broken the old shackles, it will then again appeal to 'the Spirit' to build the new society.
And so he surrenders himself in good faith and without reservation to Moscow.
As if it was all so simple! As if the distinction between 'violence' and 'spirit' isn't false, and as if there wasn't a spirit of violence and a spirit of resistance! As if not just the spirit of a revolution determined its practice, and its spirit and practice determine its nature! As if not every human was not obliged to stay true -even against everything- to the best and most pure within himself as much as possible, knowing well that this determines the nature of the history that he lives and makes! As if the spirit should first not be taken too seriously -or even completely banned for 'practical' reasons- and later at command suddenly reappear !
The central idea of the discourse about 'The moral calling of communist parties' in the May 1 issue of the Austrian 'Kommunismus' seems a lot more consistent:
“And therefore the freedom can not just be the fruit, the result of revolutionary development, but there must be a moment in the development at which it becomes one of the driving forces: its meaning as driving force must increase constantly until the moment has come, in which it can take the lead of the humanized society, at which time the prehistory of humanity ends and its true history can begin.”
The more freedom -very different from licentiousness- someone has in any aspect at all, the more strongly he has to demonstrate it reasonably. Even to 'be ahead of his time' is still no reason to think that there would be no social progress possible at all unless all others would be converted to his own mental position. Seeing that the majority is not yet ready for his aims, or even has no clue about the meaning of his method of struggle, he still observes that history moves in the direction he desires, slowly but surely. He reinforces anything that supports the movement in that direction with enthousiasm. He is even enthousiastic about a violent revolution. But he wants more. And agitates without rest for more and more.
When A. Pannekoek writes that the task of (authoritarian) communism is to understand the forces and tendencies that stop the revolutionary movement in its tracks, and to show the masses the superior way forward, and to awaken the energies of the proletariat for the most ambitious goals by the sharpest struggle; when he considers it his task to 'push the revolution forward', he speaks in the spirit of what we mean. Our goals reach even further than his, that's all. If free communism is realized eventually in a 4th International -it will probably rather be in a 10th of 12th International- then Pannekoek aims no further than for a 3½nd International.
Whatever will be established, even if it's called Moscow, history goes on. Its dialectics demands that the unfolding revolution is in turn revolutionized. And the precursors of that revolution of the revolution are already born. At one time, Jules Humbert-Droz was one of them in certain ways. Because militarism, the violence of war that he resisted, and that is still accepted by many communists, will eventually be banished from a truly-free society completely. For the time being though Humbert-Droz is part of the conservatives: in the deepest sense of the word even part of the anti-revolutionaries: he doesn't want to limit the bourgeois, the pre-bourgeois, the animalistic and sub-animalistic practices of violence to himself, but wants its principle uniformly accepted as a generally accepted rule. If this came true, how much poorer the world would become! Tolstoy still living in Russia and abandoning his ideas for Gorki's canary[27] and dictatorship; or Kropotkin revoking his old ideas just before his death and simply accepting bolshevism. Imagine all the living people that this writing made us think of -even Pannekoek and Gorter- meekly obeying the commanding voice of Moscow. The future would be sealed; the world soon dead.

27 Tr. Note: BdL refers to the story of 'the noble righteous Russian people' that threw a businessman and his housekeeper out of the window. But they spared the canary: “The weak animal evoked pity while at the same time people were thrown out the window. Apparrantly there is still room for pity in the embittered hearts. But not for the people, because they don't deserve it.” BdL had already heard “the little story of a spared canary as proof of the noble nature of the murdering Russian people before the revolution!”

Whatever way a revolutionary may think about all this, in any case it is the task both of authoritarian communists and of anarchists who think that the use of violence cannot be completely avoided in the realization of their social revolution, to educate the masses as much as possible in a broad, clear, strong, mild spirit so that the transition to a better society is realized as humanely as possible. So let's make sure -as the National Committee[28] of the IAMV in the Netherlands states it- *"that the atmosphere, pregnant with our ideas through propagating them everywhere in united collaboration, we are aware that as the capitalist-militarist regime is more radically undermined in spirit and as the socialist-humanitarian spirit has rooted deeper and more broadly among the popular masses – the inevitable revolution will happen more deliberately, less bloody and will open a more beautiful future.*
All bloody conflicts between peoples, groups, individuals that need eachother for their own existance and therefore ***have to*** *find common ground, are founded on misunderstanding. Let's make sure that it's as small as possible. And if the armed revolutionary struggle proves to be unavoidable, even then the mental development of the worker will be the main factor for deciding which side to choose and therefore for the victory of the revolution."*[29]
The positive revolution must begin - the spiritual construction started- not after, but already during and even before the negative revolution. And as the old forms and ideas are broken more radically, the culture-creating labour must be carried out in every aspect of life in equal measures. And in equal measures the often (even by revolutionaries) despised, ridiculed and imprisoned 'non-violents' in these days will prove to be the moral energy and cultural enthousiasm in the glory of the peoples.
"The heralding communist revolution will be authoritarian... Must the eternally dissatisfied anarchists turn down this revolution because it is not 'their' revolution? The coming revolution is no-one's. And the ruling bourgeoisie could claim paternity with just as much right as syndicalism could... The results of the revolution will be the result of all the thoughts, all the movements that will have stirred individuals and masses into motion during the preceding evolutionary period. Because the anarchists have no final goals, there can be no talk of 'their' revolution. That is unthinkable. They take part in revolutions to point the individuals in the direction of ever more well-being, freedom, justice, beauty and goodness. Their place in the communist council organisations will be the same as currently in the syndicalist organisations. Communism shouldn't be a monastery, not a garrison, and it will be the task of the anarchists to make sure that personality[30] doesn't perish. As now, as ever, they will work on the development of education of personal dignity... Evolution and revolution are two inseparable movements... Not recognizing the one means the not recognizing of the other, which would be anti-anarchist."[31]

Katwijk aan Zee, December 1920-March 1921

28 Tr. Note: in Dutch: 'Landelijk Comité' or 'L. C.' for short.
29 Introduction 'Soldier's Almanak': 'Soldatenalmanak, 1921'.
30 Tr. Note: in Dutch 'persoonlijkheid', refers to not just a physical individual, but an autonomous mindset and individually developed character as wall.
31 V. Locquier in 'Le Libertaire', April 4, 1920. https://www.retronews.fr/journal/le-libertaire/04-apr-1920/1835/3535909/1

6. Revolution and evolution (1923)[32]

Source: 'De Vrije Samenleving', 1923 (in: 'Kerk, Cultuur en Samenleving', 1925)

“Revolution is a word with a fatal multitude of meanings. The workings of Christianity, the Lutherian Reformation, the steam machine, the discovery of America, the ideas of Copernicus, Kant, Marx and Lombroso as well as the violent acts of the Jacobins, the fighting on the barricades of 1848[33] and the Young Turks'[34] bloodless conquering of dominion - in short every meaningful change, violent of not, is labeled as a revolution.” That is what is written. And – there is much to say for it.

But is the concept of revolution 'fatal' or -like others say- 'unclear' because it includes anything and everything?

On the contrary! Unless one would understand 'fatal' as what is proper to every form of life, and 'unclear' as inevitably universal.

Everything flows; the world is an eternal flowing; everything changes, nothing stays. In these and similar maxims, the 'dark' Heraclitus of Ephesus[35] summarized the truth that everything that exists must perish in unforgettable ways 500 years BCE. It's all eternally changing. Bolland spoke about a consistent transcience. The poet Gorter sung on the beach at sunset:

“...like then
Just before heaven, before the vermillion,
A bird, a black beast flew, clear
Spread on tail and feather: equal to it
Each thing comes and each thing goes: and is beautiful
Because it is lonely.”

So the world is a caleidoscope: endless change of colours and shapes, proportions in a mysterious-random cohesion, strangely side by side, pointless?

No! **World process proves to be world progress**: because and despite the rhythm of birth-and-demise there is progress, growth. There is development and evolution in everything from separate and barely related to intimate, coherent diversity. Even the Bible already partly understood this: just look at the start of the book 'Genesis', of which the title means 'Becoming'. The old Greek thinkers Democritus, Anaxagoras, Aristoteles taught that humans were born from mud. According to Anaximander -that pre-Christian Darwin- mankind sprang forth from an animal kind; animals and people had come out of the water where they had once lived as fish. Opposite the vulgar teaching of descent, Drummond postulated correctly in the 18th century that ascent of man from the animal world. And Friedrich Nietzsche continued: “All creatures to this point created something superior to them. The More-than-human is the meaning of the earth. Mankind is a cord that is hung between animal and More-than-human, a cord over the abyss. What can be loved in humankind is that it is a

32 Source: 'De Vrije Samenleving', 1923, as published in 'Kerk, Cultuur en Samenleving', 1925
Although from a different source than the previous text, 'Revolution and Evolution' seems to follow up logically on the conclusions of 'Positive Revolution'.
In this 1925 article addresses the easy scarecrow of 'revolution' that is so often used to scare people into 'reformism' presented as 'evolution. He explains that this is a false dichotomy. People shouldn't be scared of 'revolution' and neither should anarchists refuse all 'evolution'.

33 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_Revolution_of_1848 , https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revolutions_of_1848 , https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/george-woodcock-1848-the-year-of-revolutions , https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/robert-graham-the-general-idea-of-proudhon-s-revolution , https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Translation:Confessions_of_a_Revolutionary , https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5518220d.texteImage , https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/pierre-joseph-proudhon-the-general-idea-of-the-revolution-in-the-19th-century

34 Tr. Note: it's unclear which group or events BdL refers to specifically here. Both the 'Young Ottomans' and their successors the 'Young Turks' used similar strategies towards similar goals in the same region: see for example https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Young_Ottomans

35 Tr. Note: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heraclitus

transition and a demise."
Life is an inexhaustible source of new possibilities in which all previous reality remains *pre-sub-posed*; in which it is more or less condensed and undone. The history of becoming of suns, planets and moons is a history of development. And on the restlessly changing earth rises -from the unconscious-elementary, life of plants, animals and people- unto consciousness, self-awareness and deliberate summarizing, control of nature, self-determination.
World history is history of development. The history of development is manily the history of humankind. The higher the life form, the more powerful the growth of mind, the more change, transformation, intervention, renewal, even past the point of recognition.
When we now live in an era of demise, transition, revolution, we first of all have to realize: this is nothing special in itself; this flows from the development of Everything. In order to clarify this once and for all, Elisée Reclus wrote his 'Evolution, revolution and the anarchist ideal'[36] He starts from the unlimited rhythm of the solar systems in endless space; of galaxies and star constellations that unite and fall apart; of our sun with its many planets; the earth where mountains rise and sink, oceans form and evaporate and plant, animal and human species develop. He demonstrates how all this whirls endlessly around itself. He concludes with a noble smile: "What do all these events that are called revolutions in politics mean, compared to this first fact of evolution and life in general, in the world of stars, the earth's crust? Almost imperceptible vibrations; we could say: ghosts. The revolutions succeed eachother by myriads in the general evolution."
All revolutions are connected to all evolutions by the tendency of the bigger whole. Evolution of new, more complex life forms -that of course claim all lower life forms for themselves- inevitably revolutionizes the old, longer existing or already decaying. The plant develops from the anorganic and is a revolution compared to it: it transforms earth, water, air and sun into itself; it lifts the elementary within itself, and overcomes gravity by erecting itself from the earth's surface. The animal is rotation and upheaval, revolution of the plant; human in turn of the animal -he who is the prime example of the revolutionary: nature-revolutionist. He intervenes everywhere; he re-creates; subdues the immediately present and resurrects the immediately desired: stone, wood, iron, glass, utensils, clothing, food, science and art- that is all nature, rotated and upheavaled by the human mind. If there were no revolution, there would be no upheaval. Without revolution, no development: without break and tearing no growth. But there is something -as the Dictionary of philosophical concepts recognizes- 'a physical and a mental, and a moral, social, linguistic, philosophical, religious development as well'. So then there will be a revolution in all of these respects again and again!
No word that is more foolish -even if one says it in Latin- than that nature wouldn't take leaps. The biologists may argue whether Hugo de Vries is right with his theory on whether the leap variation in the world of plants and animals is universally valid in man's world: it is normal in the development of the mind. Time and again in human histroy we see the revolutionary leaps on critical moments of one evolution or another. Time and again the times dawn of exceptional tension in which a fierce battle is waged between 'what was and what becomes'. During these times the old, the has become, tries to maintain itself against the new, the becoming that has to overcome the resistance in order to conquer its place, but can become even more powerful precisely because of this struggle. We find conflicts everywhere in history between the internal and the external, between new meaning and antiquated form, between rising life and suppressing conditions, between mind and nature. And increasingly the subjective conquers the objective: the clear awareness of the personal rises up from the unconscious nature. We could call the world a pyramid of subliminating wrestling.
First of all the life that is enclosed in plant seed weges a battle with a myriad of forces: it penetrates the soil, breaks the earth open, feeds on it; it wages a resteless war to maintain and develop itself. The flower bursts out of the bud to develop in the sun. The chick breaks the eggshell with youthful violence. The baby rips open its mother. All of this flows inevitably from the general self-development of life that organizes into examples of increasingly superior species that demonstrate

36 Tr. Note: https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/elisee-reclus-evolution-revolution-and-the-anarchist-ideal

increasingly individual quirks and rises to individuality in a constantly diversifying development.
- Does this evolution follow one straight line?
The branch doesn't grow in the same direction as the trunk, nor the twif in the direction of the branch: they break out sideways. Nicolas of Cusa once called lines the 'developments' of points. But in every point even of a straight line there's an endless amount of possibilities of other developments towards an endless amount of sides, while the amount of points in a line is also endless. The line of general life development falls and rises, diverts to the right or left, makes strange curves, turns, corners and even seems to stop here and there. A line? There in fact isn't a line. It's a fierce intertwining of countless powers and forces from whose common result form one main tendency. And this tendency pushes through only with difficulty: advances on a point, gets sidelined elsewhere or goes backwards. It's not a lazy and easy process, mechanically following the tracks on wheels or regular like a clock. The child is not the simple continuation of its parents; it's different, better in some respects and less in others. May it be generally better than its parents! “A master is rewarded poorly -it was again Nietzsche who said this- when his pupil remains an eternal pupil”. And understanding someone has been called 'mastering someone' or their teachings.[37] In the face of an old, dying species, its successor can't be a simple continuation, but must be a rebirth in the sense of a higher development of life and spirit. And this happens the most where living is most strong and intense.
Evolution -or: more steady, gradual development- and revolution -more or: less consequential sudden fundamental change- prove to be 'unseprately differentiated': one flows over in the other constantly. Yes – what evolution doesn't prove to be a system of revolutions under scrutiny; and what revolution doesn't blend into in a developing whole? Even in the words 'development' and 'evolution' revolution is implied: breaking loose from a wrapping, bark, shell, peel, '*volva*' (womb) – that is what it means. Precisely because life is development, evolution is unimaginable unless the possibility of revolution is always implied.
In a Hegelian sense, Friedrich Engels has separated 'existence' from 'reality'. 'Reality' according to him, is the whole of working forces and powers that drives the development of the world in the direction of reasonability. Between existence and reality in this sense, there is often the most intense tension. “The French monarchy in 1789 had become so unreal, that is to say so undone of all 'necessity', so unreasonable, that it had to be annihilated by the great revolution that Hegel already spoke of most passionately... And so in the course of development all the formerly real becomes increasingly unreal, it loses its 'necessity', its reason to exist, its reasonable use; in the place of the dying reality a new, vivacious one arises – peacefully when the old is wise enough to wither away without resistance, violently when it resists this inevitability... everything in human history that is real, becomes unreasonable with time... everything that is reasonable in the minds of men has the destiny to become real even if the existing, seemingly real seems to defy it”.[38]
What is valid for the bursting of a bud is endlessly more valid for the bursting of a social revolution: there is always an immense, gradual accumulation of forces, a giant evolution of revolutionary potential that precedes it. That is how the development of English and French thinking advanced the revolution of 1789, that in its own domain was itself a revolution prompted by the technical-economic revolution of West-European society – revolutions that developed more despite themselves than because of themselves. While on top of that the oppressed and insulted people in France had accumulated hate, disgust, jealousy, resentment, desire for a better society for years preceding.
The explosive charge of these and similar revolutions always turns out to be the idea. Considered closely, every social revolution is born from an inner revolution of people, and the words of Marx are confirmed, that the revolution of the minds precedes the social revolution. Not that it is a mere matter of intellectual 'understanding' – in the end our 'heart' as well is in the mind-: it's a matter of

37 It's a good thing therefore that nobody understands anyone completely.
38 This depiction of things is lopsidedly optimistic, as it doesn't take into account the possibility that the 'unreal' can just as well win: what wants to push through doesn't always succeed to do so.

conviction and of the will.
From this follows in turn that not every social revolution is violent of course, just like not every act of violence means revolution, and not every insurrection means resurrection. The internal revolution can be so thorough at a certain moment, so omnipresent, -the resistance against the developing new forms and ideas so weakened that the counterparty can't or won't violently defend its 'unreal' existence anymore. Sadly we appear to live in an era in which the extremely tense social relations drive the proponents as well as the enemies of a new society to often unreasonable violence. Whatever one ends up with as a representative of a reality pushing through -and one always ends up with much that wasn't intended!-, as a revolutionary one should never forget that the inner revolution is the main thing, and violence is a very dangerous, through and through surreal, increasingly 'unreal' sideline.
In short: life proves to be a mutual relation of contradictions, that are summarized increasingly more reasonable by and in the human mind. Heraclitus -him again- has correctly called struggle 'the father of all things'. And therefore evolution goes with revolution -like life goes with death, disorder with order-, and the revolution will develop in increasingly humane sense. And therefore revolution is eternally presupposed in evolution -like Life in death, like disorder in Order-, and eternally dissolved in it. Meanwhile the sense of all revolution and evolution is this óne Revolution: from nature to mind.

7. Revolution and anti-militarism (1924)[39]

Comme notre ami de Ligt nous en a prié, nous
nous faisons un plaisir d'extraire du Bulletin du
Bureau International Antimilitariste, l'étude suivante:

Si le socialisme n'anéantit la guerre, la, guerre anéiintira le socialisme.
(Editors of L'Idée Anarchiste)

I.

We have been accusing the dominant bourgeoisie for a long time, and we have blamed the antisocial character of modern society often enough. To be honest – it's not a socially respectable subject.It was a "bad subject", contemptible, living ragingly at the expense of the great mass that it oppressed and exploited mercilessly like an object, and whose blood it was not afraid to spread in endless wars undertaken for profit.
In the end this state of things having become intolerable, the peoples of central and eastern Europe rose up in revolt. In Russia the bourgeoisie was ousted from power.
But today in Russia, Ukraine and Siberia the old capitalists reappeared in a new shape. The state becomes powerful again. And the army grows disproportionately.
Why?
Because the proletariat has not been able to really become the social subject, to become master in turn and to dominate nature, society and itself and to establish a reasonable order.
In Germany, where the 1918 revolution overturned thrones and has at a certain moment made even the most powerful capitalists tremble, the democratic "socialists" and the "democratic" bourgeois collaborate fraternally in the defence of the new forms of an old system.
Why?
Because the proletariat wasn't able to create a new society.
The peoples have the governments they deserve. And that is why it is just to blame the proletariat itself for the state of things as they are. Does it not tolerate it?
A free people has no government.
When will the modern proletariat, this beast of burden that is used for all chores of peace and war – when will it throw of the jockey, when at last will it raise its head, resisting all constraints – when will it become human and take its destiny into its own hands?
That is the big problem with the revolution. Because the revolution, fundamental principle of our ways of thinking and striving, a deepening and strengthening of the complete personality in the direction of a bigger human, are the subjective factors of a new social order. The objective factors – the old earth and the means of production – are abundant. Even before the world war, capitalist society was advanced enough technically to be transformable in a socialist society. But the subjective factor was lacking: the new human, the moral and technical incapability of the proletariat determined that the dominant class stayed in power. And it holds on to it today without the slightest responsibility.

II.

I'm not accusing. I establish. I want to do more: I want to waken the proletariat to a new self-

39 exerpt from the 'Bulletin' of the International Anti-Militarist Bureau (IAMB) as published in 'L'idée anarchiste' N5, May 8th 1924
Source:
https://archivesautonomies.org/IMG/pdf/anarchismes/entre-deux/lideeanarchiste/lideeanarchiste-n05.pdf

respect, a new energy. That is the very reason why it needs to be held responsible. These times appeal to the best forces of the proletariat. If it doesn't rise up, if it doesn't succeed in decisively liberating itself from the insane domination of the bourgeoisie, it will degenerate with that bourgeoisie and perish.
The domination of the property class over the proletariat is not just material and external, but internal and psychological as well. It is founded on “respect”, on “faith”, on “humility”, on “obedience”. The power of the ruling class is nothing but the moral impotence to which the bourgeoisie reduces the proletariat; it is the passive militarism that it was capable of instilling in the masses. Because militarism is double natured: for the elites active, dominating, dictatorship without remorse; for the lower people passive, submitting, obedience without remorse. 'The people' is animated by a spirit of blind servitude.
This mentality has many origins. It has been molded by the Church as well as by the Factory, by the Barrack as well as by the Bar, the Prison, the Press and the Cinema as well as by the Party. Ah! surely it's possible to procure it with thousands of excuses. But all those excuses will not liberate the people! The people will only be liberated by its own forces. The proletariat must be its own Messiah.
It's not just about the occupation of factories. It's also about determining the pace. Socialism first of all raises the problem of the voluntary and reasonable dominance of production. It's about a fraternal and rational collaboration in order to satisfy the needs of a social life that becomes humane. It's about the creation of a new order internally as well as externally. It's about a symphony of freedom in solidarity.
That is precisely the reason why real socialism excludes all domination. Where there is domination, there will be no brotherhood will be impossible. Where there is power, there will always be new forms of oppression and exploitation, and the tyrant will grow, rooted in the slave. And where there are priests, leaders, dictators who continue to speak *pro vobis omnibus*[40], where ministers, bureaucrats, officers decide in your midst, without you, over you, where cadaver discipline is demanded in times of war and times of peace, - there socialism will not be able to plant its living roots and its seedling itself will die. Where the interest of one groupe trumps the general interest, where sentiments of humanity are looked down upon, where the fictitious national interest trumps the interest of all the other countries there will never be a real International to liberate the earth of race wars, class wars and war between nations.

III.

We are learning about the goal by examining the means. Whatever the goal we pursue, it will always be absolutely determined by the nature of the means.
The means of the bourgeoisie are those of Machiavelli and Loyola.
The means of the bolsheviks are those of Machiavelli and Loyola.
The means of the socialist parties are those of Machiavelli and Loyola.
The means of the social democracy are bourgeois.
The State of the democrat-socialists and the bourgeois is bourgeois.
The State of the bolsheviks, cloaked in revolution is really nothing but a bourgeois and pre-bourgeois institution that maintains itself by bourgeois, pre-bourgeois, feudal and pre-feudal means.
The soviet army is bourgeois. It was revolutionary at the start of the russian revolution when it gained momentum under libertarian and anarcho-syndicalist mottos. But -as Alexandra Kollontai wrote[41] - it was increasingly militarized; specialists, shipwreck of the past and inseparably tied to the Ancien Régime by their whole being, infiltrated the red army and introduced a blind

40 Tr. N.: Latin, “for you all”, a biblical reference – in Corinthians 5:15 Christ died for all “pro omnibus mortuus est Christus”.
41 Alexandra Kollontai, “Workers opposition in Russia.” The Dreadnought Publishers, 152 Fleet-Street, London, p. 12

subordination, distinctions, grades, slave discipline, arbitrary superiors, etc. And all that, the army, penetrated social life that had already been prepared by the tyrannical dictatorship of the bolshevik leaders. The military service imposed this way as well as the forced labour in the factories were characteristically bourgeois. They were enforced from outside by means of constraint and punishments, and gave birth to a willing or at least indifferent slave mentality among the masses.
The old discipline is purely external. The new discipline is internal: mastership over one's own, freely consented coordination for a chosen common goal as well as each working as much as possible according to their talents and abilities. It's not a discipline without direction. But its direction is not a monopoly of authorities to be blindy obeyed. There are no leaders except inasfar as they are exceptionally capable and able in their expertise, and as they are freely recognized as such by their comrades.
Such free discipline only becomes possible in a revolutionary struggle against the State, bureaucracy and the army; against the bosses, officers and the clergy; against an “International of Ministers” or any other that are represented by Radek to Machiavelli and Trotski to Napoleon. That is why Pierre Ramus is right when he talks about the “social emancipatory character of revolutionary anti-militarism”[42].

B. DE LIGT

May 8, 1924

42 Pierre Ramus, “Militarismus, Kommunismus und Antimilitarismus. Thesen zu einem Referat fur den I. A. M. Kongress im Haag 1921.” Verlag “Freie Menschen”, Uerdingen an Rhein, p. 24

8. War against war. What everyone of us can do (1933)

Published by 'BROCHURE-DEPOT IAMV. - UTRECHT' (s.d. 1933)
This speech was given and later further developed in the discussions at the Conferentie der Studenten Vredes Aktie on Saturday February 16th of 1933 in the youth hostel 'Jan Gijzen' in Santpoort.

WAR AGAINST WAR!

The will to effectively struggle against war spreads more and more amongst the people. We saw it these last several years in meeting after meeting, in submitted article after submitted article and in letter after letter. The anti-militarist principles, we could say, are well known these days; the important thing now is *practice*. But many view this one-sidedly romantic. They mainly want to be prepared for 'the big moment', a 'decisive act', etc.
Without a doubt a 'big moment' can come at any given time, and under certain circumstances 'decisive actions' are required. But in the meantime -and for how long already?- ordinary life goes on, which means that too little is done by radical pacifists and anti-militarists, while on the other side, the modern war is constantly prepared in the smallest detail.
“If only I could refuse military service!” one woman exclaims, at the same time ignoring her anti-militarist tasks in other areas. “What you advocate is wonderful, but *what can I personally do?*”, a young man writes, who coincidentally does not have to serve. Etc, etc. Even with so much zeal, nothing much happens; not enough anyway.
The overview further on will clarify that every one of us has more than enough work to do, and will clarify what each of us can do. The fact that we barely elaborate on some things and develop other things much deeper is just a matter of practical considerations, and not because one is more important than the other: some of the most important actions are mentioned in just one word, if that speaks for itself! Neither is the size or font of words of any relevance for the content of the overview: size and fonts are used only for layout and subdivision.
Meanwhile we force nobody to do anything. After all we're not militarists! No-one is forced to wage war against war, and we threaten no-one with jail or execution if they refuse to serve our cause. Our army consists exclusively of *volunteers*, whom we restlessly incite to behave as responsibly as possible and in accordance with insights, strengths and circumstances. We deliberately propagate: “Soldiers and workers, strike!”, hoping that ever more soldiers and workers (white and blue collar) will turn away from the 'death service'. But 'Thou shalt', 'Thou shalt not' and 'Thou must' are alien to us. All this is too important to rush anyone morally or practically. We even warn loudly against excessive pretensions; against everything that reeks of pose or rhetoric, and most of all: against undertaking actions that one cannot handle. It is very well possible that someone who, during the mobilisation -swept up by the tension of the moment and the enthusiasm of collective actions that will occur in unknown quantities- would be capable of refusing military service amongst a group of comrades (even if he was threatened with execution), but -in more peaceful times- would not come so far as to refuse military service individually and the punishment such action will surely provoke[43]. Let him do his military service then: there is enough work for him in the barracks or on the fleet, *precisely as an anti-militarist!* Anyone who is unable to refuse military service at a certain moment, should do their military service; they should even use the contempitble legal options for objecting military service if their convictions allow them to do so, as long as they never forget that, no matter how peaceful their own work is, it is *tainted* as soon as mobilisation is proclaimed, and

43 Tr. Note: the original text says 'en de daarop volgende 10 maanden Veenhuizen', literally: 'and the consequential 10 months of Veenhuizen'; Veenhuizen was a punishment facility of jail for conscientious objectors in the Netherlands at the time.

that they should participate in the general strike that should accompany the general refusal of military service to make it impossible for goverments to wage war. But those who can refuse military service though, and find themselves morally obligated to do so – let them radically liberate themselves of military slavery as soon as possible!
The same is true for all kinds of other actions like refusing to pay taxes. History teaches that some cases of *individual* refusal to pay taxes have been meaningful, but it is generally more meaningful as *collective action*, carried out in connection with specific events or facts. The individual that refuses to pay taxes alone -or with their family- runs such big risks that one has to question whether the act yields enough results. Nevertheless the individual refusal to pay taxes is included in the overview because it remains a possibility that for certain people under certain conditions this action could be the most meaningful one that they can or want to take against militarism and war, and that such action could at a certain time have far-reaching propagandistic impact.
The principle of 'producing responsibly' as well -negatively said: the refusal of any bad or dehumanising work, in the first place of everything that is directly linked to war- demands more of certain people than it does of others. We will never force people to do anything -morally or physically. But we will motivate everyone to be as consistent as possible, and to examine what they could possibly do. During the world war, I used to say in meetings of workers in ammunition factories: “Comrades, it is very well possible that you have compelling reasons to hold on to your inhumane work -and you know it is inhumane. But if you are not yet able to withdraw from this work, then at least prepare to *strike* when a war should break out; and investigate closely how you could sabotage the war. But concentrate as much as possible on the anti-militarist action!” And despite everything, we kept in touch with them.
The following overview contains the practical conclusions of a historic and fundamental research into the actual struggle against war over the last 2500 years in Asia, Europe and elsewhere, published in *Vrijheid als Daad* ('Freedom as Action'[44]) of which the second and last tome has just been published. In this book you can also find a summary of motives for the direct action against war. It demonstrates how *the biggest disgrace* of the modern peoples is the cowardly way in which nearly all of them submit to military slavery, that is: military service.
As long as the modern peoples hand over to their governments the right to systematically submit their youth to the military training, and to mobilise at will the whole of the population, those peoples are unfree -to speak with Krause[45]: in their core principle. No matter how much we value the act of refusal of military service, this very heavy task would not burden the young, if the 'pacifist' and 'anti-militarist' elders would not irresponsibly leave the most difficult work to the immature youth! With reason a mother recently protested again against the fact that the state forces underage boys to choose -against the will of their parents- in the biggest dilemma: 'wether to serve or not', and called other parents in the same circumstances to 'stand together against the forcing of the young to make such choices'. Indeed the following demands must be raised before anything else; and parliament and government must be forced *by the direct action of the people* to meet those demands as soon as possible:

- immediate liberation of every conscienscous objector;
- freedom to refuse military service as long as conscription is not cancelled;
- cancellation of conscription;
- cancellation of the law about the right to declare war and everything related to it.

But first of all an overview[46] now of what can be done -and should be done- against every war, immediately and eventually.

44 Tr. Note: see https://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/19BRjrs.html for a review of this book by Brian Martin
45 Tr. Note: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl_Christian_Friedrich_Krause, German philosopher 1781-1832), see also 'Krausism', a contradistinct stand-alone philosophical system besides Hegel, etc.
46 Tr. Note: Compare with https://wri-irg.org/en/resources/2008/gene-sharps-198-methods-nonviolent-action, also Brian Martin https://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/13gm.html and https://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/93sdsc/

I. Individual direct action to prevent war and to obstruct the preparation of war.

A. refusal of military service

B. refusal of non-combative work (also with the Red Cross or the military health service, that are both integral and subordinate parts of the military system)

C. enlisting or remaining in service in the army or in the fleet to conduct underground anti-militarist propaganda and to connect with the anti-militarist movement

D. refusal of labour service

1. refusal to produce means of war, to handle them or transport them
2. refusal to build barracks and fortresses and to transport the necessary material, etc
3. refusal to produce military attire
4. etc etc

E. refusal to pay taxes

F. refusal to provide intellectual and moral services

1) Negative

a) Directly: refusing to invent or design the means of war as a ingeneer or chemist; to take technical direction in the fabrication of it

b) Indirectly:

1. as a parent: keep the youth as free as possible from nationalist, chauvinist, militarist and imperialist influences (keep an eye on books, education, political parties)
2. refusal as a teacher to educate the youth in a nationalist, imperialist or militarist spirit
3. refusal as a journalist to influence public opinion in a nationalist, militarist or imperialist spirit; to expose the official politics as much as possible, etc
4. refusal as a spiritual leader or pastor to justify or glorify national defence and war
5. refusal as leader of a party, group or movement to prepare public opinion in any way the national defence
6. refusal as a lawyer to bend or twist the law to the benefit of the fatherland
7. refusal as a historian to narrow the history of the world to the history of the fatherland; or to glorify their own race above all others
8. refusal as an artist to serve nationalism, militarism and imperialism
9. as a sociologist: expose nationalism, militarism and imperialism
10. as a psychologist or a therapist: unveil the conscious and unconscious drives for war
11. as a philosopher: expose every dogmatism and absolutism, especially in the fields of cultural and religious history and comparative logic
12. organising for these goals in the scientific, propagandistic and practical aspects and the federal networking with other organisations, aimed at direct action

2) Positive

a) As parents:

1. lead a life that is as harmonious as possible, with a universal focus (the ambiance at home is the main issue)
2. to raise children as free as possible and -mainly indirectly- help them to respect others and themselves; love the anorganic and the organic, plants, animals and people; sympathise with foreign peoples and races; awareness of social justice and an admiration for the heroic wherever it is shown (even in war) while also concentrating

on the nonviolent
3. choose existing schools (or found new ones), where schooling is provided in a similar anti-militarist spirit (keeping contact with educators, other parents and the children themselves, seizing the opportunity that parents meetings offer)

b) As a teacher of some kind: help the youth (in a universal spirit – connected to the parents, See F2.a.3) as much as possible with their self-education and self-government
c) As a journalist: point the way ever more clearly for public opinion towards justice and freedom, and towards the appreciation of foreign peoples and races
d) As a spiritual or religious leader: awaken universal solidarity and responsibility in word and deed towards the whole of the human race and educate for mental resilience
e) As a leader of a party, group or movement: morally instigate the mass to struggle for a new humanity and instigate humanity; and educate on nonviolent methods of struggle
f) As a lawyer: direct justice towards an ever more harmonious world in which individuals, groups, peoples and races interact freely with eachother and exchange their material and intellectual products according to need and disposition
g) As historians: educate -with the cosmos as starting point- to include all peoples and races in their mutual relations, and illustrate the undeniable propensity for an equally free as diverse social life, in which every individual has the biggest possible chance to develop their special personality within a social context
h) As an artist: direct all your efforts towards universal harmony
i) As a sociologist: recognize the very questionable usefulness of war; illustrate why and how war can be transcended
j) As a psychiatrist or therapist:
   1. research the social illnesses with an eye upon individual and social-psychological self-healing and hygiene
   2. guide the chanelling and sublimation of impulses that used to lead to war
k) As a philosopher:
   1. recognise the relative worth of all currents of thought and culture and demonstrate their mutual relations
   2. convert intellectual understanding into social acts
l) organise towards these goals (See F1.b.12)

II. Collective direct action to prevent war and to obstruct the preparation of war.

1) Theoretically: propaganda by means of

a) meetings
b) writings and illustrations
c) theatre
d) movies
e) marches and demonstrations
f) house calls (this is too often neglected)
g) youth organizations (in which we don't convert or preach; we can copy the good elements of the scouts movement in which the focus is mainly to instigate respect for others and oneself, responsibility, human solidarity; the older youth can organise *themselves* in collective investigation of relative issues)
h) special organizations for women (of special importance in regions where woman is relatively recently involved in social questions and requires specific[47] (self)-education regarding her sexual and social functions; the central idea here is the responsibility for

47 Tr. Note: the original text uses the word 'afzonderlijk' (literally 'separate') which I consider to have a different connotation in English than was intended by BdL

the new generation physically, morally and mentally; it's important to awaken awareness about the necessity of women's labour for the modern war -just as necessary in social life as men's work on the frontline; that the women enable the system of national defence by replacing no less than 20% of the men in social life; a proportion of women are needed to work in ammunition production; etc)

i) underground propaganda within the armed forces (See I. C. under 'individual direct action')
j) specific propaganda among the workers in professions and companies that are instrumental for war, to point out to them which function each group fulfils and what everyone could do in their own field both individually and collectively and undermine or obstruct war by means of refusal of service or sabotage[48]:
   1. transport (freight)
   2. trams, railways, busses, etc (in other words: public transport)
   3. iron mines
   4. coal mines
   5. iron and steel industries
   6. machine manufacturing
   7. chemical industries
   8. petroleum industries -refineries and oil tankers
   9. merchant fleet
   10. etc etc, to elaborate on the analysis of the system of military defence by military specialists[49]

2) Practically

a) as soon as possible: organized direct action towards the elimination of the slavery of military service
b) in this context and if circumstances permit: as a stand-alone or as an intermediate goal before a more general struggle: the immediate organising of direct action for the liberation of all the imprisoned conscientious objectors
c) direct action, to be organized at the occasion of specific incident regarding anti-militarism (like in 1921 in the Netherlands in response to the hunger strike of Herman Groenendaal, and in 1932 in response to the hunger strike of R. A. Simoens)
d) direct action for the elimination of the legal basis of the declaration of martial law
e) ostentatious refusal to quarter military personnel
f) en masse unarmed resistance against the arrest of draft dodgers and organising protests, demonstrations and strikes in this context
g) in response to certain parliamentary decisions or governmental measures (purchasing modern weapons of war, sending of troops or fleet to threatened areas -e.g. Shangai): demonstrations and strikes aimed at the obstruction of the execution of such decisions
h) collective refusal to make or transport ammunition or other means of war, whether temporarily on certain occasions or definitively
i) support funds for those who refuse to do inhumane work on pricniple
j) forcing government and parliament to forfeit on any form of national defence

II. Individual direct action during mobilisation and war

A. refuse military service

48 BdL in original: For every of the trades a specific research is required in the spirit of J. Verlinde did on the coal industry and its deep importance for the whole war production. See J. Verlinde en K. Han, 'Dooft de vuren!' ['Put the fires out!'], Uitg. Nederlands Bureau Jongeren Vredes Aktie.

49 BdL in original: Of special importance here: Helle et Ache, '*La défense nationale et ses Conditions modernes*', 1932

B. refuse non-combat work (even the Red Cross or in the medical services, who are integral parts of the military hierarchy)

C. enlist in army or fleet in order to propagate anti-militarism, aimed at en masse refusal of military service

D. refuse labour

E. refuse quartering (a different possibility would be to kindly welcome those quartered, tactfully propagandise anti-militarism, and use the money that the state offers for anti-militarist propaganda)

F. hide horses, mules and other animals from confiscation

G. sabotage confiscated bikes, bicycles, cars and other instruments

H. disable telegraph, telephone, radio, etc

I. sabotage bridges and railways (prevent accidents and loss of life!)

etc, generally using *sabotage* as effectively as possible without destroying any more than necessary machines and other technical installations.

III. Collective direct action during mobilisation and war

A. refuse military service

B. refuse non-combat work (see above)

C. effectively prepare for a massive wave of refusal of military service in army and fleet; and spark such action at the right moment

D. refuse labour

If the antimilitarist movement is not yet strong enough to prevent mobilisation and war:

E. found one general national anti-militarist organisation (cfr the Revolutionary Socialist Comittee against the War in 1916)[50]

F. spreadi conscientious objector manifestos like they did in 1915

G. try to comradely convince soldiers, workers and marines to choose the side of the war resisters through demonstrations, pickets, etc

H. try to disorganize the functioning of the war machine as much as possible, starting with a focus on the transports[51]

50 See Giesen, 'Nieuwe Geschiedenis, Het Antimilitarisme van de Daad in Nederland', De Tijdstroom, Lochem

51 Women can take up a special role in this as was proven more than once in Spain. See my 'Vrede als daad' II, p 290 (Note transl.: this is the original Dutch edition of what would later be published as 'Conquest of violence' in English)

I. everywhere possible without endangering human lives: destruction of weapons, ammunition and military infrastructure

All too often people erroneously think that a possible war could be waged without general mobilization because of the development of modern war technology, and that it is therefore little useful to focus on *individual and collective refusal of military service*; yes, even that the governments couldn't care less about the struggle against it. According to the military experts this is wrong though. In the chapter 'Man as War Instrument'(!) French colonel Lucas remarks that whatever the way technical material may increase, the main player in the war drama is not the machine but the intellectually gifted human; and that ultimately success depends on him, and not on the technical means. “That is why the ratio between the infantry and the other weapons cannot be diminished indefinitely”[52]. In the same sense general Réquin writes: “The claim that a future war could be waged with small armies, is untennable; this claim can't resist reality. It would be a fallacy to oppose the quality army against the quantity army: both complement eachother... Opposing material and people is equally useless because it is precisely the people who handle the material. Claiming to be able to free up people by replacing them with material, is valid only at the front. Generally spoken the savings are zero. Indeed we can assume that a machine gun team has the shooting power of half an infantry team of 20 men.
But to bring those machine guns to the front and to install them, to supply ammunition, food and replacements, the 20 men are used in estaffettes behind the line of fire”.[53] The 20 men have not become unnecessary, but *fulfill a different function*.
According to the military experts, *military as well as industrial service* will be more necessary than ever in a possible war, even if a big part of the soldiers will be employed differently than before. So there is not as single government that considers abandoning the military service.[54] Under the slogan of the 'national militia' there is even an attempt to make it popular again! Not only is the modern technology not developed enough anywhere to abandon the old methods of war -a new war would demonstrate a fusion of old and new methods of war, as the policy of Japan in China already demonstrates- and the conscription army remains necessary for the occupation of the conquered territory, but the whole modern military-technical system demands *smooth functioning by means of an increasingly larger number of directly or indirectly collaborating persons*. A single war plane demands maintenance, arming, manning, repair, in a word it needs the energy and intelligence of many dozens of people to function properly. In order to make this possible a great number of persons must toil ceaselessly as well in the relevant transports and industries. No doubt in the long run the front will be increasingly motorized, mechanized and rationalized. But the forces this frees up will be even more necessary behind the frontline.
So lieutenant colonel Mayer concludes that, even if not everyone will show up on the war stage itself, *everyone* will more than ever participate in the action behind the scenes and in the backstages: “it is up to the military authority to exploit this human material(!) as well as possible in the interest of national defence, without consideration for the age of those involved. The only consideration is the physical fitness, intellectual capacities, moral disposition and professional preparation... During war nobody belongs to themselves. Every citizen is completely at the disposition of the service to the fatherland.”[55] This is why this expert, who doesn't mince words at least, concludes with a concept programme of military reorganization according to the demands of modern scientific warfare in which we find: “In case of mobilization or a call of the League of Nations(!) all the

52 Colonel Lucas, 'Ce que tout Chef doit savoir', Berger-Levrault, 1921, p 24
53 In: 'Wie würde ein neuer Krieg aussehen? Untersuchung, eingelcitet von der Interparlamentarischen Union', 1932 pp 18-19
54 See my 'New forms of War [and how to combat them]', 1927, pp 30-33 ['Nieuwe vormen van oorlog en hoe die te bestrijden', N.V. Uitgevers-mij 'De Tijdstroom', Huis Ter Heide, 123 pages]
55 Lt.-Colonel Emile Mayer, 'La Guerre d'Hier et l'Armée de Demain', Rivière, Paris, pp 78-182

French *are at the disposal of the state, independent of their age and sex*"[56] -because as we know in a next war women too will be forcibly mobilized by the government. In each case all sides count on a military mobilization for the war, based on a general conscription that would withdraw approximately 20% of the men to the social life. This ratio has essentially remained the same. Refusal of military service is therefore just as useful as before.
The social labour of the men that are called up for military duty will be replaced by that of *women*. I have already demonstrated elsewhere[57] how much this was the case even in the last war. In England, almost 3,000,000 women were working behind the frontlines to keep social life going. An important part of them were... producing ammunition. At the time of the armistice 1,700,000 French workers were active in the *war* industry. 500,000 of them were mobilized soldiers and 400,000 of them were women! But it was clear on both sides of the war that the wage incentive and the appeal of patriotism wasn't enough to motivate enough women to make themselves available. Starting from the idea that the modern war has become a duel of two groups of national industries that fight eachother with death and destruction, into which the whole population is drawn directly or indirectly, and that what matters is to push the national defence to its highest possible level as quickly as possible[58], governments on all sides currently prepare the *obligatory service of women* for social and industrial ends and for military medical services.
It goes without saying that an increasingly close military-industrial and socio-economic relationship will be constructed between the countries that fight common wars against other countries, so that together they will function as one technical-moral union as much as possible. That bond as well will need to be broken as much as possible by the anti-militarists of the deed. And they will need to connect with their *foreign comrades* above- and underground in order to achieve this.
In other words the modern war can only be waged as *guerre totale* (total war), in which the whole people of every one of the states involved functions as one moral-social-military entity. The ruling class does everything it can already to ensure that the peoples will fight a possible war "*until their forces are completely depleted*"; international deals about the humanization of the war will not be respected; due to the means of struggle applied the war "*will be of an especially gruesome and bitter character*"[59] And with that, Coolidge declared, an unprecedented incorporation of people, industries and goods will take place. And that is what is prepared for not just in the United States but even in the tiniest of european states -the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland- systematically and to the minutest detail – only Denmark, Luxemburg and a few miniature-states excepted.
If the war resisters wait until the last moment with their attempt to break up this plan, they will surely be too late. We have already pointed out several times *that if the minds are not educated in advance and educated* to resist the moral contamination of the 'national enthousiasm' that flares up dangerously at the critical moment – in which not just collective fear and all kinds of more primitive urges, but a certain idealism as well is activated -even right now as we speak for many-, and especially the need of millions to intoxicate themselves by any means possible to escape from themselves and the cursed daily drudge because of the social imbalances – in which the deep-seated *amor fati* plays an important role-the passionate tendency to bet everything on anything really-, so that precisely in the critical moment nothing can come of it because the mass relapses to *a lower stage of culture* without much resistance.[60] In order to withdraw from the century old 'social determinism' that drivess individuals and masses seemingly by natural law in critical times, one needs to take part more or less in the new, higher social determinism of freedom[61] but also *to know what one can do and in which ways one can count on the collaboration of comrades and kindred*

56 Mayer, p 188
57 'New forms of War', p 76, compare a.o. G. D. H. Cole, 'Trade Unionism and Munitions', 1923 p 187
58 Lt.-Colonel Reboul, 'Mobilisation industrielle', I, 1925, p 190-191
59 Helle et Ache, p 9
60 Tr. Note: see for example Erich Fromm's trilogy 'Fear of freedom' (sometimes Escape from freedom), 'Man for himself' and 'The sane society'.
61 See G. L. Duprat, 'La contrainte sociale et la Guerre', 1928; Compare my introduction to Etienne de la Boétie, 'On voluntary slavery', Servire, 1933, pp 19-20

spirits.
A supra-national sense of solidarity, a clarity of insight in the political and social relations and a sense of responsibility towards the future of humanity and history need to be awakened and reinforced beforehand in such way that increasingly more individuals and groups can no longer be swept away by the old social determinism. But every person and group involved must also know *their own task precisely*. Even more so because at the critical moment and probably as a minority at first, we will need to be very economical with our efforts in order not to waste any energy!
By the way it is as natural as reasonable that the more primitive urges that all life and culture is simply built on (like the entirely justified urge for self preservation) play a role in the new social determinism as well: it *is useless* to risk one's life and the future of national and international culture in an endless process of murder and destruction that even the military recongnize would be one giant assault on every social and mental values that humanity has created with great difficulty through the centuries. War has become a practical insanity that is built on moral madness. Insofar Heering is completely right when he places it in line with Kant's 'radical-evil'.
Now everyone will understand why this overview emphasizes the immediate task of individuals and society *for the prevention* of war so much, and the moral and practical *preparation* to be ready at all times *to break up the mobilization from the first moment* by individual and collective acts, whatever one's function in social life.
We should learn from our adversaries! The military experts point out that there can be no battle without the combattants involved having overcome their individual and collective fear; that in the fight -even with so much mechanical means- *the morale of the fighters* is by far the main issue, and that this needs long preparation, including by giving them an understanding of the task to be fulfilled.[62] Especially during battle the morale of the troops must be constantly awakened and sustained by word and deed by the leadership; experience teaches that as well as the fear, courage also surfaces. Just like the waging of war, the resisting of war demands not just effective organization and active sense of solidarity, but especially a *relentless incitement to heroism*. That is why -again!- the greatest importance of the individual and collective refusal of military service that, especially at times of tension, is able to electrify more or less likeminded masses very strongly. Just like the moral education of soldiers, the moral education of the war resisters as well must be characterized mainly by the *culte de l'offensive* (cult of the offense): everything must be aimed at the attack, and the achievement as quickly as possible of the goals set, while the *exaltation du patriotisme* (the ecstacy of patriotism) must be surpassed by the immeasurably more valuable zeal for the international idea.
So Jos Giesen wás right when he constantly repeated that we must immediately start the active *formation of anti-militarist nuclei*. To say it the way the Russians do: we too must nurse attack brigades, groups of pioneers, vanguards, always ready to walk in the frontlines. Generally speaking, the big mass is not in favour of war, but in critical times it can be drawn into the war by relatively small groups that are psychologically capable and are well-organized. On the other side we need to create groups that are capable to strike the soul of the mass like lighting in critical times, so that it can withdraw from the mental and social force of the ruling class and *voluntary follow the leadership of the conscious war resisters*. In relation to all this Giesen had a superb idea in the last phase of his life. Noting how whole areas in certain parts of the country are being created where the large majority of the population feels explicitly anti-militarist, and even begins to think and act in that sense, he started a propaganda campaign in the local press of Hengelo for a sort of '*anti-militarist abstinence*': in such places there needed to be a systematic, planned, continuous, restless action to try to win over the whole population, or at least a big part of it, as quickly as possible. A noble competition between places and regions needed to be created, so to speak, to see which region would be best capable to found the actual anti-militarism and to drive it as far as possible.
In any case *a new code of honor* must be acted upon. In relation to this all kinds of 'campaigns' must

62 According to captain B. H. Lidell Hart, 'Paris or the Furure of War', 1925, p 25 the purpose of war is precisely to break the *moral* will to resist of the opponent, by all means necessary.

be undertaken in which each fulfills their own task as much as possible in order to bring feedback about it to the common meetings. If people in some places or regions are not yet so evolved, then a more modest goal can be set, aiming mainly on winning over as many *women and youths* as possible. What matters most is that each one of the anti-militarists must understand that *they are involved in a continuous struggle* against an enemy who not only threatens their own lives but essentially the life of the whole of humanity, and whose evil power *is until now*, in so-called peace time, relatively easy to undermine and attack.
Lucky enough increasing numbers of comrades understood this. Those amongst them who are busy liberating themselves from the old social determinism and not simply soak the new one up deeper and deeper but even help produce it, has increased surprisingly of late. In August 1931 professor Einstein published an international appeal to all men and women who understood that now is the time to finally take national and international disarmament seriously. He pleaded for them -if they were ready to act- to notify this to the government of their country and -to reinforce their decision- to inform him of this notification. The appeal was published in 24 languages and the hope was for thousands of enthousiasts to respond. But the reaction was far bigger! From the letters that arrived, Runham Brown, secretary of the War Resisters' International, concluded after only a year that not thousands, but *hundreds of thousands* of war resisters everywhere in the world had notified their governments "that they could not count on them in the future, neither as soldiers nor as ammunition producers".[63]
Nothing is of greater importance here than the remark in the IAK Press Service: "*refusal to serve is an appeal to the people's conscience*", an appeal that is annulled when the conscript relies on the conscientious objector law. Indeed years of experience taught us that the refusal of military service, especially in the Netherlands, awakens the people's consciousness; and we see the same thing in Belgium and France for example. But it must soon result in the Dutch people *no longer tolerating the military slavery*, and being outraged by the injustice that is inflicted upon the most responsible youths especially, and to shed the yoke of military service like a disgrace.
To return from the moral to the practical: in war there is a necessary correlation between constantly replenishing the needs of each military division and the industrial production that is required to do so: if the latter is disturbed more or less, then the former is disturbed; if the latter stops, the former is powerless. If the related industry produces sufficiently, but its products can't reach the frontlines: same result! That is why military experts see the connections between the front and the hinterland as the most sensitive place, the *Achilles' heel of the whole war organization*. So this is where we must strike.[64]
Generally speaking war is the most optimal possible working together of:
frontlines (army, fleet, air force),
connections,
hinterland,
all interconnected. The hinterland must serve as an endless source of military reserves, fighting equipment, clothing, provisions, etc, etc. National production must be raised to a maximum because of this. This in turn demands an unrelenting, feverish supply of raw materials and processable or distributable goods. That is to say that not just behind front and hinterland, but in industry as well (and the materials and products that must be processed by it), *the transportation system* takes up an extremely important role, and again proves to be the Achilles' heel. So everyone should know their task in this regard, and research with precision even today, what needs to be done by themselves.
Because the needs of the army, fleet and air force claim nearly everything, the needs of the civil population is reduced as much as possible. Consequence: a prison-like *system of distribution*, to which the population of the hinterland are increasingly severely subjugated. They will attempt to

63 See my 'Vrede als Daad' II, 1933, pp 339-340 ('Vrede als Daad' would later be re-edited into the English version of 'Conquest of Violence'; Transl. Note: See also: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manifesto_to_the_Europeans in response to https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manifesto_of_the_Ninety-Three and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_views_of_Albert_Einstein

64 See my 'Nieuwe vormen van oorlog', 1927, p 61

use the technical-organizational resources of the existing *cooperative organization* -inasfar as its administration and technology isn't simply forced to serve the distribution of ammunition, for example like in the world war in France[65]. Because a cooperative is in principle aimed at international collaboration, fraternization of the peoples and the abolition of capitalism, the anti-militarists with memberships of this kind of such organizations must bring this subject up again and again in the local and national assemblies of their organizations as well as in their well-read press, and not rest before the whole cooperative movement consciously declares that the government can't count on their administration and technology in times of mobilization.
There are countless other organizations, especially of moral and cultural nature, whose aims and nature are fundamentally at odds with every war. Even with very limited success at first, the war resisters must there as well, again and again put the *non-cooperation in the war* on the agenda, until the organization in question breaks off all ties with the 'national defence'. One attack must follow the other here, under the adage 'perseverance wins!'
Now on the direct war industry, this is obviously linked in the first place to the production of iron and coal[66]; it needs petroleum and all of its derivates (gasoline, heating oil, diesel oil, paraffin, etc), aluminium, copper, lead, zinc, antinomy, nickel, platinum, almost every metal, radio-active materials, alcohol, cotton, linnen, leather, hides, wood and especially an increasing number of chemical products[67] According to Clark they are the following[68]:
iron and steel industry,
machine manufacture,
chemical industry,
coal industry,
iron ore production,
petroleum production.
If one of those is stopped or their products are unable to be transported, the war soon becomes impossible[69], while eventually the gigantic national war body can insufficiently function when an important part of its nervous system is paralysed: *postal service, telegraph, wireless, etc*[70]. The comrades in France already understand this very well.
But above all the whole national monster can only act effectively from a strategic point of view insofar as the people as a whole has been enchanted by the fiction of the alledgedly morally uplifting 'Truce of God', and has been possessed by the urge to destruct and conquer. All the military experts declare *that the loyalty of the whole population is paramount for the modern warfare*. Indeed! how else would it be able to accomplish its super-human as well as inhumane murder-duty?
The great mass must therefore be brought in a certain state of mind: its whole view of world and life must fundamentally be falsified. The hatred against the 'enemy' to be combatted is cultivated using the most base means. During the world war “in all countries a systematic falsification of facts and a scandalous defamation of opponents was constructed through *the media*, which the government not only allowed, but even supported... while every attempt to consider things objectively and was justly decried and convicted as high treason”[71]. As for the writers and journalists who do not break

65 See my 'Nieuwe vormen van oorlog', 1927, p 83
66 See Helle et Ache p 25-51
67 See a.o. Elvira K. Fradkin, 'Chemical Warfare – its possibilities and probabilities', Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1921; A. Charpentier, 'Ce que sera la Guerre de Gaz', Paris, 1930; 'Die modernen Kriegsmethoden und der Schulz der Civilbevölkerung', Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Ortsgruppe Stuttgart der Int. Frauenliga für Frieden und Freiheit; Lt.-Colonel D. P. Bloch, 'La guerre chimique', 1927; Gertrud Woker, 'Der kommende Gift und Brandkrieg', 1932; H. le Wita, 'Autour de la Guerre Chimique', 1928
68 E. Clark, 'Boycotts and Peace', 1932, p 349
69 In the 'Illustration' petroleum was recently called 'matière impériale'
70 In 'Giftgaskrieg die grosse Gefahr' 1928, pp 30-31, Major F. C. Endres reminds us of Schwartes' 'Die Technik im Kriege', 1920, that gives a clear image of the great flight the telegraph etc have taken in Germany during the war.
71 Quote from Prof. A. Mayer (in the 'Wie würde ein neuer Krieg aussehen?' that was mentioned here before; pp 239-240) where he rightly refers to A. Ponsonby, 'Falsehood in War-Time', 1928, and B. Russell, 'Justice in War-Time', 1916

with this cursed habit, and continue to lie and defame in wartime in the service of the government and the groups it is tied up with, the *typographers* have a special task!
In Spain, where the tactic of responsible production has been relatively deeply absorbed, the typographers of Barcelona -so Albert de Jong informed us at the 10th congress of war resisters in Haarlem- put the papers under censorship, where all the commands from the military authorities were neither set nor printed.[72] Such a censorhip must of course not be limited to official publications! Even during the *Hetz*[73]-campaigns against certain countries and peoples, that are apparantly aimed at cultivating a hostile atmosphere amongst the own population, it could possibly be implemented. In any case when it comes down to it all nationalist and patriotic publications must immediately be boycotted!
The typographs are so powerful because they are part of the *schooled laborers* whose work is not easy to replace on short notice in case of a general strike. The workers in the Netherlands are slowly becoming aware of their task in this regard. On May 10th, 1930, 'De Arbeider' noted that our ideas, that used to be laughed at by the official labour organizations so often, are seeping through now everywhere, and proved this with the proposal to the chapter of Amsterdam printers for the following yearly gathering of the modern 'Algemene Nederlandse Typografen Bond':
"The assembly decides that, in case of a possible mobilization, every industrial service for militarism will be refused. The typographs in the Netherlands will -by stopping of the industry of the newspapers, and other measures- make a mobilization impossible.
Every refuser of industrial service, as member of the union of typographers , will be supported by the union. He will be considered to be a victim."
The Amsterdam printers add a second proposal:
"The NVV[74] *must propagandize strongly for the refusal of industrial service and the destruction of militarism."*
Indeed the official records of the meeting show both proposals as n° 61 and 62 on the agenda of the yearly meeting, which caused no small worry for the official leadership. The chairman, F. van der Wal, immediately declared that he hoped that "there will not be too much talk" about those proposals, no matter how nice it felt that both points expressed dismay for war. *"In each case they must be considered simultaneously: otherwise the second would seem like only a repeat of the first."* While he opponed war, he couldn't say *"that we deem adoption of this proposal appropriate."*
In the name of the Amsterdam printers H. A. Kuil declared that he had already defended the proposals in the branch meeting. They had mainly been submitted because a great deal of members didn't seem to know much about the subject, which can be explained by the circumstance that "our people *receive no anti-militarist education at all*..." At the IVV congress in Paris there was talk of international anti-militarism; the struggle against the abomination of war was summarized there in a resolution for disarmament and struggle against militarism. The congress declared that the principles of the struggle against war that were decided on at the congress of Vienna -amongst which the proclamation of a general strike- are still entirely valid. In order to immediately implement these principles in case of war, the National and International have the duty *to study and propagate them as thoroughly as possible.*When higher entities take such decisions and union management don't act upon them, "we don't prepare our members for this important matter".
The chairman answered that "such matters should not be discussed in our union". Apparantly that wouldn't be courteous! "It cannot be the task of our union to incite our people to refuse service. Only when action should be demanded can we investigate what we are to do. We must wait for the critical moment."

72 See my 'Vrede als Daad' II, 1933, p 292
73 Tr. Note: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hetzkampagne , smear campaign, agitation campaign. It's not completely clear what specific campaign BdL refers to here.
74 Tr. Note: 'Nederlands Verbond van Vakverenigingen', social-democratic union created in 1906, merged with the catholic union ('Nederlands Katholiek Vakverbond') after intense collaboration from 1977 on to form the FNV (Federatie Nederlandse Vakverenigingen) in 1981. FNV is the largest union in the Netherlands since then.

This “leader” apparantly belonged to those who had not learnt a thing since August 1914. He correctly declared that it wasn't the task of union management “to educate the members on every subject”. In this case: good thing!
But J. van der Heeg from Bussum remarked: “We are dealing here with a decision of the IVV. Our union too is part of the IVV because we are member of the NVV. The decisions that are taken at the IVV congresses are therefore meanigful for our union as well. It is our duty to execute the decisions taken there. We must educate the people about mass refusal of service before the moment that action is actually required. This is very much a task of our union.”
J. A. N. den Tonkelaar from Leiden, and Th. Bakker from Amsterdam brought several other motives for participation in direct action against the war to the table. Such an anti-militarist storm was rising that the chairman became weak in the knees. His hands trembled; he lost control. No longer understanding his own words, the same man who had just declared that we can only know what to do at the time of action, now proclaimed: “If it becomes as bad as is being feared, such mentality must be created that intervention is possible at the psychological moment. We have experienced (in 1914) how little comes of those beautiful plans if the minds are not ripe for mass refusal of service”. And he concluded his speech with the declaration: “Refusing service is only useful when it is done collectively and simultaneously by the masses”. At which moment Th. Bakker exclaimed: “And that is why you must prepare the members for it!”
For tactical reasons the Amsterdam branch saw itself forced to withdraw both proposals. But it remains of big importance that the proposals were introduced, that there was such positive response, and that the official leadership proved to be morally and intellectually impotent to confront them.
By the way this is no reason to let everything depend only on the typographs! Even with all the laws, barracks, prisons and armaments in the end it is the *mind* that decides. And the mind of a people is up until now mainly aroused and led by *intellectuals*. Inasfar as they understand the task we have pointed out earlier, and implement intellectual, moral, social, economic and technical refusal of service -both negatively and positively- they can make it unnecesary for the typographs to implement any censorship: i.e. by arousing increasingly powerfully to withdraw from the criminal-parochial 'national unity' and to direct it towards universal solidarity and humanity.
In the end war cannot be waged without *money* - not any more than it can be without mind and enthousiasm, no matter how false that mind and how dirty that enthousiasm. Declaring the mobilization is usually accompanied by taking out loans and enforcing taxes. Collective, public refusal to grant the former and to pay the latter would -if enough people participate- bring the whole war machine to falter. Especially when such refusal would be accompanied by more or less economic, social, moral and military service.
Indeed it isn't necessary for the prevention of war, that ALL soldiers at the front refuse, that ALL workers strike behind the front, that between front and hinterland not a single boat or train, tram or car leaves. When at the front just *an important part* of soldiers refuse, and elsewhere *a big number* of workers stop production -especially in key industries- or simultaneously the unwillingness of transport workers start to seriously impede and block traffic, the modern war is already severely impacted. Without doubt we must aim at *general* strike and *general* refusal to serve in the hopes of ultimately block the war. But we *don't need to have 100% cooperation in every respect*. 9% here, 60% there, 17% elsewhere and 50% in even different sectors can together be sufficient to undermine mobilization and war to such extent that the government must abandon one or the other. Or -100%, at least 90 or 80% in three or four crucial occupations and industries!
The Socialist Federation of the Belgian province of Charleroi understood this even in 1905. It declared to be fundamental for the prevention of war:

I. general strike of train workers in order to make the mobilization of soldiers impossible;
II. general strike of miners in order to withdraw the energy for trains and war ships from the warring powers[75];

75 And much more! See brochure by Verlinde.

III. general strike in docks and ammunition factories.[76]

Domela Nieuwenhuis as well, drew attention to the fact that transport workers, the railway workers and the miners together are capable of making every war impossible in his 'Vredesboekje' (1915).[77] If those three are united can they really mount a divine power for peace? Domela correctly declared that the productive workers have a “civilizing task” when it comes to the struggle against war.

What they are capable of was proven in England in 1919-1920 when the miners, railroad workers and transport workers united in a Triple Alliance for the actual struggle against war, and the whole of the British labour movement effectively prepared for a general strike. They forced the British government not just to abandon its plan to start a war against Sovjet-Russia on the side of Poland, but as well to withdraw the troops that collaborated with the counter-revolutionaries in Siberia and Russia; to send the soldiers home that were still mobilized in England, and to immediately release every conscientious objector!

Let's not forget here what a small brave group or even an individual can achieve. We condemn in principle any reckless destruction of machines and production and every sabotage that would be accompanied by destruction of human life. But we don't object to anti-militarists making trafic impossible in times of mobilization, for example by the deconstruction of rails and sabotage of bridges. Just *change the signals to unsafe in advance* and leaves them like that. General-Major Ronge, head of the Austrian secret service, points out explicitly that -in order to make a country unable to wage war-, sabotage plays a major role. It turns out that the ruling class has no qualms with using the following means to their ends during war: “industrial disruption by damaging machinery, cutting of power supply, arson in storages and depots, bombing attacks, damaging of locomotives and tracks, damaging agriculture, spreading infectious disease among the cattle”[78]. All of that may be allowed by the God of Austria, Germany, England and eventually the Netherlands as well – we don't go that far. But we are convinced that we have the right, when the ruling class would try to instrumentalize the whole of industry and technics of our country to unleash a war and in so doing execute one giant attack not just on the Dutch people, but on all that remains internationally of humanity and civilization, to then *make the whole technical apparatus unusable in the most effective way we can for its criminal endeavour.*

Our comrades should examine in every company how they -sparing the machines as much as possible- can still disable them *adequately*. Sometimes all it requires is taking one single part that is difficult to replace, and a whole company comes to a standstill. Everyone knows what a handfull of fine sand can accomplish in the right conditions. Similarly the anti-militarists have of old recognized the necessity to cut telephone and telegraph wires.

In short our task is to apply the same sabotage that the ruling class apply during the war in the most *rückichtlose* and inhumane way, under the same circumstances but in the most responsible and humane way ourselves. So we completely agree with General Ronge when he states that there are a lot of points of attack in this respect, but that effective sabotage can only succeed when it is prepared by an “orientation that is as precise as possible in the items to be destroyed or damaged”, -that, by the way, can accidentally be found all around us... And in literature that must be spread among the workers of every specific profession and company in order to inform them about what they can individually and collectively do against the war, the *vulnerable pressure points* of the relevant technical installations must be specified as clearly as precisely, so that everyone knows exactly what is to be done.

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76 Reference by Karl Liebknecht in 'Militarismus und Antimilitarismus unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der internationalen Jugendbewegung', 1907, in which one can see what a magnificent initiative for the struggle against war was still alive at the turn of the century within the second International, only to be increasingly repressed by the official leadership in following years.

77 Domela Nieuwenhuis, 'Het Vredesboekje', Volksbibliotheek, Van Loo, p 58 ['Little Peace Book'] according to Schermerhorn published in 1914 (https://anarchisme.nl/namespace/domela_nieuwenhuis_als_antimilitarist) ; compare for example https://archive.org/details/domelanieuwenhuisalsgevredewilt from 1916 and https://archive.org/details/domelanieuwenhuisf.watbeteekentdemilitairedienstweigering from 1918

78 Max Ronge, 'Kriegs- und Industrie-Spionnage', 1930, p 265

On top of that I think that even today, as quickly as possible, all the organizations of war resisters together must create an *information centre* that gathers messages from engineers, technicians, workers, etc from all parts of the country on what is going on in regards to the preparation of war. This centre must verify these messages first, and publish them when they prove to be credible. Who knows if there won't be messages even from within the government administrations!
It is of the greatest importance that the war resisters are informed on the way in which the government routinely considers and treats the mass action of the people. In this regard the article of Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Fruyt van Hertog in 'Mavors' of July 1932, with the title 'Considerations about the Psychology of the Mass'.
This mister remarks:
"If the mass threatens with effective action, intervention is required with full force. *Half measures only increase resistance*. Usually with a minority against a majority in numbers, the action should not be aimed at the larger numbers unless success is guaranteed, but do this decisively and try to *get your hands on the leaders of the resistance*, the 'ring leaders'. Targeting women and children and other weaker ones only enrages people.
If the core of the resistance is targeted, this leaves an impression; a part of the mass -the doubters, the fearsome- separates itself. Contagion does the rest, the mass turns sides; new mass formation proves difficult when the leaders are arrested."
It follows that all anti-militarists must try to raise themselves up by self-education, so that they can ultimately do without leaders; and that it is the task of those who more or less act as leaders, to educate the masses in such way that they, the real educaters, make themselves increasingly unnecessary.
A comrade who is seriously preoccupied with the question of anti-militarist practice and just sent me a draft of 'suggestions for actual resistance against war', observes about the colonel's statement, that the government will eventually try to lock up *the leadership of all the organizations involved* in the whole country. Indeed all of us who play a more or less prominent role in the national and international struggle against war are since long followed up in the relevant administrations for information gathering. So take *this* fact into account too, and make sure that the organizations are capable to continue to function even if all its local and national leadership is in jail. Such measures can immediately bring about a true *democratization* of the organizations in question: don't let the same people talk every time! not always the same people on the boards and administration! etc etc. *All* should *actively participate* in deliberations and actions of the organizations.
The same comrade also points out that the *membership administration* should be secured, for example by keeping them in duplo or triplo in different places. Giesen, an original man, had in this regard a equally funny as effective idea. When we frequently had trouble with the police right after the world war, he declared: "Let's publish the names and addresses of all our members and correspondents -unless we have specific reasons to keep them secret- and even send them to the police if we have to". There is something to say for this paradox -the action about the 'war resisters'-manifesto worked in the same spirit- although we shouldn't go crazy and know exactly what we can say and what we need to keep to ourselves.
Also make sure that the *cash* is under control: in the ultimate scenario, funds of local and national organizations that are in the bank accounts can easily be seized. But in this respect as well: be *calm* and don't do anything rash.
This comrade also points to the following measures: prepare in advance, and keep a provision of designs and maybe prints of different proclamations, that can be spread and put up as quickly as possible *immediately after the publication of the government proclamations or even beforehand* in case of:

- rumours of war,
- rumours of mobilization,
- mobilization,
- state of emergency,
- declaration of war.

These proclamations are to be printed in 5 different types of formats that are not too big, on paper that is easy to put up. The contents must be short and to the point: in the first place a simple, strong, clear incitement to individual and collective action in the service of humanity and consciousness.
If as the war resisters are not yet capable of winning, during the mobilization all means of transport, postal services, telegraph and telephone included will be under military supervision. It's useful to consider *how our own networks* will be maintained without of all this, and to look for fast couriers among the current members that can train themselves in advance. We especially think of the younger people here.
Those who have access to a radio-transmitter, can also broadcast anti-militarist proclamations. Theoretical and practical study of the *radio technology* is of the utmost importance for our movement.
As to the attitude towards the soldiers, they should be considered more as victims of militarism than as enemies of the people; appeal -straight through their uniforms- to their conscience, and never forget that under every hat a rational head is trapped, a human spirit that we have to liberate as we would liberate a caged bird.
At the same time we should never wait for the initiative of union leaders etc as signs of providence! Remember the case of Van der Wal that we just mentioned, and all that happened in the international socialist movement from 1914 until today. The mass of workers has in the critical moment *to understand by itself what its task is* and push or bypass them when its leaders may relinquish their duty.
And finally it should never be forgotten that, even if it would be possible by means of direct action to prevent war at a given moment - a new and even more gruesome war looms as long as we live under the capitalist-imperialist system! In order to effectively abolish war, this society must be abolished, yes every form of political power apparatus. The more healthy the anti-militarist struggle develops, the more it naturally evolves into the struggle for a new society. This is where the negative becomes positive and we have to serve here just like we need to refuse to serve elsewhere. The great principle here can only be: *self-organisation of labour.*

Bart de Ligt. Onex, Geneva.

9. Mobilisation against the war! (1934)

[79]

Introduction.

We publish the '*Battle Plan against war and war preparation'* and the accompanying famous '*100 minutes speech*'[80] by Bart de Ligt that he delivered on July 29, 1934 on the triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International [W.R.I.] in Welwyn, Hertsfordshire, England under presidency of Lord Arthur Ponsonby, one of the bravest English pacifists, former Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, leader of the opposition in the House of Commons and author of “Now is the Time” in 1925.

At the conference delegates of the affiliated organisations attended, from 22 out of 27 countries while messages of sympathy came in from allover the world.

The 'campaign plan' was immediately taken into consideration by the International Council of the W.R.I. And is being analysed in all the countries involved. In England a Study Committee was established specifically for the analysis of the Plan de Ligt.

The campaign plan and the speech that the author kindly put at our disposal will also be published in French, English, Spanish, etc.

A Dutch edition has already been published in Antwerpen (Belgium) in an extra edition of 'Nooit Meer!'[81] with an introduction by Frans Arijs. It also contains an account of the whole Conference and the complete opening speech by Lord Ponsonby. Of great importance are also the accounts of the speeches by Reginald A. Reynolds about 'Pitfalls for pacifists' and by A. Fenner Brockway on 'Pacifisme en klassenstrijd'[82]

The goal of the campaign plan before you is to come to a *unity of anti-militarist action* allover the world based on *free discipline*.

About the importance of the whole Conference please see the article 'Nieuwe Oriëntering in de WRI' by 'Observator', published in de Persdienst IAK No 151, ed. Albert de Jong, Haarlem and printed a.o. in 'Bevrijding' of January 1935.[83]

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79 Edition: Brochurendepot der Internationale Anti-Militaristische Vereeniging - IAMV [Brochure Depot of the International Anti-Militarist Coalition]

80 https://anarchief.org/wiki/De_Ligt,_Bart_-_Mobilisatie_tegen_de_oorlog!_(1934)

81 https://nevb.be/wiki/Vlaamsche_Jongeren_Vredes-Aktie_(VJVA); collection in https://opac.amsab.be/Record/Tijdschriften_400004132

82 BdL – Available from 'Nooit Meer!, p.a. Frans Arijs, Graaf van Egmondstraat 16, Antwerpen, Postrekening 2836.78. Price 3 belgische franken. [Unclear which book BdL refers to here, possibly 'Socialism for pacifists' (1916)? See https://archive.org/details/socialismforpaci00brociala)

83 https://www.delpher.nl/nl/tijdschriften/objectsearch/pagejump?identifier=MMKB16:003986001:mpeg21&coll=dts&query=&cql%5B%5D=%28volumeYear+_gte_+%221935%22%29&cql%5B%5D=%28volumeYear+_lte_+%221936%22%29&cql%5B%5D=%28alternative+all+%22Bevrijding%22%29&sortfield=date&resultsjump=1&rowid=1 page 9 and following

A. MOBILISATION AGAINST THE WAR! ('100 Minutes Speech' WRI Welwyn - 1934)

Speech on 29th of July at the tri-annual Conference of the War Resisters' International (WRI) in Welwyn (Hertsforshire, England).

1. Necessity of systematic struggle against war.

Comrades!
We live in a time of questionable degeneration. Since the beginning of history the peoples have never before armed themselves like since the start of the Disarmament Conference[84]. In every civilized country the methods of scientific warfare -chemical, bacteriological, electrotechnical- are systematically developed and enormous national mobilisations are prepared, that will involve men as well as women and youth, to effectively wage what is already called 'la guerre totale', the total war. It is a time of overcivilized barbarity.
Just years ago the resistance against this gruesome development seemed to grow strongly everywhere. But you know that since the fascist mindset has spread from country to country like a contageous disease, this resistance has weakened significantly. The chances of a new world war -of which the consequences would be even more appalling than of the one that broke out precisely 20 years ago- increase daily. All the more reason why we need to increase our efforts tenfold in order to prevent a global bloodbath, and ultimately to make it impossible.
Let's not forget that in spite of everything, our anti-militarism is far from a lost cause. There is no reason at all to become the defeatists of peace! Even if the governments were capable of pushing millions of men and women into a new big war, it is more than likely that those mobilized, appalled by the horrors of the scientific war, would soon recede from so-called national defence and the desperation of the peoples would turn into uprising and revolution. This possibility is the first reason why even the most belligerent governments **currently hesitate to start new wars**. Because they know very well that a new war would be an extremely dangerous undertaking in which they risk everything, and that the result would probably be what is called 'the bolshevikation of the whole world' in those circles.
Let's not forget as well that, in spite of everything, in several countries the war resistance still grows and that our cause is stronger than ever before.
Even so **the weakness of our struggle** lays mainly in the fact that -while in militarist circles there is activity day and night, publicly and secretly, to set up plans and methods to wage the war as effectively as possible- the anti-militarist movement has not been able to put up equivalent organizational strength and as yet still hasn't set up a system of mobilization that is equally effective and comprehensive. It is high time to remedy this! There is also a special reason why we have to direct our attention to the practical side of war resisting: the **modern youth** has had it with vague and edifying declarations; it demands specific moral and technical guidelines and, above all, practical protocols. Our anti-militarist principles are generally known these days. What we need today is not so much theory or philosophy, but practice.
This thought is spreading in our movement. But a great number of comrades still has too romantic an idea about the struggle at hand. They speak only of 'being ready for the big moment' and mainly want to perform 'decisive acts'. Without doubt the big moment can break at any time each day and specific circumstance can suddenly demand decisive actions. But meanwhile daily life goes on, that is to say on the side of the pacifists and anti-militarist side, a wait-and-see attitude is adopted while the militarist camp multiplies its labour and zeal and **leaves almost nothing to coincidence**.
Our lack of consistency even causes ridiculous misunderstandings. I once heard an ardent war resister -who, by the way, neglected her anti-militarist tasks in every regard- exclaim: “O, how I

84 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conference_for_the_Reduction_and_Limitation_of_Armaments

would love to be a man, so I could refuse military service!" and I received a letter from a young man who was incidentally unfit for military service and who wrote: "What you want is magnificent! But because I'm simply not subjected to military service, **what can I do**?"
We must finally recognize that what our movement actually gets done -even with an abundance of pacifist and anti-militarist enthousiasm- is no match for the task that is really before us. It is especially deplorable that there is so much dilettant, erratic and haphasardous conduct precisely where it should all be about systematic, competent and relentless action.
To remedy this lack of systematic preparation, I hereby propose my draft[85] for a mobilization plan against war, that concerns anti-militarism both in peacetime and in wartime. I hope that even the first lecture of it proves that in the struggle against war, every human and every group has an immediate important role to fulfill that should should taken up immediately.[86] The fact that in this Battle Plan certain points are less elaborated than others doesn't mean at all that they are less important: extremely important acts are sometimes only named by one word – but a word that speaks volumes! The fact that certain parts are printed smaller or bigger doesn't say anything about the practical or moral meaning of those parts. That is merely a simple matter of structure and subdivision.

2. Voluntarism against coercion.

All that being said, our method of struggle is not forced upon people: we are not militarists! We don't force anyone into war against war, nor threaten anyone with imprisonment or a bullet in case people refuse to serve our cause. Our army is strictly made up of **volunteers** that we urge incessantly to act as responsible as possible according to insight, abilities and circumstances.
Without doubt we tirelessly propagate: "Soldiers and workers, strike!" - in the hopes that an increasing number of soldiers and brain- and manual workers will extract themselves as soon as possible from the 'service of death'. We indeed want to mobilize all moral and humane forces for a battle in which the heroism that expressed itself with such barbarism in war, finds truly humane forms on a higher level. But we don't know anything about a categorical imperative or a dictatorship. The consequences of our tactic are too heavy for the individual to force even the most essential work onto anyone at all. On the contrary, we explicitly warn all our comrades against exagerated acts and gestures, against all phraseology and posturing, and in general against people doing things that are beyond their abilities. I have known comrades who never trembled when they were facing a revolver, but were incapable of enduring prison. And others, who easily went through long prison sentences, but trembled on their feet before a gun. There are people who would be capable of exemplary participation in collective movements of refusal of service -driven forwards by the tension of the moment and the enthousiasm of the joint action- and wouldn't even hesitate before death, but who can't decide on individual refusal to serve in calmer times and without extra-ordinary moral stimuli, nor could they stand the prison sentence that it would involve. Let those comrades subject themselves to the service that the state enforces. You will see in our Battle Plan, which tasks await them there! Because we can't do without simultaneously **building a network for underground propaganda in the barracks, air fields and war ships** for the tactical and strategic preparation that is required to win over soldiers and sailors for our cause.
Those who -forced into military service- are at a certain moment unable to refuse the service demanded for serious reasons, should enter the barracks. In countries where this is possible they could appeal to the conscientious objection laws. As long as they never forget that -even if they do the most peaceful possible work instead of soldier work- in times of mobilization and war their labour immediately take **a military character** and so they should take part in the general strike that

85 Tr. Note: I have not found a digital copy of the handouts and I refer to the English version in 'The Conquest of Violence' as the only English version I know to be saved for posterity.
86 See further on. An English or French version of the Battle Plan was handed out in advance amongst those present.

-accompanied by mass refusal of service- must make it impossible for the government to wage war. Let, on the other hand, those who are capable to refuse all military service, feel themselves morally obliged to liberate themselves as soon as possible from this slavery, whatever the consequences!
This kind of deliberations are just as valid for other actions like the **refusal to pay taxes**. History teaches that several cases of individual refusal to pay taxes have not been entirely meaningless, but that it is generally speaking more useful as a **collective** action in connection to certain events: the decision of a government or parliament to modernize or expand the army or fleet, raise the war budget, etc. The individuals who want to protest against the actions of their government by individually refusing to pay taxes forever, take such a big risk together with their family that they must consider whether it is 'worth it' before starting to act. But still, in this Battle Plan resufal to pay taxes is found under the individual actions because it is simply a fact that -under specific circumstances and for certain people- precisely this action could be most appropriate and it could be be of big moral and practical importance at a certain moment.
The same is true for the principle of **ethical production**. Negatively: refusal of all inhumane labour, in this case of all that serves the war directly. Because this principle demands different things from everyone. Each has to take into account their nature and disposition, their economic situation and that of their family, etc. Ruthless implementation of this action usually has big consequences, especially in times of economic crisis. In general it is infinitely more difficult to act on principle than to simply refuse military service.
In essence we never force anyone, physically nor mentally, to adopt a certain attitude. But what we demand from everyone is to think well and to act **as consistently as possible** and to research precisely what one personally has to do or leave. A bookshop keeper who decides it is commercially necessary to have all kinds of books in stock, can still act as an anti-militarist by keeping militaristic and nationalist books in the background as much as possible and constantly make tactful propaganda for more peaceful and anti-militarist literature. Often this method is strategically more meaningful than the ostentatious display of anti-militarist books and brochures, although on the other hand, the availability of explicitly anti-militarist bookshops is not less necessary. During the mobilization of the Dutch army for the world war, when the Netherlands was in a state of war and was besieged, I have repeated several times in meetings of ammunition workers: “Comrades! you may have good reasons to continue your undignified labour -because you know that your work is undignified. But if you are as yet still unable to withdraw from this ignoble work, **at least** prepare for a general strike in case of war and carefully research how you could technically make war effectively impossible. At least direct your attention as much as possible on the anti-militarist practice even now”. And in spite of their explicitly military work our anti-militarist movement remained in constant contact with such comrades as well.

3. First things first.

The contents of the Battle Plan that I present to you here is the practical result of a thorough study of the war against war in the last 2,500 years in Asia, Europe and the rest of the world that I published in my 'Vrede als Daad' of which the first volume was just published in French under the title 'La Paix Creatrice'[87] You will also find the different motives there that are the foundations of direct action against war since some tens of centuries.
My research clearly shows that the biggest insult to the modern peoples is the cowardess, with which nearly all of them subjugated themselves to **military slavery**. For a long time it looked like the Anglo-Saxon peoples wouldn't stoop so low as to accept military slavery. But even during the American Civil War it was clear that when military necessity demands it, military coercion can even be imposed upon peoples that have stood apart with their age-long big personal and social independence. During the world war -with few exceptions- military conscription was imposed on

87 Marcel Rivière, Paris. Dutch edition Brochuren-Depot I.A.M.V.

the British and Northern-American peoples. If, after the world war, the governments involved no longer demanded military service from their populations, that is all but a definitive measure. In all those countries **conscription** is maintained in principle, and is no longer enforced for simple opportunistic reasons. With an eye on the possible new wars the governments in question have done everything possible since the last world war to train enormous cadres by means of military dressage in high schools and colleges, ready to lead millions of conscripts into war if the occasion presents itself. On top of that, a system of industrial and social conscription has been installed in the United States, England as well as France and elsewhere, that will force the women into the same wartime social and industrial services that are indispensable for the 'total war'. Today -as colonel Fuller concluded- whole peoples throw themselves into the war, not just as soldiers but also to replenish the army morally and materially.[88] Even in China, that has for millenia taken pride in its own peacefulness and that has deliberately kept itself away from all militarism and state slavery, preparations are underway for implementing the example of the so-called modern states and forced conscription. There are political and social symptoms that point to a possibly liberated India being threatened by the same danger.

A few years ago Prof. Noël Baker recognized (in his research on the possibility of a limitation or restriction of international armaments in relation to the so-called Disarmament Conference) that there was not one government in Geneva that was willing to abolish conscription forever. The fact that after a world war, the governments of the victorious peoples enforced the abolition of conscription on the vanquished states while they themselves maintained it -at least in principle- for themselves more than ever, has only reinforced the urge of the 'allies' to reintroduce it.

The German philosopher Krause has correctly declared that as long as the modern nations give their governments the right to systematically subject their youth to military dressage and training, and to mobilize the whole population as conscripts eventually, they are not in the least free essentially. No matter how beautiful and brave the act of the refuser of military service, this heavy task would not normally have to be carried on the shoulders of the youth **if only older men and women that call themselves pacifists and anti-militarists wouldn't leave the heaviest work to a generation that hasn't come to full mental and physical maturity**. No wonder that in recent time several Dutch mothers protested against the state still putting immature youths before this moral dilemma: to serve or not to serve; and force them to serve. They appeal to every parent to resist this state coercion on minors.

Mrs. Prins-Burgers, Mrs. Smit-Schucking Kool and several other mothers have pointed to the fierce contradiction between the fact that the law makes the parents responsible for the intellectual and moral education of their children, while the same law coerces their underage sons into military service. As consciously anti-militarist parents, they don't want their underage children to be burdened with such heavy consequences, and they declare that they are willing to undergo themselves the punishments that the refusal to send their children into the barracks triggers. In the same spirit they refuse to hand over the official documents for the military service, inspection, etc to the youths and they send them back to the government, saying: **refused by the parents**. They don't want the state to seize their underage children for whom they are themselves, as educators, morally responsible according to the law.

We have already experienced that such behaviour of mothers and the trials that follow, makes a deep impression on public opinion and incite other women to act similarly in solidarity with their children. Indeed these demands must be made in all countries and the governments must be forced by means of direct action of the people to implement them:

I. **Immediate liberation of every imprisoned conscious objector.**
II. **The right to refuse service awaiting the abolishing of all conscription.**
III. **Abolishing all military conscription.**
IV. **Abolishing the law on war declaration and everything related to war.**

More than once history itself has proven that a government is incapable of enforcing conscription or

88 "The Reformation of War", 1923, p. 70.

military training of youth upon its citizens when the people involved dó know what they want.
In 1902 the Fins refused to submit to military conscription that the Tsar subjected them to; and even this autocratic government backed down.
In 1917 the Irish refused to submit to any conscription by the British government, and military slavery was abandoned.
In 1917 -in the middle of the world war- the Australian people refused twice by referendum to accept the conscription law, even if the government thought it was indispensable and did everything to influence public opinion and to enforce a desired outcome.
In 1930 the government of New Zealand was forced to abandon military training of youth after 50,000 boys -supported by 100,000 parents ready to undergo any punishment that their attitude would trigger- had refused to subject themselves to military dressage.

4. The meaning of military conscription.

When we explain the anti-militarist tactics like this, the reacton often is: “Because of the development of chemical, electro-technical and bacteriological methods of war, the modern war is possible 'without general mobilization and without the millions in armies' that have characterized the 1914 war. So it 'is useless' to trust on individual and collective refusal to serve for our war resistance. Because it's just a fact 'that the gargantuan national armies have become superfluous and military conscription has lost its former 'meaning". It has even been said that the struggle against conscription would leave the governments completely indifferent. But no government acts as if it doesn't care! In increasing numbers of countries ever increasingly severe measures are taken in the hopes of suppressing any propaganda for **individual and mass refusal of military service**.
No wonder! The military experts declare that “even if the modern war is no longer waged mainly by people and if the material equipment plays an ever increasing role in it, it remains true that the soul of this material, the main actor in the drama, the one and only capable of acting with intellect and disctinction, is still: **the human**”; and that it is certain “that under equal technical conditions success can only depend on **humans**... And therefore the size of the infantry in proportion to the other weapons can not be diminished without limit.”[89]
According to general Réquin[90], the position that is so often put forward -about a future war being waged only by small professional armies- is untennable in the light of factual reality. It is a complete fallacy to juxtapose the quality army and the quantity army. It is also a fallacy to juxtapose material and people because the material is just a tool in the hands of people and couldn't function without them.
The widespread opinion that the number of men can continue to be reduced and replaced by war hardware, is only correct inasfar as the frontline is concerned. In the totality of war, the balance is precisely nihil! Suppose a battery of machine guns has the fire power of half a section of infantry of 20 men, the amount of men needed to set up the machine guns, operate them, supply ammunition and provisions etc is at least 20 at the frontlines and behind them. So the 20 men have not become redundant; they fulfill **other functions**.[91]
In November 1931 the French general Debeny has explicitely rejected the opinion that people could indefinitely be replaced by hardware.[92] He established that at first glance, a military airplane only needs 2 men to operate it and that modern battalions, even if they're smaller in size, have bigger fighting power than those in 1914. But this reduction in men is only superficial because the number of men that are redundant because of the modern armament turns out to be necessary for the

89 Colonel Lucas, ”Ce que tout Chef doit savoir". 1928, p. 24. 10
90 Tr. Note: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Édouard_Réquin
91 “Wie würde ein neuer Krieg aussehen?" Untersuchung, eingeleitet von der Interperlementarischen Union, 1932, p 18-19
92 In a speech before the Swiss Union of Officers on the character of modern armies. See the report in „Algemeen Handelsblad", Amsterdam, 14 November 1931.

maintenance of airfields, ammunition, provisions, etc. According to this expert, the number of men that is used behind the frontlines has increased dramatically. Every airplane for example demands the collaboration of approximately 60 people.
The Anglo-Saxon experts have recently pointed to the necessity to train infantry in such way in the future, that they are capable of executing the most diverse tasks that modern war technology demands. Also, people shouldn't be influenced too much by the -by the way very futuristic- discourse of those we could call the prophets of modern warfare, like the French expert Mayer, the Italian Douhet[93], the English Fuller, Croft, Liddell Hart, etc. Moretta concludes[94] -completely in line with the ideas of the German general Von Seekt, the creator of the Reichswehr, and of the Italian commander Ulisse Guadagnini, writer of the "Guerra futura"- that a possible European war would share the same character as the one of 1914 if it is a war between **armed nations** that would put all their material and human reserves on the line. Indeed we must assume that the stakes of a new big war would in many ways be the same as those of the end of the 1914 war.[95] Even if it were just because the military chefs, like people in general, are conservatives who break with existing tradition only with difficulty. Most of them only adapt slowly and hesitatingly to the new circumstances.
This conservatism, that has multiple causes of course -inertia of the mind, obsolete idealism, professional jealousy against parvenus from those who feel no longer capable of processing modern ideas, all kinds of economical and other interests- threatens to cause **useless slaughters** of people, even from a military point of view. In short it is probable that in a possible new big war the hyper-modern methods of war will rather be implemented every now and then, in waves, even just because of the purely technical reason that the modern material will not be ready yet in sufficient amounts.
And finally: Foch concludes that a large conscription army will always be necessary to occupy a country.

5. The nature of modern conscription.

There is one point that all military experts agree on, conservative ones and progressive ones: that in a new war, industrial, social, intellectual and moral service will not be less crucial than military service. The whole modern system of war demands swift and accurate functioning of an ever increasing number of men and women that collaborate with automatized speed and regularity. Without doubt the war front is increasingly motorized, mechanized and rationalized, but all the human labour this frees up is requisitioned **behind the frontlines** to fulfill crucial tasks in industry, transport, etc.
Lieutenant-colonel Mayer states that "even if not everyone must appear on the actual frontline itself, each will need to work at least between or behind the frontstage... It is up to the military commanders to exploit this human resource(!) as well as possible in the interest of national defence **without concern for the age of those involved**. Physical fitness, intellectual or moral ability, skills, etc are the only factors to be taken into account. When the war breaks out, **no-one belongs to themselves**. Every citizen is at the disposal of the service of the fatherland."[96] That's why we find the following in the book of this expert who at least doesn't mince words[97]:
"§ 3 – In the cases that the law provides (national mobilization, convocation by the League of Nations(!) every Frenchman is at the disposal of the state, **regardless of age or sex**."
Because as we have already seen that, in a coming war, the women as well will be increasingly

93 Giulio Douhet, „Il Dominio dell' Aria", 1933.
94 in „Come sera la Ouerra di dornani?", translated to German under the title „Wie sieht der Krieg von morgen aus?" 1934
95 Rocco Moretta, „Wie sieht der Krieg von Morgen aus", 1934, S. 212.
96 Lieutenant-Colonel Emile Mayer, „La Guerre d'hier et l'Armée de demain", Rivière, Paris, pp 98-182.
97 In his book 'On the war of yesterday and the army of the future', that he concludes with a draft programme of military organization

subjected to military service. One thing is already sure: in case of war every side counts on a general mobilization of men that will cause at least 20% of the whole male population behind the frontline will need to be replaced by women, and in official circles it is openly acknowledged that the ammunition industry that is crucial for the war is paralyzed without the permanent cooperation of millions of women.

6. Woman and the modern war.

In my 'Nieuwe Vormen van Oorlog'[98] I have drawn attention to the fact that the women have already played a big role during the world war. In his study "TradeUnionism and Munitions"[99], Cole has remarked that, during the world war, 3,000,000 women in England dedicated all their energy to the preservation of industrial and social life behind the front. A large part of them worked in the ammunitions factories.
When the Armistice was signed, 1,300,000 women worked in the war industry, who produced all kinds of murder instruments. Corcos determines that these women "made all these instruments of murder completely voluntarily and in the most perfect discipline. Now and then they fainted, but that was because of the stench of the copper."[100]
Even then neither the high salaries nor the appeal to the sacrifice for the fatherland proved sufficient to mobilize enough women for the national industry. Assuming that the war has become a duel between two groups of national war industry in which -on both sides of the frontline- the whole population is directly or indirectly involved and where it comes down to getting the industrial mobilization going in the shortest possible time with perfect regularity[101], the governments prepare the **service of women** for the industrial and social organization and the military auxiliary services during the war. Because the women are often not aware of what they're threatened with, my Battle Plan further on accentuates the necessity of a specific propaganda amongst the women (Chapter II, under L).

7. International character of the war against war.

It goes without saying that between the states that go to war together against a different group of states, the economic, social and moral relations become increasingly tighter so that they function together as a real technical unity. During the war, the war resisters have to break those ties. In order to do so they must -starting immediately- connect with their comrades in other countries: openly and secretly, organizationally and morally. Understand that we can never be connected enough with comrades beyond the borders!
The war resisters in different countries must constantly consult with one another (for example the British and the Dutch, in order to elaborate an effective plan of resistance in preparation for a possible war with Japan; the French, Belgian and possibly the Dutch war resisters in preparation of a possible armed conflict with Germany; etc). Because for war resisters there are no enemy populations even in war time, the anti-militarist networks must spread deep into the officially hostile countries and across the states involved; there must be collaboration -as effective as possible- against all preparation for war and war itself. All this is elaborated in the Battle Plan, Chapter II, practical part from letter T onwards. In this light the so-called border meetings in countries that threaten eachother with war are of the utmost importance (letter T, N°9).

98 Published in French under the title 'Contre la Guerre Nouvelle', Rivière, Paris, 1928. Dutch version sold out.
99 Tr. Note: G. D. H. Cole, 'Trade Unionism and Munitions', At the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1923, https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.22610
100 F. Corcos, "Les Femmes en Guerre", 1927, p. 151.
101 See Lieut. Col. Rcboul, "Mobilisalion industrielle", I., 1925, pp. 190-1.

When tensions rise between two states the war resisters in both countries involved should exchange speakers to prove to the people on both sides of the border that there are other forces at work than those who push for war in the country that the authorities and the official press present so unfavorably and unsympathetically. Remember the travels of the Japanese anti-militarist Kagawa to China on critical moments, to apologize to the Chinese for the belligerence of official Japan and to convince them that there were also other men and women in his country, who would remain faithful to international solidarity despite everything. In this respect a few years ago Polish and German catholic pacifists on both sides of the German-Polish border have done exemplary work as well.
That a systematic campaign against the war preparation in two countries that threaten to start an armed conflict can effectively prevent bloody clashes, was clearly demonstrated by the catholic pacifists of Argentina and Chile at the start of this century. This effective action was symbolized in 1904 by the erection of the Statue of Christ of the Andes[102]. It was confirmed again in 1905 by the Swedish and Norwegian socialists during the campaign that the socialist youth had started, that threatened the governments in both countries with mass refusal of military service and general strike if they started a war.

8. Don't wait until the last moment!

The modern war can only be waged as a 'total war' in which every one of the states involved functions as a moral-social-industrial-military unit. The ruling class will do everything it can to make sure that the peoples fight in a future war until -to speak with the military experts Helle and Ache- “their forces are completely depleted”. International treaties on the banning of certain gruesome methods of war, alledgedly to humanize the war, will not be honored: because of the modern war technique the future wars will “without any doubt be exceptionally gruesome and fierce”.[103]
In this light the American president Coolidge has declared that in a new war there will be an unprecedented mobilization, not just of people and industries but resources as well.[104] Commander Coste also points out that this so to speak physical mobilization is paired with an equally general and systematic **moral mobilization**.[105] It is being prepared even in the smallest countries with the possible exeption of Luxemburg, Monaco and Andorra...
If the war resisters postpone their attempt to break this gargantuan system until the mobilization order sounds, they will surely come too late, especially because the moral war preparation will have unleashed enormous tides in the subconscious energy of the mass. This is clearly explained in the important treatise of Edward Glover on “War, Sadism and Pacifism”.[106]
In this respect as well one must look far ahead to see the storm coming closer and to take measures before it's too late. We have repeatedly explained in detail that, if people are **not educated well in time, and trained to resist the moral contamination of nationalist enthousiasm**, every attempt to stop the war at the critical moment will inevitably fail. Because behind that nationalist enthousiasm powerful psychological urges are at work. The collective horror of primitive people and all kinds of psychological powers can be rediscovered, that have worked in the subconscious of the individual since earliest childhood, as well as the most sublime forms of conscious idealism and dedication -let us never forget that still a certain number of people are naive enough to embody all that is beautiful and good in the national false god. Especially the most unconscious need to escape from oneself by any means possible is rediscovered there, that has taken possession of millions of individuals

102 See B. de Ligt, “La Paix créatrice”, II, 1934, pp. 409-440.
103 Helle et Ache, “La Défense nationale et ses Conditions modernes ”, 1932.
104 See my “Nieuwe vormen van Oorlog", pp. 31—32.
105 See Charles Coste “La Psychologie sociale de la Guerre", 1928, .La Psychologie du Combat", 1929.
106 Edward Glover, “War, Sadism, Pacifism", 1933. https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.218097. By the way Glover, like most psycho-analists, is very one-dimensional and insufficiently knowledgable about the ethnologic, sociologic and historic data about this subject.

already, who are incessantly tortured by all kinds of personal misery and unfavorable social conditions: mechanical toil in industry or in taylorized offices that can yield no moral satisfaction at all; neverending joblessness with its limitless boredom; hurtful social submission; imprisonment in unbearable marriages; in short the permanent dissatisfaction of everyday life combined with an instinctive desire for new freedom. This need to exalt themselves or to deliver themselves to something glorious is even reinforced by the amor fati, the urge for adventerous danger, that typically human curiosity that is all too often ignored by psychologists, sociologists and moralists and that repeatedly brings the human being to risking his life even for the most ridiculous things.
The state of collective enthousiasm that is so typical of the nationalist enthousiasm, is also energized by the mechanism of militariy discipline that, as the Hungarian tutor Huzella has demonstrated, makes man regress to a barbaric cultural phase: the pre-individual stage in which the personal responsibility is deactivated.[107] Even the music, that has seemingly nothing to do with the war, serves -as the French psychiatrist Damaye[108], head of the state mental institutions who has experienced the world war himself, recognized- by its magical power that electrifies the mass, “to drag the people in and to mislead them about the reality that awaits them”. Several national anthems, whose words are nothing but hollow rambling, have strong suggestive power and a deeply-ethnological impact because of their musical character -the Marseillaise for example, that mirrors the French temperament so perfectly. The nationality, the army and all kinds of fictitious-collective phenomena and ideas “are very well suited for musical inspiration on the condition that they are contemplated from a distance and their true meaning is absolutely ignored. Art serves to disguise the most appalling or to imagine things that one knows absolutely nothing about”; the most impressive melodies are often born from a state of exaltation - 'sous l’influence d'un ètat d’âme paroxystique de leur créateur'[109] that enchants their eventual public all too easyly.
It is with reason that prof. Duprat has established that there is an age-old **social determinism** that almost irresistably drags individuals and masses into war at critical moments.[110] In order to extract ourselves from it one must not only take part in the new, higher social determinism of human freedom and responsibility to some extent, but also **know precisely** what one has to do and exactly in which respect, in which way and to what extent one can count on the collaboration of one's national and international comrades. Global sense of solidarity, clear insight in the international politics and social conditions and a sense of responsibility towards the future of humanity must be prepared and nurtured beforehand, so that in the critical moment an ever increasing number of persons and groups no longer get dragged along by the traditional social determinism that only leads the peoples into the abbyss of mutual destruction. But at the same time it is not less important that each individual and every organization is precisely aware of their own **practical task**. Otherwise a chaotic situation of uncertainty and hesitation arises, that can only paralyse the direct action that is more necessary than ever. It is even more important to keep this in mind because the war resisters, who are probably a minority for the time being, have to use their energy as systematically and economically as possible and can't waste energy unnecessarily.

9. To prevent is better than to cure.

It is furthermore as natural as it is reasonable that the new social determinism not only appeals to the most noble of humanity's mental forces, but to their instincts and more primitive passions as well, that are simply the basis of all life and civilization, such as for example the completely justified urge for self preservation: modern humans must be made aware of the fact that **it is no longer useful** to risk one's own life and the future of national and international culture in an endless

107 Th. Huzella, “Individu dans la Vie sociale en Temps de Paix et en Temps de Guerre”, 1923.
108 Henri Damaye, „Psychiatre ct Civilisation", 1934, pp. 176-179.
109 Tr. Note: “under the influence of a mental state of paroxysm of their creator”
110 O. L. Duprat, “La Contraintc sociale et la Guerre , 1928

process of murder and destruction of which even the military experts acknowledge that it will be one gargantuan onslaught on everything that humanity has produced of social, moral and spiritual values in the course of the centuries. War has become a material collective insanity that results from a moral collective insanity. In this regard Heering, the tutor from Leiden, is absolutely right when he puts it on the same level as Kant's 'radikal Böse'[111].
So now it is understood why our Battle Plan puts so much importance on what individuals and groups are to do to **prevent** war, and the necessity of a moral and practical **preparation**, so that every individual and every organization -whatever their social role- is always ready to break **any start of mobilization** by personal and collective actions.

10. Moral education.

Let us learn from our adversaries! The military experts declare that no combat can take place unless the soldiers involved overcome their individual and collective fear; that in modern war, in spite of its abundance of mechanical instruments, the main issue remains -as ever before- **the morale of the fighters** and that this should be prepared carefully in advance. According to them it is especially necessary that each combattant understands not only the task that he personally has to accomplish, but the overall goal of the action to be undertaken as well. Commander Coste and captain Liddell Hart both conclude that in war, the first objective is not destruction and killing, but breaking **the morale, the determination** of the opponent by any means necessary. During the war the commanders must **constantly fire up the heroism** of the troops with words and deeds, because experience teaches that not just the fear, but the courage as well expresses itself – is also contageous, so to speak! In the war against war, not any less than in war itself, effective organization and active sense of solidarity are necessary, as well as a constant incitement to heroism. That is -again- the big importance of individual and collective refusal to serve that can electrify -especially in times of tension- the masses that are already more or less rebellious.
Just like the moral education of war soldiers, the moral education of peace soldiers must be characterized by the **celebration of the offensive**, even if it was just because -to speak with commander Sorb- “the one who attacks has the initiative and chooses place and time”. Everything must be aimed at achieving the set goal as quickly as possible. And the enthousiastic patriotism of the opponents must be overcome by the endlessly more noble enthousiasm for the supra-national idea of humanity.
Everything considered, we could say that the mass is generally speaking not belligerent, but is dragged into the war at critical moments by relatively small groups that dispose of a good psychological understanding and a powerful organization, and don't shy away from the most base means to achieve their goal, as our comrade Ponsonby demonstrated in his 'Falsehood in War Time'. That is why the late Jos Giesen has insisted that we, from our side, must nurture anti-militarist nuclei as well. To speak in bolshevik terms: we need to form assault brigades, groups of advance guards that are always ready to put everything on the line and do what needs to be done. The exemplary work of these core groups must strike the soul of the masses like lighting and inflame them so that they -spontaneously following the given example- withdraw more and more from all social and moral coercion of the ruling class.
Comrade Giesen propagated an exellent idea in this regard. Seeing that in certain parts of the Netherlands there were whole regions where the majority of the people had become principled anti-militarists and had started acting accordingly, he propagated a kind of **local prohibition**, that is to say that in these places there must be an attempt to win over the whole population by systematic action.[112] This propaganda must especially be spread by the inhabitants themselves, including women and the youth, and in such way that each one does the work that fits them best, and in all

111 Transl. Note: 'radically evil'
112 “Gemeentelijke ontwapening” ['Municipal disarmament', Tr.], .De Arbeider", 17 Juli 1929.

professions and companies. In the sphere of local disarmament, a noble competition must arise between one village and the next, one city and the next, one region and the next, until at last the whole country is mobilized for peace.
In any case **a whole new code of honor** must be acted upon. Even before the world war, the Comtist[113] Texeira Mendes pointed out that -in the battle for peace-, emotion is even more important than reasoning: “These days, war must trigger a sense of repulsion like the cannibalism and slavery trigger today, and no longer a sense of fame, honor or excuses.”[114] In order to cultivate the new feelings of sympathy and respect for all that lives in peace, on certain dates and for certain events **special campaigns** must be organized -house calls, spreading pamphlets, theatre performances, manifestations, etc- in which each war resister fulfills a specific task, followed by meetings in which everyone reports on their own actions and experiences, and where new campaigns are prepared. In regions where this is not yet possible more modest aims must be formulated and there must be special attention to win over **the women and the youth**.
What can be achieved in this way is shown in the persistent anti-militarist struggle of Ds. N. J. C. Schermerhorn and his brave comrades in Nieuwe Niedorp (North Holland). They started at the beginning of this century and continued strong during the difficult time of mobilization in 1914-1920. The war against war went from home to home in the end. When in 1932 the police in Nieuwe Niedorp wanted to arrest a conscientious objector, part of the population rose up in such way to protect the boy, that the forces of the official order had to back down. Only later did they see a chance to capture him - in a different place, where the boy worked and where the anti-militarist ideas had not permeated as deeply. But if the workers there had immediately declared their solidarity, if all the comrades, **all the people** there had put themselves in front of him, then probably even the police would have chosen his side! I myself have already been arrested by policemen who openly declared that they were ashamed of what they did, and to look forward to the day when the principles that I was being imprisoned for would triumph! At which point I replied: “The triumph that you talk about also depends on you. I have just read that the policemen in Boston have struck for higher wages. Over here in the Netherlands a large number of policemen are members of the S.D.A.P. So if you're able to strike, why wouldn't you do it for your internationalist principles?”

11. Now or never!

What matters most is that all war resisters -one by one- understand that they are involved in an ongoing struggle against an enemy that not just assaults their own lives, but essentially the whole of humanity, and whose criminal power is best undermined and attacked **at this very moment**, that is to say in peace time. It's a good thing that the number of people that start to recognize this elementary truth increases daily, not just amongst those whose propaganda (like by comrade Ponsonby, author of 'Now is the Time') is mostly based on the personal responsibility for war, but as well amongst those who consider the struggle against war in the first place to be a matter or organization of the masses. In his latest work 'Labour and War, the Theory of Labour Action to prevent War' with a preface by Harold Laski, Bjarne Braatoy as well stresses the necessity 'to connect efficacity with efficiency' and to concentrate all attempts to fight war as much as possible. He seriously regrets that the international labour movement has not yet succeeded to lead enough technical organizations in such way that they are actually capable of preventing war. This is also the position of the Internationaal Antimilitaristisch Bureau [IAMB] in Haarlem and the International Workers Association [IWA] in Madrid, by the way.
People will also have noticed that the bolsheviks as well are starting to understand how much an effective national and international organization of war resisters is necessary, as became clear at the

113 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religion_of_Humanity
114 R. Texeira Mendès, “Encore le Militarisme et la Diplomatie, Église et Apostolat positiviste du Brésil”, Rio (Brazil), July 6, 1908.

Congress against War in Amsterdam in 1932. If we have objections against the bolshevik anti-militarist tactic, this does not include their theoretical propaganda for an anti-militarist unified front, but their practical acceptance of the 'total war' -including military conscription, chemical, electro-technical and bacteriological methods of war for 'national defence' of Russia and the international 'defence of the revolution'.
Given all that it is imperative that in these circles as well, propaganda has started for the refusal to transport weapons and ammunition, for mass refusal of service and general strike, and that there is at least some sympathy for principle conscientious objectors, at least... those outside of Russia. Because in Stalinist Russia our comrades are often prosecuted even more horribly than they were under the Tsar.[115]

12. The most vulnerable points of the war system.

Let's return to the practical side of things now: in the modern war there is a fixed proportion between the regular requirements of each division and the industrial production that is necessary to satisfy them: if the latter is more or less disrupted the former inevitably undergoes the effect; if production stops the whole division is powerless. If the industry involved produces enough, but the products can't reach the frontline: same result! That is why the military experts consider the connections between front and hinterland as the most vulnerable point, like the Achilles heel of the whole war operation. All attacks must be directed there especially.[116]
Generally speaking we can say that the war is a cooperation of three different factors - as perfectly as possible:

- the frontline (army, air force, marine)
- connections (land, air and water)
- hinterland,

that constantly cooperate with eachother and are increasingly dependent on eachother. The hinterland must serve as inexhaustible source of military reserves, means of war, provisions, clothing, etc. To that effect, national production is pushed to the maximum, and this in turn demands a constant flow of raw materials and all kinds of goods. That means that -not just between front and hinterland, but also between national war industry and the required production of raw materials-, the connections -in other words: **transport**- proves yet again to be the Achilles-heel. Each of us must acknowledge the task we have in this regard and to research carefully what we can do (and not do) in case of looming war.
There is a footnote in the Battle Plan further on (Chapter I, Letter E, N° 2) about the role of the **cooperatives** in the system of war. The main importance of these organizations follows from the fact that in war time, the whole of the national population is subjected to an actual prison regime when it comes to the division of goods. Because the distribution has priority over production, during the war the role of the cooperative organizations -that are mainly focussed on the distribution of goods- is much bigger than in peace time, when production has priority over distribution. So it is clear how important the whole non-cooperation of the cooperatives would be in regards to the war.

13. Key industries and companies.

On the subject of the direct war production: it is first and foremost based on the production of coals and metals, as the diagram of Verlinde already demonstrated that is included in the Battle Plan

115 It was therefore impossible our Russian comrades to participate in the Conference in Welwyn with an official delegation. Only pacifist actions near Geneva are approved in Moscow and increasingly take place. That is why the war is maintained. But still the Battle Plan against war is being discussed in Russia.
116 See my “Nieuwe Vormen van Oorlog”.

(Chapter II, theoretic part, Letter N, footnote).
According to the report of the American Committee on Economic Sanctions, published by Evans Clark, the **key power** of the realm of war lays in the following industries:

I. iron and steel factories,
II. production of machines,
III. chemical plants,
IV. iron production,
V. coal production,
VI. oil production.[117]

If we succeed in bleeding just one of these economic wells dry, or to prevent their products to be transported, then the war will soon be over. As to oil -as one knows, the lack of it in the end led to the demise of the Central Powers[118] in 1918-, in France it is starting to be called 'la matière impériale'[119]! Elsewhere oil is called 'the blood of war'. These expressions immediately make the task very clear of anti-militarists, who are involved in the production of mineral oils, petroleum, gasoline, petrol, etc with all its wells, pipelines, tanks, etc.
The gigantic national war body can not exist any longer either if an important part of its nervous system, **postal service, telegraph, telephone, radio, etc** is paralyzed. In Schwartes' 'Die Technik im Kriege' (1920) it is clearly demonstrated what an enormous role the means of communication played already in the world war, and how much they have evolved since. An ultimately perfected system of communication will be even more necessary in a new war if modern technology is pushed to its ultimate consequences. Many of the workers and officials in several countries have already understood that it is the duty of thousands of civil servants in war time (at least amongst those that are aware of their social responsibilities) to **NOT function** in those moments (see Chapters III and IV, Letter D, N° 9).
On top of that, the national war monster can only act effectively from a strategic point of view, inasfar as the population involved has been mesmerized by the fiction of 'national unity' and its urges for violence, conquest and triumph have been unleashed –in one word all that modern psychologists call 'aggression'. All the military experts declare unisono that the g**ood-will of the whole population** is a necessary condition to wage war succesfully. Indeed how else would it be capable to accomplish its equally super-human as in-humane murder task? The mass must be forced into an extra-ordinary state of mind: its whole views on life, its morals, all of its feelings must be changed and redirected. During the world war, in all warring countries “all facts were systematically falsified and opponents were disgracefully slandered in **the press**. This wasn't just allowed by the authorities, but stimulated, while every attempt to consider things objectively and justly were condemned and punished as high treason”[120]. Remember Bertrand Russell's 'Justice in War Time' (1916) and Ponsonby's 'Falsehood in War Time' (1928). As long as journalists, publishers, writers, etc don't break with this cursed method and continue to lie and slander in times of mobilization and war in the service of their governments and all kinds of financial, industrial and commercial cliques, it is clear that the **typographers** as well have an important role to play.
At the 10th Congress for Conscientious Objectors in the Netherlands, Albert de Jong has pointed to the fact that in Spain -where the tactic of responsible production is already deeply ingrained in the population- during a social conflict in Barcelona all typographers simply refused to set or print military matters. It goes without saying that such a moral censorship must not be limited to this kind of manifestations. As one knows, the war is always preceded by slander campaigns against the enemy-to-be and a whole system of suggestion in order to awaken all kinds of feelings of hatred and revenge amongst the people. The typographers have therefore to protect the national mindset against such fatal influences and simply to prevent that kind of publications. By the way they form a very important social power because they do **schooled labour** and in case of a strike they are not

117 E. Clark, “Boycotts and Peace", 1932, p. 349.
118 Tr. Note: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Central_Powers
119 Tr. Note: 'the Imperial Resource'
120 Prof. A. Mayer In “Wie würde ein neuer Krieg ausiehen?" pp 239-240.

immediately replaceable. Since a few years, an increasing number of Dutch typographers, organized in the N.V.V., are beginning to understand their obligation to prepare for collective refusal to serve militarism and war. They complain that, in spite of all the anti-war resolutions on the part of their International, from Rome, Paris and elsewhere, in the organized labour movement all anti-militarist education is systematically ignored, and they openly declared that the mistake is not so much on the part of the workers involved but on the part of **the leaders of the labour movement** who are responsible for even the most eloquent resolutions of the 2nd International and the I.V.V. remained mere words.
So it is the task of war resisters to put the necessity of a **systematic preparation** of direct action back on the agenda of every organization that could contribute in any way to the struggle against the war. This preparation can have a dual character. On the hand it must contain a general education in line with the Battle Plan that is presented; on the other hand a specific research into the war functions of the work or profession of each worker involved like Verlinde has already done for the miners.[121]
Especially now that everywhere in the labour universe a deplorable regression can be seen towards the ideas of August 1914 and the explicit tendency is visible at the socialist and trade union congresses to abandon the direct action against the war in favour of national defence, it is the duty of all true anti-militarist worker to take initiatives for a campaign amongst the workers themselves so that the mentality of the movement involved can be **uplifted from the bottom up**.

14. The intellectuals and the war.

There is no reason by the way why we should only appeal to manual workers. For our goal it is not less important to win over the brain workers! Indeed they are the ones who train and lead public opinion in today's society; one can even say that they are responsible for the mindset of modern peoples. Let's never forget that in spite of severe laws and punishments, in spite of all the barracks, armament and jails, the **social spirit** has the last word. In France for example, the Ancient Régime could only maintain itself as long as the mass considered it as normal or even as essentially divine; but when in the 18th century, the ideas of the English and French intellectuals permeated into the different layers of society, a radical change of the whole society was unavoidable.
The amazing role of the intellectuals mainly came to light since the interesting work of Alfred Fouillée on the 'idée-force': he demonstrated that from each idea a force radiates, that “each concept, image or even abstraction leads a life of its own, tries to develop and, always continuing, tries to make its way not just in the mind but in the world as well. It is an active seedling, a living force that is not just out to push through, but also to develop according to its nature and -like a plant- to grow from the darkness in which it was born to the light, where it can develop and bear fruit”. One must even recongnize that, in many ways, the imagination is the most sure and most common source of reality. Because thoughts are not purely intellectual phenomena, but convictions and representations that are simultaneously a source of activity. In spite of a certain limitated outlook Coué has also understood the creating force of thoughts very well.[122]
That is why the cannon kings, imperialists and business moghuls have procured themselves with a powerful **press** that constantly influences public opinion into choosing the direction they have decided on. That is why the governments of all countries vehemently control the main ideas that are fundamental in the popular education and the training at middle schools, high schools and in the churches.[123] Without the constant cooperation of tens of thousands of intellectuals in every field of science and art, the existing regime would not last a single minute longer anywhere. A few years ago, at the Conference on Modern Methods of War and the Protection of Civilian Populations in

121 See Battle Plan II, N, footnote.
122 See Dr. B. J. Logre, “La Psychologie de l'ldée-Force", in “Le Temps", 9 July 1931
123 And the tendency of theatre and movies not any less!

Frankfurt (January 1929) I have pointed out that the intellectuals have not just thought out and planned the whole scientific system of war in the most irresponsible way -chemical, electro-technical and bacteriological war, that has even reached the stratosphere today- and that they are not only responsible for the countless poisoned gasses, but as well for the **mental poisoning** of the peoples with their lies, manipulation and hatred.[124] It is the intellectuals that have falsified and counterfeited the education of youth, religion, public opinion, laws, history, art, sociology and philosophy, in short the whole encyclopedia of arts and sciences, the whole of social feeling and thinking, and subjected all of it to the new Moloch "Homeland".[125] That is why one can find in the Battle Plan (Chapter I, Letter H) everything related to the **intellectual and moral refusal to serve**, sharply analyzed and worked out more or less both negatively and positively.
It is important above all to liberate individuals and mass of the nationalist suggestion that is an essential condition for every war preparation. We're indeed speaking of a moral detoxification process in which individuals and communities must in the first place learn to **dehypnotize** themselves.
Because especially the intellectuals are responsible for the belligerence of the peoples and the hellish methods of war -because on the other hand those same intellectuals have the power to make the peoples abandon their narrow-mindedness and to imbue them with actual human emotions- it is of the greatest importance to spread specific propaganda amongst them, so that they finally abandon all conscious or unconscious intellectual and moral prostitution and follow the brave example of men and women like Bertrand Russell in England, Paul Langevin in France, Maurice Lecat in Belgium, Helene Stöcker in Germany, Toyohiko Kagawa in Japan -that whole marvelous phalanx of truly modern men and women that have already prepared themselves to fight all war and war preparation.
Let's remind of the outstanding work of Dr. Gertrud Woker of the laboratory for physical and chemical biology in Bern about the 'gas and fire war'[126] that should be made known everywhere; of the tireless work of professor Ude, tutor in catholic ethics in Graz; of the Remonstrant[127] tutor Heering in Leiden and what happens in this regard with the New History Society in New York. We should also point to the attitude of the 80,000 French teachers who refused to poison the youth with chauvinistic, nationalist and militarist training, but tried on the contrary to direct the consciousness of their pupils to mutual understanding and rapprochement between the peoples again and again.
In a conversation I recently had with professor Langevin of the School for Chemistry and Physics in Paris, who is since long very involved in the matter, we came to the conclusion that the moment is right to undertake a new crusade for our goal amongst the intellectuals. That is also the conviction of the American sociologist Clarence Marsh Case, writer of 'Non-violent Coercion' who has just informed me that in the United States as well, the moment is right for a specific action amongst the intellectuals.

15. Nationalized war industries?

Meanwhile there is a push on all sides to bring the war industries under the control of the state. The indignation is quite justified about a private industry that in the end serves neither national nor human interests but whose individual interest it is to sabotage and make impossible everything that happens in favour of peace. It is demanded that all production of war materials will fall into the

124 The speech I gave is available in German, French or Dutch (and in a shortened version in English as well) on request directed to me.
125 See a.o. C. H. Hamlin, "The War Myth in U. S. History", N. York 1927.
126 Gertrud Woker, "Der kommende Gift- und Brandkrieg", Oldenburg, Leipzig Zie ook Elvira H. K. Fradkin, M. A , "Chemical Warfare — its Possibilities and Probabiltties", International Conciliation, No.248, N. York, March 1929; Armand Charpentier, "Ce que sera la guerre des Gaz", 1930; "Gaskrieg und Luftschutz, Berichte zur Kultur- und Zeitgeschichte, herausgegeben von Nikolaus Hovorka", Vlll, Nr. 185-190.
127 Tr. Note: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Remonstrants

hands of the state and that the private industry will be completely abolished. Without a doubt it is possible that the modern governments succeed in freeing themseles from the clutches of a group of capitalists who know no fatherland and are detached from any human responsibility. But **that doesn't abolish the war industry**.

1. Gertrud Baer of the International Union of Women for Peace and Freedom correctly established that this cure doesn't attack the root of evil because state industries as well don't just try to make profits, but also produce much more than the own national demand requires.[128]
2. In his work on the war industry and the public companies (published by Globus in Budapest), Fleissig demonstrated that because of the nationalization of the production of murder instruments, the production of war materials would be raised to an even higher capacity! Indeed everything would be centralized and rationalized like it already is in Russia. And this new state monopoly would give the governments a questionable new power.
3. On top of that, the fact of a national war production would give the arms industry a legal if not moral sanction: a distinction could be made between admissible and unadmissable war industry, like there is a distinction made in the realm of the League of Nations between admissible and unadmissible wars. This would make the abolishing of every war and every war preparation even more difficult than it already is, because the public opinion, that is simply slow in nature, wouldn't lay awake about what is officially sanctioned!
4. In this age of already so deeply ingrained statism, the power of the centralist state over the people would be even further reinforced because of the monopoly on violence.
5. It is certain that, in such a vital national industries the governments would take very strict measures to take away the right to strike of the workers involved and would isolate them from their comrades by certain material favours so that the existence of this privileged group of workers would itself become a dubious weapon against the masses themselves in the hands of the official authority, alongside the specialists of modern warfare.
6. Because the nationalized war companies would be limited to a few countries, those would give the privileged governments incredible world monopolies on which every state who cannot produce themselves what is necessary for war would become dependent; these state monopolies would give rise to even more political and economical pressure and blackmail that is currently the case, now that the private industries collude with certain governments to force states that require war material to act according to the political and economic interests of the states thar are priviliged in this regard.

Our struggle is not about the exorcism of the devil with the help of Beëlzebub, but about the struggle for immediate, total disarmament and complete abolition of all war industry. The main thing is, by the way, that **the workers themselves** -in their struggle to control the whole of economic life- take up the struggle against all weapons and ammunition production by means of non-cooperation, boycott, etc and that they universally demand that those who toil in the war industries at this moment, cooperate in production of social surplus value.

Lehmann-Rüssbüld has calculated that the number of people who work in the arms factories, in marine and war plane war building yards, is approximately 1,000,000. That is in a 1:2,000 ratio, the ratio of those who have an immediate capitalist interest (including the Shearers, etc) against the whole of humanity is only 1:100,000.[129]

If there is any international solidarity in this world, the financial problem that is attached to all those people refusing to do their 'work of death' could be easily solved. It would even be profitable to retire all of those involved (less than the 30,000,000 who are currently unemployed) than to continue the existence of the war industry and all that comes along with it!

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128 See the discourse of Gertrud Baer in: Camille Drevel, “Peut-on cootröler les industries de Guerre?" Ligue Internationale des Femmes pour la Paix et la Liberté, rue du Vieux Collége, Genève.

129 O. Lehmann Rüssbüldt, “De Industrie van de Massa-Moord”, Arbeiderspers, Amsterdam.

By the way after the world war, the allieds have forced the Krupp-industry to ttransform their production of murder instruments into socially useful goods within a few months. So a lot can be done in this respect. Therefore this matter must be addressed again and again by our comrades everywhere on earth in all the labour organizations.

16. No money, no war!

Just as warfare requires massive intelligence and enthousiasm –no matter how counterproductive that intelligence, no matter how insane this enthousiasm is- so it requires enormous amounts of money. Have not the Romans called money 'the blood of war'? A war declaration is always accompanied by new state loans and higher taxes. Public, common refusal to hand out war loans and to pay taxes would -if enough people were involved- derail the whole war machine, especially when such collective action was paired with all sorts of military, economic, social and moral refusal to serve.

17. Our chances.

Indeed it is not necessary for stopping the war, that **every** soldier at the frontline refuses to serve, nor that in the hinterland **every** worker strikes, nor that every connection between front and hinterland is completely cut. If at the front just **an important amount** of soldiers refuse to obey; if in the industry in the hinterland just **a big number** of workers refuse to work, especially in the key industries; if at the same time **a good amount** of people make transport impossible so that it is seriously disrupted in several places: that is enough to stop the war. Without a doubt we must direct our action towards **general** strike and **general** refusal of service, hoping to achieve maximum resistance against war. But we don't need 100% collaboration in every field in order to succeed! For example it is enough that in certain professions and companies 90% here, 60% there, 17% or 50% elsewhere refuses to work, in order to undermine any mobilization and war in such way that the government must abandon it.
It is even possible to stop a war if 100, 90, 80, 70 or 60% of the workers in 3 or 4 **key industries** can be convinced to put down their tools. The Socialist Federation of the region of Charleroi (Belgium) understood this in 1903. Karl Liebknecht reminded us in 1907, that these Belgian socialists declared that what is necessary for the prevention of war is:

1. general strike of the railway workers in order to make mobilization of the troops impossible,
2. general strike of the miners to withdraw the warring parties the necessary fuel for trains and warships,
3. general strike in the harbours and ammunition factories.[130]

Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis -in his 'Vredesboekje'- too, declared that just the transport workers, the railway workers and the harbour workers together can make any war impossible. These three powers in themselves are already able to act as a peace bringing trinity! Domela Nieuwenhuis concluded correctly in this regard, that the workers have a noble civilizing task by preventing war. What they are capable of was demonstrated in 1919-1920 in England when the miners, railway workers and transport workers formed a Triple Alliance to prevent the looming war and the British labour movement deliberately prepared for a general strike. They forced the government to agree to the following demands:

1. abolishing of conscription,
2. withdrawal of all British troops from Russia,
3. liberation of all conscientious objectors still in prison,

130 Zie Kari Liebknecht, “Militarismus und Anlimilitarismus unter bisonderer Berücksichtigung der internationalen Jugendbewegung", 1907.

4. lifting the blockade of Russia.[131]

A fact that is often forgotten is the following: in 1917 the Argentinian workers forced their government, that was preparing to go to war on the side of the allies, to abandon their war plans using direct action.[132]

18. Technical fight against war [aka Sabotage][133].

Let's not forget as well what even a small group of determined people can accomplish -sometimes even a single human being- by the application of effective technical struggle against war. We condemn any blind destruction of machines, instruments and products, any sabotage that endangers human life. But we have no objections at all against measures that anti-militarists use in times of mobilization and war to paralyze transport, roads, railways, bridges, etc on the condition that safety is ensured. In his book on military and industrial espionage, general-major Max Ronge concluded that in order for a country to be made incapable of warfare, sabotage is of the biggest importance. He even doesn't hesitate to declare that it is necessary to halt industries by destroying the machines with this purpose, to cut electrical power, burn the stacked stocks, organize bombing attacks; that locomotives and train rails must be sabotaged, agriculture damaged and infectious diseases must be spread amongst the cattle.[134] Such sabotage may be permissable amongst the Avenging Angels of Germany, England, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, etc – we don't go that far. But we are convinced that when a ruling Kongsi[135] tries to unleash the whole technology and industry of a country not just to assault what is being fought but the own population as well and all that is left of humanity and civilization, we have the right to sabotage the national technical apparatus in this criminal game, in the **most careful and effective way we can**. In every industry, in every company, our comrades must carefully analyse how they could halt the production apparatus involved while at the same time spare the machinery involved as much as possible. It's often enough to take a single technical part away to paralyze a whole production branch: everyone knows what even a handful of sand can accomplish under certain conditions. The anti-militarists have also recognized since long the necessity to -circumstances demanding- cut telephone and telegraph connections. Everything on this issue can be found in the Battle Plan under Chapter II, theoretic part, Letter N, footnote.

19. Necessity to decentralize the war against war.

The experience of these last few years that the Indian people have gained, has proven that when a powerful direct action is deployed, the targeted government will almost certainly swiftly try to arrest not just the main leaders but the local leaders of the movement as well. In the Dutch military magazine 'Mavors' of July 1932 lieutenant-colonel Fruyt van Hertog states in an article on the mass psychology, that -in case of resistance- it is the first duty of the government to crack down on the leaders. They must so to speak behead the mass: take its leaders away. That is why in Chapter II, practical part, Letter V all kinds of preventive measures are listed that increasingly enable the **self-action of the mass**, even if all leaders are captured, banished or killed.

131 Gerard Gould, “The Coming Revolution in Great Britain', London, 1920.

132 See Bart de Ligt, “Oorlog verhinderd door direkte Aktie" ['War prevented by direct action']. I. A. M. V., Cor. Lodder, Nieuwe Niedorp, N. H., Nederland.

133 Tr. Note: BdL explains in his postscript that he called it sabotage elsewhere but that the word was met with resistance so he adapted the language in order not to alienate people and groups over linguistics. I think times have changed and we can add the original word.

134 Max Ronge, ”Kriegs und Industrie-Spionnage", 1930, p. 265

135 Tr. Note: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kongsi

20. Necessity to spread the Battle Plan against mobilization and war in all countries and all circles.

It seemed necessary for me to speak about the Battle Plan to further illustrate several points. By the way, I hope that it speaks for itself. I urgently ask you, reader, to study it with the greatest attention and to help make it even more complete and accurate.
When a definitive Battle Plan will be established this way, it must be spread everywhere on earth - publicly or in secret. But I emphasize that it is most important that we publish our whole strategy and tactic anywhere that is remotely possible, without caring for a possibly hostile attitude of the public opinion nor for the reaction of official authorities. If the *soldiers of war* must risk it all in times of war, so the *soldiers of peace* as well must risk it all in times of peace in order to prevent war. By the way, risking all in a systematic mobilization against war is much less dangerous and more practical in times of peace than to risk everything in times of war! Postponing the risk until mobilization or war starts, is only making that risk bigger and our chances for succes smaller.
At last I would like to give you a method to publish this Battle Plan against war and war preparation in those countries where a certain freedom of the press and thought still exists, but where those who would propagate and spread the tactic that is elaborated here would nevertheless be persecuted. It could be still possible to **objectively account** of local, national and international meetings in the press, whatever the subject that is treated. In those countries magazines and other periodicals could objectively report that “at the end of July 1934 there was and International Conference of War Resisters in Welwyn, England, where the following Battle Plan against war was debated”, followed by the Plan. If so desired it can be added that the publisher agrees neither with the plan nor with the comments that were expressed at the Conference.
But meanwhile the Battle Plan is in the world and it will make its way.

POSTCRIPT

I ask the reader not to forget that this Battle Plan that I present to the WRI is only a first attempt in this sense. Although I have tried to make it as complete and precise as I could, I'm convinced that it must be reviewed, improved and expanded. So I'm delighted that Wilfred Wellock (England) proposed to the Welwyn Conference that the members of the International Council and the Chapters of the WRI would examine the Battle Plan more closely and that a special Committee has already been formed in England to study it. From the side of the British, there was also a proposal to create a **Manual of the War Resister** in connection to the Battle Plan, that must be published by the WRI in multiple languages. I had not anticipated this result, although I had hoped for it![136]
On the other hand Eugène Lagot (France) has proposed to send the Battle Plan to all the main administrations of pacifist and anti-militarist organizations anywhere in the world and to officially provide it to the national and international sections of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals and of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the red labour movement (Moscow). In several countries spreading the Battle Plan has already started in the form that it was published in Welwyn (including this clarification there), -a temporary measure awaiting the official plan that is so necessary given the increasing universal danger of war.
At least one point will need to be included in the Battle Plan and that in the Chapters I, II 2, III and IV and everywhere after point B:

> “Refusal to take part in the 'passive resistance' against air strikes; that is to say:
>
> 1. refusal to collaborate in the establishment of places where people would alledgedly be protected against poisoned gasses
> 2. refusal to produce gas masks

136 Tr. Note: On BdL's (and his Battle Plan's) importance and influence today: https://www.nonviolence.wri-irg.org/en and https://www.nonviolence.wri-irg.org/en/search/node?keys=bart+de+ligt a.o

3. refusal to collaborate in manoeuvres for passive or active defence against air strikes
4. etc etc".

Because all these measures assume that the **modern scientific war is already accepted as an inevitability**, if not a moral obligation. The experiences of the air manoeuvres above cities like London, Paris and Rome have already demonstrated -as the official authorities openly recognized- that one is defenceless against such attacks and that the only method for 'defence' would be a counter-attack on the most important centres of the enemy. But the most dubious aspect is that the measures we have given here, that are an **integral part** of the modern war, habituate the peoples to seeing chemical warfare as something normal and give them an **imaginary sense of relative** safety! That is to say that the passive defence against the danger from the air in modern warfare functions just like the Red Cross (see Battle Plan I, B), an organization by the way, that participates in such manoeuvres.

In the Battle Plan that was presented to the Welwyn Conference (in Chapter III under the letter N) there was talk about systematic and reasonable **sabotage**. But I must acknowledge that in the Anglo-Saxon countries the word 'sabotage' is often misunderstood because it is only understood in its negative sens. In the Dutch anti-militarist movement -in which this Battle Plan is deeply rooted- the position on 'sabotage' is as moderate as it is reasonable, so the misunderstanding is impossible. Because not words are important here but actions, I have replaced it in the new English, French, Spanish and Dutch editions with the words: '**technical fight against war**'. It will be clear from my speech that -on my part- every brutal and blind sabotage, that can only arouse negative urges to destroy, is **excluded** completely. By the way the technical struggle against war, that mainly exists in the impeding on the normal fuctioning of industry, means of communication, means of transport, etc play only a subsidiary -although very important- role: the most necessary thing is and remains the **morale** of the soldiers of peace, and the main element in their struggle is the equally audacious as public act, individually and collectively.
Let's also remember that the introduction to the plan stipulates -immediately after the title- that **no-one is obliged** to execute mechanically what is mentioned in the different Chapters and paragraphs. Each peace fighter must act according to their own conscience and conviction! Those who can't accept a certain part will find countless other ways to collaborate with us on the main ideas of the Battle Plan.
But because the tendency to disrupt the system of war by means of individual and collective obstruction in the domains of industry, traffic, etc, is alrealy firmly alive within the labour movement and the fact that the workers can indeed achieve great things in this regard, it was nevertheless necessary to investigate the method of struggle under Chapter III, Letter N, especially to avoid all inferior sabotage. Because on this subject the greatest care is necessary, it stands out: it is the prefered terrain of operation for **provocateurs** in the service of the official powers. In 'War and Industrial Espionnage' the head of the Austrian-Hungarian intelligence for example had his reasons to point out that during the world war there was a sabotage-organization in Amsterdam "based on anti-militarist principles".
What misery can be caused by inappropriate acts of sabotage -even with the best intentions- was clearly shown in the fire of the German Reichsdag that -to say no more about it- could be instrumentalized by Hitler, Goering and the like.

In Chapter II of the Battle Plan, practical part, it should be added after paragraph S: '**organizing of a 'war alert service'**. Such service would consist of groups of comrades that travel the land with cars and boats on which posters are displayed that clearly express the looming war danger and incite increasingly powerful mobilization against war. At least one of the comrades must be a good public speaker. A sound system must be available if possible as well as gramophone and radio, manifestos must be distributed, anti-militarist brochures sold, etc.'

In Chapter II, theoretical part, after J must follow:

"establishing anti-war musea"

We remind of the Anti-War Museum of Ernst Friedrich in Berlin and the plans to establish an international anti-war museum in Diksmuide[137] on the battle fields of the world war. Such musea should have a travelling department as well (by car or by boat), organized in similar fashion as the 'war alert service'.

After this should follow:

"establishing peace houses and peace rooms"

Several Dutch cities have already given the good example by opening such centres for study and assembly.

One point that wasn't sufficiently developed in the overview is the **fraternization of soldiers and civilians**, of the physically helpless masses and the troops, an issue that I should not be required to address here in more detail.

There are probably yet other matters that require being treated, or that should be elaborated on. Everyone that has more proposals to make the plan as final as complete will oblige me by communicating them.

It is clear that neither the Battle Plan nor the explanation of it can officially be published in countries under more or less fascist or bolshevik dictatorship. At the Welwyn Conference several comrades addressed me asking what could be done with all this under such circumstances in their countries! Officially not much of course. But underground all the more. But if we are used to express in great detail what we mean to be made known publicly, we also have a habit of immediately concealing what should be concealed publicly. Yet there are elements of the illegal practice that can be mentioned without hurting our movement or exposing someone to a bigger dangers than they want.

Inasfar as the **propagating** of the Battle Plan goes, we must simply return to the methods of communication and traditional transmission like our forefathers used before writing and print was available: for centuries humanity has been strong in **memorizing and orally spreading** rules and laws that it deemed crucial for its survival and maintaining its civilization.

Comrades have only to memorize a similar Battle Plan and it can already find its way into even the most hermetically closed off Empire!

Another method is spreading **gramophone records**.

And there are many more means and avenues to spread our ideas anywhere and everywhere!

And finally it is of the greatest importance that in all of this generally the biggest possible care is taken and we handle our relatively small energies **as prudently and effectively as possible**. Premature endeavors should especially be avoided, insufficiently prepared plans and blindly-mechanistic reactiosn to reactionary events. In the domain of war as well things are prepared and planned for years underground, and mobilization and war is only started when the conditions seem favorable. For the war against war the same is true in some sense. While necessity bears creativity and dictatorship and militarism at long last create such resistance amongst increasingly big masses, that in the end a minimum of propaganda can already unleas an enormous collective decisiveness.

Meanwhile each should do what they will. But especially: **do whatever you can!**

Bart de Ligt
De Koog, Texel, the Netherlands, August 1934

137Transl. Note: see http://tourism.diksmuide.be/Ysertower, now sadly the location of yearly gatherings of collaborateurs, neo-nazi and Flemish nationalists. https://www.inflandersfields.be/en would be closer to the concept that BdL envisions here.

B. DRAFT OF "Battle Plan AGAINST ALL WAR AND ALL PREPARATION FOR WAR", PROPOSED TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL, HELD AT WELWYN (HERTS, ENGLAND), JULY 1934[138]

"This plan for the mobilization of all anti-war forces does not rely on any form of coercion, compulsory service or conscription.

The anti-militarist movement is composed entirely of volunteers, each one of whom is called upon to act as vigorously as possible and according to [their] conscience, but without being obliged to go beyond [their] strength.

The actions and attitudes to be taken up as part of the following plan will not be dictated to anyone.

They are presented in order to make individuals and collective bodies aware of the many possibilities within their reach even right now to make any and all wars impossible.

The cases mentioned below should especially stimulate [people] to put [their] maximum of energy, devotion and courage at the service of this new struggle."

Bart de Ligt.

138 Tr. Note: this is a new translation from the Dutch edition so there might be minor differences with the version that was published in 'The Conquest of Violence' in English.

A. IN PEACE TIME

I. Direct INDIVIDUAL action to prevent war and all preparation for war.

A. Refusal of military service :

1. as conscript.
2. as soldier or sailor.
3. as reservist (return your military papers to the state).
4. as citizen called to arms :
    (a) for the purpose of manoeuvres.
    (b) on the occasion of a strike.
    (c) on the occasion of political and social conflicts.

B. Refusal of non-combatant military work (even in the Red Cross or the Army Medical Corps which both are by their nature subordinated to the military system).

Refusal to take part in the 'passive resistance' against air strikes; that is to say:

1. *refusal to collaborate in the establishment of places where people would alledgedly be protected against poisoned gasses*
2. *refusal to produce gas masks*
3. *refusal to collaborate in manoeuvres for passive or active defence against air strikes*
4. *etc etc*

C. Use every possible means for making anti-militarist propaganda in the army or in the navy in order to create nuclei of resistance and establish relations between these and the anti-militarist movement with a view to mass refusal of orders.

D. Refusal of industrial, technical and social service :

1 . refusal to make war materials, munitions, etc.
2. refusal to take part in military aviation.
3. refusal to construct barracks and fortifications.
4. refusal to make :
    (a) military clothing.
    (b) military boots,
    etc.
5. refusal to make optical instruments, instruments of precision, etc., destined solely for war purposes.
6. refusal to set up type for or to print articles, pamphlets, books, manifestoes, tracts, etc., of a distinctly military, militaristic, jingoistic or imperialistic tendency.
7. refusal to make military toys.
8. refusal to handle, forward or transport anything used for war and its preparation, etc.

E. Refusal to put trade at the service of war (as employer or employee) :

1. banks.
2. co-operatives.[139]

139. (See III E 2, p. 282) . It may be surprising to find mention made here under the heading of indirect individual action, of an organization such as the co-operative movement, the characteristic of which is so distinctly collective and so fundamentally pacifist. Already in 1 91 3 the International Congress at Glasgow declared that the International Co-operative Alliance should seek to prevent the war which was smouldering. None the less during the world war the co-operatives of every country became quite simply incorporated into the system of national defence. In France the co-operator Albert Thomas, was even entrusted with the administration of the Ministry of Munitions ! " The sumptuous hotel in which this ministry was established, Claridge's Hotel in the Champs Elysees, had almost become a branch of our Co-operative Federation, so great was the number of co-operators, theoretical or practical, who held leading posts in important services " as was recognized in 1926 by Charles Gide (Les Coopératives françaises durant la Guerre, Association pour l'Enseignement de la Coopération, 1927, p. 8).

3. publishers.
4. clothing trade.
5. saddle makers, harness makers.
6. shops for technical, optical and precision instruments, etc.
7. bookshops.
8. bazaars (children's toys).
etc., etc.

F. Refusal to pay taxes.

G. Refusal to put up soldiers billeted on you. (Or they may be received hospitably and as imposed guests may be subjected to a judicious anti-militarist propaganda while the indemnity paid by the State may be used in favour of anti-war propaganda.)

H. Refusal of intellectual and moral service :

1. Abstentionist methods :

(a) direct (i.e. refusal to (undertake research work which aims at creating means for war purposes or to draw up plans connected therewith, and refusal to direct any technical or intellectual
work of preparation for war) :

1 . as physicist.
2. as chemist.
3. as bacteriologist.
4. as civil engineer.
5. as technician.
6. as speaker, orator or broadcaster,
etc., etc.

(b) indirect (i.e. refusal to prepare a war-like mentality) :

1. as parents :
   (a) by keeping the children as far as possible away from all nationalistic, militaristic, jingoistic and imperialistic influence (by watching over the influence exerted by their reading matter, their teaching, festivals, etc.).
   (b) by refusing to hand over to the State children who have not yet attained their majority, for the purpose of military training or of compulsory military service.
2. as schoolmaster, teacher and professor by refusing to educate youth in a national, imperialistic and militaristic spirit. as journalist, publicist, lecturer

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After the World War the governments of Italy, Russia and others officially incorporated the co-operative distributive system into the system of national defence. Only in England and the U.S.A. have the co-operative associations shown themselves to be conscious of the fact that their very nature obliged them to refuse any economic or social service which might contribute to war.

Wherever the co-operative organizations still allow themselves to become cogs in the wheel of the " totalitarian war " every co-operator who is conscious of the essentially anti-war and humanitarian character of his organization should consider it his individual duty to use every endeavour to bring about a clean break between the latter and all war slavery. He should continually place on the agendas of his local, national and international organization the formal refusal of all participation in any war whatsoever.

With regard to the staffs of the co-operatives and in so far as every individual is conscious of the essentially pacific and universal rôle which these associations should fulfil it should be every man's duty as far as lies within his power, to refuse individually every war service to which his organization would constrain him and seek to win over to his cause the whole of the collectivity.

Cf. B. de Ligt, La Coopération et la Guerre, " Les Affranchis de toutes les Guerre," Genval (Belgium), September 1927 ; La Coopération et la Guerre, " Evolution," Paris, October 1927 ; Contre la Guerre Nouvelle, Paris, 1928, p. 144-56.

or man of letters by refusing to influence public opinion in a nationalist, militaristic or imperialistic spirit.

3. as journalist, publicist, lecturer or man of letters by refusing to influence public opinion in a nationalist, militaristic or imperialistic spirit, by showing up modern politico-economic life, etc.
4. as religious or moral leader, by refusing to sanctify or to glorify national defence and war.
5. as chief of a movement or a political group or party by refusing to prepare public opinion in any manner whatsoever for national defence.
6. as jurists by refusing both to subordinate international law to national interest and to interpret the law with a bias in favour of one's own country.
7. as historian by refusing to commit the common error of making the history of one's own nation
8. as artist, by refusing to place one's services at the disposal of nationalism, militarism and imperialism
9. as sociologist by showing up nationalism, militarism, imperialism, pride of race, etc.
10. as medical man, psychologist or psychiatrist by revealing the unconscious and subconscious tendencies which make for war, the retrogressive character of military discipline, and by showing that modern war is an odious crime against life, the physical, moral and mental health of man as well as against his aesthetic sense (millions of dead, mutilated, unbalanced, sexual illnesses, consequences of undernourishment, rachitis, tuberculosis, etc.).
11. as philosopher, by showing up all forms of dogmatism and absolutism, especially in the field of the history of civilization of religion and of comparative philosophy.
12. by organizing effectively from the points of view of science, propaganda and action in respect to the above mentioned aims and by associating on a federal basis with other organizations for direct action against war and its preparation.

2. Constructive methods :

a) direct (i.e. the endeavour to place at the service of peace and human civilization alone those technical and intellectual inventions and means which are actually placed at the service of war ; the endeavour not to pervert science in its applications) :

1 . as physicist.
2. as chemist.
3. as bacteriologist.
4. as civil engineer.
5. as technician.
6. as speaker, orator or broadcaster,

etc., etc.

(b) indirect (i.e. by preparing a humanitarian and international mentality) :

1. as parents :
   (a) by leading as harmonious as possible a family life, inspired by a truly universal spirit (the home atmosphere exercising a capital influence on youth).
   (b) by educating youth in as free and wide a spirit as possible, and

especially indirectly by awakening in youth a sense of respect for others, love for the inorganic and organic kingdoms, for plants, animals and man; by awakening sympathy for foreign peoples and races ; by awakening the sentiment ofsocial justice and admiration for all forms of courage and heroism, even in war—by a constant direction of the attention ofthe new generation to that which rises above all violence.

(c) by sending one's children to schools where they are sure to receive modern and upto-date instruction in the widest sense (and if such schools do not exist, establish same) remaining in constant touch with the teachers, the parents of the other pupils and the pupils themselves by taking part in parents' circles, teachers' and pupils' meetings, etc.

2. as schoolmaster, teacher or professor by educating youth in a truly universal spirit according to the method of self-government (and with this aim in view seeking to keep up regular contact with the parents).
3. as journalist, publicist, lecturer or man of letters by directing public opinion as much as possible to the ideals of justice and freedom and teaching the readers to appreciate foreign nations and races.
4. as religious or moral leader by awakening by word and deed the sentiment of universal solidarity and a sense of responsibility to mankind generally, seeking to sublimate the fighting habit and war.
5. as chief of a movement or political group or party by inciting the masses to work for a new civilization, giving them confidence in the method of non-violent struggle.
6. as jurist by directing law towards a harmonious international world in which individuals, groups, nations and races would entertain free relations and exchange all their products (material, intellectual and spiritual) according to their nature and need.
7. as historian, by taking universal life as a starting point, pointing out the qualities of every nation and race, demonstrating the relations and influence which each has with and upon the others and showing according to universal history the existence of an undeniable tendency towards a social life which would be as free as it would be varied, offering to every individual the greatest possibility of free development.
8. as artist by directing every effort towards a truly human and universal harmony.
9. as sociologist, by recognizing the relative meaning of war and showing why and by what means the nations may rise above it and pass out of the stage of violence and barbarism.
10. as medical man, psychologist or psychiatrist :
    (a) by analysing the pathological phenomena of society with a view to individual and social self-cure and the establishment of moral hygiene.
    (b) by demonstrating the possibilities of canalizing and sublimating the instincts and passions which formerly found their outward expression in war.
11. as philosopher :
    (a) by recognizing the relative value of all traditions of thought and civilization and by permitting them all full expression and in showing how they complete each other mutually.
    (b) by making universal philosophy a force of social dynamics.
12. by organizing effectively from the points of view of science, propaganda

and action in respect to the above mentioned aims and associating on a federal basis with other organizations for direct action against war and its preparation.

II. Direct COLLECTIVE action to prevent war and all preparation for war.

I. THEORETICAL

A. Propaganda by public and open meetings, etc.

B. Propaganda by congresses, courses, schools, etc.

C. Propaganda by study circles, etc.

D. Propaganda by writing or by pictures.

E. Propaganda by plays, pageants, etc.

F. Propaganda by cinema.

G. Propaganda by wireless.

H. Propaganda by processions and demonstrations.

J. Propaganda by house to house canvass (a far too neglected method).

+ establishing anti-war musea

We remind of the Anti-War Museum of Ernst Friedrich in Berlin and the plans to establish an international anti-war museum in Diksmuide[140] on the battle fields of the world war. Such musea should have a travelling department as well (by car or by boat), organized in similar fashion as the 'war alert service'.

+ establishing peace houses and peace rooms

Several Dutch cities have already given the good example by opening such centres for study and assembly.

K. Youth organization :

1. Children : Do not moralize ; borrow what is good from the Boy Scout Movement ; awaken above all a sense of respect for others and for oneself and a sentiment of responsibility and of human solidarity.
2. Adolescents : Should organize themselves according to their own methods to discuss the subjects in question.

L. Women's organizations.

(These are chiefly needed where women do not yet or have only for a short time taken any interest in social questions and where in connection with their maternal and social functions they

140Transl. Note: see http://tourism.diksmuide.be/Ysertower, now sadly the location of yearly gatherings of collaborateurs, neo-nazi and Flemish nationalists. https://www.inflandersfields.be/en would be closer to the concept that BdL envisions here.

require special education. The central idea must here be their responsibility towards the new generation in respect of physical, moral and intellectual health ; it is of the greatest importance that women should become conscious of the fact that in modern war the industrial, intellectual and social work of women behind the front is as necessary as the men's work at the front ; that if the system of national defence is to work well, at least 20 per cent, of the mobilized men should be replaced by women and that without the constant collaboration of millions of women the making of munitions would be paralysed. In this connection house to house canvass by women to women is of the highest importance.)

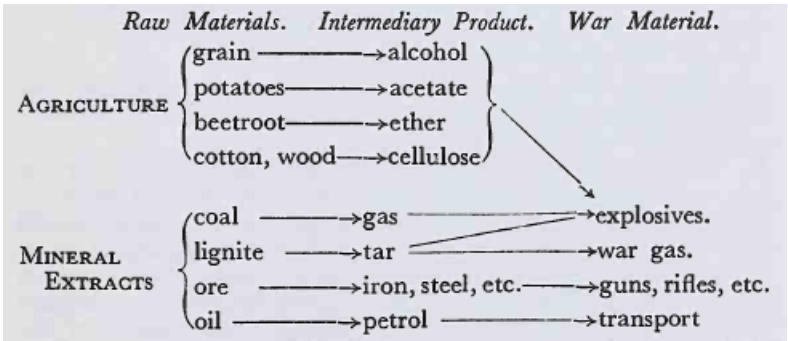
M. Anti-militarist propaganda in the army and navy (see I. C).

N. Special propaganda amongst the workers adapted to every kind of trade, especially those offirst necessityfor war purposes, in order to explain to these workers the technical function of their trade and what can be done individually or collectively—by each on his own ground—in order to undermine and to prevent war by refusing to serve and by systematic and reasonable sabotage:[141]

1. transport (goods and material, men) :
   - (a) by rail.
   - (b) by autobus.
   - (c) by car.
   - (d) by tramway.
   - (e) by boat.
   - (f) by aeroplane.
   - (g) by beast.
   - (h) by men.

2. minerals :
   - (a) coal.
   - (b) iron.
   - (c) lead.
   - (d) aluminium.
   - (e) zinc.
   - (h) mercury.
   - (i) copper.
   - (k) manganese.

141 In this respect a first attempt has been made by J. Verlinde in Holland in Bevryding of August 1931, in which he analysed the immense role played by coal in modern war. Below is the chief abstract of his conclusions concerning this industry which is fundamental to all war.



This statement by Verlinde in combination with an analysis of the whole war system by Han Kuysten was published later by the Dutch Youth Movement for Peace in a pamphlet entitled “Dooft de Vuren!” [Put the Fires Out!].
Such pamphlets should be published in every country for every calling or trade which is basic to war so that every worker may have in his hands precise information concerning his own branch of work and may therefore know exactly what he should do or not do in the fight against war.

(l) sulphur.
(m) pyrite.
(n) tungsten,
(o) chrome.
(p) antimony.
(q) graphite,
(r) mica,
etc., etc.

3. Iron and Steel Industry (engines ofwar material, munitions).
4. Chemical Industry (asphyxiating gases).
5. Mineral oils, petroleum, heavy oils, petrol (gasoline), wells, refineries, pipe lines, tanks, etc.).
6. Alcohols.
7. Cotton.
8. Wool.
9. Rubber.
10. Leather.

etc., etc.[142]

2. PRACTICAL

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H (see I. A-H, p. 276).

J. Organization of a movement based on direct action for the immediate abolition of military slavery (compulsory military service).

K. Organization of a movement based on direct action for the immediate liberation of all objectors to military service.

L. Organization of special movements for direct action connected with special events of an anti-military character (such as f.i. the 1921 movement in Holland on the occasion of the hunger strike by the objector Herman Groenendaal and the one of 1932 in Belgium on the occasion of the hunger strike by R. A. Simoens).

M. Organization of a popular movement with the aim of eliminating immediately from the laws of one's country the right to declare war.

N. Unarmed mass opposition to the imprisonment of objectors in own town or village and organization in connection with such injustices of demonstrations, meetings, strikes of protest, etc.

O . On the occasion of parliamentary decisions or special governmental measures (such as a vote for the increase and the modernization of war material, manoeuvres, dispatch of military or naval forces to a place where a strained situation has arisen, dispatch of military forces to some colony), to prevent such measures from being carried out by demonstrations and strikes.

P. Wide distribution of manifestoes inciting to refusal of service in which thousands of men and women—giving their names, callings and addresses—declare openly that they refuse to take any part in war or in its technical and moral preparation whether it be in the army, the navy or in social

142. In order to prepare and develop this propaganda consult chiefly : Halle and Ache La Defence Nationale et ses conditions modernes, 1932, Boycotts and Peace, a report by the Committee on Economic Sanctions edited by Evans Clark, 1932, and Wie wuerde ein neuer Kreig aussehen (What would be the character of a new war, published by the Interparliamentary Union). Untersuchung eingeleitet von der Interparlementarischen Union, 1932.

life.

Q. Creation of funds in aid of the victims of refusal to take part in war :

1. in favour of those objectors who have lost their work in consequence of their anti-military attitude.
2. in favour of propagandists in a similar situation.
3. in favour of those who refuse to make war material or to participate in the technical, intellectual or moral preparation of war.
4.

R. Compelling the governments to renounce all forms of national defence (if f.i. reasonable plans for universal disarmament are proposed the masses must compel the governments by direct action to accept the same).

S. Organization of international itinerary peace crusades (this campaign lasting several weeks or several months begins at the same time in different countries and in the most important centres. The crusades pass through towns and villages holding meetings and march to a designated spot where a grand international demonstration is to take place).

+ Organizing a 'war alert service'. Such service would consist of groups of comrades that travel the land with cars and boats on which posters are displayed that clearly express the looming war danger and incite increasingly powerful mobilization against war. At least one of the comrades must be a good public speaker. A sound system must be available if possible as well as gramophone and radio, manifestos must be distributed, anti-militarist brochures sold, etc.

Should political tension between two countries threaten to lead to the danger of war :

T. A common front of all organizations who are opposed to war and its preparation should immediately be established in order to :

1. create a Committee and a special fund for any proposed action.
2. inform public opinion of the threatening danger through :
   (a) the press.
   (b) lectures and meetings.
   (c) manifestoes, tracts and pamphlets dealing with the political difference in question in an objective and anti-war manner.
3. appeals should be launched by wire or express letter to all pacifist, anti-militarist and workers' organizations, etc., to exert pressure upon the government and parliament to avoid war at all cost.
4. leading personalities of the country should be supplied with full particulars concerning the point in dispute, with a request that they should influence public opinion, the government and parliament, to avoid war at all cost.
5. appeals should be addressed to all teachers, journalists, religious or political leaders, lawyers, historians, etc., that they may use all their influence to avoid war.
6. the government and parliament should be warned that in case war is declared the masses will refuse to take part in it and this all the more since modern states dispose of political and juridical means —such as arbitration— for settling any political difference and so to avoid all war.
7. in the country which might become the enemy country manifestoes should be published declaring clearly that should war break out the masses will refuse to take part in it and inviting all human beings worthy of the name, on the other side of the frontier, to act in a like manner.
8. enter into immediate contact with kindred movements, committees and organizations in a prospective enemy country so that parallel action may be taken in both countries in peace time as well as when war threatens to break out.

9. in towns and villages situated on the frontiers of both countries in question conferences and meetings should be organized at which the war resisters of both countries should meet in order to

(a) examine the political dispute in question and devise means for a pacifistic solution.
(b) examine all possible means to be employed for preventing the outbreak of war.
(c) examine all means to be employed to oppose mobilization and prevent the outbreak of war.

10. a general strike, the collective refusal of military service and non-co-operation, etc., should be prepared in advance and if necessary commenced at once and any other steps taken to render the threatened outbreak of war impossible.

U. All things and persons having any connection with militarism —particularly officers— should be boycotted in social life.

Since it is likely that in case of a mobilization or on the outbreak of war the members of the directing committee of anti-war organizations and the best known propagandists of the anti-war movement will be arrested and the documents, archives, etc., of these organizations confiscated, it is necessary

V. to take the following preventive measures :

1. educate the members of the organizations in question in such a way as to enable them more and more to continue their illegal work even should all their leaders be arrested, banished or killed.

2. to keep several duplicates of membership lists in different places in order to avoid the consequences resulting from confiscation.

3. bear in mind the possibility that the funds ofthe organizations in question which may be deposited in official institutions (Savings Banks, Banks, etc.) may be confiscated by the state and avoid the danger of being deprived of means at the moment of action.

In order to be able to act effectively at the given moment and toforestall possible proclamations launched by the government it is necessary :

W. to have prepared already in advance proclamations of different sizes and colours, drawn up in clear short terms, inciting to direct action, individual as well as collective, against war and its preparation and calling upon all to mobilize their forces in the service ofhumanity, to meet the following cases :

1. state of war.
2. state of siege.
3. rumours of mobilization.
4. mobilization.
5. rumours of war.
6. civil war.
7. colonial war.

B. IN THE TIME OF MOBILIZATION AND WAR

III. Direct INDIVIDUAL action to make war impossible.

A. Refusal of military service.

B, Refusal of non-combatant military work (even in the Red Cross or the Army Medical Corps, which both are by their nature subordinated to the military system).
Refusal to take part in the 'passive resistance' against air strikes; that is to say:

1. refusal to collaborate in the establishment of places where people would alledgedly be protected against poisoned gasses
2. refusal to produce gas masks
3. refusal to collaborate in manoeuvres for passive or active defence against air strikes
4. etc etc

C. Use every possible means for making anti-militarist propaganda in the army and the navy in order to create nuclei of resistance and establish relations between these and the anti-militarist movement with a view to mass refusal of orders.

D. Refusal of industrial, technical and social service :

1 . refusal to make war materials, munitions, etc.
2. refusal to take part in military aviation.
3. refusal to construct barracks and fortifications.
4. refusal to make :
   (a) military clothing.
   (b) military boots,
   etc., etc.
5. refusal to make optical instruments and instruments of precision, etc., destined solely for war purposes.
6. refusal to set up type for, or to print, articles, pamphlets, books, manifestoes, leaflets, etc., of a distinctly military, militaristic, jingoistic or imperialistic tendency.
7. refusal to make military toys.
8. refusal to handle, forward or transport anything used for war and its preparation.
9. refusal to place at the disposal of war everything connected with the postal, telegraph, telephone and wireless services,

etc.

E. Refusal to put trade at the service of war (as employer or employee) :

1. banks.
2. co-operatives (see I. E 2 note, p. 270).
3. publishers.
4. clothing trade.
5. saddle makers, harness makers.
6. shops for technical, optical and precision instruments, etc.
7. bookshops.
8. bazaars (children's toys).

etc., etc.

F. Refusal to pay taxes.

G. Refusal to have soldiers billeted upon you (or they may be received hospitably as imposed guests

and subjected to a judicious anti-militarist propaganda while the indemnity paid by the state may be used in favour of anti-war propaganda).

H. Refusal of intellectual and moral service by abstentionist and constructive methods :

(a) direct methods :

1. as physicist.
2. as chemist.
3. as bacteriologist.
4. as civil engineer.
5. as technician.
6. as speaker, orator or broadcaster,

etc., etc.

(b) indirect methods :

1. as parents.
2. as schoolmaster, teacher or professor.
3. as journalist, publisher, lecturer or writer.
4. as religious leader or moral leader.
5. as leader of a movement or political party.
6. as jurist.
7. as historian.
8. as artist.
9. as sociologist.
10. as physician, psychologist or psychiatrist.
11 . as philosopher.

(See I. H ib and 2b.)

12. notwithstanding the most deplorable circumstances and the most disastrous events, seek to maintain, to create or to restore the local, national and international relations which are indispensable for individual and collective direct action against war.

J. Render impossible the requisitioning of your horses, mules or any of your cattle by the military.

K. Render useless for mobilization and war service any bicycle, motor car, boat, aeroplane or other means of transport requisitioned by the military.

L. Render useless for mobilization and war the telephone, telegraph, wireless, etc.

M. Render useless for mobilization and war : bridges, railways, etc. (not forgetting to place danger signals on roads and railway lines in order to avoid any accidents and save human life).

etc., etc., by practising in every sphere of social life the most effective non-co-operation boycott and sabotage without ever damaging or destroying instruments, machines, bridges, roads, etc., to a greater extent than is strictly necessary.

If the choice is left open it is always preferable to convert the means of war—in time of mobilization and war everything is so to say a means of war—into means of peace rather than to destroy them :

f.i. by using your aeroplane to shower down upon town and countryside of your own as well as of a possible enemy country anti-war manifestoes and leaflets, by placing your wireless (ordinary or secret installation) at the service of the anti-militarist mobilization and of the war against war movement in order to appeal to the people of the countries in question to join the fight against all war, etc., etc.

IV. Direct COLLECTIVE action to make war impossible.

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H : the same as under III—Direct Individual action.

J. Boycott, Non-Go-operation and General Strike should be Employed :

1 . In time of war danger to oblige the government to give up its disastrous plan.

2. In time of war to stop the slaughter.

Where the Anti-war Movement is not Sufficiently Strong to Render a national Mobilization impossible attempts must BE MADE :

K. To create a united anti-war front :

1 . in time of mobilization but when war has not yet broken out to put on foot the most active propaganda campaign throughout the country and by making use of all available means to prepare for the general strike and mass refusal of military service.

2. in time of war to act in a like sense but secretly and with tact, a task which, however, should already be prepared for in peace time.

L. To attempt to win over to the anti-war mobilization soldiers, sailors and workers still mobilized for war by :

1. demonstrations.

2. house-to-house canvass.

3. picketing in front of barracks (in this sphere women can act to great advantage), etc., etc.

M. To disorganize as much as possible the great mechanism of war, chiefly by seeking to paralyse transport (and here again women have a special task to accomplish, for instance by placing themselves in their thousands on the railway lines or on roads in order to prevent the departure of military transports, in one word by practising methods of passive resistance as has been done in these recent years in India by all the women who have fought so heroically against the police and the Imperial British Army).

N. Wherever it is possible to do so without the risk of endangering human life, arms, munitions and all war materials should be destroyed, etc., etc.

If the choice is left open it is always preferable to convert the means of war—in time of mobilization and war nearly everything is so to say a means of war—into means of peace rather than to destroy them ; f.i. by using aeroplanes to shower down upon town and countryside of your own as well as of a possible enemy country anti-war manifestos and leaflets, by placing your wireless (ordinary or secret installations) at the service of anti-militarist mobilization and of the war against war movement in order to appeal to the peoples of the countries in question to join the fight against all war,

etc., etc.

O. The collective opposition to war should be converted into Social Revolution (in this revolution it will likewise be the duty of all anti-militarists and radical pacifists to carry on their fight by such means only as may be worthy of man, by rising above any bourgeois, feudal or pre-feudal methods of violence, such methods being in strict contradiction to any rebirth of human civilization).

10. The conquest of violence (1935)[143]

To my friend Frans Arijs, editor of 'Nooit Meer' in Antwerp.

1. The religion of violence.

We live in a time of the victory of violence. 'Violence'[144] comes from the old-germanic root '*waldan*': to be strong, to rule, to exert power, to reign; and specifically more and more in the sense of violating other people's rights. Whether one looks at Japan, Italy or Germany, -to Marocco, India or Indonesia,- it seems to triumph everywhere. Napoleon nor Bismarck had such a following. Every man a soldier! Might is right! Blood and iron!
Violence more than ever tips the scales in modern statesmanship. The scholars have not yet risen into the stratosphere or the results of their research is applied in the modern war industry.
'Strong personalities', that is to say brutal, harsh rulers are now in vogue. 'La mode est aux personalités fortes.' Away with the idealists and freethinkers of the 18th century! Long live modern professionalism! The heavily armed state embodies the highest social and mental authority. Politics are based on man's dark instincts. Religion is only permitted insofar as it reinforces the earthly authority with the suggestion of an devine authority, but cannot be tolerated if it resists. Freedom of conscience and conviction is only allowed for the exception inasfar as the general interest, impersonated in the state, permits it. Domestic and foreign relations ultimately rely on violence. “All the armed prophets win, all the unarmed succumb”, Machiavelli wrote. Mussolini, prophet of fascism founded his authority on violence just as much as Stalin, prophet of bolshevism did. It doesn't matter whether this is 'justified' or 'injust', 'immoral' or 'moral'. 1914 proved that the world sheep shed that Jesaja dreamed of, is a fraudulous fiction. Only in war man deploys its highest powers.[145]
Even more questionable than the practice of violence, is the faith in violence. It's become a deliberate cult, a modern religion. Usually the adversaries of Mussolini quote bombastically: “The dagger between the teeth, bomb in hands, and a sovereign disdain for danger in the heart”, or a rhetorical heathen passage from Hitler's 'Mein Kampf', and console themselves with Einstein's dictum that 'our democracies' are not there yet fortunately. They're probable even further than that: they need not even be roused by nationalism or militarism. The all-encompassing people's armies into which the modern nations increasingly merged ever since France's great revolution, have become the norm for the average western understanding, at least when it matters – for social-democrats and bolsheviks just as well. The most sophisticated military violence is as evident in the

143 Tr. Note: Edition: Uitgeverij Bevrijding, Bevrijding Reeks N°3, Utrecht, 1935
Source: https://anarchief.org/wiki/De_Ligt,_Bart_-_De_overwinning_van_het_geweld
Digitized by Tommy Ryan
This text could have been a summary of 'The Conquest of Violence' but it is an earlier publication that was used for propaganda. It was first published in Belgium by people involved in the anarchist and anti-militarist movement: 'Jongeren Vredes Aktie (JVA)' [Youth Peace Action] and their periodical 'Nooit Meer!'
At the time he wrote 'War against War' (1933) Bart de Ligt could be optimistic about the antimilitarist principles being 'well-known' and that 'the important thing' at the time was 'practice'. For us today, much of that work has to be re-done. Propaganda has become yet again one of the first steps to take in antimilitarist organizing. That is the reason why I have chosen to add this shorter brochure of 'The Conquest of Violence' in this 'practical' volume: we must practice the theory of antimilitarism in order to 'de-programme' ourselves and our communities (to use Bart's own phrase).
This theory must be updated and evaluated. Bart made obvious mistakes and errors of judgement. His analysis and response to the rise of Hitler and the threath of war is a clear example. I have not left the chapter out: we learn from mistakes as well as from our successes. While he misjudged the chances of war, his speeches on fascism (See other volume on 'Conquest') are necessary complements to have a full understanding of his analysis of fascism and nazism.
144 Tr. Note: 'geweld' in Dutch is clearly linguistically related to 'waldan'.
145 G. Peytavi de Tangères, La Modernité de Machiavel, “Mercure de France”, 15 déc. 1932, pp. 513—537.

United States, Great-Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands as the officially professed christianity. It's not only confused with it, but it has even become identical to it. Colonel Fuller deems the english soldiers are ahead of mainland soldiers because they have internalized the tactics of scientific warfare like... “a new Gospel”. In the 'Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant', so proud of its moderation and moral standing, a military advisor praises this religion as “appealing” because “it moves mountains”.[146] And he is not persecuted for blasphemy.
At the Conference against poisoned gas war in Frankfurt (1929), a German chemist declared that the worst thing about modern war is not even the most gruesome weapons, but the appalling fact that modern man had gotten used to poisoning his follows en masse at the command of his government, which significantly influenced criminality rates in so-called peace time. Indeed the poisoned gasses emanate from poisoned minds, weaponised bacteria from contaminated spirits. Modern society is only a very civilised form of barbarity that borders individual and collective madness and spills over into it. Not just all of the culture, even the very life of countless people and animals is threatened by modern war without remorse.
Few things are harder than breaking with all of this. It demands, as was recently noted, much more audacity and courage, sacrifice, initiative and ingenuity than war. Because -”**peace is the new**”. Violence and war are very deeply rooted human habits which we are drawn to not just politically and socially, but psychologically -often subconsciously. It's simpler to give in to it than to resist, even just for the moral and social regression that comes along with it: to fall, and to relapse, is easier than to rise. Many 'fall' all too eagerly by the way! One not only has to -to speak with Duprat[147]- rise above a centuries old 'social determinism' in principle and in practice, around oneself and within oneself, but one has to develop a new social determinism that the personal and social freedom, that is built on individual and social **responsibility**, só powerfully that in the end it conquers all traditional resistance because it became almost instinctive.
So we as well need strong personalities. But differently. Strong for us are especially those who don't even need violence and war any more. Who have conquered those within themselves, and have extracted themselves from the suggestions of the powers that be, politically-economically as well as generally-culturally. Those who live in a new universal consciousness, untouchable by the preseumptious demands of the modern Moloch State, and by the stereotypical 'nationalising of consciousness'. That stand out in a society -mainly driven by animalistic and subhuman distrust- by a world re-creating trust and the absence of all fear, and that have the courage to face truth calmly by controlling and reigning themselves and not others, and value as much as possible even what they combat.

2. Violence and war in history

One cannot deny the role of violence in history, nor wipe it away with a broad pacifist gesture. In the course of history it made all kinds of human things possible and stimulated it; even the so gruesome war has produced much beauty and sublime. The bourgeois sociologists agree on this with the social-democrat Marx and with the anarchist Proudhon.
And yet war is a historic phenomenon, not a biological: it doesn't result from the immediate human 'nature' but from specific social, economic and political circumstances that once appeared and will disappear again. Only the spontaneous fight is biological in nature. Deliberately prepared, systematically organised, collective murderous battle fought for metaphysical, social, economic, political or cultural ends, is a relatively recent thing in the development of humanity. Without doubt

146 “Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant”, 3 Augustus 1933.
147 Jeanne Duprat, private lecturer in sociology at the university of Geneva- published a summary of Proudhon's ideas '*Proudhon, sociologue et moraliste*', which demonstrates clearly that the time of greatness has yet to come for this Frenchman. The same author gave us the brochure '*La Conception proudhonienne des Facteurs économiques de la Guerre et de la Paix*', published in Dutch in 'Bevrijding', translation by H.J. Mispelblom Beijer.

all kinds of urges and instincts, attack- and even deadly rage made it possible. But the human animal was originally much more peaceful in nature and the least 'developed' peoples often still are. The first weapons were not swung at people, but at animals.
For centuries collective violence was much more primitive than today. Certainly, its consequences were always awful, especially for those who were defeated. Immeasurable ammounts of cultural objects have been demolished by it. But in the bigger picture of things, war did less harm for thousands of years than it does today; and in the history of all tribes, peoples and races **together**, a relative beneficial ratio existed between destructive and constructive forces, between destruction and reconstruction, so that even under all that violence and war, culture after culture arose and the positive prevailed over the negative. However cruel and bloody, the violence took part in the process of spiritualisation of developing mankind. Even the first, relatively little differentiated societies that -mainly though war- were born from the most primitive societies, were more different of our current one than are butterflies from caterpillars.
War stimulated trade and travel, art and science in many ways. Even in the history of education it played an important part: discipline, self-discipline especially, we owe to warriors as much as we owe it to wizzards, priests, saints and mystics. The rare -even today- courage, not natural to man, was awakened and nurtured by war especially. Concepts like 'manliness' and 'bravery' originate in the act of war. And while the originally instincitive fight was mainly focused on the satisfaction of immediate urges -even if the battle for food or a female entailed the future of lineage and race indirectly- war always had a more utilitarian character and it was deliberately aimed at the future. One was thaught to joyfully sacrifice himself and his own limited interests: the rise of a heroism that the animals do not know.
It must even be acknowledged that every culture until now have been founded by violence and maintained more or less violently. None has really been able to get rid of it completely. This is also true for the most peaceful ones like the Chinese -although that has recently increasingly been relying on violence as well. Every culture yet was in fact just elite cultures, minority cultures, ruled by a relatively small percentage of priviliged people who based their glory on the exploitation of ever growing masses. They were structured like pyramids: at the top a heavy golden elite, weighing on ever darker and broader strata beneath, more oppressed the nearer to the base. From its dark depths the social elite sucks up all of its power and glory.
Violence was essential for maintaining those social structures: from the top down. And -if the lower strata didn't tolerate the situation and picked up arms-, from below upwards. This is the **vertical violence** that crosses through history: the class war. In spite of the most beautiful slogans of 'national unity' today the national army as well is first of all aimed against the 'domestic enemy': the potentially uprising mass of millions of poor farmers, petit-bourgeois and proletarians.
Every culture society also had a tendency towards self-expansion at the expense of less developed ones -and most of all weaker, even if they were more developed. War, class conflict, private property and state – they all developed toghether. By means of the state -'*lo stato*', a word that became popular during the Italian Renaissance and originally meant 'the rulers and their party'- the social groups with power monopolised violence more and more. In the end they expanded its realm so far that now all government authority is characterized by the 'ius belli', the 'right' to declare war and to go to war, which in turn include the 'right' of every government to demand from any citizen -or rather: subject- at any time '*Todesbereitschaft und Tötungsbereitschaft*': to be prepared to kill anyone and be killed by anyone for whatever reason. This typical characteristic of political sovereignty was recently confirmed by the League of Nations.[148]
That is the cause of **horizontal violence** all across history that resulted in 1914. When people speak of war, this horizontal violence against the 'foreign enemy' is most often what is meant. Included in it are civil wars, religious wars, etc that by the way mostly coincided with or transformed into political, economic and class wars. The collective armed struggle that we're talking about here, was

148See Carl Schmitt, Begríff des Politlschen, “Archiv für Sozial-wissenschaft und Sozialpolitik” 1927, S. 1—33. Vgl. mijn Confre la Guerre nouvelle, Paris 1928, p. 193—194.

essentially waged in the same context: the surface of the earth; and in so doing shattered boundary after boundary.
But even so it participated in the awe-inspiring process of unification of tribes, peoples and races. That way even the deification of the armed forces mad cultural-historic sense, and the conquerors of antiquity fulfilled a more or less 'dvivine' task. They were even seen as something providential. Ever more powerful collective violence protected not only the eldest cultures against the ever advancing of no less violent, marauding barbarians, but also benefited greatly the interpenetration and the interdependence, the mutual penetration and the dpending on eachother of tribes, peoples, races. In the second half of the fourth century AD, Alexander the Great fulfilled an awesome function in world history and united Asia with Europe through warfare like never before -after all he considered himself a God. The Roman ambition to conquer enabled the spreading of the most noble Near-Asian, Egyptian and Hellenic cultural traditions as far as the barren coasts of the North Sea. The crusades, no matter how little christian they were and how gruesome they were against Jews and heathens, again opened the west to the east, and very much prepared the Renaissance and the bourgeois revolution. The calvinist violence saved the reformation from obliteration by the counter-reformation, and the freedom of the Netherlands emerged from the 80 years war. Even the colonial marauder wars of the whites -even with the immense criminalities- helped the economic and cultural unification of the world. It immediately flogged the colored peoples out of moral depression. But especially since Napoleon, the destructive character of the technique of war increased so disquietingly -supported by the ever finer and increasingly complex nature of modern society- that the destructive increasingly outweighed the constructive in the bigger whole.
And still the so insane world war gave birth to another great proletarian revolution that, however flawed -mainly violence, *waldan*- gave new meaning to the lives of millions; supported amongst others the struggle for self-liberation of oppressed nations and colored races, the development of medicine and hygiene and -for better and for worse- the emancipation of women.
The painful cracking and breaking of borders also opened the possibility of ever broadening awareness: as peoples, races and cultures increasingly mingled, at last **the idea of humanity** was born in the midst of the developed. In spite of so many contradictions of class, blood and tradition, a proces of recognition and acknowledgement happened in some especially gifted people, that would spread and deepen across every official border. The fellow human was discovered in the former enemy, even in the slave; in the stranger people retrieved themselves. Since around 800 B.C. a humanitarian conscience developed in the noblest of cultures in men and women of high intuition and a deep sense of solidarity.. In China, India, near-Asia, Greece people slowly began to understand that violence is something temporary and transient not just in personal relations between fellow humans, but also between peoples and races; that history would increasingly revolve around the cultural unity of the whole earth and the self-realization of humanity in the cosmos; that increasingly intense struggle bould be necessary for that but ever less violence and war, because those means increasingly came into conflict with human nature and the the ultimate goal of the world.
These are the main conclusions, released from the magical frills and mythological shells; violence builds on violence, and war on war over and over; ever growing empires will devour eachother murderously so that in the end war, hunger and pestilence will rage like never before; then the entire system of violence disintegrates, the long expected world peace is established and each is served their free rights.
Those who discovered and proclaimed all this for centuries formed exceptions to a completely different rule. They were considered to be probably not-unsympathetic but dangerous 'impossibilists' by the public opinion that lived on much older -but ever more outdated traditions; in some critical moments the official powers considered them insane and were shoved aside if not tortured, imprisoned and murdered like criminals. Still under favorable natural and political-economic conditions in some places relativeley peaceful cultures flourished, where the belief in the divine meaning of violence not just weakened but died off -India, China. But even there violence

remained present at least latently, and could rise to the fore accutely at any moment. If we look at the earth as a whole during all of known history, then the horizontal as well as the vertical violence has played a most important role until now.
Every 'right' -as von Jhering[149] noted so correctly- is conquered by violence and is defended by violence. It is still 'enforceable' and is permanently maintained by *waldan.*

3. The violence of the bourgeoisie.

Even more violent than ever was the battle that the insurrectionary third estate waged for centuries to topple the feudal powers and for the control over colonial peoples. Ever more brutal the revolutionary bourgeoisie grabbed the monopolies of property and power, and created its own 'right'. Insofar its New History was still the old history, in a new appearance at best. The bourgeoisie never wanted to end the exploitation of classes and races, but wanted to control that exploitation for its own benefit. But it often connected with the lowest strata of the population in its struggle against the feudal powers, and several times it marched alongside the rising proletariat as an ally against the nobility and the clergy. But even before it saddled up, it rejected these supporting troops back into the social abyss: 1789, 1830, 1848 in France. In different ways the same happened in England and elsewhere, until at last in China (Chiang Kai Shek). On the other hand it absorbed the nobility and the clergy inasfar as those accepted its political-economic and moral leadership. Through an ingenious system of social selection it was also able to scim those that fit its regime from the tens of thousands of the lowest citizens, poorest farmers and the proletarian masses. It even succeeded in continuating the class and racial exploitation like never before.
Never before had one class, caste or estate had more need for horizontal and vertical violence. That sharp individual competition for capital (land, means of production, money) and profit -on which its social system was based, transformed into ever fiercer group competition; like robbers banded together in gangs, the capitalists joined ranks with capitalists and at last organised 'nation' against 'nation'. Predation, greed, power hunger, thirst for fame and all kinds of aggressive urges were aroused for hundreds of years in school and society to the expense of social instincts -a process of mental poisoning in which in the end the world wars and the modern scientific warfare became possible. Pairing capitalism and nationalism brought forth imperialism. Since the end of the 19th century it was ever more brutally centered on:
. markets or sales markets;
. raw materials;
. cheap labor;
. colonies for emigration;
. investment opportunities;[150]

149 Tr. Note: Rudolf von Jhering, German legal scholar (1818-1892).

150Because in this society the fulfilling of everyone's needs is not the aim, but to generate profit for the capitalists at the expense of the producer and consumer, the infinitely exploited mass, and therefore, when the industrial and agricultural possibilities of production grew like never before, the national market soon became too narrow for the national capital: compatriots without capital may have had endless needs, the capitalists refused to meet those needs if there was no profit in it, and so they sought their markets... abroad.
Because the national soil didn't yield every material that were necessary for agriculture and industry, in the first place for the production of the means of production: materials were needed from every part of the world. Indeed mainly the white working class had risen up again and again against the horizontal violence of the capitalist rulers; had conquered pay rises and shorter hours again and again, ensurances, pensions, etc; so it became increasingly interesting for the white elites to look for labor forces among socially less developed and politically subjected races in climates where the population as well had much less immediate necessities of life. In Indonesia for example -according to the official statements in the dutch Second Chamber- the indigenous population (not the Governor-General of course) could 'live' on less than f0,025 a day. So there is much bigger profit to be made there! Because several capitalist nations were increasingly less capable to provide adequate labor and means of subsistence for their ever faster increasing populations in their own territory, and so they had to turn to emigration. Because the

. and especially on colonial and half-colonial regions that were required for all of this.
The flag followed trade, trade followed the flag: national defence was subordinated to national capital and the capitalist nation. That led to outrageous armements and the state slavery of conscription. An ever bigger part of economic life was aimed at the manufacturing of unproductive means of destruction, the production ever more aimed at destruction. Because the armies of millions required billions of bullets, millions of guns and sabres, tens of thousands of cannons, machine guns, etc, etc, etc. They had to be stored in countless garrisons and fortresses, and needed to be clothed and fed. Ever more awe-inspiring fleets were developed that devoured mountains of gold, and air fleets as well: for warfare in the third dimension. The war budgets pushed the national treasuries out of balance.. Getting into ever growing debts and defaulting became increasingly normal in the most powerful imperialisms. According the the Stock Exchange Official Intelligence, the debt rate in 1931 of forty-nine countries was f310,000,000,000. The Netherlands has a public debt of approximately f3,000,000,000 and an additional debt of f1,600,000,000 for the Dutch Indies. “Most of these debts come from wars and armaments”, the 'Haagse Post' of December 16, 1933 reports; only a relatively small portion can be attributed to public investments, and even then not always of the productive kind.”
Not just financial life, but moral life as well became unbalanced because of this. It didn't become less normal that every man could handle the bayonet most viciously, and was prepared to skewer any enemy of the government onto it; that every woman could be summoned to make grenades or otherwise perform tasks in the international process of destruction. In protestant regions the young men were reared for murder at the same time as they were enlisted in the service of Jesus Christ -there even were special catechizations for soldiers, for which the priests earned extra money; in catholic regions, confession and absolution continued -as before- even if the priests established the immoral influence that Mars and Venus wandering had on the conscripts again and again. Country was pitted against country like army camp was against army camp. Every people became a threat to every other one. National hysteria and persecution madness raged. Every modern people was in the end possessed with a daily and nightly oppressing, collective fear. Complete distrust towards every foreign country became political principle especially after 1914.
Today nearly every modern state prepares like never before for an never-seen world conflict. That's why the restless strife for autarchy -economic self-sufficiency- so that they're no longer, or the least possible, dependent on the outside world in case of war. This proces, that divides and tears the world apart more and more, is reinforced by the structural crisis in capitalism that causes every country to solve its own economic and social difficulties at the expense of the oppressed mass domestically and in the colonies with tricks and fraud. Even when the economic relations of the world have become so complicated that every country proves to be mutually dependent and that they can only continue to exist because of and with eachother. This forced condition can lead to the most deplorable outburst at any time, even more so because the social fate of ever growing numbers of workers, petit bourgeois and farmers has become so miserable that to many amongst them war even seems a solution, even without all kinds of unconscious and subconscious moral and sexual tensions that push more and more in the direction of war.[151]
Meanwhile, in the name of the fatherland, God or humanity, and with the help of school teachers and professors, newspapers and preachers, pastors and social-democratic leaders a complete honorary codex was assembled for collective murder. This tainted the spirit of hundred of millions with the equally insane as criminal superstition that violence and war are practically indispensable for humans, if not metaphysically inevitable precisely when the development of modern war technics led to means of war that proved to be one big onslaught on both victors and victims, -when history itself started proving the age-old intuitions of the most humane humans right, and the

nationalism of national capitalist is without doubt very big, but if investment in domestic companies only promises small profits, it would export large parts of its financial capital abroad, even among heathens and maneaters if it could make giant profuts that way; even if there was some risk it would be uncapitalist -and capitalism is the norm- not to do so. So then they would act on the dictum: “Where it's good is my fatherland"'

151Compare my 'War and sex drive', 'Oorlog en Geslachtsdrift', uitg. J. V. A. 1932

demands of the most rational utilitarianism confirmed beyond doubt the consequences of the most impassioned idealism- when, in one word, the war as consequence of the development of its scientific methods of destruction began to make itself impossible up to the point that it seemed as inhumane as it seemed impractical. That is to say: when the 'impossibilism' spread to the other side.

4. Unsustainability of bourgeois pacifism.

Thanks to the christianity of heretics and sects, the humanism of the Renaissance and Enlightenment, the ideals of the bourgeois revolution and the principles of revolutionary socialism the general consciousness of the most civilised peoples was already so developed that this fact was more and more openly acknowledged. Its voice was supported by the voice of the increasingly economically thinking brain. Especially in reaction to the consequences of the napoleontic wars gave rise to a relatively important 'peace movement' in the 19th century, that condemned war as unreasonable and immoral in continent after continent. Although at the beginning of the 20th century every state competed increasingly passionate in national armament, millions already believed -even somewhat bourgeois thinking people- in every modern country that a never seen before big and gruesome war that was predicted by military specialists and revolutionary sociologists alike, had become impossible: mankind had become too clever, its morals were already too much softened. As if the individual brain of countless well-meaning people had even one iota of decision power on the subject! As if the world's social process was decided by soft sentiment! In spite of so much well-meant and ever spreading 'pacifism' in August 1914 the world war started. In spite of the eloquent pleading for a League of Nations and for Peace, for the Kellogg-pact, etc the states increasingly drifted apart since Versailles, and locked themselves in behind heavily armed walls of tarriffs. Never before was the world armed like during the world disarmement conferences! As it was once said: 'The closer to Rome, the further from God', so it must now be said: 'The closer to Geneva, the further from the League of Nations and Peace.' Wars and rumours of war - like never before.
Neither God nor devil could change anything about this: it's in the nature of social life itself. Violence and war are elementary factors in the bourgeois, capitalist system. Our society is violent like rain is wet.
There are three main reasons why *waldan (i.e. 'violence')* is essential:

1. the competition between the different, more or less nationally organised groups, is controlled by entrepreneurs, industrialists, financers, politicians, diplomats, military elites, etc and becomes increasingly more intense. Seeking markets, raw materials, cheap labor forces, high profits, etc, every national capital overflows the borders of the fatherland. The capitalist nations boil over demonically, and each flood an ever bigger part of the globe. The world becomes too small for their competition. Because the system demands for every national capital, for every capitalist nation essentially unlimited expansion possibilities, and ever growing and ever faster turnover and sale of goods. Otherwise soon enough there is no longer any profit to be made! And making a profit for the relatively small groups of owners of money, soil and means of production -not for catering to the physical and mental needs of all the people, peoples and races- is the whole 'raison d'être' for this society. The profitability of capital becomes unsure everywhere. And so each wants to keep what they have, or conquer whatever it still can.
Meanwhile a blind game of geographical-economic and socio-political factors had spread the earth's surface randomly. One 'nation' had too much of something, while another didn't have enough of it; this one had a chance once before, the other arrived too late. Even during the world war, I have distinguished between the oversaturated or defensive, and the underfed or aggressive imperialisms. England, France and the Netherlands are of the first type. They are all very 'pacifist' minded, that is to say they only want to use violence to maintain the status quo -the existing situation that benefits them without end. As 'blissful owners' they are conservative and wish to leave things as they are.

Surely they remain prepared for war. Their attitude in generally rather defensive that offensive in nature: they 'just' want to keep what they have. But whát they have, they deem justified and normal. 'Our small Netherlands for expamle is -just look at the map of the world- in fact a great imperialist state. It has a population bigger than Germany -73,000,000 souls- of whom 65,000,000 are part of the oppressed and exploited colored races: a limitless realm of islands with inexhaustible treasures on and in the soil, and populated by ever growing masses of 'poor heathens' that need to be raised capitalistchristianly. Therefore it acts -if necessary- like a real world power with submarines and bombs. The Dutch Lion, that seems like a dilapidated lapdog of Great-Britain in the west -even if it jumps timidly in Marianne's lap[152] from time to time- is in the east a murderous beast: Atjeh! Bali! Lombok! The 'Seven Provinces'[153] must enforce its 'right' after all! But of course it doesn't want war with the much more powerful German Eagle or with the British Lion. So in the west it's 'peace loving'. Belgium as well with its Congo is 'pacifist'. But Germany, Italy, Japan -they don't have enough from an imperialist point of view, they permanently feel unsatisfied, and demand -hungry- a redrawing of the world map. They were late and fell short, and because the others refused to recongnise this, they are more aggressive and war hungry. And while tiny England can almost hold its centre any longer in the immense circle of its World Empire, the United States try to expand economically, leaning on a very broad base, careful, tactful, now defensive and then aggressive, as non-violently as possible –all while they prepare for war in an incomparable way in order to defend their interests militarily. That is the reason for the imperialistic line from the Panama-canal over Goam to the Philippines -especially sensitive for Japan.
The international tensions have led to a new system of coalitions since the world war -in spite of the League of Nations, the Kellogg-pact, disarmament commissions, etc- where several smaller political planets circle around one sun-like big opportunity or another. The big powers constantly try to steal eachother's smaller powers. After all: competition is everything. Even in Geneva it's every state for itself! At the Disarmament Conference one of the most decent small states, 'neutral Switzerland', tried to exempt those means of defence that it was good at, but demanded international abolition of every other means of defence. The same for the Netherlands. Because everyone wants the others to go first, and no-one wants to be first, and therefore disarmament is impossible. War, at least the threat of war -because in international negotiations anyone is worth as much as they have fingers to make a fist- is part of the capitalist system. *Waldan* is one of the first rules of the imperialist game.

2. as we saw violence is indispensable for the ruling class to maintain its priviliged position over the exploited masses domestically, to keep the increasingly rebellious workers, petit-bourgeois and farmers under the yoke. The army is first of all aimed against the 'domestic enemy', the people's army or militia army just as well: nowhere was the national armed force more directed against fellow citizens than precisely in Switzerland, that ideal example of 'pacifists'.

3. evern more violence is required to control the millions of coloreds[154]: the European colonial powers parasitize on 900,000,000 of Asians and Africans. Those who were prepared in Geneva -in view of the possible war against other states- to abdicate certain murder tools under certain conditions, still maintain them mercilessly inasfar as they need them to 'maintain order' in their colonies. The Dutch government can advocate for the ban of aerial bombardments in the war with its peers, but in the East-Indies it can't do without them for maintaining its 'right'[155] over the

152Tr. Note: 'Marianne' is a French iconic figure that symbolises the state of France

153Tr. Note: BdL uses a medieval name for 'the Netherlands' bedore the rule of the princes of Oranje. Specifically BdL refers to a battle ship of the Dutch government that was named after this medieval confederation. See https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hr.Ms._De_Zeven_Provinciën_(1910) and https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muiterij_op_De_Zeven_Provinciën

154 Tr. Note: we would probably use the term 'people of colour' today. As this is a translation I have chosen to keep the original word literally because I didn't want to 'white-wash' BdL or his time.

155 Tr. Note: in Dutch 'recht' has a double meaning for which English uses two words: 'right' (e.g. to have the right to) and 'justice'

coloreds.

As if all this wasn't enough, certain industrial powers whose special interest it is to accentuate the national contradictions and to keep stimulating the international arms race, cooperate ever more intensely across every border and in spite of any war. Their detrimental influence shines through even in the Disarmament Conference. By the way they control large parts of the world's press and... of the world's politics. They form the 'Bloody International of the Arms Industry'[156], the only International that survived when the christian and socialist internationals crumbled in 1914, and it came out of the world war even stronger than before. There is no difference between 'christian' and 'heathen' politics either; between the principles of English, French, Dutch, Italian, American or German imperialism and the foundations of Japanese imperialism.[157]
Everywhere the youth and the population receive the same nationalist education –the nuances only linked to secundary traditions and the different political-economic conditions of the countries concerned- in schools and universities, in churches and press, by Party and cinema. Especially when there is international tension, heaven, earth and hell are set to work in order to to fire up the masses into blind sacrifice for the 'defence of the nation'. *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori!*: 'it's duty and bliss to die for the fatherland!', even when the fatherland has kept its millions of children small, subordinate and oppressed, and leaves ever less of their political and social rights.
Bourgeois pacifism is thus untenable. Even the peace loving Dutch bourgeoisie can't survive for a single moment without horizontal and vertical violence. War, capitalism and imperialism go hand in hand like keynote, terts and quint. War, capitalism and imperialism are a trinity. War, capitalism and imperialism permeate eachother like the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. And that other Trinity is only welcome if it quietly allows the war, capitalism and imperialism to continue without. The Dutch liberal democrats[158] may lure their fellow-citizens to the ballots with such a fine slogan -'national disarmament'-, their representatives hadn't even been part of government yet before they were forced to delay this disarmament 'for the time being', even if they advocated in favour of it 'in principle' just like Hitler for example.
So they joined the Colijn[159]-cabinet.
Colijn; his name is small, but the idea is big.
This former colonial and bosom friend of the butcher of Atjeh[160] -who was advisor for the foreign office of Colonies as well as chairman-commissioner of the Dutch-Indian Land Syndicate, and later on one hand the God-given leader of the Anti-Revolutionary Party as well as director of the Batavian- he knows very well how war, capitalism and imperialism are inseparable. In that sense he was right with his radical advice about the 'Seven Provinces': we need absolute reliability of the apparatus of authority and violence from a bourgeois point of view.
Holland's First Minister is also Minister of colonies -not by accident-, nor is young lord de Graeff -former envoy in Tokyo and former Governor-General- Minister of foreign affairs, nor young lord de Jonge -former director of the Royal Petroleum Society- Governor General of the East-Indies. The politics of the 'Realm' is these days determined from the Indies, and not from the Netherlands, especially since things heat up more and more in the Pacific Ocean; Japan lurks at the oil of Borneo and to New-Guinea; and Indonesia risks ending up in the east like Belgium in the west in 1914 in the event of a conflict.
With this in mind the Netherlands remains prepared for 'national defence': to defend Indonesia

156 Tr. Note: today, we would probably speak about 'The Arms Lobby' or 'the Military Industrial Complex'
157 The most humane and indeed already more or less universally aimed politics are to be found in China, India and the Zionists until now. Then, on a lower level, with the bolsheviks. Everything else is a moot point.
158 Tr. Note: NOT the British political party, obviously.
159 Tr. Note: Hendrikus "Hendrik" Colijn (22 June 1869 – 18 September 1944) was a Dutch politician of the Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP; now defunct and merged into the Christian Democratic Appea or CDA). He served as Prime Minister of the Netherlands from 4 August 1925 until 8 March 1926, and from 26 May 1933 until 10 August 1939. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hendrikus_Colijn)
160 Tr. Note: https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frits_van_Daalen_(1863-1930)

against a possible attacker with the help of one or more big powers. That way it can soon happen, that malnourished Javan 'desa'-inhabitants[161], unemployed boys from the marshes of Drenthe, destitute farmers from Holland and Friesland, and pregnant women from Brabant and Limburg are summoned to participate -each in their own way- in a war against... the Emperor of Japan, who is even more alien to them than Queen Wilhelmina. And the danger is real that not just bourgeois, but social-democrats as well, will choose national unity over the national conflicts, so tens of thousands will agree to a Godpeace-pact[162] with the government and will suspend any action against the war just as the war begins, completely in line with bourgeois pacifism.

5. Violence and proletariat

Individuals and mass must always be ready to 'die for an idea', to 'sacrifice for the community'. Is it any wonder that in the end always more of the exploited decided not to use violence against a stranger any more, but for their own cause; even more so because their cause was essentially the cause of the whole of humanity, and that they were inspired for their own revolution by the former behavior of the revolutionary bourgeoisie that was glorified in school, church, press, literature; in paintings and in sculptures? That idealists of feudal and bourgeois background that had turned away from their own cruel class in bitterness -Marx, Engels and Lenin especially- in their turn eagerly tried to imprint their imprinted beliefs in the efficacity of *waldan* upon the uprising proletariat? If countless disinherited finally decided to turn the weapons that were put in their hands first of all against their own domestic enemy, the ruling class, the responsibility for this was not so much theirs but that of their harsh masters who had raised them in this spirit for centuries. It is the bourgeoisie that spread the romantic ideology of violence into the deepest strata of the petit bourgeoisie and the proletariat. It is the bourgeoisie that forced millions of sons of the people into military domestication since the French Revolution, and dumped them into the trenches in 1914. It is the bourgeoisie that divided the world in national army camps, always ready to jump at eachother's throats. It is the bourgeoisie that kept developing the science of war: from a war with black powder and bullet against harness and the castles of knights, until the modern chemical and bacteriological war against defenceless masses, even children. It is the bourgeoisie that has disgraced the people's spirit by an inhumane system of discipline in factory, barrack, office and prison. It is the bourgeoisie that has created battle ships, cruisers, submarines, bombers, air ships, etc with the blessing of the Church, and that finally seduced the proletariat into handing it all over, in order to aim it back at its own, true enemy.
Hence the meaning of the mutiny on 'The Seven Provinces'[163] where oppressed whites and coloreds tore the apparatus of violence away from the hands of the ruling classes for just a single moment to make it serve their own cause. That's why the long voyage of 'The Dutch Potemkin' held the world in so much tension. Officially it was a conflict over wages: there was a declaration in which the authority of the state was recognized; this had nothing to do with a refusal to fight -or otherwise they would have abdicated the national system of violence forever, and probably have sunk their ship immediately so that no-one could hurt anyone else with this 'floating coffin'. But through all

161 Tr. Note: a 'desa' is the lowest administrative level of Dutch government in Indonesia, a village or a village with surrounding area in rural regions.

162 Tr. Note: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peace_and_Truce_of_God: 'Pax Dei' or 'Peace and Truce of God'. The Peace of God was first proclaimed in 989, at the Council of Charroux. It sought to protect ecclesiastical property, agricultural resources and unarmed clerics.[6] The Truce of God, first proclaimed in 1027 at the Council of Toulouges, attempted to limit the days of the week and times of year that the nobility engaged in violence.[7] The movement survived in some form until the thirteenth century.

163 Tr. Note: 6th of 8 Dutch war ships with the same name; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/HNLMS_De_Zeven_Provinci%C3%ABn_(1909) ; on 5 February 1933 a mutiny broke out amongst the mixed Dutch and Indonesian crew who seized control of the ship. On February 5th, 5 bombers were launched and the ship was bombed, killing 23 mutineers after which the survivors surrendered.

that there was something deeper: an instinctive inclination to escape the existing system; a clear threat that in case of a possible war or 'measures of order' for the retention of Indonesia, the ruling class could no longer count on Average Joe. In the memorial year of Willem de Zwijger[164] the action of these men reminded everyone of the Geuzen[165]. And who had always glorified those wild hijackers so adamantly?
Inasfar as the white proletariat and the oppressed colored peoples believe in the efficacy of violence in the service of their own cause, the responsibility for this befalls mainly the bourgeoisie. This fact can't be undone by bombs on white an colored mutineers, nor with prison sentences from four to eighteen years. In fact that only confirms it.
If it comes down to it, especially in the west, the large majority of christians, socialists, anarchists, communists all prove that they still possessed by the faith in violence. Christians even march in the vanguard in this respect: Kuyper, Dr. De Visser, Jhr de Geer, Slotemaker de Bruine, Colijn.
For the bourgeoisie -parasitic to the core- this is normal, as we saw. But socialists, bolsheviks, anarchists want to undo all exploitation and oppression at all cost; struggling for a world 'in which brutish violence will have no more place'. That's why, as soon as the age-old methods of violence are practiced here, contradictions between means and ends arise. Because it's just a fact that every means has its own immanent or inherent goal, and can only be subordinated to a higher cause in so far as it really coincides with it. Whomever does not respect this fact, must immediately undergo the **dictatorship of the means**: even if these are of course aimed at something else, they still lead further astray the stronger they are implemented for a different cause. It's impossible to reach freedom through force, or to breathe natural gas to live. Natural gas is for cooking; life demands fresh air. And freedom is only generated and reinforced in freedom. At best, people look for freedom in reaction to force, and for fresh air when poisoned air threatens to suffocate them.
An untenable contradiction arises when those who struggle for the abolition of class exploitation and racial oppression copy the horizontal and vertical methods of violence of the formerly revolutionary bourgeoisie and of the current-day bourgeois state- and class system, and even reinforce it by feudal means that even the bourgeoisie frowned upon, for their revolution – the biggest and grandest that ever took place. With inquisition, derived from tsarism; oppression of the freedom of thought and of conscience, derived from both catholicism and tsarism; nationalism and militarism, created by the bourgeoisie; bureaucracy and parliamentarism, so typical for the bourgeois state; and all the means and methods that are inseparable from all of this, the self-organisation of labor can't be realized. Bolshevism, that tried this increasingly passionately, and even stooped to taking hostages, drifted away from its original goal: the councils of workers and farmers. It tied itself up in a feudally flavored state capitalism that increasingly inserted itself in the imperialist world with machiavellian methods.
Modern capitalism, that could no longer justify itself neither practically nor morally, could only result in fascism. The bourgeoisie saw itself reluctantly forced, even in the most democratic countries, to revert to all kinds of feudal methods of power, that they had previously strongly condemned: freedom of thinking, speaking, writing, assembling and organising is increasinlgy suppressed lately even in the Netherlands, while political adversaries are threatened with being laid off – dubious symptoms of inquisition and terror that are even more eye-catching in Indonesia where the coloreds rise up in a giant struggle for self-liberation. The capitalist governments are throwing every trick in the book at it these days in order to protect 'authority' and 'justice', that is to say the bourgeois class privileges. The most beautiful slogans that the emerging bourgeois society once wrapped itself in, are dropped like worthless rags. And there it stands now in its merciless nakedness.
Fascism is the desperate consequence of imperialist capitalism, **unless the working mass actively resist**. Hopefully it's the last attempt by the bourgeoisie to take back the social development that it

164 Willian of Orange or William the Silent (°Dillenburg, Hessen, Germany 1533 - +Delft, 1584); https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_the_Silent
165 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geuzen

risks losing control over. From a social-psychological perspective, we're dealing with desperado-politics. And that's precisely what explains its unspeakable cruelty.
If capitalism has no choice but to result in fascist methods, socialism should never fall prey to them: it would be corroded in its core. Violence and war, that result from the foreign and domestic imperialist relations, are at odds with social self-liberation, that is the task of the world proletariat. The more violence, the less revolution; even where violence is in theory at the service of the revolution. And the more revolution and social reconstruction, the less destruction and havoc.
The modern revolutionaries must now to accept the conclusion that bolshevik men and women literally exclaimed at the Frankfurt Conference Against Poison Gas War: 'Against the white women regiments: red women regiments; against white poisoned gas: red poisoned gas; against white war germs: red germs!' and must either aim their production process towards that; and with every consequence of it – or break with all this in theory and in practice and increasingly choose means of struggle that essentially correspond to the goal. In the last century it may have been possible to naively think that the political or national war could be turned into a revolutionary civil war, even though Proudhon had already deducted from Napoleon's conduct and the events of his own time that collective violence had become culturally useless and was at odds with modern socialism[166]. The constructive was increasingly threatened by the destructive: the military society had to be transformed into an industrial one as quickly as possible. But now, as a consequence of the development of the technology of destruction, war has become só negative in nature that the adoption of this means of struggle is impossible for a true revolutionary. Unless one would want to take responsibility for the blind annihilation of men, women, children, babies, animals; the burning away of whole regions and world cities; the spreading of poisoned gasses and germs that incontrollably whipe away friend and foe, kindred spirits and adversaries from the face of the earth -an act even more barbaric than the one of Jahweh against Sodom and Gomorra- and the onslaught that this entails on all of humanity and socialism.[167]

166 https://www.akpress.org/war-and-peace.html , https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k65348467

167 Imagine a socialist or communist community on a higher level than present day Russia for example -but for simplicity we'll just call it 'Russia' for the moment- that is like Russia surrounded by bourgeois imperialist states. At a given moment it is attacked let's say by 'Germany'. Let's say that it doesn't ally with countries like Turkey or Italy, nor France -so there is no interference in an imperialist struggle- but defends itself completely independently by the means of modern war; and that it's even more capable to do so than the current Russian regime, even if that already exels -according to the French minister of aviation, Pierre Cot, who recently visited the country- in its military organisation, especially its war planes that can easily be unsleashed on Berlin from Moscow. According to the modern strategy such a war demands that the 'nerve centres of the state apparatus' are attacked first -the city where the government meets- and then the focal points of industry and the hubs of trafic in the 'enemy country' – although it isn't a 'country': it's the lives of millions of people and animals- as Berlin attacks Moscow. “The only way to defend is retaliation”, so an attack of Moscow on Berlin.
If we now imagine a truly revolutionary fighter pîlot who finds himself with his gas bombs above Berlin, and is on the point of executing the order he receives from Moscow. Will he be able to do so if he is conscious of what he is about to do? Down there are hundreds of thousands of proletarians, amongst whom kindred spirits, party colleagues, comrades, friends and also women, children, babies – fellow humans who in large parts never wanted the war against Russia, at least not really -at most want them inasfar as they have been misled by government, church, press, Party, etc. “And the guilty ones?” Those are probably not even there. In any case they are the best protected. The government in the first place – it's known since long that at the start of a modern war “the political nervous system” is immediately relocated, even in much different ways than the French government that retreated from Paris in 1914. By the way who is hiding behind the government? And where are those? We say the 'so-called' guilty ones: those who are most responsible for the outbreak of the war, are almost certainly out of reach. But the millions that are the most 'innocent', run the most life-threatening danger. If the pilot is well aware of all this, and has anything humane inside of himself, will he be able to do anything else than refuse to execute his orders? Imagine a different revolutionary pilot above the Ruhr region with its countless proletarians, comrades, fellow humans and the most fabulous and powerful machines. Could he blindly destroy all that? And we're under the supposition now that this would be a purely defensive war for the pilot, in response to political troubles that the government involved decides can only be solves by war. But mostly the issues are far from this simple. The politics of current day Russia is already tied into the universal imperialist diplomacy, and has a pronounced tendency to participate in possible military coalitions. It even supported the covert militarization of Germany, did many favors to Turkey and Italy, and is tightly in step with imperialist Paris.

There are plenty of people who realize this. And yet they hesitate to break with the old violent methods. Why?
First of all because of false modesty about their moral consciousness. Because morality is not in vogue at the moment. Even more than to shirk the nationalisation of consciences, it's hard to row against the wave of faith in violence that touches the revolutionary movement so deeply as well. The feudal-bourgeois suggestion can pride itself for unknown results! It demands great courage to go against all of this: fascists, bolsheviks, social-democrats and bourgeois nationalists – almost the whole world turns against you if you do. Clenched fists, big mouths, marching the streets with waving flags and beating drums – that is the fashion of the day. It doesn't matter why and what for. If one can just appear to be powerful and heroic, and scream só loud at others that one can almost believe oneself. That is why a lot of revolutionaries are overwhelmed and they don't dare to take a stand for their deepest humanity. They rather march along in a blind trance from bolshevism to fascism; from fascism to bolshevism.
“And then”, people ask again and again, “the result? Where does it end if we would resist so much reactionary violence without violence? Are not the means of defence determined by the means of attack? Shouldn't the ruling class be convinced with its own arguments?”
“We can't”, it is said again and again, “corner the bourgeoisie with the point of a handkerchief! One doesn't march against Hitler with a tea spoon! We must confront all that reactionary violence with **efficient means of power**.'
Efficient indeed. No bigger fiction though than the accepted faith -under feudal and bourgeois suggestion, if not to say dogma- that violence for defence of a just cause would be such an efficient means and that the war would function as an infallible *ordal*[168], a Divine Judgement. As long as there has been war in the world, there were in fact always two simultaneous wars: one for each of the parties to the war. Many of the wars were undecided, which means that **not even 50%** was succesful. And how often did justice win? Most of the wars that ended in victories served unjust causes rather than just causes! In any case the justice of a cause is less than ever before of decisive importance in the modern war. Even Napoleon declared that God is always at the side of the strongest cannons. It is sure that the farmers of the Transvaal at the beginning of the century who fought valiantly with the Bible in one hand and the gun in the other for a just cause, lost to the British Empire in spite of God and violence; and that the horizontal and vertical violence of the bourgeoisie has succefully built a world of injustice and oppression. A just cause didn't even have a 10% chance to win by violence on average in the world. Does it even have a 1% chance today worldwide? It has a 0% chance because -as demonstrated above- the application of modern methods of violenc makes even the most just cause an unjust one, and brings it to the level of its adversary. Even if it was formally victorious it would mercilessly be doomed to protect the fruits of its triumph with increasingly refined methods of violence, and will get bogged down in the destructive.
In any case it is a fiction that violence for a just cause is the only proper means. For the modern proletariat and the colored races, war-violence is something impossible if only for purely practical reasons, because the scientific means of destruction are increasingly controlled by well-payed specialists, and the mass has no airplanes, toxic gasses, electric rays or war germs. All that has become the monopoly of a group of essentielly ruthless men of the trade. And even if they did have all of those they wouldn't be able to use them without destroying themselves physically as well as morally, because as we've seen the consequences of chemical and biological war **are beyond control**.
Meanwhile the revolutionaries passionately blame the adversary for the use of means that they want to use themselves. 'Le Travail', that strongly sympathises with Moscow, indignantly protests that Mussolini and Hitler combat their enemies with the same means as the medieval popes. But the periodical remains dead silent about the fact that Stalin's Russia applies the same means against

168 Tr. Note: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trial_by_ordeal , https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/ordal : ancient judicial practice by which the guilt or innocence of the accused (called a "proband" was determined by subjecting them to a painful, or at least an unpleasant, usually dangerous experience

political adversaries. According to 'De Fakkel'[169] fascism must be fought 'by all means'. Belgian, French, Danish and Dutch social-democrats prepare with Einstein to turn the tide of national-socialist war violence with 'democratic' war-violence. As if not even more gruesome fascism would result from that.[170]
'If you want the goal, you must want the means!', it is exclaimed. Indeed: **the means that fit the goal**. And so those means for true revolutionaries can't be 'all means' because the biggest part of feudal and bourgeois means of struggle are at odds with socialism and humanity.

6. Efficiency of supra-violent means of struggle.

How superior then are non-violent means of struggle. And how much more efficient are they. In the same Transvaal where -despite its good right, faith in god and dry powder- its 'kopjes'[171] and its first-class shooters couldn't withstand British imperialism, a group of Indian immigrants was faced with exception laws on and off that sabotaged them socially and economically and instulted them as humans. In 1906 they were equated to criminal suspects and criminals: each of them had to report to the police and have finger prints taken. On the council of their compatriot Gandhi, lawyer in Pretoria, a few thousands of them decided to ignore the new law, and to undergo the punishment that came with it with dignity. Meanwhile they persisted in recognising the humanity of their adversaries, and kept appealing to them. They were determined not to win by violence, but by satyagraha, sacrifice and mental strength, by civil disobedience. This 'rebellion without any symptom of violence' resulted in severe prison sentences and all kinds of hardship and need. The non-violent fighters were even threatened in their economic existence. But the enthousiasm was very big, even more so where it was based on the old-indian tradition of ahimsa: religious belief in non-violence. Gandhi, who had already been in prison, traveled to London in 1910 to appeal to the involved members of government. But the British didn't give in. In 1912 all of the mariages under Indian law were declared illegal, and each of the Indians living in South-Africa had to pay an extra yearly tax. On Gandhi's advice people proceeded with a total non-cooperation and general strike. Indian women traveled through the mine districts, and agitated their countrymen to join the strike until the measures had been retracted. The government already wavered and promised to abolish the tax. But the Indians demanded immediate action and their full human rights. They organised a demonstrative parade of every countryman through Transvaal.
A formidable police force was mobilised. They began by arresting Gandhi. But the 'nonviolent army' marched on without leader. Gandhi was released. But when he rejoined his fellows, they simply arrested every demonstrator and transported them back to their home cities. But the goal was reached: the public opinion was set in motion. Just when Gandhi was convicted for the third time, this time to 15 months of imprisonment, the government backed down! In 1913 the tax was cancelled, the validity of indian marriage acknowledged and the indian immigrants received equality under the law with the other citizens. The former boer general Smuts, who had declared even in 1906 that he would never abolish the exeption laws, had to admit he was morally defeated. It's clear that if this small group of people had taken up arms, the British violence would have crushed them even harder than the military-technically much better equiped boers who outnumbered them and that had been under much more faborable strategic conditions. Such action was not alien to Indians though. When in 1812 the British government had introduced a most unreasonable tax, the population of Benares stopped the complete social and political life. The shops remained closed. The rulers were refused any labor. In free discipline the self-chosen leadership was obeyed. Until

169' 'The Torch' or 'De Fakkel' was a Dutch periodical, See www.delpher.nl/nl/tijdschriften
170 Tr. Note: this prediction would be worth investigating in the light of all the authoritarian violence and wars that would follow both by the US and 'red' fascism.
171 Tr. Note: 'kopjes' refers to the battles of the hilltops of Spioen Kop and Colenso during the Second Boer War in what is now South-Africa: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Spion_Kop

the government caved and the tax was lifted.
In the struggle against domestic tyranny as well, these methods are applied, for example in 1830 in Mysore against the boundless exploitation by a despot. At a given moment the whole population went on strike in the fields, refused to pay any taxes, even left the villages and retreated into the woods. There were no outbursts anywhere -as a British government report declared; nobody took up arms. 'These are the kind of measures that the indigenous are very familiar with in order to defend themselves against the abuse by the government. The most frequently used means, that often yields the best result, is the complete withdrawal of every participation in government.'
How much more efficient are the supra-violent methods of struggle than the violent ones? Especially against a powerful armed regime, as was the case at the beginning of the century in Bengal? There too a strong non-cooperation movement was set in motion under the leadership of Aurobindo Ghose[172] against the measures of the British rulers, that were considered to be all too detrimental and disgraceful, in which the whole political apparatus was ignored and any cooperation with the government was suspended. All of the British products were boycotted. Tagore[173] agitated his fellow countrymen with his freedom hymns, to be willing to sacrifice property and blood for the liberation of the country. On giant pyres clothes and fabrics that were fabricated in England were set ablaze. Ghose demanded that his people would make itself so independent that it could feed and clothe itself and was able to fulful its own mental and physical needs. When London wouldn't give in, Bengal turned against the english rule altogether. Ghose called his countrymen not just to ignore the British rule, but most of all he called for strong mutual aid in order to prove the right for independence in practice: problems with public health had to be eradicated, schools erected, roads constructed, agriculture brought up to speed. But the all too impatient mass let itself be dragged along in violent resistance by more hot-headed leaders in the end. The British violence saw its chance, and the magnificently initiated movement was suppressed mercilessly.
So when in 1918 the farmers of Kaira wanted to rise up against all too unreasonable taxes, and consulted Gandhi, he proposed they should adamantly refuse to pay anything, and to undergo the severe punishments for their actions with dignity. Hundreds of farmers were imprisoned. But they persisted. Until the tax was revoked.
That way more than once in India a 'diamant front' was formed, and for example the workers of Virangan gained surprising victories.
In 1920-1921 India -under Gandhi's leadership- gave its first major example of national civil disobedience. The nature of such endeavor is known: a group, a class, a people acting in every way as if the government does not exist, and systematically ignoring the political-social life (non-cooperation). Schools remain empty, the court system grinds to a halt, taxes aren't paid, etc. In the first place people refuse to obey certain decrees and laws that they want to combat or want to see revoked more than anything. Often this kind of general or partial suspension of social life is accompanied by strikes and with the refusal to buy or sell certain products whose circulation is especially important for the adversary -fabrics, salt, alcohol, etc. In other words boycott, like China has taught us for the last three thousand years, an extremely powerful and efficient weapon. Even the most cruel attacks by the police and the army are suffered dispassionately, and every punishment that protects the relevant laws, willing as people are to suffer without limit for their principles. The more people are persecuted and mistreated, the longer people are imprisoned, the stronger people concentrate on their mental and moral strength – the higher one rises above the all too vulgar violence of their adversary to whose humanity they continue to appeal. It's generally known what an awe-inspiring mental force the newly awakened India deployed in this struggle, and how grandparents, parents and youths competed in heroism in non-violent demonstrations and the pickets at shops and bars. The British Empire couldn't withstand it: India achieved its first major victory. Never before had the military-technically completely inferior country been so victorious by weapons over the hyper-modern violence of the adversary.

172 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sri_Aurobindo
173 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rabindranath_Tagore

'But India still isn't free!'
Why is non-violent struggle measured with a different stick than murderous struggle? In war too the first victory is almost never the final victory. Every struggle -armed or unarmed- usually lasts for years, is characterised by the ebb and flow of chances, by victories and defeats that, at best for one of the parties concerned, result in a final victory. How bad were the chances initially for the liberation struggle of the Netherlands against Spain in spite of some successes! Until finally, **after 80 years**, it had not yet achieved its final goal. India's struggle will probably last shorter. It's sure by now that it achieved victories by non-violent means that it would not have achieved by other means.
'But Gandhi is a Hindu! He lives in a specific religious tradition... He is a saint, an ascetic. What do es that matter to us? In India non-violence is a traditional form of religion!' But here we are before the fact that other Indians, who live in a completely different tradition, were so deeply touched by Gandhi's methods of struggle that they adopted them in the end. As one knows the British occupation army in India consists mostly of Sikhs. They, whose religion even forbids them to put down the sword, had a sharp conflict with the government in 1923-1924. Incapable of solving this by violence, they decided to use non-violent direct action. Calmly and proud, the swords in their belts but their arms motionless by their sides, they underwent even the most brutal assaults of police and army. Until they had won.
This proves that the supra-violent means of struggle aren't tied to Gandhi as a person, nor to a specific religion or worship. That becomes even more clear from what happened in the northern-indian *pathans*[174]. These tribes are notorious for their vindictiveness. They can tolerate no insult and traditionally immediately reply with violence. Until in 1930 Abdul Ghaffar[175] -a Muslim and so not in the least from non-violent traditions- was able to convince them of the efficiency of non-violent methods of struggle. In vain the British government tried to violently break the movement of these 'red shirts' ever since. Persecutions, emprisonment, extrajudicial executions – nothing has been able to break their courage up until now.
Like Subhas Bose[176], people can have objections against Gandhi's political tactic, and deplore it that he broke off the struggle on unopportune moments. But Bose himself acknowledged that Gandhi's main mistake was his tendency for premature compromise with the British government and that he wished that the Mahatma had precisely would not have given up the non-violent struggle on earlier occasions, but had pushed on even harder: he would have won even more favorable results! He also thinks that Gandhi has neglected **to win over the soldiers of the adversaries** much too much even though those were also Indians, and has not shown enough solidarity with the conscienscious objectors in the Garhwali-regiment[177] that the British government punished severely because they had refused to shoot unarmed countrymen. All that is only confirmation that the tactic makes sense. By the way recent years have proven that India's self-respect and strength has grown like never before, and that it is already capable of refusing all kinds of concessions by the British empire.
The non-violent methods of struggle aren't tied to a specific person, nor to a specific race or a specific country or to a certain view on life and the world: at the Congres against Imperialism in Brussels in 1927 the Zulu Goemede[178] declared that the blacks could do nothing better in their struggle for self-liberation than to follow the Indian example. Indeed! How would they be able to withstand the modern armaments of the whites, that are linked to a social and technical organisation

174 Tr. Note: 'Pashtuns' or 'Pathans', a nomadic, pastoral Eastern Iranic ethnic group primarily residing in northwestern Pakistan and parts of Afghanistan. Historically refered to as 'Afghans'.
175 Tr. Note: also known as Bacha Khan or Badshah Khan, Pashtun independence activist and founder of theKhudai Khidmatgar resistance movement. Known for his nonviolent opposition and lifelong pacifism. Devout muslim and advocate for Hindu-Muslim unity. Close friend of Gandhi. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdul_Ghaffar_Khan ,
176 Tr. Note: Subhas Chandra Bose, Indian nationalist who allied with Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan during WW2, infamous for his authoritarianism, anti-semitism and military failure. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Subhas_Chandra_Bose
177 Tr. Note: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Garhwal_Rifles , formerly Royal Garhwal Rifles, an infantry regiment of the Indian Army raised in 1887 as the 39th Regiment of the Bengal Army. Became a part of the British Indian Army later.
178 Tr. Note: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Josiah_Tshangana_Gumede , founding member of the African National Congress (A.N.C.) in January 1922

that is essentially alien to them?
Gandhi himself admits by the way that he came to his tactic not exclusively through certain Indian religious traditions, but also via the Jewish legend of Daniël and his friends, via the ancient-Christian Sermon of the Mount, the ideas of the Englishman Ruskin, the teachings of the Russian Tolstoy and most of all the words and actions of Thoreau[179], an american revolutionary of French descent from the middle of the 19th century.
The concept of 'civil disobedience' in which Gandhi sums up his methods for struggle, is deliberately taken from the title of Thoreau's immortal discourse of 1849[180]. In it, he explained his thoughts on individual and collective refusal of service, labor and taxes in classic fashion.
According to Thoreau every responsible citizen should completely ignore every government, authority and any public law and institution as soon as a truly human interest requires it, and in critical moments even obstruct their government in doing evil. Cooperation and collaboration with any person or institution that is good; non-cooperation, non-collaboration with anything that is wrong – that could be the summary of his ideas, that he practiced exemplary himself. Thoreau was considered as a phantastical idealist and a sympathetic idiot in America by the few people who knew him in his days, as someone who couldn't be relied on 'in practical life'. These days millions of fellow humans apply his equally simple and effective tactic with surprising results in Asia.
Thoreau knew -as well as his friend Emerson, whose discourse 'On War' (1838)[181] should at least be mentioned here- the teachings of the genious young Frenchman Étienne de la Boétie (1530-1563): he had dissected the social pyramid in his 'Discourse on Voluntary Slavery'[182], and clearly demonstrated that every ruler only has as much power as... the people give him. The power of the ruling class exists only as long as the subjects recongize it in theory and in practice, as long as the official authority is accepted.
Authority, as 'power or rule over others', is in fact not something external, but internal. It doesn't as much rely on violence but rather on the respect for and the faith in the control of the official rulers. If the mass deprogrammes itself from this awe, then this authority -and with that its power- of the ruling class has disappeared. Despotism, tyranny and dictatorship therefore only exist by the grace of the submission by the masses. As soon as they, as they become aware of the fact that the ruling powers essentially parasitise on them and deny them this power, the social pyramid crumbles. The only thing -de La Boétie concludes- that the ruling powers have over the ruled, is the privilege that the latter hand over to unto them. Why spies, plice, soldiers? The people spies on itself in the service of the ruling powers. The people mistreats and incarcerates itself in the service of the ruling powers. The people destroys and fights itself in the service of the ruling powers. When the heavy boots of the soldiers march across fields and cities, the people tramples itself in the service of the ruling powers. Later Domela Nieuwenhuis would say:
“A people in uniform is its own tyrant.”
“Of all those indignities that animals would either not feel or not endure, you can rid yourselves” -de la Boétie wrote- “by willing otherwise: be resolved not to serve any longer, and you will be free! I don't even want you to push tyranny aside or overthrow it; stop supporting it and you will see it crumble under its own weight and be crushed, like a giant colossus whose pedestal is torn from under its feet.”
Tolstoy as well is deeply touched by this discourse. He was strongly influenced by it and quoted a large section of it in his 'Letter to an Hindu'[183], that would make such an impression on Gandhi, and that helped prepare the non-violent direct action of his countrymen. The german libertarian socialist

179 Tr. Note: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_David_Thoreau , https://theanarchistlibrary.org/search?filter_author=%2Fcategory%2Fauthor%2Fhenry-david-thoreau&query=thoreau&sort=&page=2&bare=1
180 Tr. Note: https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/henry-david-thoreau-civil-disobedience
181 Tr. Note: BdL probably references https://emersoncentral.com/texts/miscellanies/war/ here.
182 Tr. Note: see https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/etienne-de-la-boetie-discourse-on-voluntary-servitude and https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/gene-sharp-gandhi-on-the-theory-of-voluntary-servitude
183 Tr. Note: see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A_Letter_to_a_Hindu and https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/leo-tolstoy-a-letter-to-a-hindu

Gustav Landauer[184] -whose grave was just desecrated by nazis- even let his classic treatise on 'The revolution' culminate in de la Boétie's 'Voluntary Slavery'.
We won't talk of the non-violent direct action of original christianity, nor that of the medieval and modern sects, or the western workers will say 'That is too religious for us!'. So let's look at the romans instead.
Already in 494 BC in heathen Rome there was an unforgettable form of non-cooperation happening. The plebeians suffered dearly under the debt law[185], and were increasingly subjected to ever more brutal hostage-taking. Aware of the fact that the wealth and victories of the ruling powers were only possible thanks to their own enduring cooperation, one given moment they decided to retreat from the whole of the social system. "*Sine tillo duce*" -that is to say 'without need for leadership': they had no need for a Duce!- they defected to Mount Aventine. Livius tells the story of how this journey took place exemplary orderly, how the farmers and soldiers organised a camp and installed themselves, etc. A similar *secessio in montem*[186] allegedly happened four times. As a result their demands were granted and peoples tribunes were installed in the interest of the mass. Case[187] characterises the secession as the first succesful action of the proletariat, that happened without any chaos or violence.
Livius too describes how the inhabitants of Tusculum in 373 BC 'deflected roman vengeance with a stubborn peace, like they wouldn't have been able to with weapons'. Those are different kinds of 'gandhism' in 'heathen Rome', that is usually only known from a different angle. By the way Mirabeau, 'one of the most political heads of the new times', declared before the Assembly of Estates of the Provence that the people, who ultimately produces everything, 'only has to remain immobile to be immense'. After deep social research in the United States and in France, French free thinker Bellegarigue in the middle of the 19th century could no longer believe in either violent governments or -despite themselves- in violent revolutions: both are essentially based on oppression and murder, and could rid themselves of violence with increasing difficulty. Barricades most often are erected by those who want power, against those who already have power. All government should be undone, by governing ourselves reasonably! Then every barricade will forever be unnecessary.[188]
Bellegarigue propagated '*le refus de concours*'[189], what we best translate with 'non-cooperation' or 'civil disobedience'. He developed '*la théorie du calme*', that says that one is capable to non-violently overcome even the most powerful regime by '*l'abstention et l'inertie*', the power of withholding. Nothing can resist the conscious withdrawal from the system of violence, social privilege nor injust taxes, systems of spies nor military hierarchies.
Against the social-democratic tactic, the anarchists and syndicalists advocated the necessity of direct military and economic action: massive refusal of military service and the general strike.
Everything succumbs to the power of not-doing: the en masse withholding from the regime of violence, and instead concentration on our own moral forces. A theory that is in complete accord

184 Tr. Note: see https://theanarchistlibrary.org/search?query=gustav+landauer&sort=
185 Tr. Note: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nexum a debt bondage contract in the early Roman Republic where a debtor pledged his person as collateral in case of defaulting on the loan. Later in Europe different forms for example the 'debor's prison' system, punishable 'vagrancy' (forced labor, forced military service, imprisonment or confinement in dedicated 'labor houses'
186 Tr. Note: '*secessio in montem*': Roman for 'retreat to the mountain', see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Secessio_plebis
187 Tr. Note: C.M. Case, Non-Violent Coercion, a Study in Methods of Social Pressure, 1922
188 Friedrich Engels not just pointed out (in his introduction to Marx's 'Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich' (1895)) that the revolutionary war of barricades became militarily completely obsolete in the 19th century, and would prove to be utterly powerless against the modern technique of violence by the government; but he also pointed out that it originally -'in the classical time of street battles, had more of a moral effect than a physical one." It was mainly about winning over the attacking troops of the government for the collective refusal of military service and to choose the side of the revolutionaries. If this failed, then the battle was lost. The whole of the socialist tactic needed to be revised according to Engels.
Too bad he mainly concluded from this that for the social-democrats, whose number of voters began to run into the millions, the parliamentarian methods were to be preferred.
189 Tr. Note: refusal to compete

with the vision of the english poet Shelly, who described the attitude (in 'The Masque of Anarchy', reacting to the Massacre of Peterloo in 1819[190]) that the Indians would adopt a century later against the British *waldan*. As we see, the supra-violent means of struggle are not tied to religion, race nor people. American and european free thinkers recognize their value just as much as mystical hindus, rebellious blacks and heroic sikhs. By the way the general strike, that was mainly adopted by English, Scandinavian and Russian socialists and French, Italian, Iberic and North- and South-American anarchists and syndicalists, and that was defended by neo-marxists since the beginning of the 20th century as a typically proletarian means of struggle, is essentially supra-violent in nature. Seen like this the most militant part of the western proletariat was 'gandhist' before Gandhi himself!
The revolutionary syndicalist and sociologist Sorel -famous atheist and by no means 'non-violent'- differentiates theoretically *la force bourgeoise* and *la violence prolétarienne*; we would say: bourgeois violence and the strength of the proletariat. He wants to transform war into the general strike, a means of struggle that completely reflects the dignity of the revolutionary proletariat. Against the terror of the bourgeoisie, that builds its empires on the ruins of its enemies and whose political inquisition makes even more victims than that of the church used to do, it doesn't even need counter-terror. It rejects of course the war of conquest that is so typical of bourgeois society. The proletariat has a different mission than to blindy imitate the methods of struggle of the bourgeoisie, as -says Sorel- Marx has often forgotten.
In 'De Eindstrijd[191]', a leaflet that was spread years ago in the Netherlands, A. Roller quotes Max Stirner very fittingly. This individualist, who was by no means an adversary of violence, nevertheless recognized that the biggest power of the workers was the capability of denying the bourgeoisie their labor, “The state is based on the slavery of labor. If labor becomes free, the state is lost”.
And in how many western people's meetings didn't Herwegh's words resonate: “The whole machinery stops if your powerful arm wants it!”[192]
The recently passed free spirit John Henry Mackay[193], a German of Scottish descent, considered passive resistance to be the only effective means of the people to defend even against the most aggressive violence. He was strongly influenced by Benjamin Tucker, who -even though he recognized in theory that every oppressed person has the right to use violence- had come to the purely practical conclusion that passive resistance is the best means of defence of the people: only that can definitively break the political bureaucracy and military discipline. Violent uprisings are the easiest ones to oppress by a violent regime. But no army can eradicate peaceful people, that don't even rally on the streets, don't participate in elections, military service, taxes, etc. Tucker especially researched the refusal of taxes after the actions of the Irish Land League, whose catholic farmer members had collectively refused to pay taxes. As victory seemed near, in Ireland the leaders who negotiated in the name of the League, made a compromise that was in reality a defeat -as so often happens in other places. Why are the ultimate decisions ever left to leaders? Trust not one single leader! Nor me. Control their actions, scrutinize their speeches and decide for yourself.
'But the mass isn't infallible either!'
Don't trust the blind mass any more than the leaders or yourselves. In this world, nothing and nobody is infallible. But -at the very least in critical moments- don't hand over your fate, your future to others to decide. Especially when those others are more or less adapted to or fused into the system to be fought -by their political or social functions. How often was the Second International

190 Tr. Note: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peterloo_Massacre 18 people were killed in Manchester, and up to 700 people injured when cavalry charged into a crowd of around 60,000 people who demanded reform of parliamentary representation.
191 Tr. Note: 'The Final Battle'
192 Tr. Note: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georg_Herwegh: “Mann der Arbeit, aufgewacht! Und erkenne deine Macht! Alle Räder stehen still, Wenn dein starker Arm es will.” Source: *Gedichte Bundeslied für den Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiterverein*
193 Tr. Note: see for example https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/rudolf-steiner-individualist-anarchism-an-opponent-of-the-propaganda-of-the-deed

betrayed by its leaders! How often have bolshevik dictators admitted they were mistaken at the expense of millions of people. And the anarchist leader Kropotkin betrayed internationalism in 1914[194]. A truly revolutionary movement exists only insofar as every participant acts deliberately and consciously in a mutual relationship; as the mass controls the leaders and the leaders control the mass; as there is a permanent proces of common self-control and never the decision making in critical moments is left to whomever.

Meanwhile Tucker had established -based on what had happened in Ireland- that when a fifth of a population refuses to pay taxes, the case is lost for the government.[195]

As we know the Irish are prone to violence. Since some centuries they resist with even the most bitter means, the ruthless British violence. But still they couldn't win by this method alone at least. So around 1880 they started using the boycott -amongst other methods. Boycott is even an Irish word[196], even if it is used for a method of struggle that has been adopted especially in China for several thousands of years – a weapon that the US, England and Japan have painfully undergone multiple times.

The supra-violent means of struggle are not tied to a person, nor to a people, nor to a race, nor to a specific view on life or the world. They are universally-human and much more efficient than is often thought. Look at these facts, that are seldom or never mentioned in the official history education, even though they prepare precisely this New History that every people hopes for.

1861 to 1867 – In the middle of the 19th century the Hungarians suffered under the tyranny of the Viennese empire, embodied in the infamous 'system of Bach'.[197] Under the direction of the roman-catholic Frans Deák[198], 'the Wise Man of the Nation', they started an enormous movement of non-cooperation. While the hungarians completely ignored the austrian government and institutions, they started to independently organise education, agriculture and industry, completely along the ideals of the Indian Ghose[199]. All Austrian merchandize was boycotted, all taxes refused: it cost the Viennese government more to enforce them, than it received in return – which confirms Tucker's ideas. The Viennese government declared the boycott of Austrian wares illegal. But the Hungarians were undisturbed, even if the prisons were filled to capacity. The imperial government ordered the obligatory conscription of Austrian and Bohemian soldiers. The population gave them shelter and food, but with such contempt that the soldiers couldn't bare it and increasingly protested. In vain, Vienna tried to force Deák and his people into a compromise. Then emperor Franz Joseph I decided to order the Hungarians to take up military service. But they refused to turn up, as one single man! In January 1867 the system of Bach was abandoned. Hungary was free! It had non-violently won a battle that it certainly would have lost with weapons.

1871 – On the 18th of March the troops fraternized with the people on Parisian Montmartre: instead of shooting, they raise the rifle butts in the air. The officers flee, the government falls, the Commune is established. Meanwhile Bismarck demanded a compensation of 6,500,000,000frs. from conquered France, as well as the fortress of Belfort. Thiers replies that he would rather have the whole of France occupied than to comply with such demands. Bismarck didn't dare to take the risk!

1875 – Conquered France is again threatened by Bismarck. Minister Decaze replies that he will let him occupy France rather than to give in. The 'iron chancellor' again doesn't dare to take the risk.

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194 Tr. Note: see https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/petr-kropotkin-manifesto-of-the-sixteen , not just Kropotkin but Paul Reclus, Jean Grave, Charles Malato and others as well. Pushback from others for example: https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/various-authors-the-anarchist-international-and-war of Berkman, Goldman, Malatesta, Domela Nieuwenhuis, Schermerhorn (comrade and friend of BdL), Rijnders, Alexander Schapiro and others.

195 Tr. Note: cfr Extinction Rebellion being content with only 3% to form a world government with emergency powers outside of even bourgeois 'democracy'.

196 Tr. Note: see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_Boycott , an English land agent whose ostracism in 1880 by his local community in Ireland gave the English language the term 'boycott'.

197 Tr. Note: see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baron_Alexander_von_Bach

198 Tr. Note: see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ferenc_Deák_(politician) , Franjo Deák (Croatian), Ferenc Deák de Kehida or Francis Deak

199 See above

1891 – The shah of Persia forces a disgraceful system of regulation of tobacco. Boycott! and the mighty shah caves.
1902 – Finland refuses to submit to the military service that the Tsar demands, and caesaro-papism must bend.
1905 – The socialists of Norway and Sweden prevent war between the two countries through direct action.
1909 – The Spanish government is met with strong resolute resistance from the people against the imperialist adventure in Morocco.
1914 – 1,000,000 Spanish workers prevent their government to side with the allies in the world war
1917 – The Argentinian labor movement forces the government to abandon the formulated plan of the government to go to war with Germany through a general strike.
1917 – The Australian people refuses twice to submit to its government's wish for military service.
1917 - The British government wants to force the Irish into military service. Ireland refuses – no military service!
1918 – After the armistice the German generals want to sail the war fleet to prevent that peace is declared. The sailors refuse to bring the ships out. And the fleet stays in.
1920 – The German soldiers break the attempt by the military caste to control the country (Kapp Putsch) by means of the general strike.
1920 – The direct action of the English workers force the British government to send the mobilised soldiers home, to retreat the troops from Russia and Siberia and to abandon the expressed resolve to go to war with Russia at the side of Poland.
1927 – The Egyptian prime minister Ziwar[200] and the British High Commission are forced through direct action by the people to retract a reactionary electoral law
1930 – After the world war the government of New-Zealand tried to subject all boys between 14 and 18 in a system of military training. Countless parents agitated their children to evade this sytem, in spite of the prison sentences and garrison confinement. The government fined everyone who supported their sons with fines of 80 to 90 pound sterling or ca 1,000 guilders. 50,000 boys refused, supported by 100,000 parents, and in 1930 the law was abandoned.
Meanwhile New-Zealand behaved most digracefully towards Western Samoa. 40,000 Polynesians who populated this island group belong to the best representatives of their race. They are uncomplicated, chivalrous, hospitable and very brave fighters. Their take on life is almost paradisiacally playful. Their language is called the Italian of the Pacific Ocean. Their religion is a remarkable mix of Christian and heathen traditions. Their economic life has a strong communist tendency. Before the world war West-Samoa was a German colony, that treated it relatively well. In August 1914 it was occupied by New Zealand, that became its official proxy in 1921. Immediately it harshly tried to change the whole life of the indigenous according to its own heavy hand. But they wouldn't have any of it.
Unable to violently surmount the violence of the oppressors, 95% of the population united under the leadership of Tamasese in the Moa, an organisation for passive resistance. New-Zealand sent war ships, sailors, marines, airplanes, had defenceless demonstrations shot at -Tamasese got killed in one- but the struggle of the Samoans goes on. As of yet the physically so superior white government has not succeeded to break the few thousands of indigenous people that are spread over several islands.
How was militarily almighty bolshevism Russia confronted by the passive resistance of the farmers since 1918! One doesn't have to agree with the position of the kulaks to factually acknowledge that the -just as miserable as unarmed- millions have resisted the iron fist of Moscow for fifteen years, and forced it to all kinds of concessions.
The best evidence for the efficacy of non-violent means of struggle is by the way the history of the russian tolstoyans. They -a few thousands in a realm of millions- have always been willing to cooperate with the bolsheviks on humanitarian and reconstructive social issues. But they pertinently

200 Tr. Note: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmed_Zeiwar_Pasha

refuse to submit to the dictatorship and especially to participate in military service. Even if they are more cruelly treated by the so-called communists than they were by the tsar, the red dictators were unable to bend them to their will. Their colonies may be beaten and scattered again and again, and moved deeper and deeper into Siberia, killed or imprisoned their conscience objectors – as soon as the pressure lifts even a little bit, they immediately rebuild their free-communist organisations even by the most primitive of means. One can agree or reject their ideas, but one will have to recognise that when the methods of struggle that they apply in their hundreds, and were applied by hundreds of thousands and millions elsewhere, no power in the world would be able to resist. It's also clear that when this handful of people would have taken up arms against Moscow, they would have been whiped off the face of the earth.
No wonder then that they who struggle for the self-liberation of Indonesia -even if most of them are muslims and not very 'non-violent'- are increasingly convinced of the desirability and necessity to apply civil disobedience, boycott, collective and individual refusal of military service and taxes against the Dutch rule at the opportune time. Indeed the 65,000,000 coloreds, that populate the East-Indian islands are no match for the murderous violence of the Dutch government. And even if they were, what happened in the west would also happen in the east: when Spain lost in Morocco, 'invincible France' immediately came to the rescue and broke the resistance of the coloreds with the most modern of means. -By the way a suspicious rapprochement took place between French and dutch imperialism, as I pointed out in Lyon, while the relations between English and Dutch imperialism is even much more intimate.- If Indonesia were to break away from the Netherlands, then France or England would immediately step in to... maintain order. Because if in the colonial chain from Morocco to Indochina, the Indonesian shackle would break, all the western imperialisms are in mortal danger. A good example is followed. Indonesia cannot withstand western violence for the next half a century at least. It is inferior in *waldan*, and therefore it needs to make a virtue of necessity. In the indonesian freedom movement the history of Hungary, Ireland, China and modern India are studied carefully, and the big significance of strikes, boycott and non-cooperation is emphasised in the independence struggle of the Netherlands against Spain. As an answer to the 'thithe tax'[201] and the '20ste penning'[202] to pay for the cost of the Spanish occupation troops, the working people in the cities went on strike and started campaigns of passive resistance. “The crafstmen close their shops, the sellers stay away from the market halls, economic life is brought to a halt, and the dreaded duke falls into fits of helpless rage because of these stupid protests of a whole people”, wrote Pirenne. Even a 'blood government' couldn't beat that.
At the 'Congres against Imperialism in Frankfurt' (1929) Wim Jong pleaded in the name of the Dutch free socialists that the Indonesians not be seduced by the western methods of violence, but to prepare for a struggle on an immeasurably higher level that simultaneously promisses better chances for succes. Especially when -unleashed at the right moment- it would coincide with large strikes and movements of consciencious objectors in the Netherlands itself. Such a tactic was also better fit to continue against a possible intervention by England or France, especially -as is highly likely- when the tactic is also supported by supra-violent action in India, Indochina and elsewhere in Asia or Africa. Of course the right moment must be chosen for such undertaking. But that is also true for the violent war, as that as well is prepared morally, organisationally and technically years before, and the attack only starts inasfar as it really seems to have a chance at succeeding.
The Arab Abdel Karim al Rifi[203] has already declared -in response to the unimaginably cruel intervention by French and English imperialism in the Near-East- that the colored peoples considered themselves powerless against the western war powers, until they discovered the weapons of boycott, civil disobedience, etc that had been succesfully applied against France in Syria. He

201 Tr. Note: see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tithe , a one-tenth part of something, paid as a contribution to a religious organization or compulsory tax to government.
202 Tr. Note: 'tithe' in Dutch is 'tiende penning': for each 10 'penningen' 1 penning was for tax on certain products; on other products the rate was 1/20. See https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tiende_Penning and https://www.geheugenvandrenthe.nl/twintigste-penning
203 BdL probably refers to https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammed_Abdelkrim_El_Khattabi

expects a final struggle between imperialist powers and the oppressed masses in Africa and Asia in which they will rise up as one “from Tanger to Australia”.
If they can choose the right moment for it -for example during a clash between different imperialist powers, or during revolutionary actions of the white proletariat- then they will without doubt be able to reclaim their freedom with a minimum of violence and a maximum of supra-violent means of struggle.[204]
Not everything is without hope in the world!

7. Violence and revolution.

Even from a purely utilitarian point of view the white proletariat is forced to adopt a similar tactic. Modern war technics, that uses countless toxic gasses, mysterious electrical rays and very special war germs has, as we have seen, become the monopoly of a relatively small group of bribed specialists that enlist themselves to be used for anything, in the first place against the big mass of the people. But even if the proletariat would lay its hands on these means, the application of them would demand such fascism of the mind -would demand such violence against others and oneself- that the revolution would in reality only be undone. Because the social revolution is nothing if it isn't a struggle for humanity and against the inhumane.
The problem of revolutionary mass-action in one word is this: to find humane means that even the most powerful and modernly armed government can't defeat. And that are exactly the means that the colored peoples now turn to; civil disobedience, non-cooperation, boycott, tax refusal, refusal of military service, etc. If the white proletariat, its darker shadow, the Japanese too, could apply these means at the right moment, especially when they are also applied by the oppressed masses in the colonial and half-colonial regions, then there is no power in the world that can withstand them. Not a single drop of the adversaries' blood must be spilled. If blood flows, it is first of all that of the fighters involved. But such blood then is truly sacred: then one sacrifices oneself for an idea and more!
Most likely such a struggle doesn't evolve so ideally, and part of the freedom fighters relapse in vulgar violence. The mass of oppressed and disinherited is not only filled with understandable resentment and revenge, but also still lives very much under the suggestion of the feudal and bourgeois traditions of violence. And yet in India, even with the Pathans[205], it was demonstrated how the mass can rise above this. The same was seen in May 1926 in England during the general strike that proceeded on a very high level. In any case such a giant struggle will reduce violence to a minimum, and the moral quality will be lifted as high as possible. It's only a matter of impregnating the working class with the idea that violence is not its strongest flank, but its weakest, and that the adversary can always (to speak with Alexander Berkman) shoot someone in case of non-cooperation, strike, etc but can't shoot them to work.
Not that such means of struggle wouldn't have deplorable consequence. One only has to look at the influence of Chinese and Indian boycotts on English economic life, the unemployment that it causes, etc. C. M. Case is absolutely right when he explicitly points out that those methods of struggle have deep social consequences. They are very dangerous weapons that should only be used in ultimate necessity and in the most responsible way. But: as modern war violence expands, the consequences are even more murderous for victors and vanquished both, and it becomes less effective; while the non-violent means of struggle become more effective and efficient as they expand and at the same time rise above the war violence, while they also result in infinitely less negative consequences.
The consequences of the increasingly consistent application of violence are the destruction of

204 This remarkable explanation comes from the Bielefelder mission newspaper 'Aufwarts' XIV, Nr 53, Seite 1 under the title 'The modern weapon of the weak peoples'; See my 'Vrede als Daad' II, pp 192-194
205 Tr. Note: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pashtuns orPakhtuns, ethnic group in Pakistan and Afghanistan

countless offices and factories, railroads, bridges and roads, houses and farms and, when the modern techniques of burning and poisoning are used: extermination of whole cities and regions, etc.
The non-violent means of struggle leave all that intact. They also don't imply the comets tail of contageous diseases and economic and social miseries that have become such typical side-effects of modern war.
And what is the main issue: the modern war is one big onslaught on humans as moral beings whose moral level is lowered by it so dramatically; the supra-violent means of struggle consistently appeal to the human being as a moral being, whose moral level rises so unprecedently by using them. During his last stay in Europe, Gandhi kept recounting that his Indian experiences had proven to him that such a struggle can also especially empower the female mental power, that proves to surpass man's in audacity. European history proves by the way, how the women without any weapon jumped before the soldiers' guns several times, bared their breasts and dared the soldiers to shoot them like this – so that those could only refuse to shoot; how in Spain, to prevent the soldier trains from leaving, they threw themselves on the rails in droves: no machine dared to drive over such heroic lives! It's clear that, if the mothers behave this way, the children are not far behind. In India the heroic action of women against brute British violence has fired up the youth tremendously: the mothers became the Madonnas of their own sons! But now from the position of the social revolution.
How were things after the world war with its objective, economic factors? Very poorly! An important part of industry was destroyed, rail roads were useless, the material everywhere was in a very poor state, all kinds of stocks were depleted, endless wealth blindly wasted, -the whole of economic life was disrupted.
How then were things for the main factor -the subjective factor- of the revolution: the human being? Maimed, violated, eaten away with flu and all kinds of veneral and nervous diseases, physically exhausted, morally deranged and mentally overstrained, humanity was called in the worst thinkable circumstance to... renew the world. Humanity still suffers dearly under the economic, social and moral consequences of the world war today. If a second one broke out, it would be even worse: culture and life of the modern peoples endangered like never before. The speculation about and inciting for a new war like some did a few years ago in the hopes of a revolution, is as crazy as it is criminal. Lucky enough they changed their minds eventually.
The big question that the social revolution needs to solve is: self-organisation of labor, councils of farmers and workers, occupation and control of enterprises. The working class can achieve this goal only inasfar as it applies cooperation and non-cooperation in pure proportions and effectively; refuses to do damaging and inhumane work, refuses to bow before any employer, and can bind itself in solidarity in a free production process. It is possible that more or less violence accompanies its struggle towards that goal. But that is incidental, a proof of weakness and not of strength. The better it is prepared for its task, the less violence there will be in its struggle. The main thing is in any case that it deliberately aims for the supra-violent.
So we call on all those who want to liberate the world from capitalism, imperialism and militarism, to liberate themselves first of all from the completely obsolete bourgeois and feudal prejudices about violence, that most people still seem to be obsessed with. As sure as the ruling classes cannot do without violence and war, it is the task of the social revolution to rise above all that. If the proletariat indeed rises up, it eradicates violence and rises in free self-government. That is a different conquest of violence: the victory over it!
The traditional belief in violence is a form of moral slavery to the nobility, clergy and bourgeoisie. It is as senseless as barbaric messianism. It it the continued cancer of the past in the present in a way that endangers the future more and more. They who don't liberate themselves from it, are doomed to feed it into the revolution, that fatally degenerates by doing so. Inasfar as the russian revolution for example is flawed, it is still feudal and bourgeois in nature, not to say barbaric. Inasfar as it is really good, it has liberated itself from violence, and relies on deliberate solidarity and cooperation.
“But this demands a theoretical and practical revision of the whole revolutionary tactic!” Yes

indeed. And a neverending exchange between learning and living.
“But how long will this take?”
Years. It's not a matter of half a day. But did you think that you could get it done in minutes by using violence? How long is violence going on already, in the socialist movement just as well. And the more it is applied, the further we stray from our home. This is sure: the longer we hesitate to revise the traditional revolutionary tactic of violence, the longer it will be before we liberate ourselves from the ever increasing consequences of it.
The social revolution is a big historical process, and big historical processes are never a matter of five or ten minutes. The first requirement is a pure attitude, like one has to aim carefully before one shoots at something. Technical-organisational preparation isn't any less necessary. Gandhi has often pointed out that the indian struggle for self-liberation was prepared for years by propaganda and organizing. Everything in personal and social life that is worth it, demands a long incubation, a relentless dedication and much patience. Even Hitler prepared for years before he grabbed power. And even he tried to avoid violence as much as possible in doing so. We can learn from this enemy as well. At least he had the initial courage to go against the grain and to risk everything for his convictions.
By the way how long did the struggle of the Netherlands last against Spain? Three generations: father, son and grandson. Then the Golden Century came -one moment. But against the Dutch violence the English and French rose up and the 'days of Coen and de Ruyter'[206] were a thing of the past. By the way the year 1648 -that resounds so positively- also saw the end of a war of which the destruction pushed Germany into such misery that it needed several hundreds of years to get back on its feet. Meanwhile Napoleon triumphed over Europe; that last great God of violence, who himself didn't even trust it anymore; who more than any other tyrant saw the weakness of it, but couldn't untangle himself from it anymore. The end was Saint Helena. And the British Empire -that seemed to tower over everything since, achieved victory after victory and conquered country after country- is now in turn shaking on its foundations. It can only save itself more or less by slowly abandoning its violent character, and try to hold on to the many disparate parts of its Empire through voluntary cooperation instead of enforced imperialism.
“But Sovjet Russia then! How could it exist without army?”
The Russian revolution initially broke with every feudal and bourgeois tradition, and had an anti-militarist and libertarian socialist character. Bread and freedom! Councils of workers and farmers! It had a strong moral drive and was focused on immediate construction. If it reverted more and more to the bourgeois and feudal means of struggle, that was first of all because it was neither psychologically not technically prepared for supra-violent tactics. Not just because it rose up from the trenches, was literally born out of the world war and carried out by a people that -oppressed for centuries- had gotten familiar with the most horrible forms of violence, and was soon led and increasingly controlled by autoritarian communists that dogmatically reproduced Marx's fanatical belief in the efficiency of violence and were soon threatened from all sides. If the bolsheviks turned to state violence and cadaver discipline more than they had initially intended, the cause is mainly to be found in the socialist world movement that largely and narrow-mindedly turned its back on them to entrust themselves to Wilson and Wallstreet, Vandervelde, Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske, let go of almost every direct action, participated in the reconstruction of national capitalism everywhere and supported the intervention of the white imperialist powers in Russia directly and indirectly. What happened in one moment in England in 1920 could and should have happened immediately and continuously in every country involved: everywhere, the labor movement should have forced the goverments by strikes, non-cooperation, boycott, etc to take their 'Hands off Russia!' We defended this position from the beginning -just look at the first publications of the Internationaal Anti-Militaristisch Bureau[207] and the actions of the 3rd International Anti-Militarist Congres in Den

206 Tr. Note: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michiel_de_Ruyter and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jan_Pieterszoon_Coen
207Tr. Note: See https://www.anarchisme.nl/namespace/internationale_anti-militaristische_vereniging, https://anarchief.org/wiki/Categorie:IAMV and https://anarchief.org/w/index.php?search=IAMB&title=Speciaal%3AZoeken&profile=default&fulltext=1

Haag (1921). If this had been generally accepted the Russians would have had the opportunity years ago to direct a much bigger part of their energy not on violence and destruction, but to construction and international solidarity. Now, the bolsheviks focused first of all on the violent defence of the revolution that in the end coincided with national defence; only what was left after, was used served for social reconstruction.

There are multiple other reasons why the russian revolution evolved relatively unfavorable. But one of the main causes is this. Already in 1920, Bucharin started speaking of 'red militarism' and glorifying it as 'proletarian militarism'. Soon Brommert -once a consciencious objector himself- urged the revolutionary mothers to send their sons to the bourgeois barracks to learn to shoot for the proletarian revolution. Meanwhile Alexandra Kollontay noted in her pamphlet 'The Workers' Opposition in Russia" how the former tsarist specialists infiltrated the bolshevik conscript armies and reinstated the old spirit of blind subservience, slavish obedience, decorations and ranks and the arbitrary decisions of superiors. The military spirit spread from the army into social life in general, and combined most fatally with party bureaucracy and political dictatorship. That is to say that not just the army, but society as a whole was increasingly militarised and drifted away more and more from the free self-organisation of labor that should be the true goal of the revolution according to the Spartacus-program.

They were even seduced into a purely imperialist policy against Georgia, and in the end adapted machiavellistically to the international political status quo. “But how should Moscow defend itself against Japan?” Against Japan -that has just as brutally overrun Korea and Manchuria as Sovjet Russia did in Georgia and now threatens Russian Siberia- the bolshevik regime can probably only defend itself with violence now, because it has so strongly believed in it, and prepared for it for years, so fanatical and systematical that Russia now is built on horizontal and vertical violence like any typical modern state -comparable to Italy or Germany. Its social basis may be broadened, its summit could be truly lowered, but the mass is molded, especially since Stalin's rule, by a political hierarchy's military-bureaucratic apparatus. As a social organism as yet very flawed and weak, as an institute of violence it is developed almost to perfection and very powerful. Moreover the uncomradely attitude of the world proletariat has inverted the original revolutionary internationalism of the russians into nationalism. And this was reinforced by Stalin's policy. A country like that seems unable to respond in any other way that war.

And still this Russia finds it more difficult to wage war because the whole of the national energy would need to be directed towards international destruction so that nearly none would remain for social reconstruction. And, after the initial intoxication of war was over, the now armed mass could well possibly turn against the red Kremlin, especially if Russia would lose the war. Its government does everything it can to avoid war with Japan and is in so doing a 'pacifist' factor. The moment has come to speak not of bolshevik anti-militarism but of stalinist pacifism. At the Congress for Disarmament in Geneva, Litvinof made proposals that could turn this pacifism into practical anti-militarism. The issue here is not whether Moscow was serious in doing so. But when the Geneva proposals for international disarmament were not accepted, the blame is first of all with the labor movements of all the other countries inasfar as they haven't tried to force the governments by direct action to push as far as possible. The 2nd International and the International Peace Bureau[208] have again neglected to fulfill their role here: instead of leading the masses that follow them into swiftly forcing their respective governments involved into national disarmament by direct action -which would fundamentally undermine imperialism immediately- their leadership has fostered in their masses a false faith in feudal-bourgeois diplomatic scheming, international parliamenting, paper petitions, bureaucratic commission work, etc.

If the bolsheviks had systematically educated the Russians morally and organisationally for supra-violent methods of violence, had not largely alienated them, but could have lifted the free social

208 Tr. Note: See https://ipb.org/ , IPB is a strictly reformist 'peace' organisation'. At times the anarchists have tried to play a role in such 'umbrella' organisations (see Bakunin's 1868 speech at the League of Peace and Freedom, a forerunner of the IPB where the bourgeois 'pacifists' retreated in after the splits in the peace movement: https://robertgraham.wordpress.com/2018/09/24/bakunins-speech-at-the-league-of-peace-and-freedom/

organisation of the masses as high as possible, they would surely have been able to non-violently resist Japan. It's an open question whether they couldn't even do so as it is. In any case passive resistance could be at least as important in the possible self-defence against Japan as during Napoleon's march on Moscow -for him the beginning of the end. Even more so since it is sure that -if it came down to it- Korea nor Manchuria would keep calm, and a large portion of the international labor movement would try to boycott Japan strongly in every possible way.
Even in the bourgeois world the understanding glares how dangerous it is to resist a potential attacker with weapons. In the 'Times' of December 19, 1933 Howard of Penrith, Grigg, Richmond and Wichham Steed point out that the Kellogg Pact only makes sence when possible attacking states are threatened by an adequate sanction. This coercive measure, that should guarantee the safety of every country involved, needn't be war. A collective force suffices. The 'Journal de Genève' of December 29th of the same year recognizes that such a boycott, efficiently applied, "is a sufficiently powerful weapon" that even the strongest state cannot withstand it. Such a measure could even have prevented the war of 1914 and brken the German imperialism.
On January 25, 1934 the French syndicalist Jouhaux recognised, in a public meeting in Geneva, that under the current circumstances, the general strike is the best remedy against war. This should not be delayed until the final moment, but must instead be used to prevent mobilisation. But if a country is attacked by an aggressive imperialism? Then he says that the workers of every country must organise the economic boycott. And it's sure enough that if their action is an act of true international solidarity, they can count large part of the labor movement in the attacking country as their allies as well -even in Japan, we might add.
Anyway, we are convinced that the best way to fight for the demilitarisation of Russia is to fight first of all for the demilitarisation of each their own country and their own government. The more it is forced everywhere to abandon the national arms race, the less Russia needs to join that race and the more it can pass on to the social reconstruction that its much tortured people literally screams for. The Russian people meanwhile has the first task to liberate itself from the horizontal and vertical violence of the stalinists, because -as Marx and Engels already admitted- true communism can't even exist in one state, and Lenin too stated that *lo stato*[209] from the position of the proletarian revolution can at best be a transitionary tool towards a stateless situation, and must therefore 'wither away' as soon as possible. According to the law of social inertia, bureaucracy and militarist institutions never wither away though, unless they are destroyed or dismantled by those involved.
In any case we're not dealing with Russia here in the first place, but with the Netherlands and the western labor movement. The urgency of the times demands that we not only start to demilitarize our country and people as soon as possible, but also to revolutionise society in the sense of struggle for the conquest of and control over the enterprises. "The reconstruction and revolutions can only be started and realized by the masses themselves... The mass of the proletariat is called to implement socialism by its own activity, step by step. Free self-government... the work of the working class itself... not acts of desperation by a minority," we repeat with Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.
One thing is sure though: the more we succeed in forcing the governments to disarm and to lift conscription, even if it's only temporary officially, -the bigger masses we win over for the systematic withdrawal from violence and war by military, economic, social and cultural consciencious objection- the deeper the trust that can be fostered everywhere in the supra-violent means of struggle, the less chance war has and the smaller the chance becomes that the revolution returns to the traditional violence. It's clear that in a country like England -where even the unemployed detest military service so deeply, that it's becoming increasingly difficult to keep the numbers of reservists up: where refusal of military service and general strike have such an interesting history, and their significance is acknowledged congress after congress- big popular

209 Tr. Note: Lo Stato ('the state') was a fascist magazine Italy between 1930 and 1943 (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lo_Stato). BdL refers to the similarities between the political realities in Russia and Italy even though the rhetoric may be different as to the 'temporary' necessity for the state.

movements are in less danger to devolve into vulgar violence than in countries where the practice of direct action is almost unknown, the sons of the people are systematically disciplined in military dressage and where all the social classed are imbued with war romanticism. The struggle for the abolition of military service and for immediate national disarmament, carried out in the truly anti-militarist way, fulfills such an important function in the preparation of the revolution; its is always its first phase. As it gains territory, it not only undoes an important part of the power apparatus of the ruling classes, but immediately separates the big mass of the people from the feudal-bourgeois habits, and keeps increasing that human self-trust and self-respect, without which social renewal is not even possible.

8. Armed defence against Germany?

“But what if Hitler comes tomorrow!...”
First of all he won't[210]. Even if he truly intends to, it will take a long time before he dares to. Hitler has his hands full for the moment. And meanwhile we have the opportunity to theoretically and practically prepare ourselves for higher forms of struggle. And if he does come tomorrow, then do whatever you have to. But don't do what you can't do.
If the Netherlands would practically be able to defend itself against Hitler at gunpoint, would we be morally capable? We admitted during the world war that defence against Prussian militarism on its terms, would mean that we have to become more Prussian than the Prussians; and so we preferred resistance on a higher level. In order to resist the Third Reich by violence, we would have to surpass it in its methods of extermination. And if that would really be possible, what would be the consequences? During the world war the allies seemingly succeeded with the help of the U.S. in 'destroying German militarism'. Versailles and League of Nations, that had to perpetuate this the traditional way, gave Hitler and national socialism their chance! The militarism infected England and the U.S.: in the whole anglo-saxo world the more developed youth was militarised and the formerly so despised military service was fundamentally accepted; France armed itself like never before. The international arms race took on unprecedented proportions. 'World prussianising' so to speak: belief in violence like never before. Another war 'for the defence of the independence of smaller states', 'in the defence of democracy', 'for the defence of human freedom', 'for the respect of the law'... and what is now left of true independence, democracy, law of freedom? The cultural values that are at stake here can no longer be defended by war.[211] What we as Dutch people have to defend are our best national traditions: personal and social freedom, tolerance, responsibility, respect for the human individuality and the freedom of consciounce, thought, speech and action that go with that. But the whole system of war demands that we immediately start violating those traditions in ourselves, without knowing whether we can ever return to them. And what do we inflict on others in the meanwhile?
Moreover who would be our first allies in the war against Germany? Colijn, Duymaar van Twist, Marchant, Slotemaker de Bruine, Aalberse, Duys,...[212]
Who would we blindly fight? The German people as a whole. But if there is only one single kindred spirit among the 60 million Germans -and there are many more, who didn't bow for Beelzebub- then he would be nearer to us than all those lords together. Our boundaries are elsewhere: they are everywhere and nowhere, because we are in before everything cosmopolitans, world citizens, internationalists, and only then Dutch. However much we hate the Dutch narrow-mindedness,

210 Tr. Note: of course he did and BdL was proven wrong in his prediction. And it didn't take long – the involvement in the Spanish revolution, the annexations to the East and South started soon after 1935. Does that force us to reconsider the rest of his strategic approach? We could say we could be in the same crucial crossroads with the wars in the Middle East, Africa and Eastern Europe. And the revolutions in Rojava, Chiapas and other (smaller) places. What does that all teach us for our own organizing?

211 See M. Wibaut, bijv.B., Een “idealistische” oorlog? in “De proletarische Vrouw”, 14 Febr. 1934.

212 Tr. Note: prime defenders of the status quo that produced and enabled fascism

gossip, hypocrisy, pettiness and stubborness -we love our fatherland, even our not so beautiful language, the dutch art of painting, architecture and poetry- the truly great cultural tradition that we rose from, and that lives in us in turn as much as we live in it -we are mainly grateful for the sense of independence and insistence on a once won true conviction, and have no inclination to betray all that. We couldn't, even if we wanted: it's become second nature to us. But above fatherland is humanity; above the bourgeois-petit bourgeois nation is the socialist International -I mean not a visible, but the invisible church: the universal community with all those who, first of all each against their own government, struggle with humane methods and new means for a new society. The more we do this, the closer we remain to the purest of Dutch traditions – Erasmus, the reformation, Multatuli, Domela Nieuwenhuis, the consciencious objectors. A war against Hitler's Germany would furthermore factually (I'm not talking about official slogans here) be about something completely different and essentially about capitalist-imperialist interests: about a new partition of the world's loot according to the rules of the imperialist game.

If we principally subordinated ourselves to the 'national idea' -if we subjected ourselves to the demands of modern warfare- we wouldn't just betray the best in ourselves and our country, but also to the responsibility for everything that flows from that. Practically spoken, the Netherlands will never stand alone in an armed conflict with Germany. Maybe it would have to fight as part of an anti-German, imperialist coalition and make its material and mental interests subordinate to that completely; and would find itself in the situation that Belgium finds itself in, that can already be less indepentent, also because of its participation in the world war.

The modern war by no means solves economic, social, moral or cultural problems. Instead it multiplies them and complicates them. The interest of the world demands not a moving of political borders, but the removal of them. National traditions have essentially only complementary rights: they are only valid inasfar as they don't interrupt the ongoing unification of human kind. With reason Switzerland and Sovjet-Russia have given them much liberty; the more one does so, the less they work divisive, all the more unifying in the sense of mutual respect for different ways of life. The 'Flemish question' for example will no longer be an issue when the Flemish people have their full rights. Then it's up to them to prove the degree to which their national traditions answer to the benchmarks of humanity. If their rights are not acknowledged, or insufficiently so, then they will fight for them however they can. How? The higher they stand, the more humanely they will fight.

The quality of the Flemish fight against Brussels' imperialism, is already relatively high: in principle supra-violent. Would we honor them more if they waged a brutal war, destroyed Brussels, tried to kill hundreds of thousands of Walloons and risked the destruction of their own region and people in Antwerpen, Mechelen, Brugge, Gent? Would that not be a irresponsible recklessness? Even the medieval moralist would have sternly condemned such war as a means that is worse than the problem it tried to solve.[213]

Is not the same logic valid in the case of the Netherlands vs Germany? What use would it be if it would violently defend itself against Hitler? It would either be a brief comedy, a pseudo-heroic gesture or a rash adventure of violence that would deliver the whole country -fields and pastures, gardens and greenhouses, rivers, canals, factories, ports and an abundance of cultural treasures, not to mention people and animals- to the vandals' destruction. If Hitler dares, let him come, and march on to the North Sea! What of it, if he finds an uncompromising people before him that knows what it wants and systematically applies the supra-violent means of struggle? “But in that fight we might

213 Tr. Note: the subject of Flemish nationalism and its social (revolutionary and reactionary) dimensions is a subject beyond the scope of this book. Anarchists and socialists were involved in the debate in a context of the Belgian bourgeoisie being 'influenced by France (specifically: Parisien bourgeois) and using it in legislation, army command structure, bureaucracy, 'haute culture', etc. 'Wallonia' ('La Wallonie') was originally a patchwork of dialects just like 'Flanders' ('Vlaanderen') that were oppressed (since France's annexation of 1794). Walloon is now a dead language. Flemish is still alive but the nationalism today has lost its social revolutionary dimensions.
The point BdL tries to make is more about the strategy and means than about choosing sides in the debate (which in his day still had a revolutionary component; many of the important persons are claimed by reactionary nationalists and the social components are brushed off).

also lose!”
Yes -and no. It is possible that Germany would prove to be capable to control the country politically, temporary or not. But would it therefore control the Dutch spirit? Would that not precisely concentrate within itself, deepen in itself, contemplate its best traditions that may be so universally human? If not, then this people was not worth its independence. But if so, wouldn't its mental strength radiate stronger and stronger and increasingly resonate even with the germans? What even if we lost our political independence but kept the best Dutch traditions alive and spread them around the world more and more?
The biggest disgrace isn't external but to be internally, morally defeated. It's the everlasting honor of Greece to have culturally surpassed its political conquerors.
Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes intulit agresti Latió -”the conquered Greece defeated the fierce victor, and contaminated the uncivilised romans with arts and sciences”- as Horatius acknowledged. And what is the honor of the Jews? Not that they have from time to time resisted foreign violence with violence. But that no power in the world could break their sense of vocation. Never was a people so kicked by history for centuries. Soon it abandoned its violent means of defence. It had to. But it wanted it too, because its typical representatives realized that it could not fulfil its mission any other way. Its influence on all areas of civilisation and culture became surprisingly big: humanity owes the Jews much more than every Hun, Spartan and Prussian together. And zionism translates today the social and spiritual values like no other nationalism except the Indian and Chinese. In the same way it is the honor of China that even the most barbaric conquerors that overwhelmed the country, very soon were conquered by the peaceful indigenous culture. It's almost always forgotten that the most famous centre of Italian Renaissance, Florence, was militarily precisely very weak.
But where is that everlasting beautiful Holland that we, apparantly, would morally have to defend? It is crumbling! It is under constant attack, not from abroad but from within – mainly from its own government. How fast the tides changed! Compare Colijn with Kuyper, and Kuyper himself in turn from the beginning of the 20th century with the one from the end of the 19th century. Originally neo-Calvinism stood for a relatively high outlook on life. It was mainly 'anti-revolutionary' in the sense that it resisted the most inhumane tendencies in the bourgeois revolution: the atomistic individualism, the immoral mamonism, the bureaucratic étatism and the machiavellian politics that came with it. Fabius' critique of Roman right, his principled condemnation of Bismarck's politics of violence, and Kuyper's essentially socialist protest against the use of the human being as an 'extension of the machine', his advocating of freedom of conscience even about military service, etc, all seemed to promise a renewal of national life around 1890. But in 1903 the same Kuyper turned against the general strike and even before the world war he became one of the founders of modern Dutch imperialism. He passed his prophet's cloth on to... Colijn.
Or compare Albarda with Troelstra. Troelstra, who in spite of everything more or less remained focussed on the social revolution and in the end acknowledged that the 2nd International had failed economically and morally. Albarda who, adverse to any direct action in spite of the experiences in Italy, Germany and Austria, still blindly believes in parliament and openly declares to even not being able to forego the geneva League of Nations.
The Netherlands precisely begins to lose its character: it turns more and more into any other country. In order to fight the opposition from the right and from the left, the 'democrat' Colijn uses fascist methods. And the labor movement, that dared a general strike with a few tens of thousands at the turn of the century, lets everything pass by unchallenged now that they count a few hundreds of thousands. Exactly what the pride of Holland in the world was -freedom of conscience, of thought, of speech, of organising- it is systematically undermined by the government. Fascism crawls through all the dikes. Just like a period of pre-Christian Christianity prepared Christianity in the Roman Empire, we in the Netherlands live a period of pre-fascist fascism. It seems like Colijn wants to become Mussert's John the Baptist. And the more it wins, the weaker -and not the stronger!- we are against Hitler's Germany: Holland is busy annexing itself! If on the contrary we

would fight the international wave of fascism in such way that our power increases daily, makes our freedom force shine brighter and brighter, what foreign 'nationalsocialism' would dare to touch us? What we as revolutionary internationalists foremost have to maintain, coincides in no way with what the Dutch government wants to defend against Germany, even if without a doubt it does play a role in the consciousness of many of the nationalists that still stand besides Colijn, Albarda or Mussert. We defend -wherever and by whomever we may be attacked- the humanity and humaneness that is at the same time the essential core, the reason and the goal of the revolutionary labor movement as it exists in the best Dutch traditions. We defend them with our own means and our own methods. Because the dutch bourgeoisie is by its function doomed to maintain horizontal and vertical violence, the task to eliminate it befalls foremost the Dutch working class, whose deepest interest is, by the way, the same as the highest interest of the whole of humanity.
Members of anarchist, communist, syndicalist and revolutionary-socialist organisations, free-thinker organisation 'De Dageraad', even of the S.D.A.P. inasfar as they are employed under the department of defence, are exposed to the robbery of their daily bread by the government and the city councils. Radio and newspapers are increasingly censored. They even began to treat trials about the refusal of military service behind closed doors, and try to throw the whole population back into a state of stupor as if it had to be punished for all of the madness that the ruling classes have fallen prey to since 1914. Unless the Dutch labor movement wants the words “Be yourself, I said to someone; But he couldn't, because he was nobody” to be true about itself, it must engage in an increasingly efficient struggle against the factual fascism of the officially so anti-fascist government, and must match the mad zeal of national-socialism with equally enthousiastic and measured direct action. Then it is at the same time the best prepared defence against Hitler's Germany, and able to help liberate 'the other Germany' as soon as the international circumstances finally permit it.

9. The Japanese danger.

“But what if Japan attacks us?”
Indeed, that possibility is seriously discussed in the international press. It's more threatening than ever. The British Maritime Conference in Singapore in January 1934 was related to it. As we have been relentlessly saying for years, in the East the Netherlands finds itself in the position in the face of the British Empire and the surrounding big empires -France, Japan, the United States- that Belgium is in versus the French imperialism and the other big powers in the west. In a possible conflict on the Pacific Ocean “the Netherlands can't remain neutral”, it is said in the French, English, American, German, Russian, Italian and Swiss newspapers. Indonesia is a link in the chain of British imperialism that runs from India to Australia. In some english maps it's already colored red! It's a kind of door, or a lock between the Indian and the Pacific Ocean. The Dutch government always takes this into account. The British, and the Japanese too. And us as well have to deal with it. We will not participate in a war against Japan under any circumstance. Not even if Japan or any other power unmistakably 'attacks' India. We broke, once and for all, with the method of 'national defence', especially if it doesn't even concern 'the dutch nation' but is about the maintaining of 'overseas property'. In response to the technically admirable achievements of French imperialism in Casa Blanca the 'Haagse Post' pointed out that the French had organised everything in such a way that mainly France benefits from it: “that is very natural... one doesn't create colonies with altruistic intentions”. The Dutch colonies as well weren't created with altruistic intentions, and are not defended with altruistic intentions. In a recent conversation with 'De Locomotief' R.A.A. Soejono, member of the college of representatives in the council of Pasuruan -far from being an extreme revolutionary!- warned that the ties between France and Poland is certainly stronger than the relation between the English and the Irish people, and made it clear that the ties between the Netherlands and Indonesia had weakend in recent years. “If a better core of people favorable to Holland can't be created in the indigenous society, then we must fear the worst.”

So even that 'core' is lacking! The former regent of Serang, former member of the Council of India, Pangeran A. Djajadiningrat, as sort of Indian Clemenceau, recently declared brief and consisely: “I expect nothing from the Netherlands to help India out of the economic need that India is in at the moment. The Dutch are too selfish for that.” We can add that, when the Netherlands should finally go ahead with really helping Indonesia, this as well would be out of selfish motives. “Certainly -the embittered foreigner says- they come with enough plans, as many as India wants to pay for... and if there would be any profits, the gentlemen were kind enough to pick those up... there is nothing left of the consciousness that Holland must educate India, must show the way towards bigger independence. Take whatever can be taken, that is all that happens. That is the debt policy, the salary policy, the economic policy, that is all that we see.” And as to the reply that these were mainly crisis measures: “Yes but those were designed in such way that Holland wasn't bothered in any way. And if India is not careful we will all have to buy expensive Dutch products here while we can buy other products very cheaply. I don't know how you would call that, but I again see that Dutch egoism... What do they do to make India economically more resilient? Cut services that are of vital importance for the development of agriculture and the other means of subsistence. What is done for the true development of indigenous industry?... I've seen it long enough and looked behind the scenes. I don't expect anything from it.”[214]
The Dutch colonies are a bourgeois-imperialist interest, not a revolutionary-socialist interest or one of the whole of humanity.
“But if the Indonesians prefered to live under Dutch rule rather than under Japanese rule?”
That is the question! But it's up to them and not up to us to demonstrate this. The Netherlands can retreat as an imperialist power from Indonesia, lift its occupation army and military air fleet. If the indigenous then want to form a free cultural community with the Netherlands – we are not against it. Whoever is inclined and has talent for it, can exemplary work together with them in the way of Albert Schweitzer. Our slogan “India separated from Holland!” doesn't just mean the untying of India from the imperialist Netherlands, but also: to connect India more than ever before with the revolutionary world movement.
If Indonesia is possibly occupied by Japan against the wishes of the population, then the 65,000,000 coloreds have sufficient access to supra-violent means of struggle to defend themselves. Because Japan isn't almighty either. It already has too much on its plate! The more it expands, the weaker it becomes, and the easier the non-violent means of struggle of the subjected masses can reach their goal: even the Empire of the Rising Sun wouldn't be able to withstand non-cooperation and boycott that would spread from Korea and Manchuria to Indonesia. Especially not when such an operation was supported by resistance within Japan itself -where things are tense already- and by an international boycott movement.
By the way it should be clearly distinguished that the interest in such tactic of the targeted government and the true enemies that are tied to it, are not at all the same as the interests of the formally involved populations. The Japanese people does not coincide with Japanese imperialism. And inasfar it does identify with its government, it is misled by the powers in question to choose against its own interests. Spare even your fiercest adversaries by at least allowing them to live – a luxury that we can afford with these means of struggle: the non-violent tactic is always paired with a chivalry that rises far above the medieval chivalry not to mention that of modern times. We don't want to starve children by a complete food boycott that would also inevitably alienate a big part of the people in question from us and our action. We don't want Kagawa and his people dead. We only want to starve the violence, the war – by denying it its barbaric necessities of life. For Japan those are in the first place: petroleum, nickel, rubber, cotton – and all the tools of war, ammunition included. As usual the transport workers play a vital role again here too.
Meanwhile we shouldn't wait with the war against war until it is de facto too late again, and war is unleashed again. Why not start now with attacking and making impossible the preparation for it by means of non-cooperation and boycott? Why not a permanent, collective refusal to manufacture,

214See Indië en het Moederland, in “N.R.C.”, 16 Jan. 1934

transport and handling of war materials? In the end there are only about 1,000,000 workers in the world who directly work in the war industries, a relatively small number compared to the millions who have an interest in the conquest of violence. It's all about developing such an international solidarity that the more men and women refuse to participate, they are economically easier to sustain. If there is any awareness of responsibility left in it, the international labor movement must demand without regard for nationality, race or philosopy, but with a single voice that every company in the business of war into a business of peace; and enforce this demand by direct action, so that it becomes a growing part of the new, world encompassing, supra-violent revolutionary tactic.
Only from here can every movement and every person clearly determine their methods of struggle.[215] Unless our perspectives are wider, our aims higher and our forces deeper than those of imperialism, every struggle is lost before it started.

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11. Gene Sharp – 198 Methods for nonviolent action

Gene Sharp is not an anarchist and not an activist. There is a relevant debate to be held about how and why academia instrumentalized and built upon radical ideas and strategies. This brochure is hardly the place for such debate[216], so the methods here are strictly for practical purposes and imply no endorsement of other aspects of the person or ideas of Sharp[217].

Source: Brian Martin, 'Social Defence, Social Change'

Gene Sharp, the leading researcher on nonviolent action, has identified 198 different types of nonviolent action and given examples of each one.1 Sharp divides the methods of nonviolent action into three categories: symbolic actions, noncooperation, and intervention and alternative institutions.

Symbolic actions include:
formal statements (speeches, letters, petitions);
slogans, leaflets, banners;
rallies, protest marches, vigils, pickets;
wearing of symbols of opposition (such as the paper clips worn by Norwegian civilians during the Nazi occupation);
meetings, teach-ins.

Noncooperation includes:
social boycott, stay-at-home;
boycotts by consumers, workers, traders; embargoes;
strikes, bans, working-to-rule, reporting “sick”;
refusal to pay tax or debts, withdrawal of bank deposits;
boycotts of government institutions;
disobedience, evasions and delays;
mock incapability (“misunderstandings,” “mistakes”).

Intervention and alternative institutions include:
fasts;
sit-ins, nonviolent obstruction and occupation;
destruction of information and records;
establishment of parallel institutions for government, media,
transport, welfare, health and education.

From Gene Sharp 'The Politics of Nonviolent Action' (3 Vols.) Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973:

1. The Methods of Nonviolent Protest and Persuasion

Formal Statements

1. Public speeches

216 See for example: https://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/13gm.html

217 An introduction on the subject by Brian Martin can be found here: https://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/13gm.html

2. Letters of opposition or support
3. Declarations by organizations and institutions
4. Signed public statements
5. Declarations of indictment and intention
6. Group or mass petitions

Communications with a Wider Audience

7. Slogans, caricatures, and symbols
8. Banners, posters, and displayed communications
9. Leaflets, pamphlets, and books
10. Newspapers and journals
11. Radio, television, internet ads and advertising
12. Skywriting and earth-writing

Group Representations

13. Deputations
14. Mock awards .
15. Group lobbying
16. Picketing
17. Mock elections

Symbolic Public Acts

18. Displays of flags and symbolic colors
19. Wearing of symbols
20. Prayer and worship
21. Delivering symbolic objects
22. Protest disrobings
23. Destruction of own property
24. Symbolic lights .
25. Displays of portraits
26. Paint as protest
27. New signs and names
28. Symbolic sounds
29. Symbolic reclamations
30. Rude gestures

Pressures on Individuals

31.“Haunting” officials
32.Taunting officials
33. Fraternization
34. Vigils

Drama and Music

35. Humorous skits and pranks
36. Performances of plays and music
37. Singing

Processions

38. Marches
39. Parades
40. Religious processions
41. Pilgrimages
42. Motorcades

Honoring the Dead

43. Political mourning
44. Mock funerals
45. Demonstrative funerals
46. Homage at burial places

Public Assemblies
47. Assemblies of protest or support
48. Protest meetings
49. Camouflaged meetings of protest
50. Teach-ins

Withdrawal and Renunciation
51. Walk-outs
52. Silence
53. Renouncing honors
54. Turning one's back

2. The Methods of Social Noncooperation

Ostracism of Persons
55. Social boycott
56. Selective social boycott
57. Lysistratic nonaction
58. Excommunication
59. Interdict

Noncooperation with Social Events, Customs, and Institutions
60. Suspension of social and sports activities
61. Boycott of social affairs
62. Student strike
63. Social disobedience
64. Withdrawal from social institutions

Withdrawal from the Social System
65. Stay-at-home
66. Total personal noncooperation
67. "Flight" of workers
68. Sanctuary
69. Collective disappearance
70. Protest emigration (hijrat)

3.The Methods of Economic Noncooperation: Economic Boycotts

Actions by Consumers
71. Consumers' boycott
72. Nonconsumption of boycotted goods
73. Policy of austerity
74. Rent withholding
75. Refusal to rent
76. National consumers' boycott
77. International consumers' boycott

Action by Workers and Producers
78. Workmen's boycott
79. Producers' boycott

Action by Middlemen
80. Suppliers' and handlers' boycott

Action by Owners and Management
81. Traders' boycott
82. Refusal to let or sell property
83. Lockout
84. Refusal of industrial assistance
85. Merchants' "general strike"

Action by Holders of Financial Resources
86.Withdrawal of bank deposits

87. Refusal to pay fees, dues, and assessments
88. Refusal to pay debts or interest
89. Severance of funds and credit
90. Revenue refusal
91. Refusal of a government's money

Action by Governments

92. Domestic embargo
93. Blacklisting of traders
94. International sellers' embargo
95. International buyers' embargo
96. International trade embargo

4. The Methods of Economic Noncooperation: The Strike

Symbolic Strikes

97. Protest strike
98. Quickie walkout (lightning strike)

Agricultural Strikes

99. Peasant strike
100. Farm Workers' strike

Strikes by Special Groups

101. Refusal of impressed labour
102. Prisoners' strike
103. Craft strike
104. Professional strike

Ordinary Industrial Strikes

105. Establishment strike
106. Industry strike
107. Sympathetic strike

Restricted Strikes

108. Detailed Strike
109. Bumper strike
110. Slowdown strike
111. Working-to-rule strike
112. Reporting "sick" (sick-in)
113. Strike by resignation
114. Limited strike
115. Selective strike

Multi-Industry Strikes

116. Generalized strike
117. General strike

Combination of Strikes and Economic Closures

118. Hartal
119. Economic shutdown

5. The Methods of Political Noncooperation

Rejection of Authority

120. Withholding or withdrawal of allegiance
121. Refusal of public support
122. Literature and speeches advocating resistance

Citizens' Noncooperation with Government

123. Boycott of legislative bodies
124. Boycott of elections
125. Boycott of government employment and positions
126. Boycott of government depts., agencies, and other bodies

127. Withdrawal from government educational institutions
128. Boycott of government-supported organizations
129. Refusal of assistance to enforcement agents
130. Removal of own signs and placemarks
131. Refusal to accept appointed officials
132. Refusal to dissolve existing institutions

Citizens' Alternatives to Obedience

133. Reluctant and slow compliance
134. Nonobedience in absence of direct supervision
135. Popular nonobedience
136. Disguised disobedience
137. Refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disperse
138. Sit-down
139. Noncooperation with conscription and deportation
140. Hiding, escape, and false identities
141. Civil disobedience of "illegitimate" laws

Action by Government Personnel

142. Selective refusal of assistance by government aides
143. Blocking of lines of command and information
144. Stalling and obstruction
145. General administrative noncooperation
146. Judicial noncooperation
147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents
148. Mutiny

Domestic Governmental Action

149. Quasi-legal evasions and delays
150. Noncooperation by constituent governmental units

International Governmental Action

151. Changes in diplomatic and other representations
152. Delay and cancellation of diplomatic events
153. Withholding of diplomatic recognition
154. Severance of diplomatic relations
155. Withdrawal from international organizations
156. Refusal of membership in international bodies
157. Expulsion from international organizations

6. The Methods of Nonviolent Intervention

Psychological Intervention

158.Self-exposure to the elements
159. The fast
    a.Fast of moral pressure
    b.Hunger strike
    c.Satyagrahic fast
160.Reverse trial
161.Nonviolent harassment

Physical Intervention

162. Sit-in
163. Stand-in
164. Ride-in
165. Wade-in
166. Mill-in
167. Pray-in

168. Nonviolent raids
169. Nonviolent air raids
170. Nonviolent invasion
171. Nonviolent interjection
172. Nonviolent obstruction
173. Nonviolent occupation

Social Intervention

174. Establishing new social patterns
175. Overloading of facilities
176. Stall-in
177. Speak-in
178. Guerrilla theater
179. Alternative social institutions
180. Alternative communication system

Economic Intervention

181. Reverse Strike
182. Stay-in Strike
183. Nonviolent land seizure
184. Defiance of Blockades
185. Politically Motivated Counterfeiting
186. Preclusive Purchasing
187. Seizure of assets
188. Dumping
189. Selective patronage
190. Alternative markets
191. Alternative transportation systems
192. Alternative economic institutions

Political Intervention

193. Overloading of administrative systems
194. Disclosing identities of secret agents
195. Seeking imprisonment
196. Civil disobedience of "neutral" laws
197. Work-on without collaboration
198. Dual sovereignty and parallel government

12. From @nti-militarism of the deed to social defence.

Bart de Ligt's 'Battle Plan' wasn't invented out of thin air. Many of his comrades (Clara Wichmann, Arthur Lehning, Albert de Jong, Catharina Lydia van Rossem to mention just a few) have built on the legacy of the anarchist tradition ranging from individualists like Proudhon to Tolstoy and from Domela Nieuwenhuis to Bakunin in the IWA-AIT.

Seeing the limitations of violent strategies and tactics they all went out searching for more effective and efficient alternatives. Syndicalism is an obvious one, even if early anarchists had reservations about strikes as means of actions. First of all because of the often materialist and reformist goals of many strikes. Second because they believed that capitalists could easily outlast strikers' endurance: strikers who weren't paid went hungry.

They advocated for alternatives like appropriation and setting up parallel systems (cooperatives for example) to raise the potential for lasting struggle, giving workers a possibility to build experience in socialized 'ownership' and 'building the new world within the shell of the old one'. Proudhon's 'People's Bank' is a good example; today LETS groups could be an example. But there are many others, ranging from permaculture, homesteading, dumpster diving, Food Not Bombs and communal kitchens, productive and consumption coops, etc etc.

One of the objections against strikes was that they could lead to violent confrontation – a confrontation that would systematically be won by the capitalists except for some incremental improvements to the system of exploitation. While history has proven some of these objections right, and others exagerated or resolvable, the urge to minimize violence has always been part of the anarchist movement even if almost none of the old anarchists rejected people who made other choices (or, more often, saw no other options).

From Proudhon's 'War and Peace' and the Proudhonist initiative for the 1864 'First' International, the rejection of militarism has always been very clear. Not only the militarism of the status quo, but 'revolutionary' militarism as well, were rejected for a number of reasons, ranging from inherent centralism and dependence on the producers and merchants of weaponry to the relation between means and ends.

Bart de Ligt's 'Battle Plan' was just one moment, one example in this long tradition. It was also aimed at a broader public than his own anarchist comrades. Much of the politics and analysis is implied in order to allow as many people as possible to use it. I've tried to give more context here and in the 'Conquest' volume in order to bring back an understanding of anarchism that was much more widespread at the time – everybody in the W.R.I. knew Bart and his anarchist convictions, even if the W.R.I. was (and is) by no means an anarchist organization.

After the anarchist movement largely fell apart after the failed Spanish Revolution and WW2, much of our ideas sunk into oblivion at least in Europe and shortly after in places like Cuba and China as well (butchered by Marxist there instead of fascists). The movement fragmented into detached single issue struggles, one of which was the 'peace movement' that re-emerged in Europe (with many others like radical feminism, ecology, democracy, etc). This sparked a renewed interest especially in academic circles – there is no surprise that the anarchist origins were largely obscured. People like Gene Sharp, Gernot Jochheim, Jeanne Duprat, Brian Martin, George Lakey and many others transformed what I call 'the Antimilitarism of the Deed' into 'Social Defence'.

Anyone looking for updates of the theoretical and practical ideas and action should look to sources centered around the label 'Social Defence'. It's time to reclaim our legacy and re-radicalize like 'Anarchists against the Wall', Occupy, Indignados, the 'Arab' Spring, Graswürzelrevolution, and many other movements have already started to do. The Zapatistas and Öcalan's 'Democratic confederalism' have prioritized community resistance, avoided militarism -and even violence- as much as possible and have rejected of leninism/maoism. The resistance in Palestine could never

have lasted as long as it has without enormous community resilience in the face of genocide and State terrorism – even if none of those three communities have absolutely rejected violence. The absolute rejection of violence is -no matter how adamantly academics try to pretend otherwise- a requirement for social defence or antimilitarism.

So let's take back what's useful and push back against the reformist or even reactionary elements like Otpor!/(Social-)Dmocratic Party and the 'Colour Revolutions' – although they are clear proof of the effectiveness of our strategies and tactics, but they will always make the wrong choice between war and revolution.

Let's update our strategies and come together in this time of renewed war fever.

First by understanding the fundamental and systemic causes. The dynamic is always:
1. Internal or localized exploitation and competition, leading to concentration of power over:
    - Soil and raw materials, energy sources, etc
    - Labour (human, animal, machine, etc)
    - Agricultural surface: control over production and distribution of basic necessities
    - Capital (be it land, money, power, identity like royal blood, etc). Etc.

    ==> Search for sales markets (social liberalism and social democracy just as well as feudalism; leaning each on their own ideological justifications)

    ==> increased concentration of power, wealth and other privileges
2. Exploitation and competition externalized when the concentration is too strong and the local production base is unable to survive and produce:

    ==> Search for markets, labour, resources, etc

    ==> colonialism (military, debt, “aid”, etc), “trade”, national competition and power blocks (empires and alliances), imperialism, etc

    ==> ideological justification (racism, 'christening', 'civilizing', etc

    ==> War and war preparation
3. Militarization, debt, nationalism, need for control over labour ==> fascism
4. End of war for example exhaustion, 'Spanish Flu', refusal of people to fight, etc. Pushing too far is always a risk for revolution, as the Russian Revolution and the Paris Commune demonstrate for example. But what if we could skip the fase of war and have a revolution that is as little bloodthirsty as possible? Bart and the anarchists would ask: “How can we prepare to prevent war except for organizing for revolution?”

The answer to the second question is: we can't.

The answer to the first question is: let's try. Starting here and now. With this Battle Plan for example: reading it, spreading it, talking about it, completing it and adapting it to our needs here and now. “Don't wait for the eleventh hour!”, Bart would say.

Don't moan. Organize! Now!

AmoRyRabiA,

J/M-Pépé.

13. Further reading.

Some starting points for further reading. The list tends to focus on non-violent sources because the antimilitarist literature seems to focus on them. That doesn't mean other means are abdicated or condemned per sé – except 'red' and other militarism. The idea that militarism will end war is absurd. Bart de Ligt refused the label 'pacifist' (and rightly so) and so does the translator.

In no particular order:

C. T. Butler & Amy Rothstein 'On conflict and consensus': https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/c-t-butler-and-amy-rothstein-on-conflict-and-consensus-a-handbook-on-formal-consensus-decisionm
Bart de Ligt: 'The Conquest of violence', 'Vrede als Daad', 'Nieuwe vormen van oorlog en hoe die te bestrijden', 'De antimilitaristen en hun strijdwijzen'
Gene Sharp 198 methods of nonviolent action (5p) https://wri-irg.org/en/resources/2008/gene-sharps-198-methods-nonviolent-action
Brian Martin: https://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/peace.html

- Uprooting War https://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/90uw
- Nonviolence versus capitalism https://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/01nvc,
- Technology for nonviolent struggle https://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/01tnvs,
- Social defence, Social Change https://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/93sdsc,
- Nonviolent security: an alternative to African militaries https://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/24Harris.html
- How nonviolence is misrepresented https://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/08gm2.html (a short comment on Peter Gelderloos' https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/peter-gelderloos-how-nonviolence-protects-the-state)

Randolph Bourne 'War is the health of the State' https://libcom.org/article/war-health-state-randolph-bourne
IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) have their '101 Training (https://files.libcom.org/files/WTDfinal.pdf) and their manual for solidarity networks (https://files.libcom.org/files/the-seattle-solidarity-network.pdf)
The 'Anarchy is Order' archive 'anarchist cookbook': https://anarchyisorder.org/onewebmedia/Anarchy%20is%20order%20-%20our%20Anarchist%20cookbook.pdf
You can't blow up a social relationship https://azinelibrary.org/approved/u_cant_blow_up_a_social_relationship.pdf
Hourriya – Break ranks. Against war, against peace, for social revolution https://hourriya.noblogs.org/post/2019/05/25/n5-break-ranks-against-war-against-peace-for-socialrevolution/
Shawn Ewald 'Anarchism in Action' https://anarchyisorder.org/onewebmedia/Shawn%20Ewald%20-%20Anarchism%20in%20action.pdf
www.anarchismenonviolence2.org
www.wagingnonviolence.org
www.wri-irg.org
www.grazwurzel.net
www.iwa-ait.org
www.soziale-verteidigung.de
www.berghof-foundation.org (Véronique Dudouet)
www.guiomarrovira.wordpress.com

www.janataweekly.org/mohandas-gandhi-speaks-to-abdullah-ocalan , www.peaceinkurdistancampaign.com
Leila al Shami https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/leila-al-shami-building-alternative-futures-in-the-present-the-case-of-syria-s-communes ,
Omar Aziz https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/omar-aziz-the-formation-of-local-councils
Indignados, Arab Spring, Square occupations https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/laura-galian-squares-occupy-movements-and-the-arab-revolutions
Occupy https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/occupy-everything , https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/david-graeber-the-democracy-project , https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/david-graeber-occupy-s-anarchist-roots
Geoffrey Ostergaard 'Resisting the Nation State' https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/geoffrey-ostergaard-resisting-the-nation-state-the-pacifist-and-anarchist-tradition , https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/geoffrey-ostergaard-nonviolent-revolution
Gabriel Kuhn https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/gabriel-kuhn-violence-sells-but-who-s-buying, https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/gabriel-kuhn-diversity-of-tactics-and-more
Gaston Leval https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/gaston-leval-the-path-of-anarchism , https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/gaston-leval-libertarian-socialism-a-practical-outline
Nicolas Walter https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/nicolas-walter-direct-action-and-the-new-pacifism , https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/nicholas-walter-disobedience-and-the-new-pacifism
George Lakey, https://wagingnonviolence.org/2012/08/a-diversity-of-tactics-a-paucity-of-participants/ (a rebuttal of Ward Churchill's https://archive.org/details/pacifismaspathol0000chur_i5u9)
Pierre-Joseph Proudhon https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/iain-mckay-pierre-joseph-proudhon-harbinger-of-anarchism#toc4 , https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/pierre-joseph-proudhon-the-general-idea-of-the-revolution-in-the-19th-century
Errico Malatesta https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/errico-malatesta-malatesta-life-and-ideas#toc12 , https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/errico-malatesta-malatesta-life-and-ideas#toc36
and many many others.

https://www.warresisters.org/nonviolence
https://www.activistacademy.eu/
https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/wri_handbook_2014_inner_AMENDED.compressed1.pdf
https://wri-irg.org/en/pubs/NonviolenceHandbook
https://www.filmsforaction.org/

“This plan for the mobilization of all anti-war forces does not rely on any form of coercion, compulsory service or conscription.
The anti-militarist movement is composed entirely of volunteers, each one of whom is called upon to act as vigorously as possible and according to [their] conscience, but without being obliged to go beyond [their] strength.
The actions and attitudes to be taken up as part of the following plan will not be dictated to anyone.
They are presented in order to make individuals and collective bodies aware of the many possibilities within their reach even right now to make any and all wars impossible.
The cases mentioned below should especially stimulate [people] to put [their] maximum of energy, devotion and courage at the service of this new struggle.”

Bart de Ligt.

100 Minutes Speech

Battle Plan against War and War Preparation

And other texts on anti-militarist organizing by Bart de Ligt:

Soldiers and workers, strike! (1918)

'War or revolution, speech before the IAMV congress in Den Haag' (1920) - Excerpt

The anti-militarists and their means of struggle (1921)

Positive revolution (1921)

Revolution and evolution (1923)

Revolution and anti-militarism (1924)

War against war. What everyone of us can do (1933)

The conquest of violence (brochure - 1935)