

# WAR OR REVOLUTION

## I.A. Bart de Ligt's Battle Plan

## I.B. Conquest of violence in conTexts



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# WAR OR REVOLUTION book series

**Volume I.A. Bart de Ligt's Battle Plan**

**Volume I.B. 'Conquest of violence' in conTexts**

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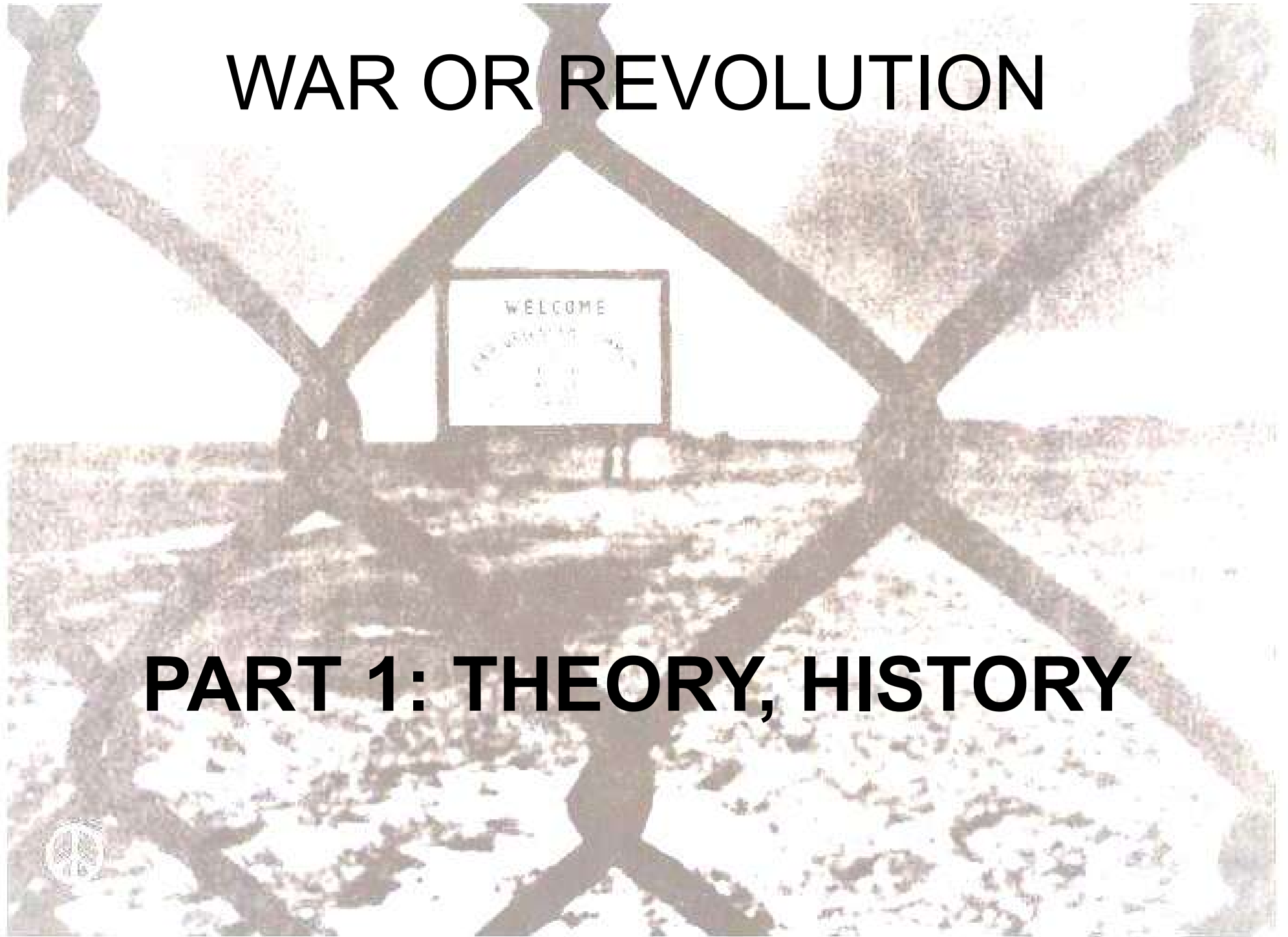
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# WAR OR REVOLUTION



## PART 1: THEORY, HISTORY

# What is war? What is peace?

- **Von Clausewitz:**

“**War is the continuation of policy by other means.**” ('On War')

- **Proudhon:**

“(…) War, followed in its operations, no longer appears to us as anything other than the extermination, by every means of violence and cunning, of people and things, a manhunt perfected and organised on a grand scale, a variety of cannibalism and human sacrifice. War could be defined as a state in which men, restored to their bestial nature, regain **the right to do to each other all the evil that peace is intended to forbid.**” (Guerre et paix, pp 313-314):

- **Wikipedia: ???**

“Peace is a state of harmony in the absence of hostility and violence. In a societal sense, peace is commonly used to mean a lack of conflict (such as war) and freedom from fear of violence between individuals or groups.”???

→ **Bart de Ligt: 'Peace' = NOT just the 'absence of war'?**

# What is war? What is peace?

The IAMV (International AntiMilitarist League) definition of **militarism**:

*“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 to maintain its power** if it thinks it is threatened:*

*a. **by another state;***

*b. **by a revolutionary movement of its own population;***

*c. **to enlarge its power if it sees the chance to do so”**,*

And as:

*“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.”***

# What is war? What is peace?

Albert de Jong:

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.**”

Earlier, “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**”.*

# Causes of War?

**Proudhon:**

- “It is above all through the exaltation of the virile person that war manifests its prestige”.

(War and Peace p 18)

- **Claiming and denying property is at the heart of all human disputes, between states as well as between individuals.** Here we leave politics proper; we enter another sphere of ideas, the sphere of **social economics**. In a word, the State, like the individual, must live, that is to say, it must **consume**; the sovereignty it arrogates to itself or claims is for no other purpose than to ensure its consumption: such is the fact in its original simplicity...

(War and Peace p 324)

- De Ligt on Marx versus Proudhon:

## MARX

historic materialist  
sociologist amoralist  
statist  
centralist  
advocate of hate  
believer in violence  
war enthusiast  
authoritarian

## PROUDHON

social psychologist  
sociologist moralist  
anarchist  
federalist  
admiror of solidarity  
despiser of violence  
adversary of war  
lover of freedom

# Causes of War?

Systemic caused of war: STATE + CAPITALISM + IDEOLOGY

The State is at the same time *producer and defender of privilege*

Nationalism is one example of '*ideology*', as is religion, Marxism, liberalism, fascism, etc

The dynamic is always:

**(CAPITALISM)** *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 that need protection (= **STATE**)

Exploitation and competition *externalized* when the concentration is too strong and the local production base is unable to survive and produce + when local consumption (i.e: profit, surplus value, etc)

==> 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, 'christianization', 'civilizing', etc) + **materialism, selfishness, etc of imperial workers**

==> **War and war preparation**

Militarization, debt, nationalism, need for control over labour ==> **FASCISM** (*attempt to mobilize the masses -using ideology- to serve the interests of the elites, see bolshevism*)

End of war for example exhaustion, 'Spanish Flu', refusal of people to fight, etc = '**PEACE**'

FASCISM => DEMOCRACY => FASCISM => DEMOCRACY => FASCISM =>

DEMOCRACY = WAR => PEACE=> WAR => PEACE =>WAR => PEACE =>WAR => PEACE =>WAR



# Causes of War?

Or, otherwise:

*“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 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.”*

Bart de Ligt - The Conquest of Violence (1935)



# Social defence or defence of the social revolution?

Vernon Richards re-summarized the anarchist case against militarism as tool for defence of the revolution:

*“ (...) it would result in the **deformation of the armed struggle which began with a socio-revolutionary character to a national war**, the outcome of which would matter only to the ruling class;*

*that militarization implies **centralisation of power, the mobilisation and conscription of a whole people, and is the negation of individual freedom.**”*

Gandhi: “pacifism”? Nonviolence?

*“where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence...”*

# Social defence or defence of the social revolution?

What Bart de Ligt used to call 'antimilitarism of the deed', and the methods of syndicalism that he developed into his comprehensive 'Battle Plan' has evolved, in 1 direction, into what academics call 'social defence'.

- Brian Martin: 'Social defence – social Change'
- A lot of practical insights on antimilitary struggles and alternatives in Chiapas, Rojava, Palestine, Ukraine, etc.
- The question for anarchists is: do we defend the status quo? Or do we defend the social revolution (even if there is none a.t.m.)?
  - Militarization of Spanish Revolution → Civil War → Liberation of Paris by 120 Spanish anarchists in brigade 'La Nueve' (Leclerc's 9<sup>th</sup> Armored Company, August 24, 1944) & continued its offensive into Germany (Strasbourg, Berchtesgaden, Hitler's 'Eagle's Nest' in the Bavarian Alps). At the end of the war only a handful were alive.
- In other words: "War or revolution?" has been a relevant question that different anarchists have answered differently under different circumstances.

# Conditions for a 'radical peace'

- Internationalism: simultaneous.
- Solidarity: 'intersectional'.
- Fight where you stand: workers, women, parents, children, intellectuals, ...  
==> privilege, identity, position, 'power'
- Strategy & tactics.
- Agreement on clear goals.
- System change: "No Justice = No Peace"
- "Against their war = against their peace."
- ...



# Victimhood, compliance and complicity? Workers, materialism, women, etc

In order to 'fight where you stand', your need to know where you stand, your place and role in the system – and therefore your responsibility::

- Accentuating the 'innocence' means accentuating powerlessness and passivity. For example "There is no ethical consumption under capitalism."
- Accentuating individual 'guilt' means paralyzing people into their 'identity', i.e. their perceived role and function. It often triggers pushback.

Example: Nieuwenhuis and Bart de Ligt saw a special, fundamental role for women.

**AEIOU** (Industrial Workers of the World – IWW: Agitate, Educate, Inoculate, Organize, Unite):  
'identity' as point of attachment for Agitation: feeling of injustice, understanding, trigger, emotion, egoism, etc as starting point and motivation for resistance.

- Privilege,
- class reductionism 'versus' identity politics,
- identity → intersectionality → revolutionary solidarity.

# Anarchism and violence?

- All anarchists agree that less violence is better.
- Anarchists disagree on:
  - What is violence? What is militarism?
  - Is revolution possible without violence?
  - Is revolution possible with violence?
  - How do non/violence protect the state?
  -
- “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

# History of anarchist antimilitarism?

Thoreau, de la Boétie, Proudhon, Tolstoy, Domela Nieuwenhuis

1864 International (Domela) and Paris Commune (versus MARX),

Kropotkin/16 versus Malatesta (WW1),

de Jong/Lehning/de Ligt versus Huart/Besnard,

Spain '36-'39 & WW2 (militarization of the columns, liberation of Paris, both events in defence of the status quo),

post-WW: anti-nuclear, Vietnam, peace movements, May '68, etc

today's conflicts: Ukraine, Syria, Palestine, Rojava, sub-Sahara Africa (Basil Davidson "Black Man's Burden – Africa and the curse of the nation state")

# WAR OR REVOLUTION

- Are there any questions about what has been said before now before we move on to the practical side of the discussion?
- Please be brief. Clarifying questions only – the faster we move on the more time there will be for exchange and discussion.

Q & A on theory



# WAR OR REVOLUTION



## PART 2: BATTLE PLAN, PRAXIS

# QUESTIONS PRAXIS

- Fear as mobilizing force? (BdL, Lehning cfr bourgeois pacifism using fear as motivator)
- Anti-war? Anti-militarism? Pacifism & non/violence?
- What do we want (mission, goals, ends)?
  - War or revolution? Social defence and/or defending the revolution?
  - 'Peace'? = 'absence of war'? When have we succeeded? All or nothing – or diverse goals to measure succes?
  - Specific conflicts (single issue) or systemic solutions? How to create synergy instead of adversity? And how to build fronts without losing ourselves (build our own strength as one of the goals!)
  - Campism & 'Lesser' evilism? Do we chose sides in the war? Based on what criteria?
  -
- Fight where you stand: what are my/our pressure points and tools? Privileges and weaknesses? What can we do? What do we have? What do we need? Potential, infrastructure, money, time, energy, resilience, etc. (Radio, online, offline, locations, funds, people) + **INTERNATIONALISM = FIGHT LOCAL THINK GLOBAL**
- Who, What, Where, When, How? Be concrete, be clear, be precise.
- National, local, regional organizing? Networks? Broad fronts and/or ideologically coherent movements/ networks/ groups/ organizations/ federations/ ... An open group or movement? Consensus decision making? Affinitygroup? Formal organisatie? Federation?

# QUESTIONS PRAXIS

- Who are we? Anarchists? Revolutionaries? Antimilitarists? Proletarians? Etc.
- Who are our allies and enemies? (Bourgeois 'pacifism' including Marxians, WRI-IRG, representatives of people in both attacked and attacking countries, local syndicalists and syndicalist internationals, etc)?
- Campism: "Powerful states can maintain themselves only by crime, little states are virtuous only by weakness" - Mikhail Bakunin
- Spearheads and target groups: producers/proles, intellectuals, military, women, machismo, parents, educators, children
- What about other 'single issue' struggles? Feminism, antifascism, anticolonialism, ecology, campist 'national liberation/defence', panis et circensem/materialist egoism/class reductionism (unions, yellow-vests, etc)
- Practical examples: networks with specific messages (speeches, discussions, workshops, etc), action training, literature and theory, actions and campaigns, handbook for draft refusers/conscious objectors/legal advice, strong stories and history (see further on), websites, songs and music, Youtube/TikTok/...,
- Solidarity? Identity? Intersectionality?
- (Your questions???):
  - ...
  - ...
  - ...

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

“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 examples 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 - INTRO TO “BATTLE PLAN AGAINST WAR AND WAR PREPARATION”**

**The Plan has two main parts:**

- A. In Peace Time, and
- B. In Time of Mobilization and War,

**both subdivided in:**

- Direct **Individual** Action
- Direct **Collective** Action

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

## PLAN OF CAMPAIGN AGAINST ALL WAR AND ALL PREPARATION FOR WAR

This plan for the elimination of all war-like forces is not based on any kind of conventional, conventional, or conventional...  
The anti-war movement is a purely conventional of movements, every one of whom is called upon to act as completely as possible, according to his conscience but without being obliged to go beyond his strength.  
The object is to be successful and the attitude to be taken by under the following plan, are directed to the end.  
They are intended to make that individuals and collective bodies may become conscious of the numerous possibilities which their work offers, to make all and every one responsible.  
The main condition of success should especially consist in the fact that the masses of the people fight their movement of energy, direction and courage.

### A. IN PEACE TIME

#### I. Direct INDIVIDUAL Action to prevent War and all preparation for War

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#### 2. Conscientious objection

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#### II. Direct COLLECTIVE Action to prevent War and all preparation for War

1. THEORETICAL:
  - A. Propaganda by Public and Open Meetings
  - B. Propaganda by Pamphlets, Circulars, etc.
  - C. Propaganda by Leaflets, etc.
  - D. Propaganda by Newspapers, etc.
  - E. Propaganda by Plays, etc.
  - F. Propaganda by Lectures, etc.
  - G. Propaganda by Exhibitions, etc.
  - H. Propaganda by Meetings, etc.
  - I. Propaganda by Demonstrations, etc.
  - J. Propaganda by Petitions, etc.
  - K. Propaganda by Resolutions, etc.
  - L. Propaganda by Declarations, etc.
  - M. Propaganda by Statements, etc.
  - N. Propaganda by Reports, etc.
  - O. Propaganda by Documents, etc.
  - P. Propaganda by Publications, etc.
  - Q. Propaganda by Periodicals, etc.
  - R. Propaganda by Journals, etc.
  - S. Propaganda by Magazines, etc.
  - T. Propaganda by Books, etc.
  - U. Propaganda by Tracts, etc.
  - V. Propaganda by Brochures, etc.
  - W. Propaganda by Pamphlets, etc.
  - X. Propaganda by Leaflets, etc.
  - Y. Propaganda by Circulars, etc.
  - Z. Propaganda by Documents, etc.
2. PRACTICAL:
  - A. Refrain from Military Service
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  - Z. Refrain from Military Service

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

## A. IN PEACE TIME

### I. Direct INDIVIDUAL Action

#### A. **Refusal of Military Service**

As Conscript. As soldier or sailor. As reservist. As citizen called to arms (manoeuvres, against strikers or other social conflicts)

**B. Refusal of non-combattant military work** (Red Cross, Army Medical Corps – all by their nature equally subordinated to the military system)

**C. Anti-militarist propaganda at every occasion in Army & Navy** to create nuclei of resistance and liaise between these and the anti-militarist movement; aimed at mass refusal of orders

**D. Refusal of industrial, technical and social service:** making war materials, ammunition; taking part in military aviation; constructing barracks and fortifications; making military clothing and boots; making optical instruments, instruments of precision, etc destined for war purposes; typesetting for printed articles, pamphlets, books, manifestoes, tracts, etc of a distinctly military, militarist, jingoist or imperialist tendency; making military toys; handling, forwarding or transporting anything that is used for war and its preparation; etc

**E. Refusal to put trade at the service of war** (as employer or as employee): banks, co-operatives, publishers, clothing trade, shops for technical/optical/precision instruments; bookshops; bazaars (children's toys); etc

#### F. Refusal to pay taxes

**G. Refusal to put up soldiers billeted on you** (or receive them hospitably and welcome them with judicious anti-militarist propaganda while using the indemnity for anti-war propaganda)

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

## H. Refusal of intellectual and moral service:

### 1. Abstentionist methods:

**a. Direct** (i.e. refusal to undertake research, draw plans, and refusal to direct any technical or intellectual work of preparation for war)

As physicist, chemist, bacteriologist, civil engineer, technician, speaker/orator/broadcaster, etc

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

1. as *parents*,
  - a. by keeping children as far away as possible from all nationalist, militarist, jingoist and imperialist influence
  - b. by refusing to hand minors over to the State for the purpose of training or service
2. as *schoolmaster, teacher and professor*, by refusing to educate youth in a nationalist, imperialist and militarist spirit
3. as *journalist, publicist, lecturer or literator*, by refusing to influence public opinion in a nationalist, militarist or imperialist spirit, by participating in modern politico-economic life, etc
4. as *religious or moral leader*, by refusing to sanctify or 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 *lawyer*, 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 the starting point of world history by elevating it as the chosen one above any other nation; and by refusing to exclusively glorify one's own race
8. as *artist*, by refusing to place one's services at the disposal of nationalism, militarism and imperialism
9. as *sociologist*, by exposing and challenging nationalism, militarism, imperialism, pride of race, etc
10. as *medic, doctor, psychologist or psychiatrist*, by revealing the unconscious and subconscious tendencies which prepare for war, the retrograde character of military discipline and by demonstrating that modern war is an odious crime against life, the physical, moral and mental health of mankind as well as contrary to aesthetic sensibility (millions of dead, mutilated, unbalanced, sexual illnesses, consequences of malnourishment, tuberculosis, etc)
11. as *philosopher*, by exposing all forms of dogmatism and absolutism, especially in the field of the history of civilization, or religion and of comparative philosophy
12. **by organizing effectively from the points of view of science, propaganda and action in respect to the aims mentioned above, and by associating on a federalist basis with other organizations for direct action against war and its preparation**

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

## 2. Constructive methods:

**a. Direct** (i.e. the endeavour to reserve for the service of peace and human civilization those technical and intellectual inventions that are also useful for warfare; the endeavour not to pervert science in its applications): see H 1 a.

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

1. *as parents,*

a. by living as harmoniously as possible, inspired by a truly universal spirit (the home atmosphere exercising a capital influence on youth)

b. by educating youth as free and broad-mindedly as possible, by awakening in youth a sense of respect for others, love for the inorganic and organic kingdoms (plants, animals and humanity); by awakening sympathy for foreign peoples and races; by awakening the sentiment of social justice and admiration for all forms of

courage and heroism, even in war – by a constant direction of attention of the new generation to that which rises above all violence.

c.. by sending children to schools where they receive modern and up-to-date instruction in the widest possible sense (and establish such schools where they don't exist yet), remaining in constant communication with the teachers, the parents of other pupils and the pupils themselves by taking part in parents' circles, teacher' 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 mind, seeking to maintain regular contact with the parents.

3. *as journalist, publicist, lecturer or literator,* 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 towards mankind in general, 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 towards a new civilization, giving them confidence in the method of non-violent struggle.

6. *as lawyer,* 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.



# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

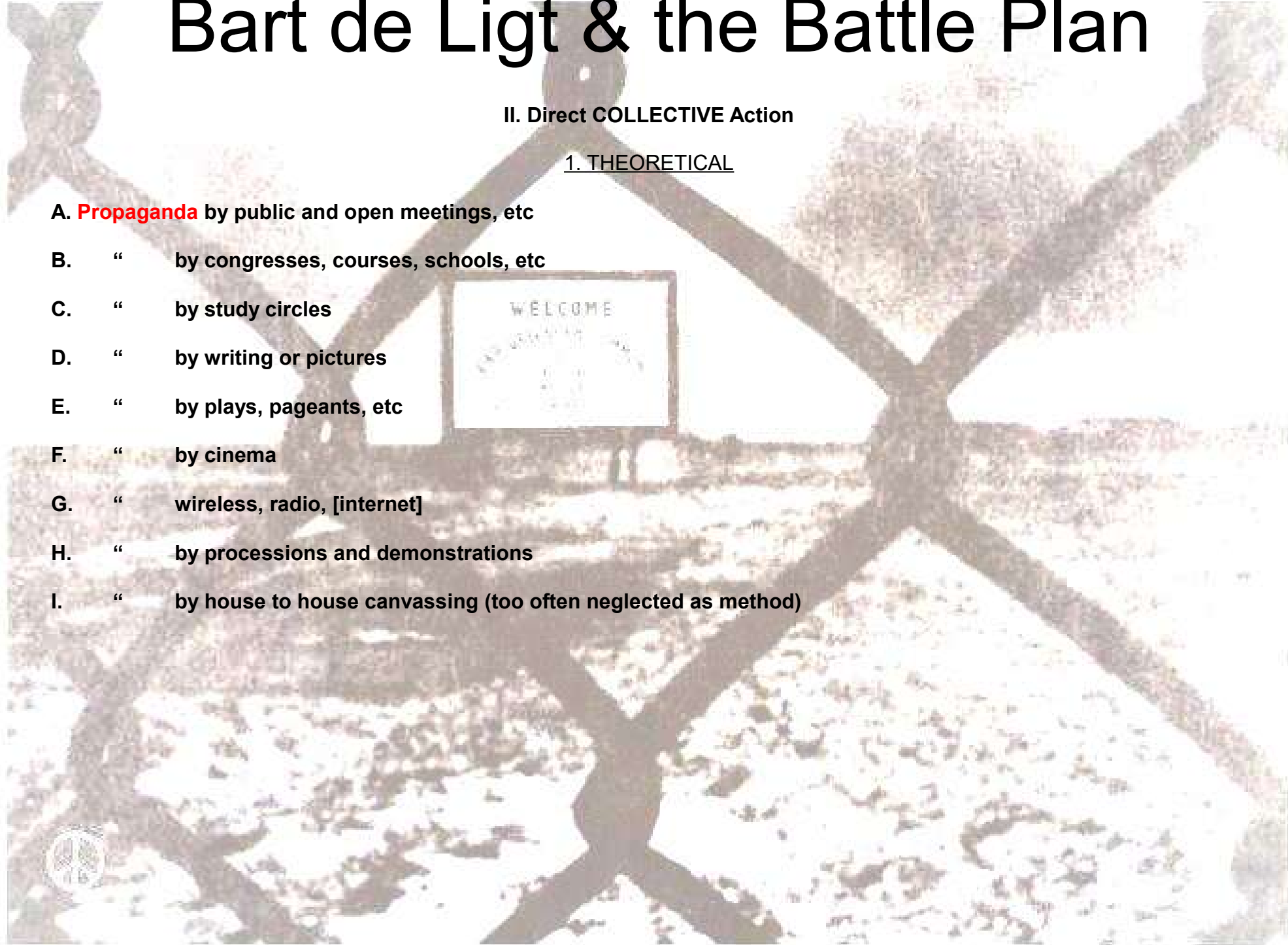
7. *as historian*, by taking universal life as a starting point, accentuating the qualities of every nation and race, demonstrating the relations and influence which they have with and upon others; showing the existence of an undeniable tendency in history towards a social life which would be equally free as varied, offering to every individual the greatest possibility of free development
8. *as artists*, 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 rise above the state of violence and barbarism
10. *as medic, doctor, 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 channeling and sublimating the instincts and passions which formerly found their external 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 mutually complement each other
  - b. by making universalism a force of social dynamic
12. ***by organizing effectively from the points of view of science, propaganda and action in respect to the aims mentioned above, and by associating on a federalist basis with other organizations for direct action against war and its preparation***

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

## II. Direct COLLECTIVE Action

### 1. THEORETICAL

- A. **Propaganda** by public and open meetings, etc
- B. “ by congresses, courses, schools, etc
- C. “ by study circles
- D. “ by writing or pictures
- E. “ by plays, pageants, etc
- F. “ by cinema
- G. “ wireless, radio, [internet]
- H. “ by processions and demonstrations
- I. “ by house to house canvassing (too often neglected as method)



# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

## II. Direct COLLECTIVE Action

### 1. THEORETICAL

#### J. Youth organizations:

1. Children: do not moralize; copy what is useful 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. Womens' organizations:

Mainly necessary where women do not yet -or have only for a short time- taken any interest in social questions, and where they require special education in connection with their maternal and social functions. The central idea here must be *their responsibility towards the new generation* in respect of physical, moral and intellectual health; it is of the greatest importance that women become conscious of the fact that -in modern war- the industrial, intellectual and social work of women behind the frontline 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% of the mobilized men have to be replaced by women, and that the production of ammunitions etc would be paralysed without the constant collaboration of millions of women.

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

M. Antimilitarist propaganda in Army and Navy (see I. C.)

N. **Special propaganda amongst the workers**, adapted to every kind of trade, especially *those of first necessity for 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 their own terrain- in order to undermine and prevent war by refusing to serve and by systematic and reasonable **sabotage** (\*):

1. Transport - goods, material, people:

By rail, bus, car, tram, boat, plane, animal, people

2. Minerals:

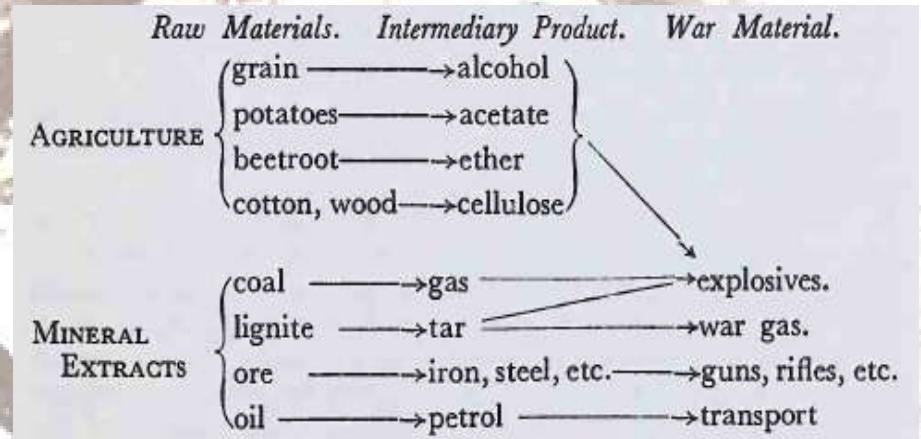
Coal, iron, lead, aluminium, zinc, tin, nickel, mercury, copper, manganese, sulphur, pyrite, tungsten, chrome, antimony, graphite, mica, etc etc

3. Iron and Steel industries (engines of war material, ammunitions, etc)

4. Chemical industry (toxic gasses, etc)

5. Mineral oils, petroleum, heavy oils, petrol (gasoline), wells, refineries, pipelines, tanks, etc

6. Alcohols, cotton, wool, rubber, leather, etc etc



# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

## 2. PRACTICAL

**A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H:** See I. A – H above

**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, linked to special anti-militarist events** (like the 1921 movement in the Netherlands on the occasion of the hunger strike by 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 aimed at the immediate abolishing of the laws on the right of countries to declare war**

**N. Unarmed mass opposition to the imprisonment of objectors** in towns and villages, and organization of demonstrations, meetings, protest strikes, etc related to such injustices

**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 life.

**Q. Creation of funds in aid** for 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.

**R. Compelling the governments to renounce all forms of national defence** (if f.e. 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.**

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

**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.

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

**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 of the 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 to forestall 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 of humanity, 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.





# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

## 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:***

***refusal to collaborate in the establishment of places where people would allegedly be protected against poisoned gasses***

***refusal to produce gas masks***

***refusal to collaborate in manoeuvres for passive or active defence against air strikes***

***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.

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

## **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 :*

as physicist, as chemist, as bacteriologist, as civil engineer, as technician, 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 1 b and 2 b.)

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.

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

**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.

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

## 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).

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

**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).**

# Gene Sharp – Social Defence

## 198 Methods of (Non/violent) Action

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

### Methods of Nonviolent Protest and Persuasion

#### Formal Statements

1. Public speeches
  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 disrobing
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. Fraternalization

#### 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

### Methods of Social Noncooperation

#### Ostracism of Persons

55. Social boycott
56. Selective social boycott
57. Lysistratic nonaction ["sex strike"]
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)

### 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

### Methods of Economic Noncooperation: The Strike

#### Symbolic Strikes

97. Protest strike

# Gene Sharp – Social Defence

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

## 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

## 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

All these methods focus on non-violent methods, but non-violence is not the defining element here. Strikes often involve 'violence' for example. Most anarchists focus on effectivity and efficiency to minimize violence as much as possible because of the inherently centralizing effects and to accentuate what every one of us can do. Not on moral rejection of people who make other choices.

# Perspectives today & tomorrow

**Goals: Starts with a clear Mission (statement); is not 'all or nothing'.**

→ Strategic (3 components: underground: survival, defensive, offensive)

For example: See Bart's last remark under IV. O.: "The collective opposition to war should be converted into Social Revolution (...)"

- *Minimum:*

- inspiring and preparing for the next generations and the next war;
- preserving sub/culture, information, theory, practice, examples, stories
- Gathering and spreading and studying tactics (Vietcong, YPG-J, Chiapas, Spanish anarchist Columns, Makhnowtsjina, social defence)

- *Medium:*

- preparing cells of resistance (cfr WW2, Vietcong, etc)
- Increasing mental and social resilience (cfr Ukraine, Gaza/Palestine,
- Networks: civil protection services, workers, feminist and anti-racist organizations, teachers,
- Building protective underground shelters, preparing decentralized economy and services (electricity, media, etc);

- *Maximum:*

- Stop war, build movement and unleash the social revolution.

→ Tactical: syndicalism? Insurrection? violence? etc

→ Operational: Timelines, Who/What/When/Why/Where+How

**Internal (Strengths & Weaknesses) ↔ External (Allies & enemies - network, Opportunities, Threats)**

**Means = Ends**

**AEIOU: Agitate – Educate – Inoculate – Organize - Unite**

**Identity → Intersectionality → Revolutionary Solidarity**



	<b>SURVIVAL / 'UNDERGROUND'</b>	<b>DEFENSE</b>	<b>OFFENSE</b>	
<b>AGITATE</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- KNOW WHO YOU ARE</li> <li>- SKILLS               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>. self-defense</li> <li>. mental/emotional/physical wellbeing</li> <li>. roleplay, training, 1-on-1 talks,</li> <li>. public viewings and debates</li> <li>. lay-out skills, graffiti, pre-press,</li> <li>bookbinding, screenprinting,...</li> <li>. journalism, photography</li> <li>. use of internet,</li> <li>... !!!</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Study and 'own' your outlook on the world:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>. KNOW what you mean</li> <li>. MEAN what you know</li> </ul> </li> <li>Develop countermeasures for pushbacks and setbacks.</li> <li>Feed the fire: read, talk, love, live.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Agitating by example, word, writing, drawing,...</li> <li>Address people by connecting with the way they are oppressed: let them tell how that feels and let them offer solutions from within their emotions.</li> <li>Let them speak and connect with what they say.</li> <li>Don't over-theorize/generalize. Stay with them.</li> </ul>	<b>MEANS</b>
<b>EDUCATE</b>  + <b>INNOCULATE</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- . Gathering information, tools,...</li> <li>. Saving "</li> <li>. Distributing "</li> <li>- Mental/emotional/physical wellbeing</li> <li>- Durable 'activism'</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Focus on activating ourselves, not others. We are not vanguards and not leaders.</li> <li>Be open for others and people who think differently: with part of them we want to connect : we want to invite without converting them or saving them.</li> <li>Study your opponents and prepare for pushbacks: theoretically, mentally, organizationally, emotionally, socially, ...</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Get out there               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>. on social media and fora</li> <li>. anarchist media</li> <li>. IRL – gatherings, rallies,...</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Actively participate in making information available for everyone: knowledge is power – and power corrupts even the best of us.</li> <li>Mind the silent bystanders trying to figure out what's going on. Be open for them without 'saving' them, bullying, degrading, – start with 'Agitate!' and connect with their story...</li> </ul>	
<b>ORGANISE</b>  + <b>UNIONIZE</b>  <b>(AEIOU)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>. AFFINITY GROUP(S) political and apolitical</li> <li>. 'official'/backup/underground persona(e)</li> <li>. survival: financial, housing, etc (paid work, cooperatives, squatting, food not bombs, ...)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>SOCIAL DEFENSE</b></li> <li><b>SOLIDARITY NETWORK(S)</b></li> <li>. single issues (... , class war, peace/anti-war, gender, feminism, racism, ecology, work,...)</li> <li>==&gt; look for intersections in order to find real solutions and build broader movements</li> <li>. syndicalism &amp; solidarity network(s)</li> <li>. defending 'civil liberties' &amp; 'human rights'</li> <li>. social defense</li> <li>. legal aid</li> <li>. black bloc / mass protest</li> <li>. libertarian municipalism / counter institutions / councilism</li> <li>. federations</li> <li>. revolts &amp; insurrections</li> <li>Confront your opponents, support your compaÑer@s.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>SOCIAL CHANGE</b></li> <li>Tools: all of the others and more but with a clear coherence and with an attempt to gain territory. No tactic or tool will be 'enough' in itself to bring about the giant revolution that we need – we're all in this together. Together we stand.</li> <li>In the event of a collapse of state/capitalism, we might have a chance to actually win and change the game.</li> <li>In this case beware of (red and brown !) fascism and all other authoritarians who want to fill the power vacuum: they are the counter-revolution.</li> </ul>	<b>ENDS</b>
	<b>IDENTITY</b>	<b>INTERSECTIONALITY</b>	<b>REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY</b>	

	<b>SURVIVAL / 'UNDERGROUND'</b>	<b>DEFENSE</b>	<b>OFFENSE</b>	
<b>AGITATE</b>				<b>MEANS</b>
<b>EDUCATE</b>				<b>MUST RELATE TO</b>
<b>ORGANISE</b>				<b>ENDS</b>
	<b>IDENTITY</b>	<b>INTERSECTIONALITY</b>	<b>REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY</b>	

4 AXIS EXERCISE  
 one of the tools for a practical workshop that I can offer.



# PRAXIS

## Q & A PRAXIS

# PRAXIS



Sources, further reading, etc  
[WWW.ANTIMILITARISM.ORG](http://WWW.ANTIMILITARISM.ORG)



PRAXIS

**THANK YOU!!!!!!**

DISCUSSION, FURTHER PLANS

**WAR OR REVOLUTION**  
**I.A. Bart de Ligt's Battle Plan**  
**I.B. Conquest of violence in conTexts**



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**www.antimilitarism.org**



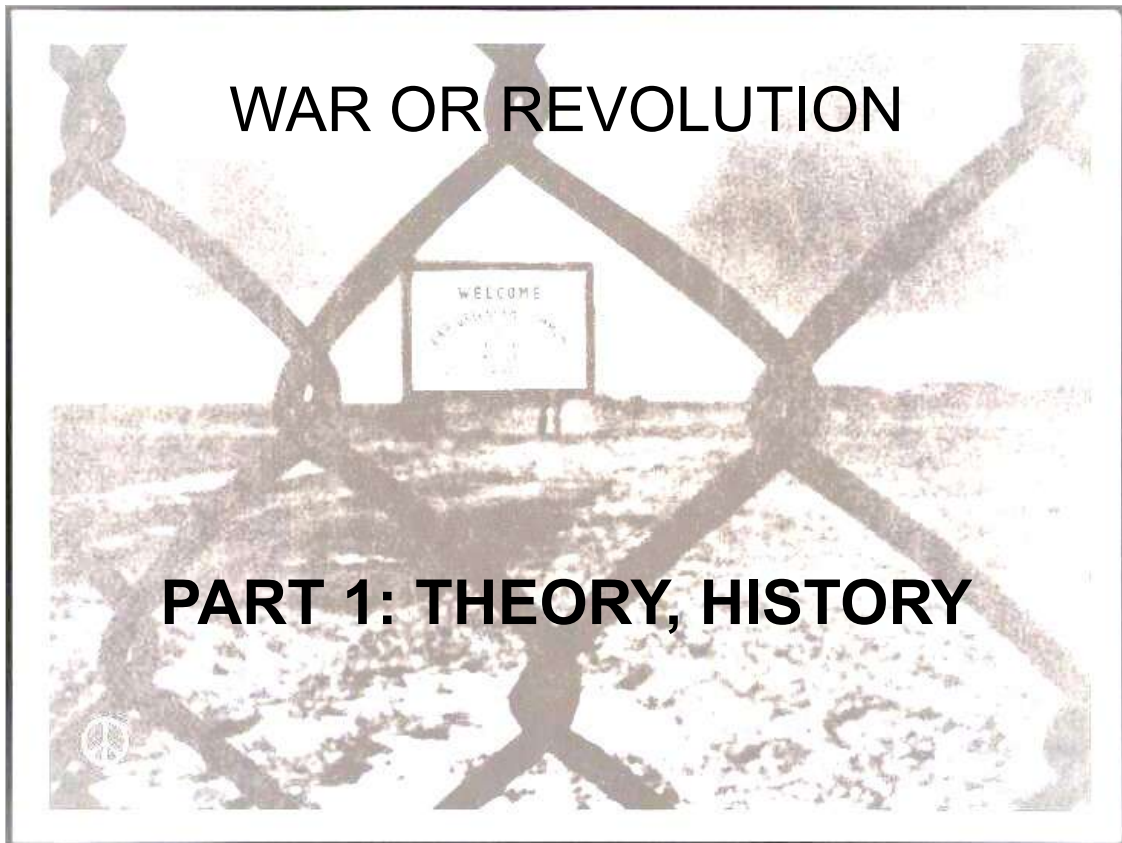
Welcome to this 2 part workshop about antimilitarism of the deed.

I've been active in the anarchist movement for the past 35 years of so and I've just spent the better part of 2 years on a translation of Bart de Ligt texts. Bart was the one who coined the term 'antimilitarism of the deed', to distinguish his ideas from passive pacifism.

In this workshop, I'll try to pass on some of what I've learnt by reading and studying on the subject.

The structure of the workshop is:

- \* Theoretical part + Q&A
- \* Practical part + Q&A
- \* DISCUSSION
- \* Further plans as goal: please stay behind if you want to get involved to see what we can do together.



This first part of my talk is dedicated to a more theoretical and historic overview, followed by a second part that will focus on practical aspects of our task at hand.

We can't prevent or stop war if we don't understand its causes and functions. I will try not to dwell too long, but I can't stress enough how important I think it is that we focus on the roots of the problem and not its bitter fruits.

It's impossible to answer every question within the timeframe of this workshop. I'll at least try to list some of the most pressing issues that require our answers.

I'll try to spend 20 minutes on each part in order to leave room for your own questions and thoughts.



# What is war? What is peace?

- **Von Clausewitz:**  
 "War is the continuation of policy by other means." ('On War')
- **Proudhon:**  
 "(...) War, followed in its operations, no longer appears to us as anything other than the extermination, by every means of violence and cunning, of people and things, a manhunt perfected and organised on a grand scale, a variety of cannibalism and human sacrifice. War could be defined as a state in which men, restored to their bestial nature, regain the right to do to each other all the evil that peace is intended to forbid." (Guerre et paix, pp 313-314):
- **Wikipedia: ???**  
 "Peace is a state of harmony in the absence of hostility and violence. In a societal sense, peace is commonly used to mean a lack of conflict (such as war) and freedom from fear of violence between individuals or groups."???

→ **Bart de Ligt:** 'Peace' = NOT just the 'absence of war'?

The slogan "War is Big Business is undoubtedly true.

Even nazi-sympathizer and -financier Henry Ford confirms in 1917 (chapter 17, in My Life and Work):

"Nobody can deny that war is a profitable business for those who like that kind of money. War is an orgy of money, just as it is an orgy of blood."

### **Arthur Lehning about BdL in an interview:**

"Bart de Ligt was -to be sure- not a 'pacifist'. He didn't just fight against the capitalist war, but above all the capitalist peace. He turned against imperialism and advocated the liberation of all oppressed classes and races. With the struggle against war, he struggled the cult of violence. In his agitation for resistance against the state slavery he always emphasized the 'voluntary slavery' and the idea that there are in fact no tyrants but only slaves.

### **Gé Nabrink about BdL:**

"Bart was a revolutionary-antimilitarist, but not a 'pacifist' because he was convinced that war was the consequence of social conditions; more specifically of capitalism and imperialism in the modern era. Without changing society, but also without changing the mentality of people, no peace would ever be possible.

By the way peace has never meant 'not war' to him, that is to say the condition between the last war and the coming one, but the realization of a society that is based on socialism and humanity.

### **Historic role of war: BdL, Proudhon, etc**

# What is war? What is peace?

The IAMV (International AntiMilitarist League) definition of **militarism**:

*“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 to maintain its power** if it thinks it is threatened:*

- a. **by another state;***
- b. **by a revolutionary movement of its own population;***
- c. **to enlarge its power if it sees the chance to do so”;***

And as:

*“Understanding as **militarism** the striving for and practicing of violence and homicide 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.”***

The IAMV was an International Antimilitarist organization that Domela Nieuwenhuis had co-founded in the early 1900s. It defined militarism as:

# What is war? What is peace?

Albert de Jong:

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.*"

Earlier, "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, insofar as the members do so individually voluntarily, not to be in violation of the IAMV principles".*

Even with all that clarity there has been confusion in the ranks on the subject of militarism and war. Some examples:

- \* Proudhon versus Marx (Franco-Prussian War 1870-1871) leading to the Paris Commune
- \* Kropotkin and 'Manifesto of sixteen' versus Malatesta, Domela Nieuwenhuis (World War 1) leading to anarchist support of the bolsheviks
- \* Spain '36-'39: militarization of the revolution in defence of the status quo (World War 2) and the liberation of Paris
- \* and Gaza, Ukraine more recently.

We'll return to some of these examples later-on.

Later, the IAMV renewed its definition.

It refused to accept a red army as a valid means to defend the revolution, but is still OK with armed resistance as long as it's voluntary.

# Causes of War?

**Proudhon:**

- “It is above all through the exaltation of the virile person that war manifests its prestige”.  
(War and Peace p 18)
- **Claiming and denying property is at the heart of all human disputes, between states as well as between individuals.** Here we leave politics proper; we enter another sphere of ideas, the sphere of **social economics**. In a word, the State, like the individual, must live, that is to say, it must **consume**; the sovereignty it arrogates to itself or claims is for no other purpose than to ensure its consumption: such is the fact in its original simplicity...  
(War and Peace p 324)

De Ligt on Marx versus Proudhon:

<p><b>MARX</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>historic materialist</li> <li>sociologist amoralist</li> <li>statist</li> <li>centralist</li> <li>advocate of hate</li> <li>believer in violence</li> <li>war enthusiast</li> <li>authoritarian</li> </ul>		<p><b>PROUDHON</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>social psychologist</li> <li>sociologist moralist</li> <li>anarchist</li> <li>federalist</li> <li>admiror of solidarity</li> <li>despiser of violence</li> <li>adversary of war</li> <li>lover of freedom</li> </ul>
--	--	--

Another quote:

“we must (,,,) consider that apart from the motives of religion, homeland, State, constitution and dynasty (,,,) there is the reason (,,,) of subsistence; that, from this point of view, each individual, member of one or other of the nations at war, feels his property threatened, and becomes not only the defender of himself and his property (,,,) but a claimant on the freedom and property of the foreigner; consequently, war, which is just on both sides, as long as it is considered from the political point of view, becomes, from the economic point of view, equally and reciprocally immoral.

Proudhon wrote his founding text of polemology 'War and Peace' while in exile in Belgium. It inspired Tolstoy to write his own book with the same title and made him dramatically change his life. This book is one of the many ways in which Proudhon made an impact that lasts until today. Jeanne Duprat wrote some interesting texts about him. Bart de Ligt provided an introduction for the Dutch translation, where he compares Marx and Proudhon.

# Causes of War?

Systemic causes of war: STATE + CAPITALISM + IDEOLOGY

The State is at the same time *producer and defender of privilege*

Nationalism is one example of '*ideology*', as is religion, Marxism, liberalism, fascism, etc

The dynamic is always:

**(CAPITALISM)** *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 that need protection (= **STATE**)

Exploitation and competition *externalized* when the concentration is too strong and the local production base is unable to survive and produce + when local consumption (i.e: profit, surplus value, etc)

==> 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, 'christianization', 'civilizing', etc) + **materialism, selfishness, etc of imperial workers**

==> **War and war preparation**

Militarization, debt, nationalism, need for control over labour ==> **FASCISM** (*attempt to mobilize the masses -using ideology- to serve the interests of the elites. see bolshevism*)

End of war for example exhaustion, 'Spanish Flu', refusal of people to fight, etc = '**PEACE**'

FASCISM => DEMOCRACY => FASCISM => DEMOCRACY => FASCISM =>

DEMOCRACY = WAR => PEACE=> WAR => PEACE =>WAR => PEACE =>WAR => PEACE =>WAR

Or, summarized differently, 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 phase 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!", as Bart said.

OR, OTHERWISE (read next SLIDE)

# Causes of War?

Or, otherwise:

*"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 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."*

Bart de Ligt - The Conquest of Violence (1935)



# Social defence or defence of the social revolution?

Vernon Richards re-summarized the anarchist case against militarism as tool for defence of the revolution:

*“ (...) it would result in the deformation of the armed struggle which began with a socio-revolutionary character to a national war, the outcome of which would matter only to the ruling class;*

*that militarization implies centralisation of power, the mobilisation and conscription of a whole people, and is the negation of individual freedom.”*

Gandhi: “pacifism”? Nonviolence?

*“where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence...”*

In fact another form of confusion is about the question of the defence of the revolution. There have been major discussions for example within the anarcho-syndicalist international, between de Jong and Lehning versus Huart and Besnard.

I refer to the next volumes in my 'War or Revolution' series, of which the first two are currently at the editors to prepare for publishing.

Volume three will be an anthology of anarchist antimilitarism.

Volume four will be a case study of the Spanish Revolution devolving into the Spanish Civil War, in which militarization of the columns has played a part.

The Ukrainian Makhnowtsjina, the EZLN in Chiapas and the Rojava defence forces are other examples that have been vividly debated in our circles.

I hope my work can feed those debates.

# Social defence or defence of the social revolution?

What Bart de Ligt used to call 'antimilitarism of the deed', and the methods of syndicalism that he developed into his comprehensive 'Battle Plan' has evolved, in 1 direction, into what academics call 'social defence'.

- Brian Martin: 'Social defence – social Change'
- A lot of practical insights on antimilitary struggles and alternatives in Chiapas, Rojava, Palestine, Ukraine, etc.
- The question for anarchists is: do we defend the status quo? Or do we defend the social revolution (even if there is none a.t.m.)?
  - Militarization of Spanish Revolution → Civil War → Liberation of Paris by 120 Spanish anarchists in brigade 'La Nueve' (Leclerc's 9<sup>th</sup> Armored Company, August 24, 1944) & continued its offensive into Germany (Strasbourg, Berchtesgaden, Hitler's 'Eagle's Nest' in the Bavarian Alps). At the end of the war only a handful were alive.
- In other words: "War or revolution?" has been a relevant question that different anarchists have answered differently under different circumstances.

We must decide on our goals because our strategy is determined by those goals: do we defend the status quo of bourgeois so-called 'democracy' -in fact one of the many shades of StateCapitalism- or do we defend the social revolution? And what if there is no social revolution to defend when the war breaks out? What if the general strike doesn't materialize?

The issue isn't new; it has come up in many different discussions, from antifascism like in Spain or Paris; feminism; etc.

The Spanish anarchists started an antifascist uprising against Franco's coup. The people started a revolution after decades of propaganda, resistance and uprisings. It all ended with anarchists in government and the columns incorporated in the bourgeois military. The anarchists ended up liberating Paris in 1944, only to die for the status quo and the anarchists being persecuted by bourgeois 'democracy' ever since.

The anarchist movement was divided when Kropotkin and 14 others published a manifesto in support of the 'Allies' against Germany when the general strike didn't materialize at the outbreak of World War 1, in large part because the Marxians had betrayed socialism and antimilitarism for decades, and had waged fierce propaganda against it.

So when the anarchists have not been 'pure' and mistakes have been made that we should learn from, we have no lessons to take from the Marxians, and certainly not in this matter. The Marxists have betrayed the only effective attempt to prevent fascism and war: by denying the elected Spanish government and the anarchists weapons; by sabotaging the social revolution, leading to confusion and loss of motivation; by shooting and imprisoning the anarchists; by making deals from 1938 onwards with Hitler that enabled Hitler to build his army and eventually led to the amicable partition of Poland.





Internationalism: 'Moors' in the Spanish Revolution because the colonies had not been liberated.

If peace is not 'absence of war' -as Bart de Ligt and the anarchists concluded- but justice and equality, then systemic change is the main condition for peace: systemic change.

Does that mean that all conflict, conflicting interests and violence will disappear? Not at all.

Proudhon for example believed that competition could be beneficial – and impossible to avoid altogether. He thought the same for war: he wanted to transform competition and war into a dialectically different plane: that of production and collaboration. In fact Proudhon, Bart de Ligt and many others accepted that war has also had brought progress in certain fields, even cultural development. But that modern, total war (including civil war) that starts with the Jacobins and Napoleon was too destructive to be beneficial – indeed the Jacobins and Napoleon had turned every war into a civil war that dragged whole societies into the bloodbath.

Proudhon would undoubtedly agree with the slogan "No justice = No Peace." In fact that is the very shortest summary of his book 'On War and Peace'.

"Against their war – against their peace" is an anarchist slogan that many could agree on.

# Victimhood, compliance and complicity? Workers, materialism, women, etc

In order to 'fight where you stand', you need to know where you stand, your place and role in the system – and therefore your responsibility::

- Accentuating the 'innocence' means accentuating powerlessness and passivity. For example "There is no ethical consumption under capitalism."
- Accentuating individual 'guilt' means paralyzing people into their 'identity', i.e. their perceived role and function. It often triggers pushback.

Example: Nieuwenhuis and Bart de Ligt saw a special, fundamental role for women.

AEIOU (Industrial Workers of the World – IWW: Agitate, Educate, Inoculate, Organize, Unite):  
'identity' as point of attachment for Agitation: feeling of injustice, understanding, trigger, emotion, egoism, etc as starting point and motivation for resistance.

- Privilege,
- class reductionism 'versus' identity politics,
- identity → intersectionality → revolutionary solidarity.

While none of us are innocent, some are obviously more guilty than others. We need to know ourselves, our place in the machine. We need to understand the system and our roles in it.

In the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) the acronym AEIOU, knowing ourselves and the reasons for our anger and sense of injustice, is our main source of energy, especially when we just get involved in a movement.

AGITATE – EDUCATE – INOCCULATE – ORGANIZE – UNITE/UNIONIZE

Secondly it's important to be aware of our own privileges and traumas for a number of reasons. It helps us identify who we may feel more comfortable with, which can be useful in specific situations but may not in other situations. For example because it creates bias and prejudice. Some people may feel uncomfortable with us because of our background and identity. (By the way 'worker', 'working class' and 'proletarian' are just the original 'identity politics', so most of the conflict between 'class reductionism' and 'identity politics' is a strawman argument.) People feeling uncomfortable doesn't mean we should avoid contact per sé – just that we need to be aware and take the fact into account.

It's clear that parts of the working class is instrumental to maintain the system, by defending it against other parts of the same class. The same is true for all social vault lines and divisions. Revolutionary solidarity is the only way to get out of the treadmill, with so-called 'intersectionality' as a potential bridge between identity and solidarity.

## Anarchism and violence?

- All anarchists agree that less violence is better.
- Anarchists disagree on:
  - What is violence? What is militarism?
  - Is revolution possible without violence?
  - Is revolution possible with violence?
  - How do non/violence protect the state?
  -
- “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.”

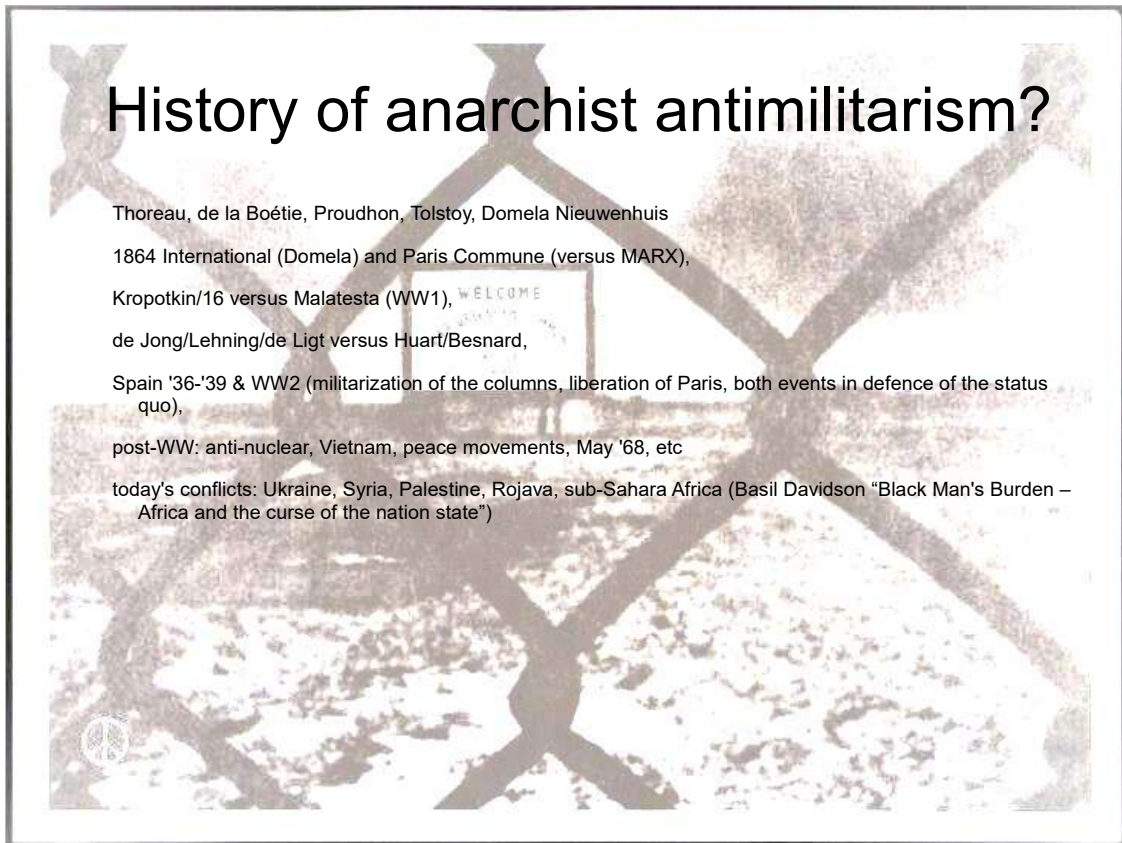
— Gustav Landauer

Another old tactical debate among anarchists is on the subject of 'violence'. Even definitions are not always shared and so discussions prove to be confusing and often this; debate on tactics is mistaken for a strategic or even a moral dichotomy.

I'm not here to solve this matter once and for all with a quick fix. Personally I'm not an unconditional pacifist, and I find it absurd to make blanket statements and dogma's about other people in their own context, with their own options and realities, etc.

But let me start with offering some ideas that all anarchists can basically agree on rather than widening the gap:

- I'm inspired by how the IAMV has combined forces in the past, as anarcho-syndicalists have always done
- Most of our work is nonviolent; it's absurd to say that any and every nonviolent act 'protects the state' as some have claimed. Clearly some nonviolence protects the state, as some violence obviously does as well.
- Less violence is better.
- You can't blow up a social relationship: Landauer said “One can throw a brick through a pane of glass etc);
- All anarchists have made mistakes and we should learn from them



Anarchist antimilitarism is as old as anarchism itself and is an integral part of it.

Even about class war, most anarchists agree with the slogan "We didn't start the class war, we're here to end it!" rather than an eternal war fetishism.

It would lead us too far to go deeper into this subject. I can announce that I'm working on an anthology of anarchist antimilitarism (volume three of my series on 'War or Revolution') and a fourth volume on a case study on the Spanish Revolution and its militarization, with translations of discussions in and around the IWA-AIT at the time, including Bart de Ligt, de Jong, Alexander Schapiro, André Prudhommeaux, the Spanish CNT and many others in the French, Dutch and Belgian anarchist press.

# WAR OR REVOLUTION

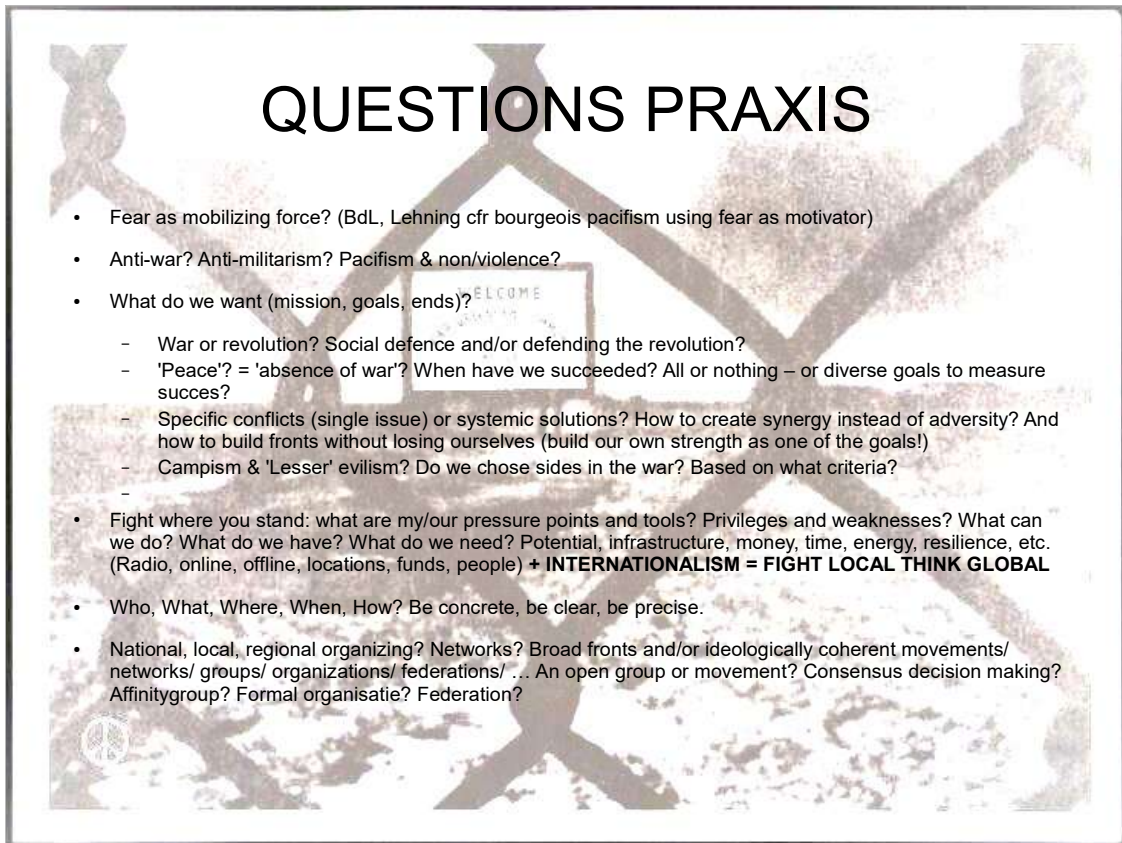
- Are there any questions about what has been said before now before we move on to the practical side of the discussion?
- Please be brief. Clarifying questions only – the faster we move on the more time there will be for exchange and discussion.

Q & A on theory



This first part of my talk is dedicated to a more theoretical and historic overview, followed by a second part that will focus on practical aspects of our task at hand.

My first ambition is to ask a lot of questions from an anarchist perspective; questions that I think each of us should answer for ourselves and each other.



I've listed a number of questions of my own, that I think the anarchist and antimilitarist movement needs to answer, both individually and collectively. The questions are largely based on the theoretical part of today's workshop, and I'm sure some of my answers will be apparent.

They're listed in no particular order and as I said don't have easy, clear-cut answers to offer. If that were possible and beneficial, it would take us hours more of me speaking. I may try to publish my own answers in the future, but I think it should first of all be a dynamic, social effort within a multitude of specific circumstances – not general dogma's.

At best my answers could offer some ideas about me and my own reality that would need to be adapted by each and everyone anyway. What we need is a flexible and effective praxis without installing some new blueprint to consume or leaders to follow.

That said, everyone should answer these questions for themselves (and add their own questions) in order to find people that can agree on what to do and how to do it. None of us can do everything so we all have choices to make, and goals and boundaries to set.

I'd be happy to help people and groups in more practical workshops on organizing. Please contact me and read the books that will soon be published.

# QUESTIONS PRAXIS

- Who are we? Anarchists? Revolutionaries? Antimilitarists? Proletarians? Etc.
- Who are our allies and enemies? (Bourgeois 'pacifism' including Marxians, WRI-IRG, representatives of people in both attacked and attacking countries, local syndicalists and syndicalist internationals, etc)?
- Campism: "Powerful states can maintain themselves only by crime, little states are virtuous only by weakness" - Mikhail Bakunin
- Spearheads and target groups: producers/proles, intellectuals, military, women, machismo, parents, educators, children
- What about other 'single issue' struggles? Feminism, antifascism, anticolonialism, ecology, campist 'national liberation/defence', panis et circensem/materialist egoism/class reductionism (unions, yellow-vests, etc)
- Practical examples: networks with specific messages (speeches, discussions, workshops, etc), action training, literature and theory, actions and campaigns, handbook for draft refusers/conscious objectors/legal advice, strong stories and history (see further on), websites, songs and music, Youtube/TikTok/...,
- Solidarity? Identity? Intersectionality?
- (Your questions???)
  - ...
  - ...
  - ...



# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

"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 examples 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 - INTRO TO "BATTLE PLAN AGAINST WAR AND WAR PREPARATION"

The Plan has two main parts:

- A. In Peace Time, and
- B. In Time of Mobilization and War,

both subdivided in:

- Direct **Individual** Action
- Direct **Collective** Action

As one of the historic attempts to answer most of these questions I want to present Bart de Ligt's 'Battle Plan against War and War Preparation' that he presented before the 1934 Congress of the War Resisters' International in Wewyn.

This isn't the time or place to go over all the details and specific examples in the Battle Plan. Each person must analyze their own possible leverage. I refer to my books and website for more background and material.

The plan can easily be adapted used by individuals and groups as a toolbox and checklist that needs to be completed, evaluated and put to use. As Bart de Ligt says it's up to everyone to decide for themselves what tool should be used in their situation with their own specific abilities. In fact mutliple groups have done just that each in their own way and time.

But I do want to glance over it with you, and zoom in on some specific points.

The 'Battle Plan' has two main parts:

- A. In Peace Time, and
- B. In Time of Mobilization and War,

both subdivided in:

- Direct **Individual** Action
- Direct **Collective** Action

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan



This is a picture of a poster that the Battle Plan has been printed on – useful for organizers to hand out, put up or use in meetings and gatherings. One of the practical things that we could easily do these days. I have an example of an A4 printable example on [www.militarism.org](http://www.militarism.org) for you to download and adapt.

Part B. In time of war is further-on in the presentation.

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

## A. IN PEACE TIME

### I. Direct INDIVIDUAL Action

#### A. Refusal of Military Service

As Conscript. As soldier or sailor. As reservist. As citizen called to arms (manoeuvres, against strikers or other social conflicts)

**B. Refusal of non-combatant military work** (Red Cross, Army Medical Corps – all by their nature equally subordinated to the military system)

**C. Anti-militarist propaganda at every occasion in Army & Navy** to create nuclei of resistance and liaison between these and the anti-militarist movement; aimed at mass refusal of orders

**D. Refusal of industrial, technical and social service:** making war materials, ammunition; taking part in military aviation; constructing barracks and fortifications; making military clothing and boots; making optical instruments, instruments of precision, etc destined for war purposes; typesetting for printed articles, pamphlets, books, manifestoes, tracts, etc of a distinctly military, militarist, jingoist or imperialist tendency; making military toys; handling, forwarding or transporting anything that is used for war and its preparation; etc

**E. Refusal to put trade at the service of war** (as employer or as employee): banks, co-operatives, publishers, clothing trade, shops for technical/optical/precision instruments; bookshops; bazaars (children's toys); etc

#### F. Refusal to pay taxes

**G. Refusal to put up soldiers billeted on you** (or receive them hospitably and welcome them with judicious anti-militarist propaganda while using the indemnity for anti-war propaganda)

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

## H. Refusal of intellectual and moral service:

### 1. Abstentionist methods:

**a. Direct** (i.e. refusal to undertake research, draw plans, and refusal to direct any technical or intellectual work of preparation for war)  
As physicist, chemist, bacteriologist, civil engineer, technician, speaker/orator/broadcaster, etc

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

1. as *parents*,
  - a. by keeping children as far away as possible from all nationalist, militarist, jingoist and imperialist influence
  - b. by refusing to hand minors over to the State for the purpose of training or service
2. as *schoolmaster, teacher and professor*, by refusing to educate youth in a nationalist, imperialist and militarist spirit
3. as *journalist, publicist, lecturer or literator*, by refusing to influence public opinion in a nationalist, militarist or imperialist spirit, by participating in modern politico-economic life, etc
4. as *religious or moral leader*, by refusing to sanctify or 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 *lawyer*, 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 the starting point of world history by elevating it as the chosen one above any other nation; and by refusing to exclusively glorify one's own race
8. as *artist*, by refusing to place one's services at the disposal of nationalism, militarism and imperialism
9. as *sociologist*, by exposing and challenging nationalism, militarism, imperialism, pride of race, etc
10. as *medic, doctor, psychologist or psychiatrist*, by revealing the unconscious and subconscious tendencies which prepare for war, the retrograde character of military discipline and by demonstrating that modern war is an odious crime against life, the physical, moral and mental health of mankind as well as contrary to aesthetic sensibility (millions of dead, mutilated, unbalanced, sexual illnesses, consequences of malnourishment, tuberculosis, etc)
11. as *philosopher*, by exposing all forms of dogmatism and absolutism, especially in the field of the history of civilization, or religion and of comparative philosophy
12. **by organizing effectively from the points of view of science, propaganda and action in respect to the aims mentioned above, and by associating on a federalist basis with other organizations for direct action against war and its preparation**

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

## 2. Constructive methods:

**a. Direct** (i.e. the endeavour to reserve for the service of peace and human civilization those technical and intellectual inventions that are also useful for warfare; the endeavour not to pervert science in its applications): see H 1 a.

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

1. *as parents,*

a. by living as harmoniously as possible, inspired by a truly universal spirit (the home atmosphere exercising a capital influence on youth)

b. by educating youth as free and broad-mindedly as possible, by awakening in youth a sense of respect for others, love for the inorganic and organic kingdoms (plants, animals and humanity); by awakening sympathy for foreign peoples and races; by awakening the sentiment of social justice and admiration for all forms of

courage and heroism, even in war – by a constant direction of attention of the new generation to that which rises above all violence.

c. by sending children to schools where they receive modern and up-to-date instruction in the widest possible sense (and establish such schools where they don't exist yet), remaining in constant communication with the teachers, the parents of other pupils and the pupils themselves by taking part in parents' circles, teacher' 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 mind, seeking to maintain regular contact with the parents.

3. *as journalist, publicist, lecturer or iterator,* 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 towards mankind in general, 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 towards a new civilization, giving them confidence in the method of non-violent struggle.

6. *as lawyer,* 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.

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

7. *as historian*, by taking universal life as a starting point, accentuating the qualities of every nation and race, demonstrating the relations and influence which they have with and upon others; showing the existence of an undeniable tendency in history towards a social life which would be equally free as varied, offering to every individual the greatest possibility of free development

8. *as artists*, 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 rise above the state of violence and barbarism

10. *as medic, doctor, 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 channeling and sublimating the instincts and passions which formerly found their external 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 mutually complement each other

b. by making universalism a force of social dynamic

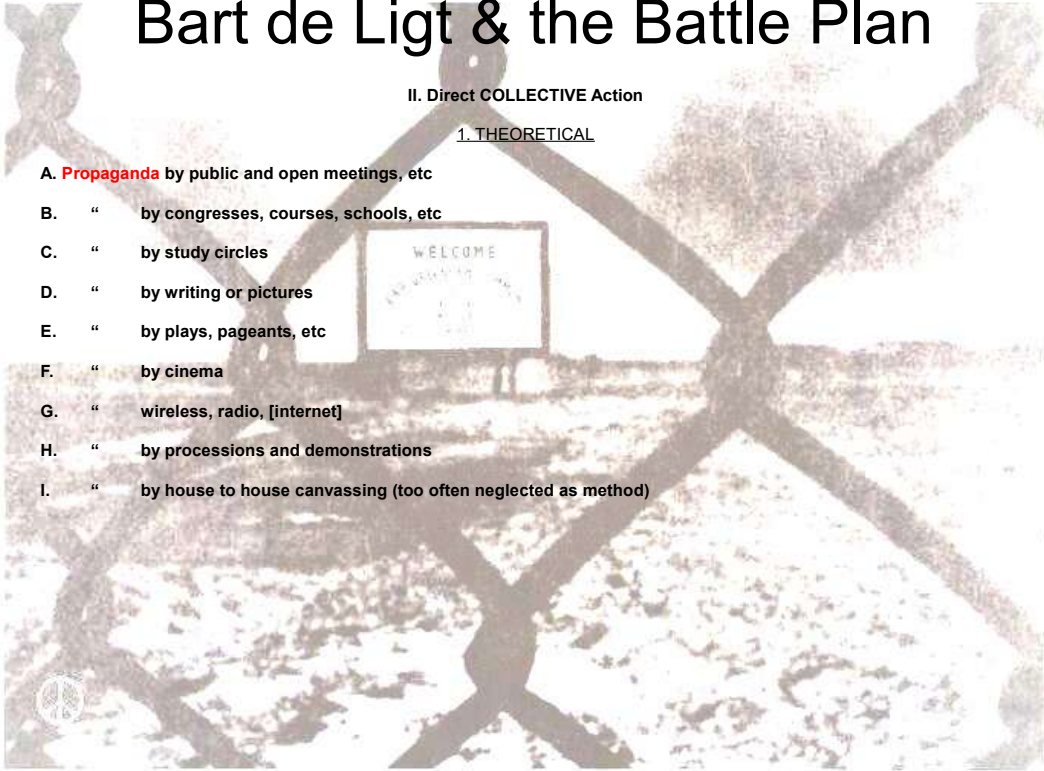
12. **by organizing effectively from the points of view of science, propaganda and action in respect to the aims mentioned above, and by associating on a federalist basis with other organizations for direct action against war and its preparation**

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

## II. Direct COLLECTIVE Action

### 1. THEORETICAL

- A. **Propaganda** by public and open meetings, etc
- B. “ by congresses, courses, schools, etc
- C. “ by study circles
- D. “ by writing or pictures
- E. “ by plays, pageants, etc
- F. “ by cinema
- G. “ wireless, radio, [internet]
- H. “ by processions and demonstrations
- I. “ by house to house canvassing (too often neglected as method)



# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

## II. Direct COLLECTIVE Action

### 1. THEORETICAL

#### J. Youth organizations:

1. Children: do not moralize; copy what is useful 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. Womens' organizations:

Mainly necessary where women do not yet -or have only for a short time- taken any interest in social questions, and where they require special education in connection with their maternal and social functions. The central idea here must be *their responsibility towards the new generation* in respect of physical, moral and intellectual health; it is of the greatest importance that women become conscious of the fact that -in modern war- the industrial, intellectual and social work of women behind the frontline 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% of the mobilized men have to be replaced by women, and that the production of ammunitions etc would be paralysed without the constant collaboration of millions of women.



# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

M. Antimilitarist propaganda in Army and Navy (see I. C.)

N. **Special propaganda amongst the workers**, adapted to every kind of trade, especially *those of first necessity for 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 their own terrain- in order to undermine and prevent war by refusing to serve and by systematic and reasonable **sabotage (\*)**:

1. Transport - goods, material, people:

By rail, bus, car, tram, boat, plane, animal, people

2. Minerals:

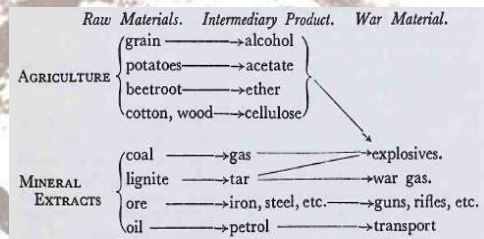
Coal, iron, lead, aluminium, zinc, tin, nickel, mercury, copper, manganese, sulphur, pyrite, tungsten, chrome, antimony, graphite, mica, etc etc

3. Iron and Steel industries (engines of war material, ammunitions, etc)

4. Chemical industry (toxic gasses, etc)

5. Mineral oils, petroleum, heavy oils, petrol (gasoline), wells, refineries, pipelines, tanks, etc

6. Alcohols, cotton, wool, rubber, leather, etc etc



# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

## 2. PRACTICAL

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H: See I. A – H above

**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, linked to special anti-militarist events** (like the 1921 movement in the Netherlands on the occasion of the hunger strike by 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 aimed at the immediate abolishing of the laws on the right of countries to declare war**

**N. Unarmed mass opposition to the imprisonment of objectors** in towns and villages, and organization of demonstrations, meetings, protest strikes, etc related to such injustices

**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 life.

**Q. Creation of funds in aid** for 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.

**R. Compelling the governments to renounce all forms of national defence** (if f.e. 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.

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

**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.

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

**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 of the 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 to forestall 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 of humanity, 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.

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

## PLAN OF CAMPAIGN AGAINST ALL WAR AND ALL PREPARATION FOR WAR

This plan for the mobilization of all citizens is based on only kind of organization, consisting of committees or associations, which are organized in order to carry out the plan. The committees are organized in order to carry out the plan. They are interested in order that individuals and institutions may become conscious of the resources possibilities within their reach today, to make all and every war impossible. The mass mentioned below should especially enable men to put into the service of their own fight their resources of energy, initiative and courage.

### B. IN TIME OF MOBILISATION AND WAR

#### III. Direct INDIVIDUAL Action to make War impossible

- A. Refusal of military service
- B. Refusal of conscription unless sent to the front or the Home Medical Corps which look out for their own maintenance in the home country
- C. Men never should go to the front unless they are sent there and the Home Medical Corps should be organized in order to carry out the plan
- D. Refusal of military service and military service
- E. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- F. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- G. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- H. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- I. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- J. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- K. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- L. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- M. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- N. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- O. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- P. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- Q. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- R. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- S. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- T. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- U. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- V. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- W. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- X. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- Y. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- Z. Refusal to work in the armaments industry

#### IV. Direct COLLECTIVE Action to make War impossible

- A. Refusal of conscription unless sent to the front or the Home Medical Corps which look out for their own maintenance in the home country
- B. Men never should go to the front unless they are sent there and the Home Medical Corps should be organized in order to carry out the plan
- C. Refusal of military service and military service
- D. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- E. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- F. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- G. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
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- W. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- X. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- Y. Refusal to work in the armaments industry
- Z. Refusal to work in the armaments industry

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

## 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:**

*refusal to collaborate in the establishment of places where people would allegedly be protected against poisoned gasses*

*refusal to produce gas masks*

*refusal to collaborate in manoeuvres for passive or active defence against air strikes*

*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.

We need to identify trigger points for certain initiatives. As an as such -by definition- open, horizontal and predictable movement (although specific groups and specific tasks must be as secure as possible) we are incapable of sudden commands ordering deployment.

This has obvious disadvantages like difficulty to be flexible; predictability and therefore adversaries who can adapt their strategies to either avoid or provoke our triggers.

But there are advantages as well, like being possible deterrents for our adversaries not to cross certain lines in the sand.

But the alternative, a closed and hierarchic vanguard is not a viable option according to me.

On the other hand we must prepare people for all kinds of reaction without creating paranoia and fear. The IWW would call this 'Inoculation' against repression and pushback both individually and collectively. For example propaganda, people losing their jobs, harassment and arrest, ostracism, etc

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

## **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 :*

as physicist, as chemist, as bacteriologist, as civil engineer, as technician, 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 1 b and 2 b.)

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.

# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

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.

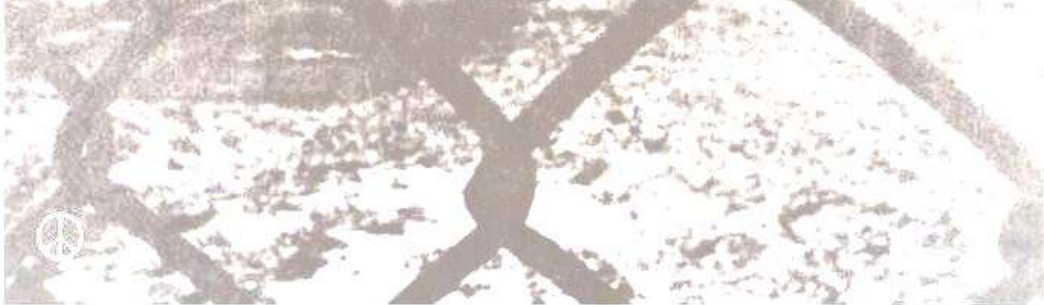
L. Render useless for mobilization and war the telephone, telegraph, wireless, etc.

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.





# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

## 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).



# Bart de Ligt & the Battle Plan

**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).**

 <h1 style="text-align: center;">Gene Sharp – Social Defence</h1> 		
<b>198 Methods of (Non/violent) Action</b> <i>From Gene Sharp 'The Politics of Nonviolent Action' (3 Vols.) Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973:</i>		
<b>Methods of Nonviolent Protest and Persuasion</b>  <b>Formal Statements</b> 1. Public speeches 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 <b>Group Representations</b> 13. Deputations 14. Mock awards 15. Group lobbying 16. Picketing 17. Mock elections <b>Symbolic Public Acts</b> 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 <b>Pressures on Individuals</b> 31. "Haunting" officials 32. Taunting officials 33. Fraternalization	34. Vigils <b>Drama and Music</b> 35. Humorous skits and pranks 36. Performances of plays and music 37. Singing <b>Processions</b> 38. Marches 39. Parades 40. Religious processions 41. Pilgrimages 42. Motorcades <b>Honoring the Dead</b> 43. Political mourning 44. Mock funerals 45. Demonstrative funerals 46. Homage at burial places <b>Public Assemblies</b> 47. Assemblies of protest or support 48. Protest meetings 49. Camouflaged meetings of protest 50. Teach-ins <b>Withdrawal and Renunciation</b> 51. Walk-outs 52. Silence 53. Renouncing honors 54. Turning one's back  <b>Methods of Social Noncooperation</b>  <b>Ostracism of Persons</b> 55. Social boycott 56. Selective social boycott 57. Lysistratic nonaction [sex strike] 58. Excommunication 59. Interdict <b>Noncooperation with Social Events, Customs, and Institutions</b> 60. Suspension of social and sports activities 61. Boycott of social affairs 62. Student strike 63. Social disobedience 64. Withdrawal from social institutions <b>Withdrawal from the Social System</b> 65. Stay-at-home 66. Total personal noncooperation 67. "Flight" of workers	68. Sanctuary 69. Collective disappearance 70. Protest emigration (hijrat)  <b>Methods of Economic Noncooperation: Economic Boycotts</b>  <b>Actions by Consumers</b> 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 <b>Action by Workers and Producers</b> 78. Workmen's boycott 79. Producers' boycott <b>Action by Middlemen</b> 80. Suppliers' and handlers' boycott <b>Action by Owners and Management</b> 81. Traders' boycott 82. Refusal to let or sell property 83. Lockout 84. Refusal of industrial assistance 85. Merchants' "general strike" <b>Action by Holders of Financial Resources</b> 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 <b>Action by Governments</b> 92. Domestic embargo 93. Blacklisting of traders 94. International sellers' embargo 95. International buyers' embargo 96. International trade embargo  <b>Methods of Economic Noncooperation: The Strike</b>  <b>Symbolic Strikes</b> 97. Protest strike

More recently, the relay has been taken by academic circles, who have both clarified Bart's Plan and made it digestible. But the subversivity has also been cleaned up to a large extent.

Still I would advise people to read and follow the more interesting debates in circles of what is now known as 'social defence'. There is a list of further reading on [www.antimilitarism.org](http://www.antimilitarism.org). Brian Martin is one of the main names to remember in this context, especially his books 'Social Defence, Social Change' and 'Uprooting War'.

# Gene Sharp – Social Defence

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

## 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

## 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

All these methods focus on non-violent methods, but non-violence is not the defining element here. Strikes often involve 'violence' for example. Most anarchists focus on effectivity and efficiency to minimize violence as much as possible because of the inherently centralizing effects and to accentuate what every one of us can do. Not on moral rejection of people who make other choices.

# Perspectives today & tomorrow

**Goals: Starts with a clear Mission (statement); is not 'all or nothing'.**

→ Strategic (3 components: underground: survival, defensive, offensive)

For example: See Bart's last remark under IV. O.: "The collective opposition to war should be converted into Social Revolution (...)"

- *Minimum:*

- inspiring and preparing for the next generations and the next war;
- preserving sub/culture, information, theory, practice, examples, stories
- Gathering and spreading and studying tactics (Vietcong, YPG-J, Chiapas, Spanish anarchist Columns, Makhnowtsjina, social defence)

- *Medium:*

- preparing cells of resistance (cfr WW2, Vietcong, etc)
- Increasing mental and social resilience (cfr Ukraine, Gaza/Palestine,
- Networks: civil protection services, workers, feminist and anti-racist organizations, teachers,
- Building protective underground shelters, preparing decentralized economy and services (electricity, media, etc);

- *Maximum:*

- Stop war, build movement and unleash the social revolution.

→ Tactical: syndicalism? Insurrection? violence? etc

→ Operational: Timelines, Who/What/When/Why/Where+How

**Internal (Strengths & Weaknesses) ↔ External (Allies & enemies - network, Opportunities, Threats)**

**Means = Ends**

**AEIOU: Agitate – Educate – Inoculate – Organize - Unite**

**Identity → Intersectionality → Revolutionary Solidarity**

	SURVIVAL / 'UNDERGROUND'	DEFENSE	OFFENSE		
<b>AGITATE</b>	- KNOW WHO YOU ARE - SKILLS . self-defense . mental/emotional/physical wellbeing . roleplay, training, 1-on-1 talks, . public viewings and debates . lay-out skills, graffiti, pre-press, . bookbinding, screenprinting... . journalism, photography . use of internet, ... !!!	- Study and 'own' your outlook on the world. . KNOW what you mean . MEAN what you know Develop countermeasures for pushbacks and setbacks. Feed the fire: read, talk, love, live.	Agitating by example, word, writing, drawing... Address people by connecting with the way they are oppressed: let them tell how that feels and let them offer solutions from within their emotions. Let them speak and connect with what they say. Don't over-theorize/generalize. Stay with them.	<b>MEANS</b>	
<b>EDUCATE</b>  <b>+ INNOCULATE</b>	- Gathering information, tools,... . Saving . Distributing - Mental/emotional/physical wellbeing - Durable 'activism'	Focus on activating ourselves, not others. We are not vanguards and not leaders. Be open for others and people who think differently: with part of them we want to connect: we want to invite without converting them or saving them. Study your opponents and prepare for pushbacks: theoretically, mentally, organizationally, emotionally, socially, ...	- Get out there . on social media and fora . anarchist media . IRL - gatherings, rallies,... - Actively participate in making information available for everyone: knowledge is power - and power corrupts even the best of us. Mind the silent bystanders trying to figure out what's going on. Be open for them without 'saving' them, bullying, degrading, - start with 'Agitate' and connect with their story...		<b>MUST RELATE TO</b>
<b>ORGANISE</b>  <b>+ UNIONIZE</b>  <b>(AEIOU)</b>	. AFFINITY GROUP(S) political and apolitical . 'official'/'backup'/underground persona(e) . survival: financial, housing, etc (paid work, cooperatives, squatting, food not bombs, ...)	SOCIAL DEFENSE SOLIDARITY NETWORK(S) . single issues (... class war, peace/anti-war, gender, feminism, racism, ecology, work,...) ==> look for intersections in order to find real solutions and build broader movements . syndicalism & solidarity network(s) . defending 'civil liberties' & 'human rights' . social defense . legal aid . black bloc / mass protest . libertarian municipalism / counter institutions / councilism . federations . revolts & insurrections Confront your opponents, support your companion@s.	SOCIAL CHANGE Tools: all of the others and more but with a clear coherence and with an attempt to gain territory. No tactic or tool will be 'enough' in itself to bring about the giant revolution that we need - we're all in this together. Together we stand. In the event of a collapse of state/capitalism, we might have a chance to actually win and change the game. In this case beware of (red and brown !) fascism and all other authoritarians who want to fill the power vacuum: they are the counter-revolution.		
	<b>IDENTITY</b>	<b>INTERSECTIONALITY</b>	<b>REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY</b>		

This is just an example of the '4 AXES' exercise.

First step is a MISSION, then Strategic, Tactical and Operational Goals or Ends

Then an analysis of:

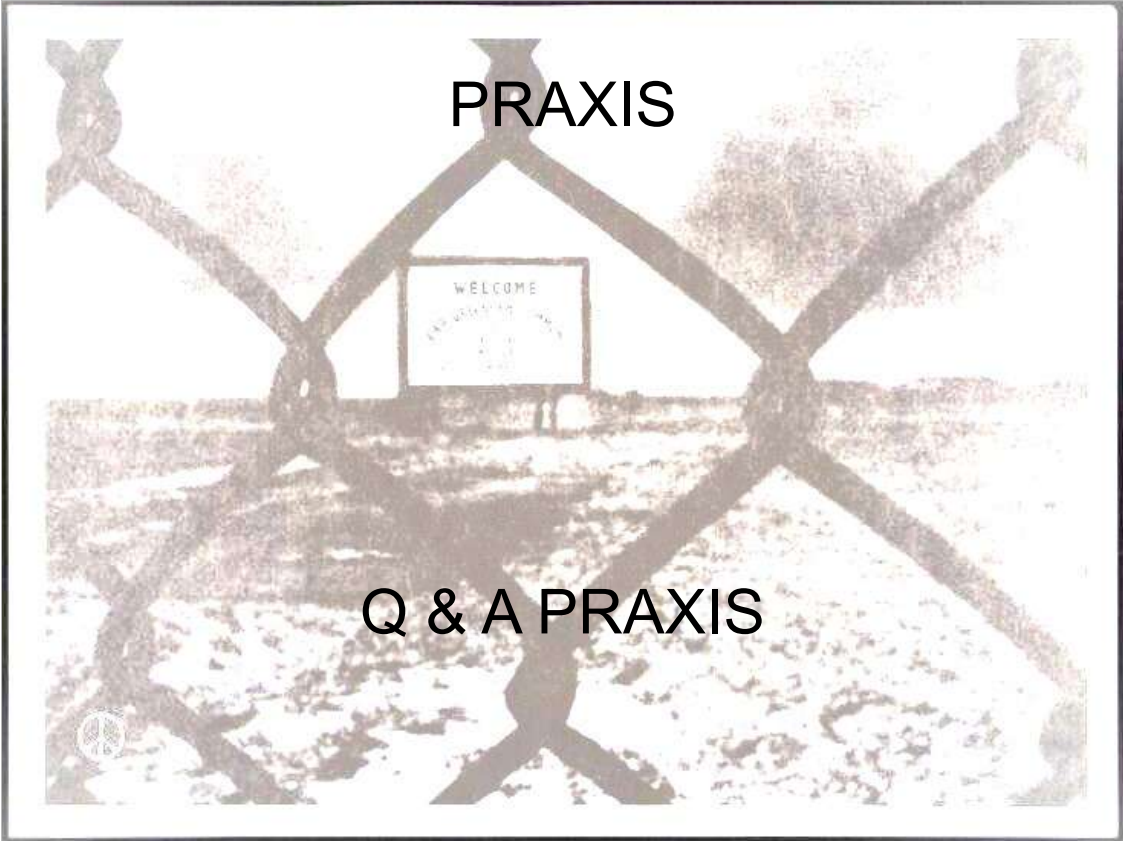
- External: Zeitgeist, Network analysis (friends, enemies, etc)
- Internal: self-analysis of yourself and your movement

	<b>SURVIVAL / 'UNDERGROUND'</b>	<b>DEFENSE</b>	<b>OFFENSE</b>	
<b>AGITATE</b>				<b>MEANS</b>
<b>EDUCATE</b>				<b>MUST RELATE TO</b>
<b>ORGANISE</b>				<b>ENDS</b>
	<b>IDENTITY</b>	<b>INTERSECTIONALITY</b>	<b>REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY</b>	

4 AXIS EXERCISE  
 one of the tools for a practical  
 workshop that I can offer.

PRAXIS

Q & A PRAXIS





PRAXIS



Sources, further reading, etc  
[WWW.ANTIMILITARISM.ORG](http://WWW.ANTIMILITARISM.ORG)



PRAXIS

**THANK YOU!!!!!**

DISCUSSION, FURTHER PLANS