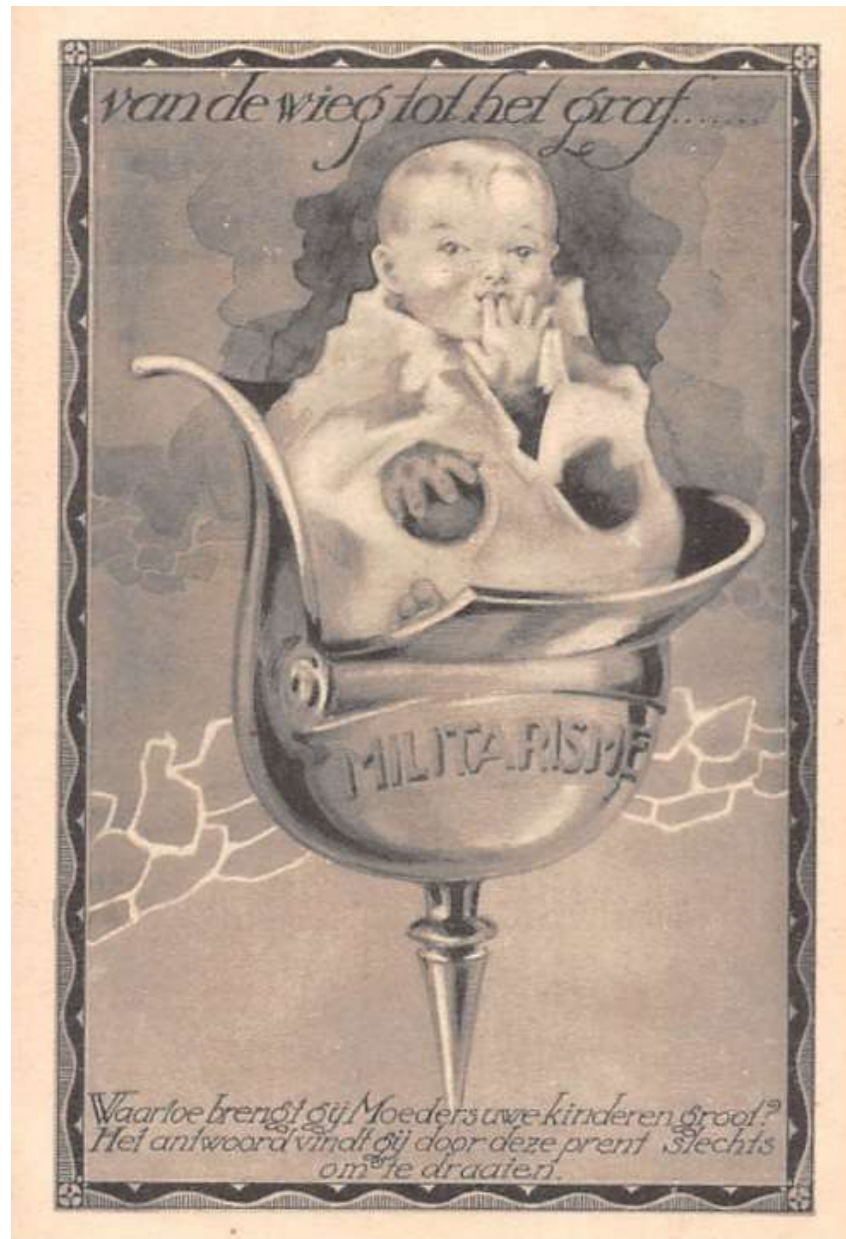


Mobilisation against War!

* 100 Minutes Speech (Welwyn, 1934)

* Battle Plan against War and War Preparation

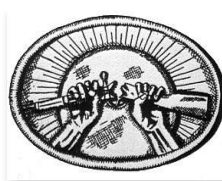
Bart de Ligt (1934)



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“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

“There is no reason at all to become the defeatists of peace! Even if the governments were capable of pushing millions of men and women into a new big war, it is more than likely that those mobilized, appalled by the horrors of the scientific war, would soon recede from so-called national defence and the desperation of the peoples would turn into uprising and revolution. This possibility is the first reason why even the most belligerent governments currently hesitate to start new wars. Because they know very well that a new war would be an extremely dangerous undertaking in which they risk everything”

~ Bart de Ligt, '100 Minutes Speech'

Image frontpage: WWI postcard 'From the cradle to the grave... Mothers, what are you raising your children for?'

Original: Bart de Ligt – 'Mobilisatie tegen den oorlog!', Brochurendepot der Internationale Anti-Militaristische Vereeniging, 1934

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FURTHER READING:

SEE www.antimilitarism.org

J/M (Pépé) - <https://anarchyisorder.org/onewebmedia/Anarchy%20is%20order%20-%20our%20Anarchist%20cookbook.pdf>

IWW - Weakening the dam + Seasol: 'Build your own solidarity network'

Ewald Shawn - Anarchy in Action

Brian Martin: 'Social Defence – Social Change' + 'Uprooting War'

Bart de Ligt: (ed. & transl J/M): Battle Plan + Conquest in ConTexts (Just Books Belfast)

Howard Clark, 'Making nonviolent revolution' (and his other writings)

Introduction to the original Dutch edition (1934).

We publish¹ the '*Battle Plan against war and war preparation*' and the accompanying famous '*100 minutes speech*'² by Bart de Ligt that he delivered on July 29, 1934 on the triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International [W.R.I.] in Welwyn, Hertfordshire, England under presidency of Lord Arthur Ponsonby, one of the bravest English pacifists, former Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, leader of the opposition in the House of Commons and author of "Now is the Time" in 1925.

Delegates of the affiliated organisations from 22 out of 27 countries attended at the conference, while messages of sympathy came in from all over the world.

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

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

A Dutch edition has already been published in Antwerpen (Belgium) in an extra edition of 'Nooit Meer!'³ with an introduction by Frans Arijns. It also contains an account of the whole Conference and the complete opening speech by Lord Ponsonby. Of great importance are also the accounts of the speeches by Reginald A. Reynolds about 'Pitfalls for pacifists' and by A. Fenner Brockway on 'Pacifisme en klassenstrijd'⁴

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

About the importance of the whole Conference, please see the article 'Nieuwe Oriëntering in de WRI' by 'Observator', published in de Persdienst IAK No 151, ed. Albert de Jong, Haarlem and reprinted a.o. in 'Bevrijding' of January 1935.⁵⁶

1 Edition: Brochurendepot der Internationale Anti-Militaristische Vereeniging - IAMV [Brochure Depot of the International Anti-Militarist Coalition]. Yellow markings by Translator.

2 [https://anarchief.org/wiki/De_Ligt,_Bart_-_Mobilisatie_tegen_de_oorlog!\(1934\)](https://anarchief.org/wiki/De_Ligt,_Bart_-_Mobilisatie_tegen_de_oorlog!(1934))

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

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

5 <https://www.delpher.nl/nl/tijdschriften/objectsearch/pagejump?identificatie=MMKB16:003986001:mpeg21&coll=ds&query=&cql%5B%5D=%28volumeYear+gte+%221935%22%29&cql%5B%5D=%28volumeYear+lte+%221936%22%29&cql%5B%5D=%28alternative+all+%22Bevrijding%22%29&sortfield=date&resultsjump=1&rowid=1> page 9 and following

6 <https://antimilitarism.org/links-further-reading/albert-de-jong-observator-new-orientation-in-the-wri-bevrijding-1935-01/>

A. MOBILISATION AGAINST WAR! ('100 Minutes Speech')

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

1. Necessity of systematic struggle against war.

Comrades!

We live in a time of questionable degeneration. Since the beginning of history, the peoples have never before armed themselves like since the start of the Disarmament Conference⁷. In every civilized country, the methods of scientific warfare -chemical, bacteriological, electrotechnical- are systematically developed and enormous national mobilisations are prepared, that will involve men as well as women and youth, to effectively wage what is already called 'la guerre totale', the total war. It is a time of overcivilized barbarity.

Just years ago the resistance seemed to grow strongly everywhere against this gruesome development. But you know that this resistance has weakened significantly since the fascist mindset has spread from country to country like a contagious disease. The chances for a new world war -of which the consequences would be even more appalling than of the one that broke out precisely 20 years ago- increase daily. All the more reason why we need to increase our efforts tenfold in order to prevent a global bloodbath, and ultimately to make it impossible.

Let's not forget that in spite of everything, our anti-militarism is far from a lost cause. There is no reason at all to become the defeatists of peace! Even if the governments were capable of pushing millions of men and women into a new big war, it is more than likely that those mobilized, appalled by the horrors of the scientific war, would soon recede from so-called national defence and the desperation of the peoples would turn into uprising and revolution. This possibility is the first reason why even the most belligerent governments **currently hesitate to start new wars**. Because they know very well that a new war would be an extremely dangerous undertaking in which they risk everything, and that the result would probably be what is called 'the bolshevication of the whole world' in those circles.

Let's not forget as well that, in spite of everything, in several countries the war resistance still grows and that our cause is stronger than ever before.

Even so **the weakness of our struggle** lays mainly in the fact that -while in militarist circles there is activity day and night, publicly and secretly, to set up plans and methods to wage the war as effectively as possible- the anti-militarist movement has not been able to put up equivalent organizational strength and as yet still hasn't set up a system of mobilization that is equally effective and comprehensive. It is high time to remedy this! There is also a special reason why we have to direct our attention to the practical side of war resisting: the **modern youth** has had it with vague and edifying declarations; it demands specific moral and technical guidelines and, above all, practical protocols. Our anti-militarist principles are generally known these days. What we need today is not so much theory or philosophy, but practice.

This thought is spreading in our movement. But a great number of comrades still has too romantic an idea about the struggle at hand. They speak only of 'being ready for the big moment' and mainly want to perform 'decisive acts'. Without doubt the big moment can break at any time each day and specific circumstance can suddenly demand decisive actions.

⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conference_for_the_Reduction_and_Limitation_of_Armaments

But meanwhile daily life goes on, that is to say on the side of the pacifists and anti-militarist side, a wait-and-see attitude is adopted while the militarist camp multiplies its labour and zeal and **leaves almost nothing to coincidence.**

Our lack of consistency even causes ridiculous misunderstandings. I once heard an ardent war resister -who, by the way, neglected her anti-militarist tasks in every regard- exclaim: "O, how I would love to be a man, so I could refuse military service!" and I received a letter from a young man who was incidentally unfit for military service and who wrote: "What you want is magnificent! But because I'm simply not subjected to military service, **what can I do?**"

We must finally recognize that what our movement actually gets done -even with an abundance of pacifist and anti-militarist enthusiasm- is no match for the task that is really before us. **It is especially deplorable that there is so much dilettant, erratic and haphazardous conduct precisely where it should all be about systematic, competent and relentless action.**

To remedy this lack of systematic preparation, I hereby propose my draft⁸ for a mobilization plan against war, that concerns anti-militarism both in peacetime and in wartime. I hope that even the first lecture of it proves that in the struggle against war, **every human and every group has an immediate important role to fulfill that should be taken up immediately.**⁹

The fact that in this Battle Plan certain points are less elaborated than others doesn't mean at all that they are less important: extremely important acts are sometimes only named by one word – but a word that speaks volumes! The fact that certain parts are printed smaller or bigger doesn't say anything about the practical or moral meaning of those parts. That is merely a simple matter of structure and subdivision.

2. Voluntarism against coercion.

All that being said, our method of struggle is not forced upon people: we are not militarists! We don't force anyone into war against war, nor threaten anyone with imprisonment or a bullet in case people refuse to serve our cause. Our army is strictly made up of **volunteers** that we urge incessantly to act as responsible as possible according to insight, abilities and circumstances.

Without doubt we tirelessly propagate: "Soldiers and workers, strike!" - in the hopes that an increasing number of soldiers, and brain- and manual workers will extract themselves as soon as possible from the 'service of death'. We indeed want to mobilize all moral and humane forces for a battle in which the heroism that expresses itself with such barbarism in war, finds truly humane forms on a higher level. But we don't know anything about a categorical imperative or a dictatorship. The consequences of our tactic are too heavy for the individual to force even the most essential work onto anyone at all. On the contrary, **we explicitly warn all our comrades against exaggerated acts and gestures, against all phraseology and posturing, and in general against people doing things that are beyond their abilities.** I have known comrades who never trembled when they were facing a revolver, but were incapable of enduring prison. And others, who easily went through long prison sentences, but trembled on their feet before a gun. There are people who would be capable of exemplary participation in collective movements of refusal of service -driven forwards by the tension of the moment and the enthusiasm of the joint action- and wouldn't even hesitate before death, but who can't decide on individual refusal to serve in calmer times and

⁸ Tr. Note: I have not found a digital copy of the handouts and I refer to the English version in 'The Conquest of Violence' as the only English version I know to be saved for posterity.

⁹ See further on. An English or French version of the Battle Plan was handed out in advance amongst those present.

without extra-ordinary moral stimuli, nor could they stand the prison sentence that it would involve. Let those comrades subject themselves to the service that the state enforces. You will see in our Battle Plan, which tasks await them there! Because we can't do without simultaneously **building a network for underground propaganda in the barracks, air fields and war ships** for the tactical and strategic preparation that is required to win over soldiers and sailors for our cause.

Those who are at a certain moment unable to refuse military service demanded for serious reasons, should enter the barracks. In countries where this is possible they could make use of the conscientious objection laws. As long as they never forget -even if they do the most peaceful possible work instead of soldier work- that in times of mobilization and war their labour immediately take **a military character** and so they should take part in the general strike that -accompanied by mass refusal of service- must make it impossible for the government to wage war. Let, on the other hand, those who are capable to refuse all military service, feel themselves morally obliged to liberate themselves as soon as possible from this slavery, whatever the consequences!

This kind of deliberations are just as valid for other actions like the **refusal to pay taxes**. History teaches that several cases of individual refusal to pay taxes have not been entirely meaningless, but that it is generally speaking more useful as a **collective action in connection to certain events**: the decision of a government or parliament to modernize or expand the army or fleet, raise the war budget, etc. The individuals who want to protest against the actions of their government by **individually refusing to pay taxes permanently**, take such a big risk together with their family that they must consider whether it is 'worth it' before starting to act. But still, in this Battle Plan refusal to pay taxes is found under the individual actions because it is simply a fact that -under specific circumstances and for certain people- precisely this action could be most appropriate and it could be of big moral and practical importance at a certain moment.

The same is true for the **principle of ethical production**. Negatively it means refusal of all **inhumane labour**, in this case of all that serves the war directly. Because this principle demands **different things from everyone**. Each has to take into account their character and disposition, their economic situation and that of their family, etc. Consistent implementation of this action usually has big consequences, especially in times of economic crisis. Generally it is infinitely more difficult to carry out successfully than simply refusing military service.

In essence we never force anyone, physically nor mentally, to adopt a certain attitude. But what we demand from everyone is to think well and to act **as consistently as possible** and to research precisely what one personally has to do and what not to do. A bookshop keeper who decides it is commercially necessary to have all kinds of books in stock, can still act as an anti-militarist by keeping militaristic and nationalist books in the background as much as possible and constantly making tactful propaganda for more peaceful and anti-militarist literature. Often this method is strategically more meaningful than the ostentatious display of anti-militarist books and brochures, although on the other hand, the availability of explicitly anti-militarist bookshops is equally necessary. During the mobilization of the Dutch army for the world war, when the Netherlands was in a state of war and was besieged, I have repeated several times in meetings of ammunition workers: *"Comrades! you may have good reasons to continue your undignified labour -because you know that your work is undignified. But if you are as yet still unable to withdraw from this ignoble work, at least prepare for a general strike in case of war and carefully research how you*

could technically make war effectively impossible. At least direct your attention as much as possible on the anti-militarist practice even now.” And in spite of their explicitly military work our anti-militarist movement remained in constant contact with such comrades as well.

3. First things first.

The contents of the Battle Plan that I present to you here is the practical result of a thorough study of the war against war in the last 2,500 years in Asia, Europe and the rest of the world that I published in my 'Vrede als Daad' of which the first volume was just published in French under the title 'La Paix Creatrice'¹⁰ You will also find the different motives there that are the foundations of direct action against war since some tens of centuries.

My research clearly shows that the biggest insult to the modern peoples is the cowardice, with which nearly all of them subjugated themselves to **military slavery**. For a long time it looked like the Anglo-Saxon peoples wouldn't stoop so low as to accept military slavery. But even during the American Civil War it was clear that when military necessity demands it, military coercion can even be imposed upon peoples that have stood apart with their age-old, big personal and social independence. During the world war -with few exceptions- military conscription was imposed on the British and Northern-American peoples. If, after the world war, the governments involved no longer demanded military service from their populations, that is all but a definitive measure. In all those countries, **conscription** is maintained legally, and is no longer enforced for simple opportunistic reasons. With an eye on the possible new wars the governments in question have done everything possible since the last world war to train enormous cadres by means of military dressage in high schools and colleges, ready to lead millions of conscripts into war if the occasion presents itself. On top of that, a system of industrial and social conscription has been installed in the United States and England as well as France and elsewhere, that will force the women into the same wartime social and industrial services that are indispensable for the 'total war'. Today -as colonel Fuller concluded- whole peoples throw themselves into the war, not just as soldiers but also to replenish the army morally and materially.¹¹ Even in China, that has for millenia taken pride in its own peacefulness, and that has deliberately kept itself away from all militarism and state slavery, preparations are underway for implementing the example of the so-called modern states and forced conscription. There are political and social symptoms that point to a possibly liberated India being threatened by the same danger.¹²

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

The German philosopher Krause has correctly declared that as long as the modern nations give their governments the right to systematically subject their youth to military dressage and training, and to mobilize the whole population as conscripts eventually, they are in essence not in the least free. No matter how beautiful and brave the act of the refuser of

¹⁰ Marcel Rivière, Paris. Dutch edition Brochuren-Depot I.A.M.V.

See <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k3391686p.texteBrut>

¹¹ “The Reformation of War”, 1923, p. 70.

¹² Tr. Note: See Bart de Ligt's dialogye with and criticism on Gandhi

military service is, this heavy task would not normally have to be carried on the shoulders of the youth **if only older men and women that call themselves pacifists and anti-militarists wouldn't leave the heaviest work to a generation that hasn't come to full mental and physical maturity.** No wonder that in recent time several Dutch mothers protested against the state still putting immature youths before this moral dilemma: to serve or not to serve; and force them to serve. They appeal to every parent to resist this state coercion on minors.

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

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

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

More than once history itself has proven that a government is incapable of enforcing conscription or military training of youth upon its citizens when the people involved **dó know what they want.**

In 1902 the Fins refused to submit to military conscription that the Tsar subjected them to; and even this autocratic government backed down.

In 1917 the Irish refused to submit to any conscription by the British government, and military slavery was abandoned.

In 1917 -in the middle of the world war- the Australian people refused twice by referendum to accept the conscription law, even if the government thought it was indispensable and did everything to influence public opinion and to enforce a desired outcome.

In 1930 the government of New Zealand was forced to abandon military training of youth after 50,000 boys -supported by 100,000 parents ready to undergo any punishment that their attitude would trigger- had refused to subject themselves to military dressage.

4. The meaning of military conscription.

When we explain the anti-militarist tactics like this, the reacton often is: “Because of the development of chemical, electro-technical and bacteriological methods of war, the modern war is possible 'without general mobilization and without the millions in armies' that have characterized the 1914 war. So it 'is useless' to trust on individual and collective refusal to serve for our war resistance. Because it's just a fact 'that the gargantuan national armies have

become superfluous and military conscription has lost its former 'meaning'. It has even been said that the struggle against conscription would leave the governments completely indifferent. But no government acts as if it doesn't care! In increasing numbers of countries, ever increasingly severe measures are taken in the hopes of suppressing any propaganda for **individual and mass refusal of military service**.

No wonder! The military experts declare that "even if the modern war is no longer waged mainly by people and if the material equipment plays an ever increasing role in it, it remains true that the soul of this material, the main actor in the drama, the one and only capable of acting with intellect and distinction, is still: **the human**"; and that it is certain "that under equal technical conditions success can only depend on **humans**... And therefore the size of the infantry in proportion to the other weapons can not be diminished without limit."¹³

According to general Réquin¹⁴, the position that is so often put forward -about a future war being waged only by small professional armies- is untenable in the light of factual reality. It is a complete fallacy to juxtapose the quality army and the quantity army. It is also a fallacy to juxtapose material and people because the material is just a tool in the hands of people and couldn't function without them.

The widespread opinion that the number of men can endlessly be reduced and replaced by war hardware, is only correct insofar as the frontline is concerned. In the totality of war, the balance is precisely nihil! Suppose a battery of machine guns has the fire power of half a section of infantry of 20 men, the amount of men needed to set up the machine guns, operate them, supply ammunition and provisions etc is at least 20 at the frontlines and behind them. So the 20 men have not become redundant; they fulfill **other functions**.¹⁵

In November 1931 the French general Debeny has explicitly rejected the opinion that people could indefinitely be replaced by hardware.¹⁶ He established that -at first glance- a military airplane only needs 2 men to operate it and that modern battalions, even if they're smaller in size, have bigger fighting power than those in 1914. But this reduction in men is only superficial because the number of men that are made redundant by the modern armament turns out to be necessary for the maintenance of airfields, ammunition, provisions, etc. According to this expert, the number of men that is used behind the frontlines has dramatically increased. Every airplane for example demands the collaboration of approximately 60 people.

The Anglo-Saxon experts have recently pointed to the necessity to train infantry in such way in the future, that they are capable of executing the most diverse tasks that modern war technology demands. Also, people shouldn't be influenced too much by the -by the way very futuristic- discourse of those we could call the prophets of modern warfare, like the French expert Mayer, the Italian Douhet¹⁷, the English Fuller, Croft, Liddell Hart, etc. Moretta concludes¹⁸ -completely in line with the ideas of the German general Von Seeckt, the creator of the Reichswehr, and of the Italian commander Ulisse Guadagnini, writer of the "Guerra futura"- that a possible European war would share the same character as the one of 1914 if it is a war between **armed nations** that would put all their material and human reserves on the

13 Colonel Lucas, "Ce que tout Chef doit savoir". 1928, p. 24. 10

14 Tr. Note: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Édouard_Réquin

15 "Wie würde ein neuer Krieg aussehen?" Untersuchung, eingeleitet von der Interparlamentarischen Union, 1932, p 18-19

16 In a speech before the Swiss Union of Officers on the character of modern armies. See the report in „Algemeen Handelsblad", Amsterdam, 14 November 1931.

17 Giulio Douhet, „Il Dominio dell' Aria", 1933.

18 in „Come sera la Guerra di domani?", translated to German under the title „Wie sieht der Krieg von morgen aus?" 1934

line. Indeed we must assume that the stakes of a new big war would in many ways be the same as those of the end of the 1914 war.¹⁹ Even if it were just because the military chefs, like people in general, are conservatives who break with existing tradition only with difficulty. Most of them only adapt slowly and hesitatingly to the new circumstances.

This conservatism, that has multiple causes of course -inertia of the mind, obsolete idealism, professional jealousy against parvenus from those who feel no longer capable of processing modern ideas, all kinds of economical and other interests- threatens to cause **useless slaughters** of people, even from a military point of view. In short it is probable that in a possible new big war the hyper-modern methods of war will rather be implemented every now and then, in waves, even just because of the purely technical reason that the modern material will not be ready yet in sufficient amounts.²⁰

And finally: Foch concludes that a **large conscription army will always be necessary to occupy a country.**

5. The nature of modern conscription.

There is one point that all military experts agree on, conservative ones and progressive ones: that in a new war, industrial, social, intellectual and moral service will not be less crucial than military service. The whole modern system of war demands swift and accurate functioning of an ever increasing number of men and women that collaborate with automated speed and regularity. Without doubt the war front is increasingly motorized, mechanized and rationalized, but all the human labour this frees up is requisitioned **behind the frontlines** to fulfill crucial tasks in industry, transport, etc.

Lieutenant-colonel Mayer states that “even if not everyone must appear on the actual frontline itself, each will need to work at least between or behind the frontstage... It is up to the military commanders to exploit this human resource(!) as well as possible in the interest of national defence **without concern for the age of those involved**. Physical fitness, intellectual or moral ability, skills, etc are the only factors to be taken into account. When the war breaks out, **no-one belongs to themselves**. Every citizen is at the disposal of the service of the fatherland.”²¹ That's why we find the following in the book of this expert who at least doesn't mince words²²:

“§ 3 – In the cases that the law provides (national mobilization, convocation by the League of Nations(!) every Frenchman is at the disposal of the state, **regardless of age or sex**.”

Because as we have already seen that, in a coming war, the women as well will be increasingly subjected to military service. One thing is already sure: in case of war every side counts on a general mobilization of men that will cause **at least 20% of the whole male population behind the frontline will need to be replaced by women**, and in official circles it is openly acknowledged that the ammunition industry -that is crucial for the war- is paralyzed without the permanent cooperation of millions of women.²³

19 Rocco Moretta, „Wie sieht der Krieg von Morgen aus“, 1934, S. 212.

20 Tr. Note: confirmed in Ukraine and Africa as I write this

21 Lieutenant-Colonel Emile Mayer, „La Guerre d'hier et l'Armée de demain“, Rivière, Paris, pp 98-182.

22 In his book 'On the war of yesterday and the army of the future', that he concludes with a draft programme of military organization

23 Tr. Note: In our times as well there is a direct correlation between unemployment and capacity for war: Available labour force is interchangeable with available military force, depending on the needs of the system.

6. Woman and the modern war.

In my 'Nieuwe Vormen van Oorlog'²⁴ I have drawn attention to the fact that the women have already played a big role during the world war. In his study "Trade Unionism and Munitions"²⁵, Cole has remarked that, during the world war, 3,000,000 women in England dedicated all their energy to the preservation of industrial and social life behind the front. A large part of them worked in the ammunitions factories.

When the Armistice was signed, 1,300,000 women worked in the war industry, who produced all kinds of murder instruments. Corcos determines that these women "made all these instruments of murder completely voluntarily and in the most perfect discipline. Now and then they fainted, but that was because of the stench of the copper."²⁶

Even then neither the high salaries nor the appeal to the sacrifice for the fatherland proved sufficient to mobilize enough women for the national industry. Assuming that the war has become a duel between two groups of national war industry in which -on both sides of the frontline- the whole population is directly or indirectly involved and where it comes down to getting the industrial mobilization going in the shortest possible time with perfect regularity²⁷, the governments prepare the **service of women** for the industrial and social organization and the military auxiliary services during the war. Because the women are often not aware of what they're threatened with, my Battle Plan further on accentuates the necessity of a **specific propaganda amongst the women** (Chapter II, under L).

7. International character of the war against war.

It goes without saying that between the states that go to war together against a different group of states, the economic, social and moral relations become increasingly tighter so that they function together as a real technical unity. During the war, the war resisters have to break those ties. In order to do so they must -starting immediately- connect with their comrades in other countries: openly and secretly, organizationally and morally. Understand that we can never be connected enough with comrades beyond the borders!

The war resisters in different countries must constantly consult with one another (for example the British and the Dutch, in order to elaborate an effective plan of resistance in preparation for a possible war with Japan; the French, Belgian and possibly the Dutch war resisters in preparation of a possible armed conflict with Germany; etc). Because for war resisters, there are no enemy populations even in war time, the anti-militarist networks must spread deep into the officially hostile countries and across the states involved; there must be collaboration -as effective as possible- against all preparation for war and war itself. All this is elaborated in the Battle Plan, Chapter II, practical part from letter T onwards. In this light the so-called border meetings in countries that threaten each other with war are of the utmost importance (letter T, N°9).

When tensions rise between two states, the war resisters in both countries involved should exchange speakers to prove to the people on both sides of the border that there are other forces at work than those who push for war in the country that the authorities and the official press present so unfavorably and unsympathetically. Remember the travels of the Japanese anti-militarist Kagawa to China on critical moments, to apologize to the Chinese

24 Published in French under the title 'Contre la Guerre Nouvelle', Rivière, Paris, 1928. Dutch version sold out.

25 Tr. Note: G. D. H. Cole, 'Trade Unionism and Munitions', At the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1923, <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.22610>

26 F. Corcos, "Les Femmes en Guerre", 1927, p. 151.

27 See Lieut. Col. Reboul, "Mobilisation industrielle", I., 1925, pp. 190-1.

for the belligerence of official Japan and to convince them that there were also other men and women in his country, who would remain faithful to international solidarity despite everything. In this respect a few years ago Polish and German catholic pacifists on both sides of the German-Polish border have done exemplary work as well.

That a systematic campaign against the war preparation in two countries that threaten to start an armed conflict can effectively prevent bloody clashes, was **clearly demonstrated** by the catholic pacifists of Argentina and Chile at the start of this century. This effective action was symbolized in 1904 by the erection of the Statue of Christ of the Andes²⁸. It was confirmed again in 1905 by the Swedish and Norwegian socialists during the campaign that the socialist youth had started, that threatened the governments in both countries with mass refusal of military service and general strike if they started a war.

8. Don't wait until the last moment!

The modern war can only be waged as a 'total war' in which every one of the states involved functions as a moral-social-industrial-military unit. The ruling class will do everything it can to make sure that the peoples in a future war will fight until -to speak with the military experts Helle and Ache- "their forces are completely depleted". International treaties on banning certain especially gruesome methods of war, allegedly to humanize the war, will not be respected: because of the modern war technology the future wars will "without any doubt be exceptionally gruesome and fierce".²⁹

In this light the American president Coolidge has declared that -in a new war- there will be an unprecedented mobilization, not just of people and industries but resources as well.³⁰ Commander Coste also points out that this so to speak **physical mobilization is paired with an equally general and systematic moral mobilization**.³¹ It is being prepared even in the smallest countries with the possible exception of Luxemburg, Monaco and Andorra...

If the war resisters postpone their attempt to break this gargantuan system until the mobilization order sounds, they will surely come too late, especially because the moral war preparation will have **unleashed enormous tides in the subconscious energy of the masses**. This is clearly explained in the important treatise of Edward Glover on "War, Sadism and Pacifism".³²

In this respect as well one must **look far ahead to see the storm coming closer and to take measures before it's too late**. We have repeatedly explained in detail that, if people are **not educated well in time, and trained to resist the moral contamination of nationalist enthusiasm**, every attempt to stop the war at the critical moment will inevitably fail. Because behind that nationalist enthusiasm **powerful psychological urges** are at work. The collective horror of primitive people and all kinds of psychological powers can be rediscovered, that have worked in the subconscious of the individual since earliest childhood, as well as the most sublime forms of conscious idealism and dedication -let us never forget that still a certain number of people are naive enough to embody all that is beautiful and good in the national false god. **Especially the most unconscious need to escape**

28 See B. de Ligt, "La Paix créatrice", II, 1934, pp. 409-440.

29 Helle et Ache, "La Défense nationale et ses Conditions modernes", 1932.

30 See my "Nieuwe vormen van Oorlog", pp. 31—32.

31 See Charles Coste "La Psychologie sociale de la Guerre", 1928, .La Psychologie du Combat", 1929.

32 Edward Glover, "War, Sadism, Pacifism", 1933. <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.218097>. By the way Glover, like most psycho-analysts, is very one-dimensional and insufficiently knowledgeable about the ethnologic, sociologic and historic data about this subject.

from oneself by any means possible is rediscovered there, that has taken possession of millions of individuals already, who are incessantly tortured by all kinds of personal misery and unfavorable social conditions: mechanical toil in industry or in taylorized offices that can yield no moral satisfaction at all; neverending joblessness with its limitless boredom; hurtful social submission; imprisonment in unbearable marriages; in short the permanent dissatisfaction of everyday life combined with an instinctive desire for new freedom. This need to exalt themselves or to deliver themselves to something glorious is even reinforced by the amor fati, the urge for adventurous danger, that typically human curiosity that is all too often ignored by psychologists, sociologists and moralists and that repeatedly brings the human being to risking his life even for the most ridiculous things.

The state of collective enthusiasm that is so typical of the **nationalist** enthusiasm, is also energized by the mechanism of military discipline that, as the Hungarian tutor Huzella has demonstrated, makes man regress to a barbaric cultural phase: the pre-individual stage in which the personal responsibility is deactivated.³³ Even the **music**, that has seemingly nothing to do with the war, serves -as the French psychiatrist Damaye³⁴, head of the state mental institutions who has experienced the world war himself, recognized- by its magical power that electrifies the mass, "to drag the people in and to mislead them about the reality that awaits them". Several national anthems, whose words are nothing but hollow rambling, have strong suggestive power and a deeply-ethnological impact because of their musical character -the Marseillaise for example, that mirrors the French temperament so perfectly. The nationality, the army and all kinds of fictitious-collective phenomena and ideas "are very well suited for musical inspiration on the condition that they are contemplated from a distance and their true meaning is absolutely ignored. **Art** serves to disguise the most appalling or to imagine things that one knows absolutely nothing about"; the most impressive melodies are often born from a state of exaltation - 'under the influence of a mental state of paroxysm of their creator'³⁵ that enchants their eventual public all too easily. It is with reason that **prof. Duprat** has established that there is an age-old **social determinism** that almost irresistibly drags individuals and masses into war at critical moments.³⁶ In order to extract ourselves from it one must not only take part in the new, higher social determinism of human freedom and responsibility to some extent, but also **know precisely** what one has to do and exactly in which respect, in which way and to what extent one can count on the collaboration of one's national and international comrades. Global sense of solidarity, clear insight in the international politics and social conditions and a sense of responsibility towards the future of humanity must be prepared and nurtured beforehand, so that in the critical moment an ever increasing number of persons and groups no longer get dragged along by the traditional social determinism that only leads the peoples into the abyss of mutual destruction. But at the same time it is not less important that each individual and every organization is precisely aware of their own **practical task**. Otherwise a chaotic situation of uncertainty and hesitation arises, that can only paralyse the direct action that is more necessary than ever. It is even more important to keep this in mind because the war resisters, who are probably a minority for the time being, have to use their energy as systematically and economically as possible and can't waste energy unnecessarily.

33 Th. Huzella, "Individu dans la Vie sociale en Temps de Paix et en Temps de Guerre", 1923.

34 Henri Damaye, „Psychiatre et Civilisation", 1934, pp. 176-179.

35 Tr. Note: 'sous l'influence d'un état d'âme paroxystique de leur créateur'

36 O. L. Duprat, "La Contrainte Sociale et la Guerre, 1928

9. To prevent is better than to cure.

It is furthermore as natural as it is reasonable that the new social determinism not only appeals to the most noble of humanity's mental forces, but to their instincts and more primitive passions as well, that are simply the basis of all life and civilization, such as for example the completely justified urge for self preservation: modern humans must be made aware of the fact that **it is no longer useful to risk one's own life and the future of national and international culture in an endless process of murder and destruction** of which even the military experts acknowledge that it will be one gargantuan onslaught on everything that humanity has produced of social, moral and spiritual values in the course of the centuries. **War has become a material collective insanity that results from a moral collective insanity.** In this regard Heering, the tutor from Leiden, is absolutely right when he puts it on the same level as Kant's 'radikal Böse'³⁷.

So now it is understood why our Battle Plan puts so much importance on what individuals and groups are to do to **prevent** war, and the necessity of a moral and practical **preparation**, so that every individual and every organization -whatever their social role- is always ready to break **any start of mobilization** by personal and collective actions.

10. Moral education.

Let us learn from our adversaries! The military experts declare that no combat can take place unless the soldiers involved overcome their individual and collective fear; that in modern war, in spite of its abundance of mechanical instruments, the main issue remains -as ever before- **the morale of the fighters** and that this should be prepared carefully in advance. According to them it is especially necessary that each combattant understands not only the task that he personally has to accomplish, but the overall goal of the action to be undertaken as well. Commander Coste and captain Liddell Hart both conclude that in war, the first objective is not destruction and killing, but breaking **the morale, the determination** of the opponent by any means necessary. During the war the commanders must **constantly fire up the heroism** of the troops with words and deeds, because experience teaches that not just the fear, but the courage as well expresses itself – is also contagious, so to speak! **In the war against war, not any less than in war itself, effective organization and active sense of solidarity are necessary, as well as a constant incitement to heroism.** That is -again- the big importance of individual and collective refusal to serve that can electrify -especially in times of tension- the masses that are already more or less rebellious.

Just like the moral education of war soldiers, the moral education of peace soldiers must be characterized by the **celebration of the offensive**, even if it was just because -to speak with commander Sorb- “the one who attacks has the initiative and chooses place and time”. Everything must be aimed at achieving the set goal as quickly as possible. And the enthusiastic patriotism of the opponents must be overcome by the endlessly more noble enthusiasm for the supra-national idea of humanity.

Everything considered, we could say that the mass is generally speaking not belligerent, but is dragged into the war at critical moments by relatively small groups that dispose of a good psychological understanding and a powerful organization, and don't shy away from the most base means to achieve their goal, as our comrade Ponsonby demonstrated in his 'Falsehood in War Time'. That is why the late Jos Giesen has insisted that we, from our side, must

³⁷ Transl. Note: 'radically evil'

nurture anti-militarist nuclei as well. To speak in bolshevik terms: we need to form assault brigades, groups of advance guards that are always ready to put everything on the line and do what needs to be done. The exemplary work of these core groups must strike the soul of the masses like lightning and inflame them so that they -spontaneously following the given example- withdraw more and more from all social and moral coercion of the ruling class.

Comrade Giesen propagated an excellent idea in this regard. Seeing that in certain parts of the Netherlands there were whole regions where the majority of the people had become principled anti-militarists and had started acting accordingly, he propagated a kind of **local prohibition**, that is to say that in these places there must be an attempt to win over the whole population by systematic action.³⁸ This propaganda must especially be spread by the inhabitants themselves, including women and the youth, and in such way that each one does the work that fits them best, and in all professions and companies. In the sphere of local disarmament, a noble competition must arise between one village and the next, one city and the next, one region and the next, until at last the whole country is mobilized for peace.

In any case a **whole new code of honor** must be acted upon. Even before the world war, the Comtist³⁹ Teixeira Mendes pointed out that -in the battle for peace-, emotion is even more important than reasoning: "These days, war must trigger a sense of repulsion like the cannibalism and slavery trigger today, and no longer a sense of fame, honor or excuses."⁴⁰ In order to cultivate the new feelings of sympathy and respect for all that lives in peace, on certain dates and for certain events **special campaigns** must be organized -house calls, spreading pamphlets, theatre performances, manifestations, etc- in which each war resister fulfills a specific task, followed by meetings in which everyone reports on their own actions and experiences, and where new campaigns are prepared. In regions where this is not yet possible more modest aims must be formulated and there must be **special attention to win over the women and the youth.**

What can be achieved in this way is shown in the persistent anti-militarist struggle of Ds. N. J. C. Schermerhorn and his brave comrades in Nieuwe Niedorp (North Holland). They started at the beginning of this century and continued strong during the difficult time of mobilization in 1914-1920. The war against war went from home to home in the end. When in 1932 the police in Nieuwe Niedorp wanted to arrest a conscientious objector, part of the population rose up in such way to protect the boy, that the forces of the official order had to back down. Only later did they see a chance to capture him - in a different place, where the boy worked and where the anti-militarist ideas had not permeated as deeply. But **if the workers there had immediately declared their solidarity, if all the comrades, all the people there had put themselves in front of him, then probably even the police would have chosen his side!** I myself have already been arrested by policemen who openly declared that they were ashamed of what they did, and to look forward to the day when the principles that I was being imprisoned for would triumph! At which point I replied: "The triumph that you talk about also depends on you. I have just read that the policemen in Boston have struck for higher wages. Over here in the Netherlands a large number of policemen are members of the S.D.A.P.⁴¹ So if you're able to strike, why wouldn't you do it for your internationalist

38 "Gemeentelijke ontwapening" ['Municipal disarmament', Tr.], .De Arbeider", 17 Juli 1929.

39 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religion_of_Humanity

40 R. Teixeira Mendès, "Encore le Militarisme et la Diplomatie, Église et Apostolat positiviste du Brésil", Rio (Brazil), July 6, 1908.

41 Tr. Note: Dutch Social-Democrats (sic); Marx was a militarist and nationalist, pro-state and pro-capitalism (but 'temporary'. Marxians are not credible allies of antimilitarists, even if they have some examples to the contrary that they love to use as fig leaves. At best they are for unilateral disarmament of the 'wrong' camp. See <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Campism>. Antimilitarists must choose our allies and enemies with great care.

principles?"

11. Now or never!

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

People will also have noticed that the bolsheviks as well are starting to understand how much an effective national and international organization of war resisters is necessary, as became clear at the Congress against War in Amsterdam in 1932. If we have objections against the bolshevik anti-militarist tactic, this does not include their theoretical propaganda for an anti-militarist unified front, but their practical acceptance of the 'total war' -including military conscription, chemical, electro-technical and bacteriological methods of war for 'national defence' of Russia and the international 'defence of the revolution'.

Given all that it is imperative that in these circles as well, propaganda has started for the refusal to transport weapons and ammunition, for mass refusal of service and general strike, and that there is at least some sympathy for principle conscientious objectors, at least... those outside of Russia. Because in Stalinist Russia our comrades are often prosecuted even more horribly than they were under the Tsar.⁴²⁴³

12. The most vulnerable points of the war system.

Let's return to the practical side of things now: in the modern war there is a fixed proportion between the regular requirements of each division and the industrial production that is necessary to satisfy them: if the latter is more or less disrupted the former inevitably undergoes the effect; if production stops, the whole division is powerless. If the industry involved produces enough, but the products can't reach the frontline: same result! That is why the military experts consider the connections between front and hinterland as the most

We are often very critical for smaller exceptional 'errors' of our own while we remain blind for the systematic mistakes of bourgeois (Marxians, liberals, fascists, etc)

42 It was therefore impossible our Russian comrades to participate in the Conference in Welwyn with an official delegation. Only pacifist actions near Geneva are approved in Moscow and increasingly take place. That is why the war is maintained. But still the Battle Plan against war is being discussed in Russia.

43 Marx was a militarist and nationalist, pro-state and pro-capitalism (but 'temporary'. Marxians are not credible allies of antimilitarists, even if they have some examples to the contrary that they love to use as fig leaves. At best they are for unilateral disarmament of the 'wrong' camp. See <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Campism>. Antimilitarists must choose our allies and enemies with great care.

vulnerable point, like the Achilles heel of the whole war operation. All attacks must be directed there especially.⁴⁴

Generally speaking we can say that the war is a cooperation of three different factors - as perfectly as possible:

- the frontline (army, air force, marine) [consumption]
- connections (land, air and water) [distribution]
- hinterland, [production]

that constantly cooperate with each other and are increasingly dependent on each other. The hinterland must serve as inexhaustible source of military reserves, means of war, provisions, clothing, etc. To that effect, national **production** is pushed to the maximum, and this in turn demands a constant flow of raw materials and all kinds of goods. That means that -not just between front and hinterland, but also between national war industry and the required production of raw materials-, the connections -in other words: **transport**- proves yet again to be the Achilles-heel. Each of us must acknowledge the task we have in this regard and to research carefully what we can do (and not do) in case of looming war.

There is a footnote in the Battle Plan further on (Chapter I, Letter E, N° 2) about the role of the **cooperatives** in the system of war. The main importance of these organizations follows from the fact that in war time, the whole of the national population is subjected to an actual prison regime when it comes to the **distribution of goods**. Because the distribution has priority over production, the role of the cooperative organizations during the war -that are mainly focussed on the distribution of goods- is much bigger than in peace time, when production has priority over distribution. So it is clear how important the whole non-cooperation of the cooperatives would be in regards to the war.

13. Key industries and companies.

On the subject of the direct war production: it is first and foremost based on the production of coals and metals, as the diagram of Verlinde already demonstrated that is included in the Battle Plan (Chapter II, theoretic part, Letter N, footnote).

According to the report of the American Committee on Economic Sanctions, published by Evans Clark, the **key power** of the realm of war lays in the following industries:

- I. iron and steel factories,
- II. production of machines,
- III. chemical plants,
- IV. iron production,
- V. coal production,
- VI. oil production.⁴⁵

If we succeed in bleeding just one of these economic wells dry, or to prevent their products to be transported, then the war will soon be over. As to oil -as one knows, the lack of it in the end led to the demise of the Central Powers⁴⁶ in 1918-, in France it is starting to be called 'la matière impériale'⁴⁷! Elsewhere oil is called 'the blood of war'. These expressions immediately make the task very clear of anti-militarists, who are involved in the production of mineral oils, petroleum, gasoline, petrol, etc with all its wells, pipelines, tanks, etc.

44 See my "Nieuwe Vormen van Oorlog".

45 E. Clark, "Boycotts and Peace", 1932, p. 349.

46 Tr. Note: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Central_Powers

47 Tr. Note: 'the Imperial Resource'

The gigantic national war body can not exist any longer either if an important part of its nervous system, **postal service, telegraph, telephone, radio, etc** is paralyzed. In Schwartes' 'Die Technik im Kriege' (1920) it is clearly demonstrated what an enormous role the means of communication played already in the world war, and how much they have evolved since. An ultimately perfected system of communication will be even more necessary in a new war if modern technology is pushed to its ultimate consequences. Many of the workers and officials in several countries have already understood that it is the duty of thousands of civil servants in war time (at least amongst those that are aware of their social responsibilities) to **NOT function** in those moments (see Chapters III and IV, Letter D, N° 9).

On top of that, the national war monster can only act effectively from a strategic point of view, inasfar as the population involved has been mesmerized by the fiction of 'national unity' and its urges for violence, conquest and triumph have been unleashed –in one word all that modern psychologists call 'aggression'. All the military experts declare unisono that the **good-will of the whole population** is a necessary condition to wage war successfully. Indeed how else would it be capable to accomplish its equally super-human as in-humane murder task? The mass must be forced into an extra-ordinary state of mind: its whole views on life, its morals, all of its feelings must be changed and redirected. During the world war, in all warring countries “all facts were systematically falsified and opponents were disgracefully slandered in **the press**. This wasn't just allowed by the authorities, but stimulated, while every attempt to consider things objectively and justly were condemned and punished as high treason”⁴⁸. Remember Bertrand Russell's 'Justice in War Time' (1916) and Ponsonby's 'Falsehood in War Time' (1928). As long as journalists, publishers, writers, etc don't break with this cursed method and continue to lie and slander in times of mobilization and war in the service of their governments and all kinds of financial, industrial and commercial cliques, it is clear that the **typographers** as well have an important role to play.

At the 10th Congress for Conscientious Objectors in the Netherlands, Albert de Jong has pointed to the fact that in Spain -where the tactic of **responsible production** is already deeply ingrained in the population- during a social conflict in Barcelona all typographers simply refused to set or print military matters. It goes without saying that such a **moral censorship** must not be limited to this kind of manifestations. As one knows, the war is always preceded by slander campaigns against the enemy-to-be and a whole system of suggestion in order to awaken all kinds of feelings of hatred and revenge amongst the people. The typographers have therefore to protect the national mindset against such fatal influences and simply to prevent that kind of publications. By the way they form a very important social power because they do **schooled labour** and in case of a strike they are not immediately replaceable. Since a few years, an increasing number of Dutch typographers, organized in the N.V.V., are beginning to understand their obligation to prepare for collective refusal to serve militarism and war. They complain that, in spite of all the anti-war resolutions on the part of their International, from Rome, Paris and elsewhere, in the organized labour movement all anti-militarist education is systematically ignored, and they openly declared that the mistake is not so much on the part of the workers involved but on the part of **the leaders of the labour movement** who are responsible for even the most eloquent resolutions of the 2nd International and the I.V.V. remained mere words.

So it is the task of war resisters to put the necessity of a **systematic preparation** of direct action back on the agenda of every organization that could contribute in any way to the struggle against the war. This preparation can have a dual character. On the hand it must

48 Prof. A. Mayer In “Wie würde ein neuer Krieg aussehen?” pp 239-240.

contain a general education in line with the Battle Plan that is presented; on the other hand a specific research into the war functions of the work or profession of each worker involved like Verlinde has already done for the miners.⁴⁹

Especially now that everywhere in the labour universe a deplorable regression can be seen towards the ideas of August 1914, and the explicit tendency is visible at the socialist and trade union congresses to abandon the direct action against the war in favour of national defence, it is the duty of all true anti-militarist worker to take initiatives for a campaign amongst the workers themselves so that the mentality of the movement involved can be **uplifted from the bottom up**.

14. The intellectuals and the war.

There is no reason by the way why we should only appeal to manual workers. For our goal it is not less important to win over the brain workers! Indeed they are the ones who train and lead public opinion in today's society; one can even say that they are responsible for the mindset of modern peoples. Let's never forget that in spite of severe laws and punishments, in spite of all the barracks, armament and jails, the **social spirit** has the last word. In France for example, the Ancient Régime could only maintain itself as long as the mass considered it as normal or even as essentially divine; but when in the 18th century, the ideas of the English and French intellectuals permeated into the different layers of society, a radical change of the whole society was inevitable.

The amazing role of the intellectuals mainly came to light since the interesting work of Alfred Fouillée on the 'idée-force': he demonstrated that from each idea a force radiates, that "each concept, image or even abstraction leads a life of its own, tries to develop and, always continuing, tries to make its way not just in the mind but in the world as well. It is an active seedling, a living force that is not just out to push through, but also to develop according to its nature and -like a plant- to grow from the darkness in which it was born to the light, where it can develop and bear fruit". One must even recognize that, in many ways, the imagination is the most sure and most common source of reality. Because thoughts are not purely intellectual phenomena, but convictions and representations that are simultaneously a source of activity. In spite of a certain limited outlook Coué has also understood the creating force of thoughts very well.⁵⁰

That is why the cannon kings, imperialists and business moghuls have procured themselves with a powerful **press** that constantly influences public opinion into choosing the direction they have decided on. That is why the governments of all countries vehemently control the main ideas that are fundamental in the popular education and the training at middle **schools**, high schools and in the **churches**.⁵¹ Without the constant cooperation of tens of thousands of intellectuals in every field of science and art, the existing regime would not last a single minute longer anywhere. A few years ago, at the Conference on Modern Methods of War and the Protection of Civilian Populations in Frankfurt (January 1929) I have pointed out that **the intellectuals have not just thought out and planned the whole scientific system of war in the most irresponsible way -chemical, electro-technical and bacteriological war, that has even reached the stratosphere today- and that they are not only responsible for the countless poisoned gasses, but as well for the mental poisoning of the peoples with their**

49 See Battle Plan II, N, footnote.

50 See Dr. B. J. Logre, "La Psychologie de l'Idée-Force", in "Le Temps", 9 July 1931

51 And the tendency of theatre and movies not any less!

lies, manipulation and hatred.⁵² It is the intellectuals that have falsified and counterfeited the education of youth, religion, public opinion, laws, history, art, sociology and philosophy, in short the whole encyclopedia of arts and sciences, the whole of social feeling and thinking, and subjected all of it to the new Moloch "Homeland".⁵³ That is why one can find in the Battle Plan (Chapter I, Letter H) everything related to the **intellectual and moral refusal to serve**, sharply analyzed and worked out more or less both negatively and positively.

It is important above all **to liberate individuals and mass of the nationalist suggestion** that is an essential condition for every war preparation. We're indeed speaking of a moral detoxification process in which individuals and communities must in the first place learn to **dehypnotize themselves**.

Because especially the intellectuals are responsible for the belligerence of the peoples and the hellish methods of war -because on the other hand those same intellectuals have the power to make the peoples abandon their narrow-mindedness and to imbue them with actual human emotions- it is of the greatest importance to spread specific propaganda amongst them, so that they finally abandon all conscious or unconscious intellectual and moral prostitution and follow the brave example of men and women like Bertrand Russell in England, Paul Langevin in France, Maurice Lecat in Belgium, Helene Stöcker in Germany, Toyohiko Kagawa in Japan -that whole marvelous phalanx of truly modern men and women that have already prepared themselves to fight all war and war preparation.

Let's remind of the outstanding work of Dr. Gertrud Woker of the laboratory for physical and chemical biology in Bern about the 'gas and fire war'⁵⁴ that should be made known everywhere; of the tireless work of professor Ude, tutor in catholic ethics in Graz; of the Remonstrant⁵⁵ tutor Heering in Leiden and what happens in this regard with the New History Society in New York. We should also point to the attitude of the 80,000 French teachers who refused to poison the youth with chauvinistic, nationalist and militarist training, but tried on the contrary to direct the consciousness of their pupils to mutual understanding and rapprochement between the peoples again and again.

In a conversation I recently had with professor Langevin of the School for Chemistry and Physics in Paris, who is since long very involved in the matter, we came to the conclusion that the moment is right to undertake a new crusade for our goal amongst the intellectuals. That is also the conviction of the American sociologist Clarence Marsh Case, writer of 'Non-violent Coercion' who has just informed me that in the United States as well, the moment is right for a specific action amongst the intellectuals.

15. Nationalized war industries?

Meanwhile there is a push on all sides to bring the war industries under the control of the state⁵⁶. The indignation is quite justified about a private industry that in the end serves neither national nor human interests but whose individual interest it is to sabotage and make

52 The speech I gave is available in German, French or Dutch (and in a shortened version in English as well) on request directed to me.

53 See a.o. C. H. Hamlin, "The War Myth in U. S. History", N. York 1927.

54 Gertrud Woker, "Der kommende Gift- und Brandkrieg", Oldenburg, Leipzig Zie ook Elvira H. K. Fradkin, M. A., "Chemical Warfare — its Possibilities and Probabilities", International Conciliation, No.248, N. York, March 1929; Armand Charpentier, "Ce que sera la guerre des Gaz", 1930; "Gaskrieg und Luftschutz, Berichte zur Kultur- und Zeitgeschichte, herausgegeben von Nikolaus Hovorka", VIII, Nr. 185-190.

55 Tr. Note: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Remonstrants>

56 This is clear while I write this: Marxians use 'JOBS JOBS JOBS' and 'GROWTH GROWTH GROWTH' as excuse to be complicit just like all nationalists and liberals

impossible everything that happens in favour of peace. It is demanded that all production of war materials will fall into the hands of the state and that the private industry will be completely abolished. Without a doubt it is possible that the modern governments succeed in freeing themselves from the clutches of a group of capitalists who know no fatherland and are detached from any human responsibility. But **that doesn't abolish the war industry**.

1. Gertrud Baer of the International Union of Women for Peace and Freedom correctly established that this cure doesn't attack the root of evil because state industries as well don't just try to make profits, but also produce much more than the own national demand requires.⁵⁷
2. In his work on the war industry and the public companies (published by Globus in Budapest), Fleissig demonstrated that because of the nationalization of the production of murder instruments, the production of war materials would be raised to an even higher capacity! Indeed everything would be centralized and rationalized like it already is in Russia. And this new state monopoly would give the governments a questionable new power.
3. On top of that, the fact of a national war production would give the arms industry a legal if not moral sanction: a distinction could be made between admissible and inadmissible war industry, like there is a distinction made in the realm of the League of Nations between admissible and inadmissible wars. This would make the abolishing of every war and every war preparation even more difficult than it already is, because the public opinion, that is simply slow in nature, wouldn't lay awake about what is officially sanctioned!
4. In this age of already so deeply ingrained statism, the power of the centralist state over the people would be even further reinforced because of the monopoly on violence.
5. It is certain that, in such a vital national industries the governments would take very strict measures to take away the right to strike of the workers involved and would isolate them from their comrades by certain material favours so that the existence of this privileged group of workers would itself become a dubious weapon against the masses themselves in the hands of the official authority, alongside the specialists of modern warfare.
6. Because the nationalized war companies would be limited to a few countries, those would give the privileged governments incredible world monopolies on which every state who cannot produce themselves what is necessary for war would become dependent; these state monopolies would give rise to even more political and economical pressure and blackmail that is currently the case, now that the private industries collude with certain governments to force states that require war material to act according to the political and economic interests of the states that are privileged in this regard.

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

⁵⁷ See the discourse of Gertrud Baer in: Camille Drevel, "Peut-on contrôler les industries de Guerre?" Ligue Internationale des Femmes pour la Paix et la Liberté, rue du Vieux Collège, Genève.

value.

Lehmann-Rüssbüld has calculated that the number of people who work in the arms factories, in marine and war plane war building yards, is approximately 1,000,000. That is in a 1:2,000 ratio, the ratio of those who have an immediate capitalist interest (including the Shearers, etc) against the whole of humanity is only 1:100,000.⁵⁸

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

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

16. No money, no war!

Just as warfare requires massive intelligence and enthousiasm –no matter how counterproductive that intelligence, no matter how insane this enthousiasm is- so it requires enormous amounts of money. Have not the Romans called money 'the blood of war'? A war declaration is always accompanied by new state loans and higher taxes. Public, common refusal to hand out war loans and to pay taxes would -if enough people were involved- derail the whole war machine⁵⁹, especially when such collective action was paired with all sorts of military, economic, social and moral refusal to serve.

17. Our chances.

Indeed it is not necessary for stopping the war, that **every** soldier at the frontline refuses to serve, nor that in the hinterland **every** worker strikes, nor that every connection between front and hinterland is completely cut. If at the front just **an important amount** of soldiers refuse to obey; if in the industry in the hinterland just **a big number** of workers refuse to work, especially in the key industries; if at the same time **a good amount** of people make transport impossible so that it is seriously disrupted in several places: that is enough to stop the war. Without a doubt we must direct our action towards **general** strike and **general** refusal of service, hoping to achieve maximum resistance against war. But we don't need 100% collaboration in every field in order to succeed! For example it is enough that in certain professions and companies 90% here, 60% there, 17% or 50% elsewhere refuses to work, in order to undermine any mobilization and war in such way that the government must abandon it.

It is even possible to stop a war if 100, 90, 80, 70 or 60% of the workers in 3 or 4 **key industries** can be convinced to put down their tools. The Socialist Federation of the region of Charleroi (Belgium) understood this in 1903. Karl Liebknecht reminded us in 1907, that these Belgian socialists declared that what is necessary for the prevention of war is:

⁵⁸ O. Lehmann Rüssbüldt, "De Industrie van de Massa-Moord", Arbeiderspers, Amsterdam.

⁵⁹ Tr. Note: while our private capital is limited because of the class nature of society, we shouldn't forget that many of our savings (pensions, insurances, loans, etc) are on the stock market as well, handled by real people in real companies/organisations/governments. Although costs may be great, we DO have a lot of power as any crisis in the housing market can tell you.

1. general strike of the railway workers in order to make mobilization of the troops impossible,
2. general strike of the miners to withdraw the warring parties the necessary fuel for trains and warships,
3. general strike in the harbours and ammunition factories.⁶⁰

Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis -in his 'Vredesboekje'⁶¹- too, declared that just the transport workers, the railway workers and the harbour workers together can make any war impossible. These three powers in themselves are already able to act as a peace bringing trinity! Domela Nieuwenhuis concluded correctly in this regard, that the workers have a noble civilizing task by preventing war. What they are capable of was demonstrated in 1919-1920 in England when the miners, railway workers and transport workers formed a Triple Alliance to prevent the looming war and the British labour movement deliberately prepared for a general strike. They forced the government to agree to the following demands:

1. abolishing of conscription,
2. withdrawal of all British troops from Russia,
3. liberation of all conscientious objectors still in prison,
4. lifting the blockade of Russia.⁶²

A fact that is often forgotten is the following: in 1917 the Argentinian workers forced their government, that was preparing to go to war on the side of the allies, to abandon their war plans using direct action.⁶³

18. Technical fight against war [aka Sabotage]⁶⁴.

Let's not forget as well what even a small group of determined people can accomplish -sometimes even a single human being- by the application of effective technical struggle against war. We condemn any blind destruction of machines, instruments and products, any sabotage that endangers human life. But we have no objections at all against measures that anti-militarists use in times of mobilization and war to paralyze transport, roads, railways, bridges, etc on the condition that safety is ensured. In his book on military and industrial espionage, general-major Max Ronge concluded that -in order for a country to be made incapable of warfare- sabotage is of the biggest importance. He even doesn't hesitate to declare that it is necessary to halt industries by destroying the machines with this purpose, to cut electrical power, burn the stacked stocks, organize bombing attacks; that locomotives and train rails must be sabotaged, agriculture damaged and infectious diseases must be spread amongst the cattle.⁶⁵ Such sabotage may be permissible amongst the Avenging Angels of Germany, England, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, etc – we don't go that far. But we are convinced that when a ruling Kongsì⁶⁶ tries to unleash the whole technology and

60 Zie Kari Liebknecht, "Militarismus und Antimilitarismus unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der internationalen Jugendbewegung", 1907.

61 <https://archive.org/details/domelanieuwenhuisalsgevredeiwilt> ,
<https://archive.org/details/domelanieuwenhuisf.watbeteekentdemilitairedienstweigering>

62 Gerard Gould, "The Coming Revolution in Great Britain", London, 1920.

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

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

65 Max Ronge, "Kriegs und Industrie-Spionage", 1930, p. 265

66 Tr. Note: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kongsì>

industry of a country -not just to assault what is being fought but the own population as well and all that is left of humanity and civilization- we have the right to sabotage the national technical apparatus in this criminal game, in the **most careful and effective way we can**. In every industry, in every company, our comrades must carefully analyse how they could halt the production apparatus involved while at the same time spare the machinery involved as much as possible. It's often enough to take a single technical part away to paralyze a whole production branch: everyone knows what even a handful of sand can accomplish under certain conditions. The anti-militarists have also recognized since long the necessity to -circumstances demanding- cut telephone and telegraph connections. Everything on this issue can be found in the Battle Plan under Chapter II, theoretic part, Letter N, footnote.

19. Necessity to decentralize the war against war.

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

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

It seemed necessary for me to speak about the Battle Plan to further illustrate several points. By the way, I hope that it speaks for itself. I urgently ask you, reader, to study it with the greatest attention and to help make it even more complete and accurate.⁶⁷

When a definitive Battle Plan will be established this way, it must be spread everywhere on earth - publicly or in secret. But I emphasize that it is most important that we publish our whole strategy and tactic anywhere that is remotely possible, without caring for a possibly hostile attitude of the public opinion nor for the reaction of official authorities. If the *soldiers of war* must risk it all in times of war, so the *soldiers of peace* as well must risk it all in times of peace in order to prevent war. By the way, risking all in a systematic mobilization against war is much less dangerous and more practical in times of peace than to risk everything in times of war! Postponing the risk until mobilization or war starts, is only making that risk bigger and our chances for succes smaller.

At last I would like to give you a method to publish this Battle Plan against war and war preparation in those countries where a certain freedom of the press and thought still exists, but where those who would propagate and spread the tactic that is elaborated here would nevertheless be persecuted. It could be still possible to **objectively account** of local, national and international meetings in the press, whatever the subject that is treated. In those countries magazines and other periodicals could objectively report that "at the end of July

⁶⁷ Tr. Note: Elsewhere BdL warned against using Fear and Apocalyptic warnings as tools the antimilitarist movement, as that tends to overwhelm people and make them passive. That fear is also easily transformed into fear for the 'enemy' by the war propagandists. This would be a good addition as point 21. See the new editions of 'Battle Plan' and 'Conquest of Violence' (Just Books Belfast) for more both theoretical and practical advice.

1934 there was and International Conference of War Resisters in Welwyn, England, where the following Battle Plan against war was debated”, followed by the Plan. If so desired it can be added that the publisher agrees neither with the plan nor with the comments that were expressed at the Conference.

But meanwhile the Battle Plan is in the world and it will make its way.

POSTSCRIPT

I ask the reader not to forget that this Battle Plan that I present to the WRI is only a first attempt in this sense. Although I have tried to make it as complete and precise as I could, I'm convinced that it must be reviewed, improved and expanded. So I'm delighted that Wilfred Wellock (England) proposed to the Welwyn Conference that the members of the International Council and the Chapters of the WRI would examine the Battle Plan more closely and that a special Committee has already been formed in England to study it. From the side of the British, there was also a proposal to create a **Manual of the War Resister**⁶⁸ in connection to the Battle Plan, that must be published by the WRI in multiple languages. I had not anticipated this result, although I had hoped for it!⁶⁹

On the other hand Eugène Lagot (France) has proposed to send the Battle Plan to all the main administrations of pacifist and anti-militarist organizations anywhere in the world and to officially provide it to the national and international sections of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals and of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the red labour movement (Moscow). In several countries spreading the Battle Plan has already started in the form that it was published in Welwyn (including this clarification there), -a temporary measure awaiting the official plan that is so necessary given the increasing universal danger of war.

At least one point will need to be included in the Battle Plan, in the Chapters I, II 2, III and IV and everywhere after point B:

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

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

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

68 Tr. Note: for newer versions see for example <https://www.nonviolence.wri-irg.org/en>, <https://nonviolence.rutgers.edu/files/original/fa4ea9ecc52431394b438fca139bfb0f381b1ad7.pdf>, <https://www.warresisters.org/catalog/handbooks-and-organizing-guides/>, <https://wri-irg.org/en/node/40026>, <https://peacenews.info/node/7468/making-nonviolent-revolution>

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

against the danger from the air in modern warfare functions just like the Red Cross (see Battle Plan I, B), an organization by the way, that participates in such manoeuvres.

In the Battle Plan that was presented to the Welwyn Conference (in Chapter III under the letter N) there was talk about systematic and reasonable **sabotage**. But I must acknowledge that in the Anglo-Saxon countries the word 'sabotage' is often misunderstood because it is only understood in its negative sense. In the Dutch anti-militarist movement -in which this Battle Plan is deeply rooted- the position on 'sabotage' is as moderate as it is reasonable, so the misunderstanding is impossible. Because not words are important here but actions, I have replaced it in the new English, French, Spanish and Dutch editions with the words: '**technical fight against war**'. It will be clear from my speech that -on my part- every brutal and blind sabotage, that can only arouse negative urges to destroy, is **excluded** completely. By the way the technical struggle against war, that mainly exists in the impeding on the normal functioning of industry, means of communication, means of transport, etc play only a subsidiary -although very important- role: the most necessary thing is and remains the **morale** of the soldiers of peace, and the main element in their struggle is the equally audacious as public act, individually and collectively.

Let's also remember that the introduction to the plan stipulates -immediately after the title- that **no-one is obliged** to execute mechanically what is mentioned in the different Chapters and paragraphs. Each peace fighter must act according to their own conscience and conviction! Those who can't accept a certain part will find countless other ways to collaborate with us on the main ideas of the Battle Plan.

But because the tendency to disrupt the system of war by means of individual and collective obstruction in the domains of industry, traffic, etc, is already firmly alive within the labour movement and the fact that the workers can indeed achieve great things in this regard, it was nevertheless necessary to investigate the method of struggle under Chapter III, Letter N, especially to avoid all inferior sabotage. Because on this subject the greatest care is necessary, it stands out: **it is the preferred terrain of operation for provocateurs in the service of the powers that be**. In 'War and Industrial Espionage' the head of the Austrian-Hungarian intelligence for example had his reasons to point out that during the world war there was a sabotage-organization in Amsterdam "based on anti-militarist principles".

What misery can be caused by inappropriate acts of sabotage -even with the best intentions- was clearly shown in the fire of the German Reichstag that -to say no more about it- could be instrumentalized by Hitler, Goering and the like.

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

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

"establishing anti-war musea"

We remind of the **Anti-War Museum of Ernst Friedrich in Berlin and the plans to establish**

an international anti-war museum in Diksmuide⁷⁰ on the battle fields of the world war. Such musea should have a travelling department as well (by car or by boat), organized in similar fashion as the 'war alert service'.

After this should follow:

“establishing peace houses and peace rooms”⁷¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

Another method is spreading **gramophone records**.⁷²

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

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

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

71 Tr. Note: 'safe' places to meet, study and talk and organise

72 Tr. Note: of course we would probably concentrate on flash drives, CD-roms, VPN's and websites, chatgroups, etc. But grammophones played a big role in spreading subversive culture into the USSR for decades for example. No means should be ignored.

B. BATTLE PLAN AGAINST WAR AND WAR PREPARATION

– Bart de Ligt.

“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.”

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.

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

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

C. 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

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**

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.
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**

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. “ by wireless, radio, [internet]

H. “ by processions and demonstrations

+ “ by establishing anti-war musea

+ “ by establishing peace houses and peace rooms

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.

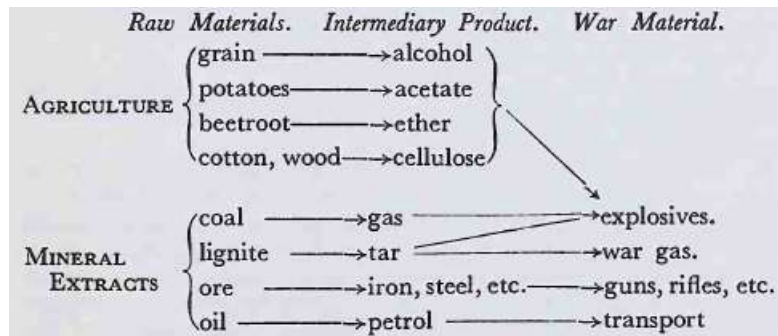
M. Antimilitarist propaganda in Army and Navy (see I. C.)

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

(*) a first attempt was made by J. Verlinde in Bevrijding of August 1931, where he analysed the immense role played by coal in modern war. Below you can see the summary of his conclusions concerning this industry, that is crucial for all war.



This statement by Verlinde in combination with an analysis of the whole war system by Han Kuysten was published later by the Dutch Youth Movement for Peace in a pamphlet entitled "Dooft de Vuren!" [Put the Fires Out!].

Such pamphlets should be published in every country for every calling or trade which is basic to war so that every worker may have in his hands precise information concerning his own branch of work and may therefore know exactly what he should do or not do in the fight against war.

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. Simoons)

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.i. reasonable plans for universal disarmament are proposed the masses must compel the governments by direct action to accept the same).

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

+

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

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

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

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

part in it and inviting all human beings worthy of the name, on the other side of the frontier, to act in a like manner.

8. enter into immediate contact with kindred movements, committees and organizations in a prospective enemy country so that parallel action may be taken in both countries in peace time as well as when war threatens to break out.
9. in towns and villages situated on the frontiers of both countries in question conferences and meetings should be organized at which the war resisters of both countries should meet in order to
 - (a) examine the political dispute in question and devise means for a pacifistic solution.
 - (b) examine all possible means to be employed for preventing the outbreak of war.
 - (c) examine all means to be employed to oppose mobilization and prevent the outbreak of war.
10. a general strike, the collective refusal of military service and non-co-operation, etc., should be prepared in advance and if necessary commenced at once and any other steps taken to render the threatened outbreak of war impossible.

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

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

V. to take the following preventive measures :

1. educate the members of the organizations in question in such a way as to enable them more and more to continue their illegal work even should all their leaders be arrested, banished or killed.
2. to keep several duplicates of membership lists in different places in order to avoid the consequences resulting from confiscation.
3. bear in mind the possibility that the funds 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.

B. IN THE TIME OF MOBILIZATION AND WAR

III. Direct INDIVIDUAL action to make war impossible.

A. Refusal of military service.

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

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

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

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

D. Refusal of industrial, technical and social service :

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

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

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

F. Refusal to pay taxes.

G. Refusal to have soldiers billeted upon you (or they may be received hospitably as imposed guests and subjected to a judicious anti-militarist propaganda while the indemnity paid by the state may be used in favour of anti-war propaganda).

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

- (a) direct methods :

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.

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

IV. Direct COLLECTIVE action to make war impossible.

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

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

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

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

K. To create a united anti-war front :

1. in time of mobilization but when war has not yet broken out to put on foot the most active propaganda campaign throughout the country and by making use of all available means to prepare for the general strike and mass refusal of military service.
2. in time of war to act in a like sense but secretly and with tact, a task which, however, should already be prepared for in peace time.

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

1. demonstrations.
2. house-to-house canvass.
3. picketing in front of barracks (in this sphere women can act to great advantage), etc., etc.

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

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

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

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

198 Methods of (Non/violent)Action

From Gene Sharp 'The Politics of Nonviolent Action' (3 Vols.) Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973. Also read Brian Martin's 'Social Defence, Social Change', 'Uprooting War' and other texts (<https://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/sd.html>).

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 disrobings
23. Destruction of own property
24. Symbolic lights .
25. Displays of portraits
26. Paint as protest
27. New signs and names
28. Symbolic sounds
29. Symbolic reclamations
30. Rude gestures

Pressures on Individuals

31. "Haunting" officials
32. Taunting officials
33. Fraternization
34. Vigils

Drama and Music

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

Processions

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

Honoring the Dead

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

Public Assemblies

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

Withdrawal and Renunciation

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

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
- 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. Fasting
 - a. Fast for 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

NOTE J/M: 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. On the other hand all anarchists will agree that less violence is better – the contrary would be an absurdity ('more violence is better'). As Bart de Ligt said it: 'the more violence, the less revolution': the focus should be on changing society for the better.

And for all anarchists this leads us to needing to develop superior alternatives for violence – and to make them known among the people: when such means are not available, people will revert to violence and possibly even militarism to defend the revolution, but that will only recreate the old order, statism, power, privilege and hierarchy.

Bart de Ligt -and most anarchists with him- understand and support spontaneous popular acts of violence in the face of systemic violence (ecocide, genocide, war and fascism,...).

But ALL anarchists refuse militarism in all of its many forms.

4 AXIS EXERCISE (developed by J/M)

Apart from all these tactical possibilities, it is important to envision a broader strategy, that contains several fundamental axis, based on the **MISSION** or **GOALS** that you set.:

* **MISSION**

* **GOAL(S) – SWOT⁷³** (plenty of resources online to study and use) **based on analysis of ourselves and our own movement (Strengths and Weaknesses) and our network (Opportunities and Threats: enemies, partial allies, etc)**

==> Strategic (5 years), Tactical (2 years) and Operational (this year) ends and means (targets, priorities, time-lines, etc)

4 AXES of anarchist organizing:

1. **AEIOU**: Agitate - Educate - Inoculate - Organize – Unite/Unionize (IWW)
2. **Means <==> Ends**: methods and instruments determine results (for example: the more violence, the less revolution; even if some violence may be inevitable or even necessary unless we develop and prepare superior 'nonviolent' methods)
3. **Survival/Underground - Defense – Offense**: 3 necessary aspects of any strategy; every aspect must have its own specific ends and means
4. **Identity ==> intersectionality ==> revolutionary solidarity**:

Most of us are radicalized by experiencing oppression, discrimination, exploitation, etc and a beginning understanding of how our 'Identity' is used as reason or excuse or trigger.

'Intersectionality' is a beginning understanding of systems of oppression and their function (division, divide-and-conquer, etc) in the system – and how each of our oppressions intersect and reinforce each other.

'Revolutionary solidarity' is the realization that 'intersecting' forms of oppression can only be undone by principled solidarity towards a fundamentally different society that only unity can achieve. Racism, sexism and all other divisions are seen as a threat towards that goal that must be challenged and attacked.

=> The intersecting areas in the table asks for specific ideas for what to do. They reflect how the different axis can be relevant to each other, and how situational changes demand different tools and goals.

If all goes well we can move on in the direction of up/left towards down/right: starting with Underground Survival and Agitation based on our own Identity => Offensive Revolutionary Solidarity and Social Change.

This is not a straight line, but a messy back-and-forth with setbacks, disillusionments, mistakes, changing conditions and situations, etc that might force us to go back or to move laterally from Offense to Defense or even Underground. Or from Organizing back to Agitation.

Most likely we will simultaneously move on all these plains at once in different contexts of our lives.

I added a blanc version for you to use after my own example that can illustrate this probably very abstract explanation.

⁷³ SWOT is a very useful tool to analyse yourself, your movement and your network; and to scan it for positive and negative impact and find options to remedy problems by collectively brainstorming, listing, weighing elements.

	SURVIVAL/ 'UNDERGROUND'	DEFENSE	OFFENSE	
(AEIOU) AGITATE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - KNOW WHO YOU ARE & HOW YOU ARE OPPRESSED - ECONOMIC SURVIVAL 'official' backup/underground persona(e) - KNOW YOUR WORLD - SKILLS: self-defense, mental/emotional/physical wellbeing, roleplay, training, 1-on-1 talks, public viewings and debates, lay-out skills, graffiti, press, bookbinding, screenprinting, journalism, photography, use of internet, webdesign, etc 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - KNOW/DEFEND EXISTING RIGHTS possible role for 'REFORMISM' (voting, unionism, activism, etc) <p>Develop countermeasures for pushbacks and setbacks.</p> <p>Feed the fire: read, talk, love, live.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - EXPAND EXISTING RIGHTS possible role for 'REFORMISM' (voting, unionism, activism, etc) - Agitate by example, word, writing, drawing,... - Address people by connecting with the way they are oppressed: let them tell how that feels on 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 	MEANS
EDUCATE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - STUDY and 'own' your (outlook on the) world: know your surroundings: SWOT-analysis, physical surroundings, economy & politics & media, utilities, food, survival, network (enemies, allies, etc), existing 'rights', etc - KNOW what you mean & MEAN what you know - SKILLSHARING Gathering information, tools,... - Learn, Save & Spread anarchist history, culture, tools, theory, etc - Mental/emotional/physical wellbeing - Sustainable 'activism' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 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, ... - Workshops, training, websites, newspapers, speeches, books ==> Heritage, skills, culture, history - Mental/emotional/physical wellbeing - Sustainable 'activism' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Get out there: on social media and other for a, anarchist media, IRL - gatherings, rallies,... (Mind the silent by standers 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..) - Actively participate in making information available for everyone: knowledge is power - and power corrupts even the best of us. - Mental/emotional/physical wellbeing - Sustainable 'activism' 	MUST RELATE TO
ORGANISE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - AFFINITY GROUP(S) & SOLIDARITY NETWORKS (political and apolitical) - survival: financial, housing, etc (paid work, cooperatives, squatting, food not bombs, ...) - Confront your opponents, support your compaier@s. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - SOCIAL DEFENSE & SOLIDARITY NETWORK(S) - single issue campaigns (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 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - SOCIAL CHANGE: insurrection, general strike, counter-institutions, guerilla - 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.. 	ENDS
UNIONIZE				
(AEIOU)				
	IDENTITY	INTERSECTIONALITY	REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY	

MEANS		MUST RELATE TO		ENDS	
AGITATE		EDUCATE + INNOCULATE		ORGANISE + UNIONIZE	
SURVIVAL / 'UNDERGROUND'		DEFENSE		OFFENSE	
IDENTITY		INTERSECTIONALITY		REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY	

ANTIMILITARISM!!! BUT HOW???

Find practical proposals for antimilitarist organizing based on the 'Battle Plan against War and War Preparation' by Bart de Ligt.

Bart de Ligt was an anarchist, antimilitarist, syndicalist and scholar who dedicated his life to building a more just society. J/M.

“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).” ~ Bart de Ligt.

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