1904 - 1914 - 1924

WAR AGAINST WAR

DOWN WITH MILITARISM!
DOWN WITH NAVALISM!

I.A.M.U.                   I.A.M.B.

INTERNATIONAL ANTI-MILITARIST BUREAU
J. GIESEN, SECRETARY, DE BILT, HOLLAND
Onze vloot

Wederom braakt de dood
Zijn gif over de aarde
DEMONSTRATION OF REVOLUTIONARY ANTIMILITARISTS

Preparation.

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the International Anti-Militarist Union (I.A.M.U.) of the Netherlands branch, and also in connection with the commemoration of the outbreak of the World War of 1914, a very well attended national demonstration was held on Sunday, July 27, 1924, in the garden of the Volksgebouw (People’s House) at The Hague. At this meeting, 30 branches of the International Anti-Militarist Union were represented, as well as 60 Trade Unions, a number of anarchist societies, and several organizations of the Youth. One recognized a number of well-known anarchists and Tolstojans, comrades who, since the end of the past century up to the present day, have lived — as far as is possible — true to their ideals; many conscientious objectors, who, in the face of prison house, nevertheless, remained faithful to their principle; and one saw here, also, an unusually large representation of women and young girls.

The evening before, a group of younger members, from different parts of the country, had pitched their tents in a special camp, just outside the town. A special train brought comrades from Amsterdam. Up to the very moment of the meeting, groups of cyclists spread propaganda through the town. From the north of Friesland and Groningen, the revolutionary antimilitarists had also come.

The meeting had been announced, among other ways, by a poster designed by the anarchist artist Chris Lebeau. On it he had drawn, nearly full-size, a Dutch soldier — a real son of the people — in the act of breaking, with evident satisfaction, a rifle on his knees, while in the background, barracks, and munition factories, all go up into flame. The mayor of The Hague had prohibited the posting of these. Several comrades, however, had put them in their own windows. And on posts, not under official supervision, several had been placarded. The national committee of the International Anti-Militarist Union, however, succeeded in circulating the poster, on a large scale, throughout the country.

“Down with Arms.”

The monthly paper of the International Anti-Militarist Union, „De Wapens Neder” (Down with Arms), also twenty years in existence, appeared in a special issue. The former editor, N. J. C. Schermerhorn, and the present one, B. de Ligt wrote, under the title „After twenty Years”, articles concerning the significance of the International Anti-Militarist Union (I.A.M.U.)
and the International Anti-Militarist Bureau (I.A.M.B.). The Tolstolian Lod. van Mierop emphasized the necessity of action against war — now — immediately: "a counterpower of startling intensity, in order to get rid of this barbarism". Johan Brandenburg Jr. told of the old days, and recalled to mind those who fought against war in Holland in 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, and 1900 — the first to refuse military service, De Bruin, Takkenberg, Went, Ris, and Terwey. He cited an article of 1897 of B. Reyndorp — the social-psychologist still working among us — who urged to work uninterruptedly for the mental and moral elevation of the people, which will necessarily express itself in such deeds as the refusal of military service. A member of the Christian League against Militarism declared that, although his comrades thought it necessary to create a special organization, they were, nevertheless, grateful for much that the International Anti-Militarist Union and "De Wapens Neder" had done for them; and he paid homage to the memory of F. Domela Nieuwenhuis. H. E. Kaspers — even before 1890, one of the most zealous anarchists and antimilitarists of the Netherlands — wrote against the Dutch Minister of War, who wants to prepare the people for the next war. De Ligt wrote about the ill-treatment of conscientious objectors, concerning which he and Giesen had made an investigation in the special prison in The Hague. Emma Goldman sent a brilliant article about militarism and social revolution, especially in connection with the course of events in the Russian revolution. De Santillán, representing the Argentine branch of the International Anti-Militarist Bureau, treated the means of defence of the proletariat against war and reaction, and was averse to all one-sided, methodist dogmatism. He valued the Tolstoians as well as Machno, the Dutch conscientious objectors as well as the heroic fighters against fascism, and, by no means, wished to fall into the error of the esperantists, who was of opinion that the World War would have been impossible if every one had learned esperanto. J. Giesen wrote concerning the manner in which the Spanish anarchists and revolutionary syndicalists fight war and colonial militarism, and how the women cooperate with them. Müller Lehning showed how imperialism prepares itself politically and technically for a new war. In addition, "De Wapens Neder" published translations in rhyme of "The Tale of the Unknown Soldier" of Gigi Damiante (translation by Jack Krul), and "I have seen the war" of Charles Erskine Scott Wood (translation by Piet Krul). It contained, furthermore, communications of the I.A.M.B., and book reviews, wherein, among other things, were mentioned "L'Idée Anarchiste", editor Lucien Haussard: "Friedenskrieger des Hinterlandes" (Fighters for Peace behind the Front) by Pierre
Ramus; "Mahatma Gandhi" by Romain Rolland; and "John Most" by Rudolf Rocker. A list of addresses of imprisoned conscientious objectors was appended. The magazine also contained a drawing of Chris Lebeau, which portrayed a workman — a real human being — with a face full of overpowering pain, asking the great question, as he looks upon a background of grim factories, "What is it all for?"

Against the State.

All about one, on the meeting-grounds, saw red banners: "Not a Penny, Not One Single Man for Militarism!", "Away with Church, Bar and Barracks!" etc. etc. The music furnished by a trade union, and a mandolin club of the Youth played the International, and C. O. Songs.

Even before the meeting, the bitter feud existing between the old oppressor, the State, and the younger generation striving towards peace and freedom, came into prominence. An ardent colporteur of revolutionary literature, selling "De Moker" (The Maul) in front of the People's House, was taken by the police to the police-station in such a brutal manner that it aroused the indignation of the press reporters present, and even resulted in a protest, appearing in the social democratic organ "Het Volk" (The People), against the attitude of the police.

The I.A.M.U.

The meeting was opened by L. J. Bot, president of the Holland branch of the International Anti-Militarist Union. He recalled that the International Anti-Militarist Union was founded the 27th of June 1904, after an appeal started by Dømela Nieuwenhuis during the first International Anti-Militarist Congress at Amsterdam. Since then, he explained, this organization has fought consistently and indomitably against war and militarism in Holland — its fight becoming all the stronger because of the World War — and has played an important part in the ever-growing movement against military service. The paper of the International Anti-Militarist Union, "De Wapens Neder", reached an edition of 35,000 copies during the World War. He mentioned the fact that it was only with the utmost difficulty that a visa had been secured for comrades arriving from other countries. He welcomed them whole-heartedly, and thanked them for the energy and time they were expending in being with us.

The I.A.M.B.

B. de Ligt, president of the International Anti-Militarist Bureau, thereupon congratulated the assembly on the success of this really national and international demonstration. What was especially gratifying, he thought, was the surprisingly great number of women present, mothers of this and of the coming generation,
understanding as well as the men present, their responsibility towards the life they are bearing, and realizing (in the words of Nietzsche) that it is the task of the parents to create above themselves in their children. As far back as 1904, the Dutch Anti-Militarists, as well as those from other countries meeting at Amsterdam, understood that the threatening World War would make terrific inroads on the future of mankind. Capitalism, militarism, and war were international phenomena bringing with them international dangers, and as a result, an international war for peace and freedom had to be waged against the internationally growing imperialism. However, this was far too little understood by revolutionists in all countries. In vain the second International Anti-Militarist Congress of 1907 at Amsterdam tried to impress this upon the consciousness of the world proletariat. In 1914, when the World War threatened to break out, the Dutch wanted to call a third International Anti-Militarist Congress as a signal of distress against threatening storm, but, unfortunately, the storm had broken loose, and the international contact was almost entirely destroyed. In 1917, however, a gathering was held again in the house of Dometia Nieuwenhuis in order to try to restore and strengthen international contact between revolutionary antimilitarists. Everywhere, groups of consistent war-opponents proved to have remained intact, and, in several places, new ones had come into being. In August 1920, after a prolonged preparation, the Secret International Anti-Militarist Conference took place at The Hague, and so, in 1921, at the third International Anti-Militarist Congress of The Hague, the plans of 1904, 1907, 1914, and 1920 could finally be realized. There, according to a previous proposal of the Dutch Revolutionary Syndicalist, B. Lansink Sr., the International Anti-Militarist Bureau was founded which has now a continually growing world contact, and so is enabled to do its work against war and reaction, more and more forcefully. In the name of the I.A.M.B. the speaker congratulated the mother organization, the I.A.M.U. He recalled the strong action which the present Norwegian Anti-Militarists are developing, and which owes its inspiration to the deeds of the thousands of C.O.'s in England, and the hundreds in Holland.

The Speakers.

De Ligt introduced the speakers to the assembly. First, there was N. J. C. Schermerhorn, who, since the end of the past century, has worked relentlessly against militarism, war, and state, and who took part in the foundation-meeting of 1904, and in the congresses of 1907 and 1921. Then, Lucien Haussard, one of the few Frenchmen who had the strength and the courage to resist the frenzy of war during the war itself. A. L. Constandse, who represents an important part of the younger Dutch antimilitarists. Emma
Goldman, by whose presence the gathering takes on not only an international aspect, but becomes a world meeting. Born in Russia, she travelled, since 1887, through the United States from ocean to ocean, fighting for the emancipation of the individuality of the proletariat, and of woman — the oldest of slaves. On her journeys in Europe, she addressed the people in England and on the continent, and took part in the Anarchist, and in the Anti-Militarist Congresses at Amsterdam in 1907. Owing to revolutionary, and, especially, anti-militarist propaganda, she was a prisoner in the U.S.A. for a number of years, and was then deported to Soviet Russia. After some time, however, she became a relentless critic there, too, on principle and on practical grounds, opposing the Bolshevik Party Dictatorship, and the militarizing, the mechanizing, and the bureaucratizing of the revolution, which resulted in her being expelled from Russia. She went to Sweden, but was again chased from there to Germany. We are very grateful to her that she has been willing to come here. And Pierre Ramus (Rudolf Grossmann), we also wish to thank for coming. Even as a student, he was expelled from Austria-Hungary. He wandered about England and America for many years, came back to Austria, and during the World War spent his days in prison, and in concentration camps. He was at the Congresses of 1907 and 1921, and is one of our most efficient comrades.

Appeal to Individuality.

Rev. N. J. C. Schermerhorn pointed out the fact that even in bourgeois circles they are beginning to realize that modern war leads to the self-destruction of mankind. The power which is responsible for the misery that people bring upon each other through the declaration of war is found in mass-suggestion, which is inculcated not only by the state, but by the church also — a good instance of which can be seen right now at the pompous Eucharistic Congress. He urged that we remain sober and critical in the face of this, and believes that the best means of counteracting mass-suggestion is to grow conscious of the human individuality which is in each one of us. This is the great significance of the act of personal refusal of military service. If this refusal of military service was the rare exception in the Netherlands formerly, in these days it has been put into practice by hundreds of young men. If in the old days, this personal refusal of military service was regarded as nothing short of madness, now in Holland when one is called by the government to "serve", it has become normal to put the question: "Shall I do it, or not?" Thus it appears, that the difficult and tiring work of years has proved of real value. He urged us not to rest until we stand at the grave of the old society.
Against the Oppression of the coloured Races.

Lucien Haussard spoke about the imperialist methods in general, taking French imperialism as an example. In 1882, under the presidency of Jules Ferry, the colonial expansion of France began, with the slogan that the uncivilized had to be civilized. The robbery had to be camouflaged, and it was accomplished by the cannon, the machinegun, alcohol, and the missionary. As in former days Mutatuli unmasked the colonial crimes of Holland, so in these days Vigné d'Octon unmask them in France. In 1901, Sévérine wrote, "By a miracle of inconsistency, the most zealous propagandists for the defence of the fatherland are those, who, in the colonies, rob the natives of their own fatherlands." Not content with this, they went as far as using the natives to defend the fatherland of the white intruders. The gaps in the armies of the World War were filled in by "voluntary" natives, and later by conscripted natives. This conscription often took place by surrounding the villages, so that escape was impossible. Once at war, the primitive instincts of the negroes were worked upon until they reached the point of drunken ecstasy. They were so keyed up, that they themselves began to believe that they were called upon by the higher powers to destroy the Germans. In extenuation of these natives, it must be said, that they believed that the strength
of a slain foe entered into them. But this superstition was made use of by the French authorities, and was stimulated to the point of fanaticism by official alcohol, so that the most cruel atrocities were perpetrated, as, for instance killing prisoners, etc. The speaker himself has seen negro-soldiers showing each other heads, ears, and other parts of the human body strung together as though they were beads. Papers, like "Le Matin", in leading articles, exalted these deeds of the negroes, and at the same time, declared all Germans, without exception, barbarians. After the war, the coloured people expected, as was promised them, the deliverance of their countries. But, of course, nothing came of this. On the contrary, the colonies were treated in such a manner that the son of the king of Cambodja wrote, "It is necessary to steal and lie, in order to live in Cambodja".

Necessary Cooperation of white and coloured Revolutionists.

The coloured troops are used, more and more, to replace the unreliable white soldiers. Such were the cases in the armed attacks on strikers, at the Ruhr occupation, etc. That, of which the murderer of the Paris commune in 1871, General de Gallifet, already dreamed — a pretorian army for the bourgeoisie — seems now to have become reality. The French ruling class is surrounding itself now with armed troops of negroes, Arabs, Indo-Chinese, Tonkinese, etc. etc. The sole salvation out of all this is a unification of the white and coloured proletariat in France, in Holland, in England, and everywhere else, a unification against exploitation by war and militarism. Even if the great masses should hesitate, in the near future, to form such a unification, it is the task of the revolutionists of different races to make a strong beginning in that direction, and to form solidified groups of revolutionary anti-militarists, where world-opposition against militarism may become crystallized.

Jos. Giesen translated the speech of Haussard, which was accepted with great sympathy.

Social Revolution.

A. L. Constandse, addressing the meeting, declared that youth is ready to take over the work of the older generation and to carry it through. "We fight", he said, "not only against war, but also, against so-called peace, the peace that means nothing less than a war of exploitation against labour. The governments, which lay claim to a desire for peace, prepare new wars, as we see not only in France, but also in England and Russia. The Social Democrats and the Bolsheviki cooperate in this, as we see, for instance in the institution of a Union of Friends of Chemical Defence recently organized in Moscow by Trotsky. One is in the habit of speaking about the inferiority of the
coloured race, but deep underneath the most primitive negro, one finds the white intellectual who prostitutes himself for war purposes. While the proletariat has lost in the World War, the bourgeoisie has won 20,000 guilders on each soldier's corpse. Therefore, youth desires neither war nor so-called peace - which, in reality, is nothing more than a new preparation for war - but youth desires revolution, not the kind in which one government is replaced by another, nor one form of militarism substituted for another, but a revolution through which the possessing class is deposed, and the cause of wars is obliterated. War against war! And especially, war of the slave against his master! Up for the liberation of labour from militarism, capitalism, and the state!"

Homage to C.O.'s.

On the proposal of L. J. Bot Jr., the meeting sent a declaration of sympathy to the forty odd imprisoned conscientious objectors in the special prison at The Hague. As the treatment of these leaves much to be desired, the mother of one of them addressed the parents present, of the C.O.'s:

Mrs. Van Meekeren proposed that during the pause the parents of the imprisoned conscientious objectors should meet, in order to arrive at some common means for the defence and protection of their imprisoned sons, whose fight they respect and support.

This proposal was enthusiastically passed. During the pause, the parents pledged themselves to start the very next day to help support the imprisoned children, with the common aid of all.

Experience in Russia.

Emma Goldman declared that certainly no one would have believed, in the first days of the International Anti-Militarist Union of 1904, that within a few decades, militarism would lift its bloodstained hands not only in capitalist countries, but also in a so-called proletarian state.

In Russia, seven years after labourers and peasants - men, women and children - had shed their blood with the hope of achieving a great deal, instead a new state had arisen, as criminal, as militarist, as capitalist as the other states. No one would have believed that after a great revolution, militarism would be consolidated anew, and turned against the revolutionists themselves. Emma Goldman bases her statements on her two years' personal experience, during which time she travelled in Russia, not as an official delegate, but as a Russian born woman, who was able to talk with the people in their own language. After the Romanoffs were expelled, not only a political, but also a social revolution took place. One may say that Russia was not far enough advanced socially when the revolution of 1917 began. But one must not
Mrs. v. Meckeren proposes to the parents of imprisoned C.O.'s to form an organisation for the defence of their sons
forget that the Russian people had a revolutionary tradition nearly one hundred years old, and that there was a belief that the communists would establish a really free Russia. When, however, the Bolsheviks gained power in 1918, they began, more and more, to subjugate the institutions under the new state-power, and to oppress the people. So the revolution was killed. Originally, they used revolutionary slogans, which made a deep impression upon the people. But it was not long before they sacrificed everything to restore state, capitalism and militarism. "Some will call me a 'counter-revolutionist'," Emma Goldman said, "because it is not permitted by the Bolsheviks to say anything against the Russian government." It had taken her fifteen months to convince herself that, what the great majority in Russia was saying about the Bolsheviks, was true, and to realize their wrongs. She had entered Russia with great confidence in the revolutionary intentions of the ruling Communists. But, in the end, she was forced to see things as they were. She now knows from personal experience that in the state prisons, and in the concentration camps Anarchists, Left-Social Revolutionists, and Revolutionary Syndicalists are being martyred. Everyone who criticises the Russian government and opposes its tyranny is made a prisoner, put to death, or banished. "Here in Holland," she said, "you can hold meetings such as these, even though you live under a monarchy, and under capitalism, but in Russia such opportunities do not exist. The revolution in Russia has been crushed by the Bolsheviks." Never have they in reality tried to establish a Communist revolution. Or is it Communism when you make 33 classes of wage-earners? When Lenin imposed the new economic policy, he said himself that none but a fool could believe that communism could be introduced in Russia. Here in Holland, you can openly fight militarism and capitalism, your open foes. But in Russia, the people live under a lie, the lie that this is revolution. And one may not even state this lie. Bolshevism is a new Christianity. Just as the Christian church exists as a lie against the principles of Christ, so the Bolshevik church lies against Communism. Why should the governments wait to recognize their fellow-government? The Third International, the Russian State, and the Red International of Trade Unions form a holy, infallible church preaching world-revolution, but committing the crime of slavery. But although the prisons are crowded with revolutionists, the revolution will resurrect itself. The Russian people will recover their own, and the present political party will be swept away.

Against every State.

What is the lesson we can learn from this? That we must not put our trust in any political party whatsoever. No political party can realize a social revolu-
tion. That must be the work of the people itself. The sole salvation lies in economic self-organization. Therefore, revolution has to do away with state and militarism, first of all. Workers of all countries have to unite with the Russian people. The soul of a people of 100,000,000 cannot be conscripted forever into the executive of a political party. At this very moment it may not be able to free itself, but some day the tide will turn, and then the Russian people will give the world a new social organization, and a really moral culture. Only along these lines will the people come to real, active peace, and to a true, free mankind.

Although this speech was delivered in the English language, the force and conviction of the speaker, and the truthfulness of her arguments were so great, that those present felt deeply the great significance of it all, and followed her in intense silence. The translation made by J. Griesen confirmed this impression, and was received with great enthusiasm.

To save Civilization.

Pierre Ramus (Rudolf Grossman) began his speech by conveying the greetings of the Austrian Anti-Militarists. „We live“, so he continued, „only in an armistice. Perhaps, the Anti-Militarists will have to show, within the next ten years, what they are willing to sacrifice for their antimilitarism. Then the proletariat will have to save civilization, or else it will itself be destroyed. Rather meet death fighting war, than in favour of war. This promise we all have to make to ourselves, regardless how soon we may have to fulfil it. Only the working class can prevent war by its economic action, and none can accomplish this task for them. The year 1914 has proved that the great, so-called Socialist Parties have no power against war. Their parliamentary rulers are conscious supporters of the state. They knew, also, that, with people whom they had educated for voting-material, no war against war could be waged. Their parties, in critical moments, could not do otherwise than fall down morally. Defence of the country was put above life itself. The masses were sent into death by their own leaders, for an inferior cause. Ten years after 1914, one must again bear in mind that the masses have nothing to hope for from such leaders. Against war, the strength of small vanguard is required, which dare to risk everything in order to get the big masses into real action. If it is necessary to die, then die for your own ideal, as a real human being, rather than as slaughter-cattle for the benefit of banks and profiteers. In Austria, the revolutionary antimilitarists of 1914 have been true to their principle. However few, they have waged war against war, even during the war itself. This is the moral victory of a minority. If the labour movement had not been sacrificed to Marxism, we would not have had a war of such proportions as the last World
War. In 1889, at the Congress of the Socialists at Paris, D o m e l a N i e w e n h u i s warned the proletariat that it would have to wage a war against war, otherwise it would achieve nothing.

**Revolutionary Antimilitarism.**

The German and the Austrian Socialists have, however, killed antimilitarism in order to save parliamentarism. They talk about power in the future, but so long as the strongholds of the state army, navy, police, justice, prisons are not annihilated, militarism itself remains. D o m e l a N i e w e n h u i s understood all this very accurately. Protests and votes do not obliterate wars. Against war, only a general strike of transport workers, railwaymen, workers in the munition factories, conscientious objectors, etc., i.e., direct action by the people, can effect a lasting solution. Only the revolutionary antimilitarists point the way through which we can free ourselves from war. If these conceptions had been accepted by the Socialist International, and if the people had not been deluded by party politics, then neither the war of 1870, nor the World War of 1914 would have been possible. Only the Anarchist International at Paris, the Syndicalist International at Berlin, and the Anti-Militarist International, here in Holland, defend the real interests of the people in the right way. Have the Social Democrats now become Anti-Militarists? Have they learned from the lesson of 1914? Not at all! For the Social Democrats, and the Bolsheviks have restored militarism in Germany, Austria, and Russia after the collapse of 1917—1918, by using militarism to defend the revolution, as they themselves admitted. The result of this is that the people have not been freed from militarism, are again subdued by it. Not this new militarism, but M a h a t m a G a n d h i and T o l s t o i represent the new forces of the people. These voices from the orient will rouse the occident to free itself through the spirit of anarchism and revolutionary antimilitarism — the only means through which a new world will be created.”

This speech, also enthusiastically cheered, was translated by A l b e r t d e J o n g.

**Against Terror.**

L. J. B o t J r., then addressed the meeting: “After all that you have heard, and bearing in mind the communications which the International Anti-Militarist Bureau has been continually sending forth, I come to you to ask you to send the following resolution from this gathering:

“Those present at this National Assembly of Revolutionary Anti-Militarists, this 27th of July 1924, at The Hague, protest against the continued persecution of revolutionists in all countries.
against the exclusion of deserters and of waropponents from amnesty in France,
against the continuation of the imprisonment of Erich Mühsam, and other political prisoners in Germany,
against the continuation of Fascism in Italy,
against the Dictatorship in Spain, which has driven tens of thousands of men out of the country, because of military conscription,
against the murders in Bulgaria,
against the martyrizations of freedom-seekers, and opponents of Bolshevism, in Russia,
against the continued imprisonment of Sacco and Vanzetti, Ford and Suhr, etc. in the United States of America,
against the continued imprisonment of political strikers in Argentina, and so on.

"Those present at this Revolutionary Anti-Militarist Meeting call upon the international proletariat to try harder than ever to remove these terrific abuses, and, in the place of a society based on rude violence, they exhort it to lay the foundation, by daily practice, of a free society in which there will be no more room for brute force."

This resolution was passed unanimously.

Official Justification.

The president closed the meeting by declaring that they had intended to go in demonstration through the town,
but the police had laid down so many restrictions, that they were unwilling to march under them. The police on horseback, and their aid had given sufficient demonstration before the building to justify all the arguments of the revolutionary antimilitarists.

Several groups left the meeting-place singing favourite songs, and spreading the message throughout the town and the country.

A collection for the imprisoned Russian Revolutionists, and for the International Anti-Militarist Bureau yielded good results.

Emma Goldman expelled.

In the evening, representatives of several revolutionary anti-military groups gathered in the house of De Ligt where, in a very important discussion, the problem of the social revolution was reviewed, and where Emma Goldman gave more details of her experiences in Russia, confirming what she had said in the afternoon.

It had been, originally, the purpose of Emma Goldman to speak on the 27th about Woman and Militarism, then, to remain a week in Holland in order to speak about The Russian Revolution and the Problems of Social Revolution, at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht, Groningen, Leyden and elsewhere. This intention had been communicated to the Bureau of Passports at The Hague. After very long waiting, an answer was received saying that Emma Goldman was only admitted
Lucien Haussard — Emma Goldman — Pierre Ramus
to the I.A.M.U. demonstration of the 27th of July at The Hague. The Dutch government did not object to Emma Goldman's participation in a meeting called by an organization that continually preaches social revolution, and revolutionary antimilitarism, which is continually in conflict with the government, and succours the cause of the oppressed in India, in Holland, and everywhere else, but the Dutch government seemed to object to Emma Goldman's speaking against the Russian government. Obviously, in the Russian government, the Dutch government has recognized a friendly power. This becomes clearer when one understands that negotiations are going on between Russia and Holland, with the purpose of making Rotterdam a Russian corn-harbour, and the question of official recognition of the Russian government by Holland is also under consideration. When the Dutch government requests the Russian government not to spread propaganda against the Dutch, then the Russian government has the right to expect the same treatment from the Dutch. Emma Goldman had to be silent about Russia. But soon after her arrival, the executive committee explained things to her, so that she was able to take advantage of the opportunity to speak at least once about the militarization of the Russian revolution, and the hope of mankind in the continuation of a real revolution by consistent antimilitarism.

On Monday morning, the police began, quite early, to chase Emma Goldman: she had to leave Holland the same day. The police were continually at the door of the house where she stayed.

**Pierre Ramus not tolerated.**

Pierre Ramus, also, was no longer tolerated. It is true that he had a visa which granted him two more days; it is true that a clerk from the Passport Bureau came and told him he could, probably, have his passport prolonged if he gave it to him for a moment; but when the passport was returned, it had been officially stamped, in the meanwhile, with a demand for his departure on the same day. This is done in a country where the German ex-emperor lives, and where Rosa Luxemburg's murderer, Kurt Vogel, dwells — with the knowledge of the police — under a different name. But a man like Pierre Ramus, and a woman like Emma Goldman are not tolerated longer than a day. So the true character of governments, be they Dutch or Russian, came to the fore, once again. All this, however, is but an exhortation for Dutch, Russian, Austrian, and all other antimilitarists to continue with renewed energy their daily work for the social revolution. We are convinced that these experiences will inspire the revolutionary antimilitarists from all over the world, to decuple and centuple their efforts.
A growing Movement.

Besides the national meeting at the Hague, local and district meetings of Revolutionary Anti-Militarists were scheduled to take place either before or after the 1st of August, in Amsterdam (twice), Utrecht, Leyden, The Hague, Appelscha (Friesland), Sappemeer (Groningen), Schoonhoven, Edam, Zwolle, Alkmaar, Hengelo, etc. where, among others, Boeke, Schermerhorn, Alb. de Jong, De Ligt, Giesen, Constandse, De Haas, Kaspers, Van Mierop, Mispelblom Beijer, Rijnders, Walrazen, Eikeboom, Lansink Jr., Jo Meijer and Groenendaal were to speak. After the local demonstrations at The Hague, the military police held up a number of hussars and artillerymen, and issued a warrant against them for visiting this meeting. The police believe that they are on the track of the centre of antimilitarist propaganda in the barracks...

All these meetings were, on the whole, very crowded, and full of enthusiasm. A great deal of propaganda-literature was sold. Everywhere, one was astonished to see the great part which the younger generation played in this action.

A. Daenens

On earth peace, goodwill toward men
The poster against the plan of extending the Dutch navy (pag. 2), drawn by J. Papenhuizen (Amsterdam), was published by the Dutch section of the I.A.M.U. The illustrations of A. Daenens (Brussels) were taken from the "Soldatenalmanak" (Soldiers Almanac), published and distributed by the Dutch section of the I.A.M.U.
INTERNATIONAL ANTI-MILITARIST BUREAU


The International Antimilitarist Congress, fighting for the complete freedom of mankind and the complete individual freedom, declares itself the enemy of all armed violence of the state: army, navy, police, citizen-guard, magistracy, etc.

It incites the comrades, and in general, all who strive after freedom, to combat militarism in order to destroy completely all means of oppression. It incites them to do this according to their aptitude and circumstances with different means: personal revolt, individual and collective refusal of military service, active and passive disobedience, etc.

It expresses its expectation that all peoples concerned will answer the declaration of war by revolution, and it declares that it is convinced that the revolutionary antimilitarists will have to set the example.

Principles and Task of the I.A.M.B.

The International Anti-Militarist Bureau against War and Reaction is composed of antimilitarist organisations working for the social revolution.

Its object is to fight militarism internationally in order to make impossible both war and the oppression of the working class.

It endeavours to strengthen among the workers a realisation of the effectiveness of their industrial power. It advocates the general strike and the mass refusal of military service for the prevention of war.

It advocates the immediate and sustained refusal by the workers of the production of all implements of war. It seeks to make armies and navies unreliable and supports individual refusal of military service.

It opposes every attempt by means of military intervention to subdue again a proletariat which has thrown off the capitalist yoke.

It opposes all forms of economic exploitation and military oppression of the coloured races and endeavours to promote the greatest possible unity and cooperation between the proletariat of North, South, East and West, who are striving towards the social revolution.


The Berlin-Conference of the I.A.M.B. (1923) believes it to be one of the most regrettable consequences of the reaction strengthened through the war that also Russian revolutionarists in their fight for deliverance have come more and more to using of militarists methods.
The Conference declares its firm conviction that capitalist and militarist oppression cannot be overthrown and that neither economic nor social liberty can be gained, as long as militarist methods of strife are used in the social revolution. Just as the I.A.M.B. has always protested against compulsory military service in capitalist countries, the conference now protests against the system of compulsory military service becoming more and more general in Russia and against the general policy of oppression, which has frustrated the first expectations of the revolution.


The International Anti-Militarist Bureau sees in the words of Finmara a proof that, owing to the work of persevering antimilitarists, the will to put general strike against war into practice, is becoming stronger and stronger in a part of the trade union movement and of humanity in general. We regret, however, that the resolution as to this does not show clearly the same strength.

As the resolution about the general strike puts all the executive power in the hands of the bureau of the I.F.T.U., without any appeal to the spontaneous forces of the rank and file, we cannot accept this resolution. We appeal to the workers themselves, to prepare themselves federatively for war against war, with or without the consent of their leaders. As a representative act, as an act in which the energy of the people centres, we greet the deed of the C.O., showing how to attain the mass action which we all wish for.

One of the weakest symptoms of this resolution is the appeal to parliamentary action, even in this resolution, which concerns the task of the trade union. In 1914 the mistakes were made nationally by expecting the salvation of parliament, let one be careful, that now the mistakes are not made internationally by expecting the salvation from a league of governments. It is even more serious — to pass from theory to practice — that, while we were discussing here the task of the trade unions, an English trade union leader, hearing that the English government has ordered two tremendous battleships to be built expressed his satisfaction, because hereby unemployment would be combated. As long as labour leaders do not see that such work is more destructive than constructive for the proletariat as well as for mankind, they will lead the proletariat astray.

As long as in this congress shall those who defend national
defence are recognized as sound antimilitarists, and as long as outside this hall, workmen, organized in trade unions, continue to make munitions and all sorts of warmaterial, instead of at once starting the strike, it is the task of the revolutionary antimilitarists, who want immediate action to concentrate themselves in a special organisation, making an appeal to the masses themselves, to oppose governments and the dictatorship of leaders of parties and organisations, and to be continually working for direct action.

C. J. Björklund  
J. Giesen  
ALB. DE JONG

B. de Ligt  
DR. HELENE STÖCKER  
MADELEINE VERNET

Organisation of the I.A.M.B.

The International Anti-Militarist Bureau has organisations in Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland. Individual members in the above-named countries and in Australia, England, South-Africa and the U. S. of America.

Work of the I.A.M.B.

International Correspondence.  
Press communications.  
Revolutionary antimilitarist literature.  
Cooperation with the Defence Committee for Revolutionary Prisoners in Russia (Berlin), General Defence Committee of the I.W.W. (Chicago), International of War-Resisters (London), and with the International Workers' Association (Berlin).

Contribution.

Organisations wishing to affiliate themselves with the I.A.M.B. pay the equivalent of one half cent (Dutch) per week per member, or about one half hour's wage per member per year. Individual members pay the equivalent of one half dollar per year as a minimum. With large organisations, or with organisations in countries with a low rate of exchange, special arrangements are made. Treasurer is H. J. Mispelblom Beijer, Schoonhoven, Holland.
GEDRUKT BIJ DE PROD. ASS. DRUKKERIJ "NIEUW LEVEN"
DEN HAAG - HOLLAND