

«ANTI-WAR PROJECT» —————

————— POSITIONS OF THE
ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN
MOVEMENT

WAR ON THEIR WAR



Introduction

On a global scale the war camps have already lined up. Military operations have displaced politics, and with it the international law that has held so far. Everyone is waiting for a new Yalta¹ and for the new international law the wars will give birth to. The military coalitions are taking over the management of politics, the production of the dominant ideology and of the militarist culture that war preparation requires. This intensification of war preparation ushers us into conditions of **war capitalism**, in which the confusion between direct domination and financial coercion is left to the states that fall in behind to sort out, spearheaded by the tried-and-tested nationalism of supremacy and heroic tradition. In other words, we find ourselves in the element of militarism: an ideological mechanism for securing social consent to the war developments to come.

The rearmament of Europe, the involvement of the “superpowers” in armed conflicts, the military invasion by the USA of Venezuela, of Iran and of the Middle East – whether by direct attacks and threats or by fleets anchored in the south-eastern Mediterranean and in the South China Sea – the genocide in Gaza and the massacres in Sudan and Somalia, Russia’s four-year war in Ukraine: all this reveals that the war camps have already been assembled. The talk of renewing armaments confirms, moreover, the attempt to extend militarism into societies too.

At the same time, on a global scale the bosses are redistributing markets and energy hubs and extending the plunder of nature with extraction everywhere, re-regulating commodity production within a process of alliance-building.

In such cases things take their course, since states and coalitions put on display the supreme form of violence they have amassed since the end of the last war. Parading the army and its weaponry in public space turns nationalism easily into militarism as dominant ideology, aiming to drag society as a whole, so as to prepare us to become cannon fodder.

¹* A conference between the USA, the USSR and Great Britain (the victors of the Second World War) at Yalta in the Soviet Union in February 1945, at which the three powers are said to have “divided up” the world.



The camps

The camps are lining up for the expansion of power, the search for space to expropriate, the re-distribution of energy markets and natural resources through the militarization of politics.

D. Trump, manager of the overlord state of the USA with its 800 military bases across the planet, takes care to remind friends and enemies alike who the boss is on a planetary scale, and which strategy every ally is obliged to succumb to. The clashes with the NATO allies are a repetition of the position the USA took in the Suez crisis of 1956, when it preferred an alliance with Nasser's Egypt against the Anglo-French fleet. Ever since, the followers have remained loyal and submissive.

This time the overlord's cynicism demands a submission stripped of dignity.

It is precisely this politics of the overlord state and of the Monroe Doctrine that the invasion of Venezuela confirms, and that the threat against Greenland seals for the future. A major player and ally here is the state of Israel, which condenses the colonial logic of the West into the geopolitical situation of the Middle East and imposes it there. America strikes separate deals in spite of and against its "allies", sets the terms of a bloody peace in the Middle East and is trying to do the same with Ukraine, thereby legitimizing the other camp now taking shape. With these moves, it keeps a new Cold War climate alive, while, at the same time, trying to encircle its great enemy, China, in energy and in military terms.

One consequence of this tactic is the re-armament of Europe under the name *Readiness 2030* (formerly ReArm Europe 2030), within the framework of the Common Foreign and Security Policy – carried out in conditions of panic, with no attempt at legitimation whatsoever, bypassing even the European Parliament itself. However things stand, the arrogance of Western colonialism in disciplining the societies of the "third world" through devastating military interventions has produced the opposite results and, in many cases, painful consequences for Western societies as a whole.

The opposing camp, on the initiative of the Russian state, has already appeared in the field: first conducting foreign policy with the army in Crimea and Syria and, then, invading Ukraine outright four years ago. This is a clash that has already counted for hundreds of thousands of deaths. Russia began its invasions as soon as it had recovered from the dissolution of the Soviet Union, entering the world stage as an imperialist power in Moldova (over Transnistria), in Tajikistan (Abkhazia) and in Georgia (South Ossetia).

An authoritarian, oligarchic state that emerged out of the Soviet Union, where the bureaucratic class manufactured by the state collapsed under its own stagnation and its absolute dead ends, dissolving society as a whole in the process. Its constitution is still being formed, and this fluidity produces an abuse of authoritarianism against every act of resistance.

China too, the great enemy of American economic imperialism, is trying to build an allied camp of its own: with a model of totalitarian state power combined with a capitalist economy it has sent its growth rates soaring and now threatens the Western economy.

These are the basic pillars for the formation of the camp opposing the West, known as BRICS, with the hoped-for participation of Brazil, India and South Africa. It remains a hypothetical contingency, since no alliance exists between them and none of them shows any inclination to take part in the developments now unfolding. The unipolar world of Domination that we live in nevertheless continues, and we have to confront it with social resistance, as in the past, but on new terms of social war.





Imperialist statism, the character of the conflict

Imperialism is the expansion of the power of statism, the conquest of territory by war, and the modern capitalist exploitation of resources and of human beings. Every state or nation-state, small or large, is in practice a vehicle of imperialism.

When, in December 1914, K. Liebknecht, a deputy in the Reichstag² and a Social Democrat at that, refused to vote the war credits for the German state at the outbreak of the war, denouncing the two rival coalitions and their ideologies, he was laying the foundations of the position and the stance of revolutionary workers towards war of this character. At the same time, that position became the ground on which an entirely different perspective was built within the revolutionary project, and it of course heralded the revolutions that came with the end of the Great War. It passed like an electric current through every front of the war, with the result that soldiers were rapidly radicalized and the War came to an end.

Later it was “forgotten” for good by the whole body of established social-democratic tendencies, once they had been absorbed into nation-statism; it was replaced by nationalism and anti-imperialism, which stripped away once and for all every reference to class and power. It now appears as the camp strategy of the supposedly “socialist” model (read: state capitalism) against the liberal capitalist one. Despite the collapse of the “socialist” camp, in that milieu the worship of military coalitions and of states still prevails over any internationalist duty.

In this period and under today’s conditions we intend to retrieve this particular anti-war position of Liebknecht, of Luxemburg, of Goldman and of Malatesta, in order to bring out the new anti-militarist programme.

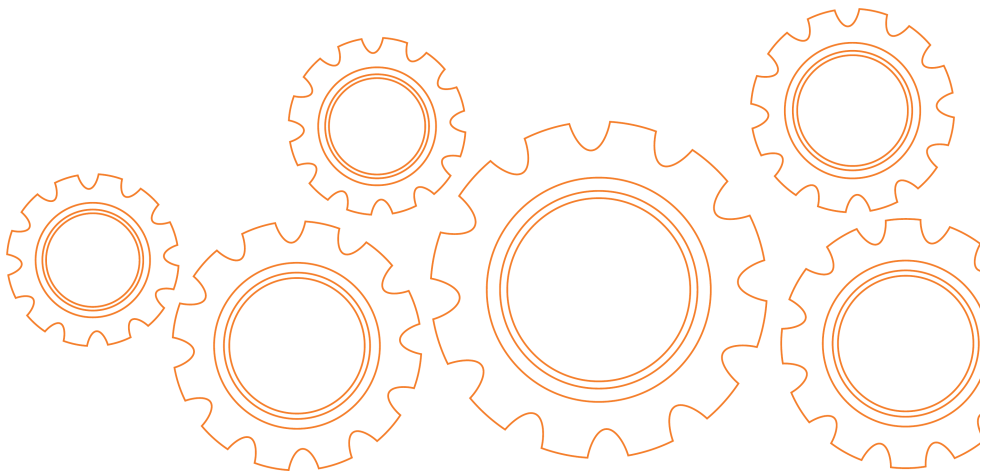
It is true that the “anti-imperialist”, “national independence” strategy scored enormous successes for the Soviet bloc in the middle of the

²* *The German parliament.*

Cold War, since it managed to win territory on every continent, to the point of determining the decisions of the UN by way of the Non-Aligned Movement.

This “anti-imperialist” space took in the anti-colonial, the irredentist and the national, and the fundamentalist-religious followed on behind, since it was held to be the necessary ground for national unity and for reinforcing a hostile consciousness towards the West and towards the allies of American imperialism, Israel first among them.

Out of this “peoplehood” and this strategy the anti-imperialist regimes were born, with the help of the Soviet Union. For several decades they survived by imposing authoritarian regimes and one-man hereditary dictatorships, which then collapsed with a crash under social uprisings. The baton was then taken up, in an even more irredentist direction, by the fundamentalist religious movements, which came to dominate after the victory of the Islamic regime in Iran, only to deepen the impasse and to lead whole societies into one defeat after another.





The Middle East

A bloody process has been unfolding in the Middle East for many years now, its most recent pretext being the religious, irrationalist attack carried out by Hamas on 7 October 2023.

We are speaking first of all of the genocide that continues to this day in Gaza and, generally, in Palestine, at the hands of the IDF. Some three years on from the IDF's last invasion of Gaza, we are watching a solution being applied through blackmail: imposition by force of arms, without the consent of Palestinian society. What is on offer is in reality a proposal by American imperialism for the government of the new Gaza without Hamas. Over thousands of corpses, amid destruction and ruins, under the weight of a merciless settlement drive, they are imposing a regime and attempting to build a power – perhaps the prototype of a future Palestinian state that would take in the West Bank as well.

If such a development leads to some form of peace and is accepted by the Palestinians themselves, it is not for us to say. Peoples have the right to decide their own future. What we are obliged to do is to show our solidarity with all those who choose to resist oppressive regimes from below.

We hold, however, that a final peace and balance in the region of Palestine is possible only through confederal, democratic arrangements, and not through the constitution of nation-states that are forever waiting for the enemy. The project of Rojava (Syrian Kurdistan), a few kilometres further north, may look like a provocative utopia for the Israel–Gaza–West Bank area, but it is a project capable of mobilizing the oppressed in these geographies.

As for the state of Israel, the irrefutable witness to its state militarism and expansionism is the fact that, although Syria has been utterly weakened by the fall of Assad, along with Hamas in Gaza and Hezbollah in Lebanon, its hunger for more necropolitics has not subsided but has intensified and spread. B. Netanyahu – a war criminal recognized as such under the UN's own stamp – continues his genocidal

3 An ancient people described in the Hebrew Bible as the unrelenting enemy of the Israelites.*

work with the power of the overlord state at his side. In his recent statements, he has replaced International Law with Theological Law – remember what Amalek³ did to you – and he exterminates, hunting down Amalekites of whom there is never any end. Israeli society, for its part, is being trained to live in shelters and to defend the homeland against the external enemy that surrounds it. In short, the way Israel imposes itself on Palestine, and on southern Lebanon and the wider region generally, is a totalitarian condition that the far right across the whole planet can only envy, one that shouts: ideology, economy, domination.

American imperialism, assisted by Israeli expansionism and militarism, goes on bombing another state without any pretext at all: Iran, a state equally militaristic, despotic and theocratic. The bombardments of the imperialists, however, do not touch the Iranian regime; they touch the ordinary Iranian men and women who are murdered daily under a double occupation and repression. Nor, of course, have the bombardments of the country's energy and production infrastructure anything to do with Iran's nuclear arsenals.

We all know what has been going on for decades now and what happened recently in Iran, where a clerical-populist capitalist bureaucracy governs by the gallows and by the blood of those who rise up. Resistance to the regime in Iran was earthed through a many-sided social and political force, which found expression in continuous mobilizations, above all after the protests of 2019 and their repression, and afterwards in the uprisings of 2022. These mobilizations were the imprint of the great social rift running through Iranian society, a rift bound up with intense and constantly deepening poverty, with the oppression of women and with the absence of freedom of political speech. The acceptance of this resistance by the social body led to the regime's political agenda being called into question. Nor were these mobilizations confined to particular regions: they spread across the whole country and linked up with other forms of struggle, such as workers' strikes and disobedience to the everyday orders of the government. In essence, the very structure of Iranian society acquired a lasting political and social existence – and it is precisely these features

Europe, which supports and reinforces the genocide in Palestine and the war on Iran, finds itself in an involuntary relative autonomy as it continues and escalates the war with Russia in its attempt to close the Baltic corridor, striking all the Russian commercial ports with drones while bombing the oil tankers at the same time. All of this, of course, is done by way of supporting Ukraine, but the participation of every European state, the Baltic states included, is taken as given. Polarization has reached its zenith and everyone is waiting for the new proposal for a way out of Russia's war.

..... The case of Greece

From the very first moment the Greek state joined actively in the war against Iran, and against Russia as well, and its integration into the Western camps annuls every defensive, “national” pretext. The army of the state lines up in imperialist camps for the militarist and economic interests of Western imperialist capitalist statism.

The Dendias bill

This year, on top of the general war condition of the planet, the Minister of Defence N. Dendias came along to “clip in” with a bill on the generalized conscription of the Greek population. Let us look first at what this bill contains, and then at the social implications of what is in reality a machine for the levying of children.

What the changes brought in by the Dendias bill make plain is the intention to gain full control over the conscription of the generations to come. A framework of total surveillance of prospective conscripts is introduced, since every citizen is obliged to inform the recruitment service of any change of address, telephone number or electronic contact details up to the age of 45, whether they have served or have been exempted. This measure is completed by a further amendment allowing the recruitment service access to data held by the Independent Authority for Public Revenue (AADE), the Citizens’ Service Centres (KEP) and the Ministry of Digital Governance, for the automatic tracing of draft evaders. The recruitment service, in other words, is turned into a mechanism of continuous monitoring and control, with the capacity to “pick up” digitally, at any moment, anyone it regards as an objector.

Further, the conditions for exemption from service are being tightened. The best-known route to exemption, the medical deferments (I5), will from now on go strictly through Military Medical Boards, without the compulsory participation of civilian doctors. The minimum number of deferments required goes up from three to five;

the army becomes the absolute judge of the "fitness" of prospective conscripts, reinforcing discipline to the rules it lays down itself and ignoring bodies such as the scientific community and, more broadly, the will of Greek society itself. The bill also targets school and student communities, playing on the already intensified daily grind of pupils and students. It urges the one group to enlist at 18 and sets the other a limit of 28.

That leaves what they present as the "progressive" part of the bill: the conscription of women. Under the pretext of "equality", the option of voluntary service is created for the female population. Generalized conscription, it appears, is being extended to the whole of Greek society.

In order to strengthen the conscription of society, the Greek state begins by shoring up a defensive doctrine cultivated from the school years onwards and bound up with the standing claim that the Greek state has never waged wars of aggression. Presenting the army as a perfect opportunity for a respected career, the state dangles the bait of personal advancement in front of pupils who are already anxious about how they will make a living, and in this way builds up the feeling that the homeland must be armoured. The truth is that a different order of economic scale is at stake in the army than in the education system. These budgets, of course, do not exist for the material provision of those conscripted, but for upgrading and maintaining the army's equipment – money, that is, withheld from other social needs such as public infrastructure and, most obviously, the education system.

What the state wants to achieve with a stricter and generalized conscription is to bring to the fore an enthusiasm and an identity in the individual, so that they will be willing to set the war alight and to "defend the homeland". It can be said that an apathy has been created among today's youth, the product of a hypocritical moral panic emanating from the rest of society (with its talk of juvenile gangs, football-crowd violence and so on). This creates a climate in which human life itself is devalued, and the army is put forward as the perfect alternative through which the average young person can win back their worth and their

honour. More broadly, what we see is a society that has lost its collective character, with a daily life cut into pieces that must now be reassembled around a common enemy – whether an external one (Turkey, Russia, Iran) or an internal one (migrants, LGBTQI+ people, anarchists).

Historically, in periods when the generalized conscription of the population was reinforced, the result was the retreat of the world of solidarity and humanity and the reinforcement of militarism and campism within society. We will mention only one historical example, that of the USA. At the beginning of the twentieth century the United States lived through a field of great social ferment, with a strong workers' and farmers' movement and the movement of Black liberation in its early days. All this came to an end with the onset of the war climate in the run-up to the First World War, when the workers were conscripted and the women were led into the factories to make shells, laying the foundations of the war industry of the USA. There followed the interwar years, the Great Depression and the Second World War, at the end of which American society was left completely fragmented, while progressive elements were gagged and repressed. What is important to say, though, is that those progressive elements managed to surface again through the movement against the war in Vietnam and the movement for social and political rights. That mass anti-war and anti-militarist movement was the occasion for the restarting of social processes within the American population that had ceased years before.

What we need now, in the same way, is to refuse this condition of generalized conscription that they are trying to impose on us in the interest of certain supposed ideals. Our duty is to refuse conscription by whatever means – whether through the I5, which remains a procedure open to everyone, or by declaring ourselves objectors – so that we can build a society founded on solidarity and humanity and not on militarism and campism.

The conscription of women

As mentioned above, one of the major changes the Dendias bill brings to military service is the introduction of the voluntary conscription of women into the army. According to this unprecedented reform, women aged 20 to 26 may enlist in the army, if they so wish, for 12 months, enjoying privileges such as extra points in public-sector recruitment and recognition of prior service.

At a time of general war preparation and escalation on an international level, we see the Greek state using women as an additional force to feed the war machine. It is a move which, in the name of a supposed progressiveness and emancipation, aims at nothing other than to legitimize the condition of war preparation still further in public opinion, and to exploit still more human lives for the benefit of armed conflict.

On this question too Greece appears to be drawing inspiration from what has by now become a great model for it: Israel. The social role of the army tends to be upgraded and to become a central part of Greek society, spreading militarist culture within it, as has happened there.

In a geography where femicides are an everyday occurrence, where survivors of rape and of abusive behaviour are re-traumatized again and again by institutions, and where feminine subjects face sexist behaviour in their workplaces from colleagues and/or their bosses, "equality" by way of voluntary military service looks like a joke. Against a selective, self-serving inclusion that extols the war condition and breeds nationalism, hatred and patriotism, we stand opposed by every means.

War preparation in education and research

Militarism and the militarization of society are no longer confined to armaments, to armies and to social discipline through conscription; they extend deep into the field of academic knowledge, of technological research and of production. Universities and research centres are being gradually incorporated into international military/militarist ecosystems, in which scientific research ceases to be presented as a social need and is turned into an instrument of

geopolitical power, of competition and of war preparation. A characteristic example is the case of the collaboration of the NTUA (National Technical University of Athens) with NATO programmes, along with the promotion of the DIANA initiative (Defence Innovation Accelerator for the North Atlantic), through which NATO is attempting to link universities, start-ups and research institutions with the development of "dual-use" technologies. These are technologies presented as socially beneficial which can at the same time be put to military use. The same system of artificial intelligence and deep learning that can be trained to detect cancer in X-rays, to diagnose from an MRI, to drive autonomous cars and so on can also be used for target recognition and surveillance by autonomous military drones and weapons systems – a characteristic example being the strike on a girls' primary school in Iran at the beginning of 2026, which killed many – since the technological base remains the same and only the training data, the purpose and the users change. In this way the boundary between civilian and military research is gradually abolished, incorporating an ever greater part of academic and technological production into the needs of the war industry.

The administration of the NTUA itself, and state bodies too, now present these collaborations as "modernization" and as an "opportunity for development", while older political or ethical resistances to the military funding of research appear outdated, or even an obstacle to academic freedom and international competitiveness. Through this logic, artificial intelligence, autonomous systems, drones, telecommunications, sensors, cybersecurity, data systems, aerospace technology and energy research are turned at one and the same time into fields of commercial exploitation and of military application. War research no longer appears as something external to the academic community; it is dressed in the language of "innovation", of "social benefit", of "resilience", of "entrepreneurship", of "development" and of "competitiveness".

And so a chain is assembled: university → research → start-up → commercialization → innovation in the field of "defence" (that is, in the

arms industry) → military organizations and state mechanisms.

The case of the Demokritos National Centre for Scientific Research, where NATO and DIANA are seeking to install accelerators and defence-innovation networks, captures precisely this transition towards a model in which knowledge is incorporated ever more organically into the needs of state and interstate militarism. The model refers back to the American pattern of interlocking universities, venture capital, start-ups, war industry and military procurement, in which research is assessed not on the basis of social needs but on the basis of its strategic and geopolitical usefulness. At the same time, this shift is accompanied by a deep ideological change: the collaboration of universities with military organizations is no longer presented as an exception or an ethical problem, but as a normal, necessary and developmental process. The university is turned from a space of social knowledge and critical thought into a node of strategic technological power inside international military networks and war alliances. And it is precisely this transition that constitutes one of the most critical fields of contemporary militarist restructuring, since it attempts to incorporate into the needs of the war machine not only bodies, through conscription, but knowledge itself, research, the young and the collective social imagination.

Anti-militarist programme – project

In closing, we arrive at the conclusion that today it is a vital and urgent need to reformulate a genuinely anti-war project, with a clear eye in the midst of the chaos of our world. On this basis we are obliged to build a broad and powerful anti-war movement, if we are to have any hope against the levelling that war brings. This means that we must state without equivocation that we will not take the side of one state or another, of one military coalition or another, but will recognize clearly that the states themselves and their competition for the imposition of power are the generative cause of wars. That is, we must remember that an anti-war stance does not mean choosing which camp to line up with, but grasping our internationalist duty anew. That we must stand

against the states and their war machines, refuse the sacrifice demanded in the name of their interests, and proclaim the conviction that decisions about themselves must be taken by societies themselves, with no self-appointed saviours from within or from without. And at the same time, that we must stand in uncompromising solidarity with the peoples who rise against their oppressors, internal or external.

Let us remember that other examples are possible. Just as history has shown that mass anti-war movements can freeze the gears of the deadly machine of war, so too it has proved that societies can take their lives into their own hands and build forms of organization different from anything anyone could have imagined until that moment. And while we cannot dictate to any people what it should do, we can say only this: that the living project of Rojava can mobilize and inspire. That the constitution of nation-states which are always, and by their nature, waiting for the enemy is not the only way, and certainly not the best one.

As for our own situation, we need to reactivate our collective imagination and our stubborn persistence in order to block the war by every possible means. To stand against the rearmaments and to make it clear that, however they are presented to us, they are nothing other than preparation for a war in which countless dead of our own will be piled up in the name of the power of others. To sabotage the war machine by every means – the recent examples of the dockworkers in Italy and Greece who blocked containers of war materiel bound for Israel are simply a few among many. To block the war research that has flooded the universities. To talk about conscription, about how, in a world where the powerful build armies in order to clash for the upper hand in the game, every national, defensive pretext collapses. About the fact that to refuse it is no disgrace but a duty, and that it can be done.

In the frenzy of war preparation and of the “state of emergency” there are many ways in which militarism, nationalism and militarization break into our societies, and the result, if we do not prevent it, promises to be

neither temporary nor good for any of us other than those above. War is a weapon in their hands, while for us they are building an ever more suffocating ring around our daily lives and around what we have won, one that will choke us whether or not bombs finally fall on our own towns and villages. And if war does finally come to us as well, all of this is preparing our consent to what will in the end be our own slaughter.

But beyond our lives as such, we must revive an ethics that will not put the selfish and individual interests of each of us first. It will not do, for example, to agonize over the war and to act against it because it drives up the price of petrol, but because it is a question of human dignity and, in the end, a choice and a stance in life not to be turned into beasts that have grown used to blood and death.

Let us stand as a barrier and sabotage the war. Let us build broad alliances, remember old ways and invent new ones. And at the same time, collectively and stubbornly, let us build and spread our own counter-example: that of collective, struggling, free communities, of those who claim their own living space, that abundant life which is not worth sacrificing for their interests and their wars. Let us remember that our own war is not a state war and not a religious war; it is a war against the states, it is a social war, against everything that deprives us of life, literally or metaphorically. And let us remember, finally, that we have no choice. Either our own social resistance will stop the war, or the war will impose submission, the law of the strongest and death.

In summary:

- The military camps are already in action and are forming alliances. States are choosing a camp, and the armed conflicts now under way are camp conflicts, announcing in advance how they will line up in the event of a generalized war. The same goes for rearmament. Under these conditions we are not dealing with defence spending but with war credits, and refusing them is item No.1 of the anti-militarist programme.
- The national armies lose every alibi of defensiveness, and it is integration into the camps that will determine political and strategic

choices; taking part in the army is a war process in the service of the sovereign.

- The formation of an anti-militarist programme against armaments is necessary, as part of an effort to overturn the war perspective and the causes that produce it.
- Against White colonialism and White culture we cannot set a White anti-Westernism or a White orientalism, but bonds of resistance regardless of colour, on the basis of oppression by state Democracies or Dictatorships.
- Internationalist connection with anti-war movements, and especially with the geographies of the conflict, for the spread of the anti-militarist movement.
- It has been proved historically that social resistances and anti-war movements can bring about the defeat of the war and of the militarism produced within their own state.

Therefore:

DOWN WITH THE WAR

Democratic confederalism from the river to the sea.

An end to the armed conflicts now.

Sabotage in every war process.

Taking part in the Army is taking part in the global war of the camps.

Defence spending is war credits.

Armaments and rearmaments out of our lives and out of society.

Either social anti-militarist resistance will stop the war, or the war will impose submission, necropolitics and the Law of the strongest.

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