Chapter 5
Following Leo Tolstoy's Conscientious Objection: Conscription of the Spirit and a New *Dharma* of Peace Building

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This essay deepens the understanding of the precious heritage of anti-conscription movements since the time during and after the First World War. It was Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910), the famous drama and prose writer, who first condemned the legal conscription system of drafting young men that had been introduced in Tzarist Russia in the year 1875. He later described the fate and soul of a conscientious objector in his unfinished play *The Light Shines in the Darkness* (1890). Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* (1893) became the most inspiring book for the young barrister-at-law Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, as he testifies in his autobiography *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (1925–1929).

Long before the First World War, Tolstoy, in the last twenty years of his life, increasingly supported conscientious objectors around the world, particularly medics and soldiers who refused the military oath and forced military service by conscription. One of these conscientious objectors was Yevdokim Nikititch Drozhin (1866–1894), whose life story is not widely documented.

The editor of the anthology *Tolstoy's Writings on Civil Disobedience and Non-Violence* (1968) summarizes Drozhin's biography in brief:

> Yevdokim Nikititch Drozhin, or Drozhzhin, was born August 11, 1866, at Tolstui Lug in the Government of Kursk, Russia. His parents were peasants. He early displayed great love for learning, and before he was seventeen he was an assistant in a local parochial school. Afterward he received instruction in the Teacher's Seminary at Byelgorod. Through the

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A. K. Giri and S. Varghese (eds.), *Towards a New Dharma of Peace Building*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-6066-8_5

> influence of a young peasant from his own locality—Nikolaï Trofimovitch Izyumchenko—he became imbued with socialist and revolutionary views, and on this account was not allowed to graduate, but afterward he qualified as a teacher and accepted a position as village teacher at Chernitcheva, where he remained two years. In 1899 he made acquaintance of D. A. Hilkof, and fell under the influence of Count Tolstoy's writings. His literary activities and his exchange of letters with Izyumchenko and others brought upon him the attention of the police and he was arrested. Nearly all the rest of his life is the story of his resistance of the military conscription in accordance with Tolstoy's explanation of Christ's doctrine of non-resistance. He was enrolled in the so-called Disciplinary Battalion, where he was treated with the greatest harshness as if he had been a criminal instead of a Christian (Tolstoy, 1968: 260).

Drozhin died of consumption and pneumonia at Voronezh prison on January 27, 1894. His friend Evgenij Ivanovich Popov (1864–1938) wrote Drozhin's biography, published by Vladimir Chertkov in German (Popov, 1895) and in English (Popov, 1899) together with a postscript by Leo Tolstoy written on March 16, 1895, and translated by Chertkov himself:

> And in our day men like Drozhin are not unique; there are thousands, tens of thousands, and their number, and what is better their significance, increases every year and every hour. In Russia we know tens of thousands of men who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new Tsar, and who regarded military service as murder, inconsistent not merely with Christianity, but with the commonest demands of honor, justice, and morality. We know such men in all the countries of Europe; we know about the Nazarenes who appeared more than fifty years ago in Austria and Serbia, and who, from a few hundreds, have now increased to more than thirty thousand, refusing participation in military service in spite of all persecution (Tolstoy, 1968: 265).
>
> And if there were no army, there would be none of those cruelties and injustices which it entails. Only by means of the army can one establish and support that order, whereby all the land is in the hands of those that do not work on it, while those that work on it are deprived of it; only by means of the army could they take away the labors of the poor and give them to the rich; only by means of the army could they intentionally stupefy the people, and deprive them of the possibility of true enlightenment.
>
> The army consists of soldiers—we ourselves are the soldiers! If we refuse to be soldiers, there will be nothing of the sort (Tolstoy, 1968: 274).

During the year 1896 a young man named Johannes Koenraad van der Veer (1869–1928) from Holland was called to enter the national guard and he responded to the Commandant of the National Guard of the Middelburg district, M. Herman Sneiders, by stating: "[…] I hate murder by order, I refuse to serve as a National Guardsman, and ask you not to send me either uniform or arms, because I have a fixed resolve not to use them" (quoted in Tolstoy, 1968: 10).

Commenting on van der Veer's letter, Tolstoy wrote his essay "The Beginning of the End" on 6 January 1897:

> Van der Veer refuses military service, not because he follows the commandment, 'Thou shalt do no murder,' not because he is a Christian, but because he holds murder to be opposed to human nature. He writes that he simply abhors all killing, and abhors it to such a degree that he becomes a vegetarian just to avoid participation in the killing of animals; and, above all, he says, he refuses military service because he thinks 'murder by order,' that is, the obligation

> to kill those whom one is order to kill (which is the real nature of military service), is incompatible with man's uprightness (Tolstoy, 1968: 11).

But Tolstoy knew exactly that van der Veer refused to preserve "the present social order, because it is bad, because in it the rich dominate the poor, which ought not to be. So that, even if he had any other doubts as to the propriety of serving or not serving, the one consideration that in serving as a soldier he must, by carrying arms and threatening to kill, support the oppressing rich against the oppressed poor, would compel him to refuse military service" (Tolstoy, 1968: 11f.).

Van der Veer, an active socialist, adopted pacifist-anarchist ideas following his release from military prison. He was a famous representative of the Dutch Tolstoy movement, advocating the principles of nonviolent noncooperation, temperance, anti-vivisection and vegetarianism (Followers of Tolstoy, n.d.).

Tolstoy's two volume book *Für alle Tage*, published in German in 1906 and 1907, further elaborates upon Drozhin's example (Tolstoi, 1906: 567–568) and provides us with two additional exemplary conscientious objectors: the farmer Olchovik and the physician Dr. Albert Škarvan (1869–1926) (Tolstoi, 1906: 568–572)—as well as the sect of the Nazarenes, which was widespread in Hungary, Serbia and Croatia (Tolstoi, 1906: 106–110). Tolstoy reprinted accounts of their acts of refusal provided by Skarvan and Dr. Dusan Makovicky in a Russian monthly "Obrasovanie" (June–July 1904).

Skarvan was a physician, who became a conscientious objector when he served as a conscript in the Habsburg army (Brock, 2002). "On his release he travelled to Russia and befriended Dr. Dusan Makovicky, Tolstoy's physician. Skarvan continued to advocate nonviolence until his death in 1926" (Lewer, 1992: 29).

The farmer Olchovik was drafted on October 15, 1895. He refused to take the military oath on October 20, 1895 because of his Christian belief. Together with Sereda, a fellow conscript who followed his example, Olchovik was exiled to imprisonment at the river Amur (Tolstoi, 1907: 110–113).

In his programmatic essay "Two Wars," Tolstoy compares the Spanish-American War (April 21–August 13, 1898) in the Caribbean region, leading to the United States' Philippine-American War, with the 1895 Burning of Arms by the Russian Doukhobors, whom he refers to as "heroes of the war against war, who—unseen and unheard—have died and are now dying under the rod, in foul prison cells or in painful exile, and who, nevertheless, to their last breath, stand firm by goodness and truth" (Tolstoy, 1898, reprinted in Tolstoy, 1968: 18–23 [21]).

> I knew dozens of these martyrs who have already died, and hundreds more who, scattered all over the world, are still suffering martyrdom for the truth.
>
> I knew Drozhin, a peasant teacher, who was tortured to death in a penal battalion; I knew another, Izumtchenko (a friend of Drozhin), who, after being kept for some time in a penal battalion, was banished to the other end of the world. I knew Olkhovikof, a peasant who refused military service, and was consequently sent to a penal battalion, and then, while on board a steamer which was transporting him into exile, converted Sereda, the soldier who had him in charge. Sereda, understanding what Olkhovikof said to him as to the sinfulness of military service, went to his superiors and said, like the ancient martyrs; "I do not wish to be among the torturers; let me join the martyrs." And forthwith they began to torture him,

> sent him to a penal battalion, and afterwards exiled him to the province of Yakutsk. I knew dozens of Dukhobors, of whom many have died or become blind, and yet they would not yield to demands which are contrary to the divine law (Tolstoy, 1968: 21).

Vladimir Chertkov (1854–1936) became the chief editor of the collected works of Tolstoy. After he quit military service he joined Tolstoy in 1883, and in 1885 he founded the publishing house called "Intermediary" ('posrednik', Russian: Посредник), which was Tolstoy's idea. This publishing house issued works by Russia's most famous authors such as Anton Chekhov (1860–1904), Vladimir Korolenko (1853–1921), Vsevolod Garshin (1855–1888), and Nikolai Leskov (1831–1895). When the Czarist regime came to regard Chertkov as an enemy, he went to exile in England from 1897 on, settled at the Tolstoyan Purleigh Colony, where he established his publishing company the "Free Word Press" (Russian: Свободное слово) with a separate English language branch, the "Free Age Press." The latter lasted until 1916 under the directorship of Charles William Daniel (1871–1955), as translator and editor, of the Tolstoy colony based at Tuckton House. Together with Sergei Tolstoy (1863–1947), Leo's eldest son, Chertkov assisted the Doukhobors' migration to Canada:

> The Doukhobors first appeared in the 18th century. By the end of the last century or the beginning of the present, their doctrine had become so clearly defined and the number of their followers had so greatly increased, that the Government and the Church, considering this sect to be peculiarly obnoxious, started a cruel persecution.
>
> The foundation of the Doukhobors' teaching consists in the believe that the Spirit of God is present in the soul of man, and directs him by its word within him. […]
>
> The Doukhobors found alike their mutual relations and their relations to other people—and not only to people, but to all living creatures—exclusively on love; and therefore, they hold all people equal brethren. They extend this idea of equality also to the Government authorities; obedience to whom they do not consider binding upon them in those cases when the demands of these authorities are in conflict with their conscience; while, in all that does not infringe what they regard as the will of God, they willingly fulfil the desire of the authorities.
>
> They consider murder, violence, and in general all relations to living beings not based on love, as opposed to their conscience, and to the will of God (Tchertkoff, 1913: 84f.).

Particularly noteworthy is Tolstoy's commitment to the Doukhobors, who, at the risk of their lives, refused any service in the military and, as a symbol of a new age without war, publicly burned their entire stock of weapons in 1895. In 1897, Tolstoy nominated them as candidates for the first Nobel Peace Prize.

It was British Quakers, Count Leo Tolstoy and his son Sergei, who funded the life-saving initiative, and the Russian anarchist "Prince" Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921), who, with the help of his friend, the Scottish Canadian economist James Mavor (1854–1925) of the University of Toronto, made possible the emigration of the Doukhobors to Canada (Mavor, 1923): "What Kropotkin meant by 'mutual aid' was not very far from what Tolstoy meant by 'love', and when we examine the development of Tolstoy's social thought and compare it with that of the other anarchists we realize how firmly his doctrine fits into the libertarian tradition" (Woodcock, 1983:

208f.). For his part, Tolstoy donated all proceeds from his last novel (*Resurrection*, 1899) to support the Doukhobors.

During the First World War three important peace organizations in the United Kingdom ("No-Conscription Fellowship") and the United States of America ("Anti-Enlistment League," "No Conscription League") opposed wartime conscription.

The "No Conscription Fellowship" pioneered these efforts in England. Lilla Brockway (1889–1974) conceived of the need for such an organization and inspired her husband (Brockway, 1942: 66–71), Archibald Fenner Brockway (1888–1988), and Clifford Allen (1889–1939), both pacifists and leading members of the Independent Labour Party, to found this organization on November 27, 1914. In doing so, they acted in a highly prescient manner: the British government under Prime Minister H. H. Asquith would pass the Military Service Act in January 1916. Working from their home in Derbyshire, Lilla Brockway served as Secretary of the Fellowship until the main office was relocated to London to adequately manage the growing interest in the organization: by early 1915, the organization had more than 300 members—its "Statement of Faith" appealed to many people, religious and secular minded alike, as documented by John William Graham (1859–1932), Professor of the Principals and History of Quakerism, in his book *Conscription and Conscience. A History 1916–1919* (1922):

> The No-Conscription Fellowship is an organization of men likely to be called upon to undertake military service in the event of conscription, who will refuse from conscientious motives to bear arms, because they consider human life to be sacred, and cannot, therefore, assume the responsibility of inflicting death. They deny the right of Governments to say, 'You shall bear arms,' and will oppose every effort to introduce compulsory military service into Great Britain. Should such efforts be successful, they will, whatever the consequences may be, obey their conscientious convictions rather than the commands of Governments. […] The members of the Fellowship refuse to engage in any employment which necessitates taking the military oath (Graham, 1922: 174).

The No-Conscription Fellowship (NCF) garnered the support of many prominent figures such as Bertrand Russell (1872–1970), George Lansbury (1859–1940), Ethel and Philip Snowden (1881–1951 and 1864–1937), John Clifford (1836–1923), Alfred and Ada Salter (1873–1945 and 1866–1942), Catherine Marshall (1880–1961), and Olive Schreiner (1855–1920). Particularly noteworthy is the crucial role played by early feminists and suffragettes such as Violet Tillard (1874–1922), the Quaker schoolteacher and editor of the NCF's weekly newspaper *The Tribunal* Lydia Sargent Smith, Hope Squire (1878–1936), and many others. Those who publicly declared their opposition to any war and refused conscription were, indeed, in dire need of the organization's support:

> Ranged against them they had the full might of the government, the police, the army, most churches and the jingoist press which whipped up public opinion against COs [conscientious objectors] or 'conchies' as they were labelled. Immense personal pressures were put on COs not just by the state, but also by communities, neighbours, friends, even families. They also had to withstand the pressure to conform when isolated in barracks, army camps and prisons. Some men were shipped to France in May 1916 as the government and army attempted to break their resolve; some were actually sentenced to death although the sentences were commuted to 10 years hard labour. By the war's end at least 100 men died while under state

> control. Some suffered mental breakdowns. Some 20,000 men refused to fight altogether (Peace Pledge Union, n.d.).

Deeply impressed and influenced by the British No-Conscription Fellowship, the driving force behind the first organization in the United States of America to oppose conscription was Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan (1875–1955). She gained her university degrees in Political Economy at Columbia University (M.A, 1899, Ph.D. 1910), but was barred from an academic career due to discrimination against her gender. Thus, she taught English at some of New York City's public schools and devoted herself to nonviolent resistance as the road to peace, spearheading initiatives against conscription and war (Bennett, 1998: 11–70). Having been a member of Jane Addams' Woman's Peace Party's New York branch, Hughan not only went on to become founder of the War Resisters League (1923) and the Pacifist Teachers League (1940), but also created their forerunner, the Anti-Enlistment League in May 1915.

Hughan's efforts were immediately supported by her sister Evelyn Hughan, Unitarian minister John Haynes Holmes (1879–1964), Tracy Dickinson Mygatt (1885–1973), and Frances M. Witherspoon (1886–1973). These group members were the first to each sign individual an "Anti-Enlistment Pledge," later, in January 1916, to be printed on postcard sized pieces of paper and distributed to potential signatories. While the pledge on the front page itself read:

> I, being over eighteen years of age, hereby pledge myself against enlistment as a volunteer for any military or naval service in international war, offensive or defensive, and against giving my approval to such enlistment on the part of others (Pledge Card of Anti-Enlistment League, 1916).

… a "Statement" by the organization's committee members Hughan and Mygatt was printed on the back:

> In view of the fact that the advocates of armament are gathering in leagues of defense those who hold themselves ready to serve their country by killing other men, it seems that the time has come for a roll-call of those of us who are prepared to serve our country by a refusal to engage in or endorse the murder called war.
>
> The establishment of a new peace society is not contemplated, but rather the banding together in a personal policy of those whose opposition to war has become unconditional. Women, as well as men, are invited to enroll as refusing their approval to enlistment; but we ask the support of no persons who have not carefully weighed the arguments concerning war both offensive or defensive (Pledge Card of Anti-Enlistment League, 1916).

The Anti-Enlistment League also campaigned against the then prevailing ideology of the so-called Preparedness Movement headed by former President Theodore Roosevelt and former Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army Leonard Wood that same year. Hughan and Mygatt for this purpose distributed a flyer (archived in the Anti-Enlistment League Collected Records, Swarthmore College Peace Collection):

Working Men and Women of the United States:

Your brothers in Europe are destroying each other; the militarists in this country may soon try to send you to the trenches. They will do so in the name of 'Defense of Home' or 'National Honor,' the reasons given to the people of every one of the twelve nations now at war.

But DO NOT ENLIST. Think for yourselves. The Workers of the World are YOUR BROTHERS; their wrongs are your wrongs; their good is your good. War stops Trade, and makes vast armies of Unemployed.

DO NOT ENLIST. The time for Defense by Armies is over. Belgium, Germany and Great Britain have defended themselves with the mightiest of fortresses, armies or navies; and today each country suffers untold misery. War can avenge, punish and destroy; but war can NO LONGER defend.

DO NOT ENLIST. Your country needs you for PEACE; to do good and USEFUL work; to destroy POVERTY and bring in INDUSTRIAL JUSTICE.

WOMEN, REFUSE your consent to the enlistment of your men; the TRUE COURAGE is to STAND FOR THE RIGHT and REFUSE TO KILL.

PEACE IS THE DUTY—NOT WAR
MIGHT IS NOT RIGHT
USE YOUR LIGHT
DO NOT FIGHT

This flyer, too, had a tear-off section with the Pledge on the bottom. A total of around 3.500 individual pledges were collected until the Anti-Enlistment League disbanded after the United States entered the First World War. Harsh Government persecution and seizure of all organizations' files followed (Bennett, 2003: 12).

Clearly inspired by Hughan's Brooklyn-based Anti-Enlistment League, yet even more short-lived, was the No-Conscription League founded by the anarchists and anti-militarists Alexander Berkman (1870–1936) and Emma Goldman (1869–1940). Goldman herself had protested against "Preparedness, the Road to Universal Slaughter" (Goldman, 1915) and now reacted against the introduction of the Selective Service Act when they inaugurated their organization on July 4, 1917, the evening of the first day of military registration of young males aged 18 to 30. The manifesto of the No-Conscription League read:

> We oppose conscription because we are internationalists, anti-militarists, and opposed to all wars waged by capitalistic governments.
>
> We will fight for what we choose to fight for: we will never fight simply because we are ordered to fight.
>
> We believe that the militarization of America is an evil that far outweighs, in its anti-social and anti-libertarian effects, any good that may come from America's participation in the war.
>
> We will resist conscription by every means in our power, and we will sustain those who, for similar reasons, refuse to be conscripted (Goldman, 1917: 113).

Ten days later, on 15 July, the day of the enactment of the Espionage Act, Goldman and Berkman were sentenced to two years in prison. Upon their release, the Sedition

Act in combination with the newly reformed Immigration Act of 1918 enabled the American government—at the behest of J. Edgar Hoover, the founding director of the FBI, as well as Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer—to deport Berkman and Goldman to the Soviet Union in December 1919.

After the First World War, the "Women's International League for Peace and Freedom" at their Conference in Zurich, Switzerland, in May 1919 (held at the same time as the Paris Peace Conference) challenged national governments worldwide: "The right to declare war should be abolished. […] Immediate reduction of armaments on the same terms for all states, and the abolition of private manufacture of and traffic in munitions of war, should be undertaken, as steps towards total international disarmament. […] Military conscription should be abolished" (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1920: 241–279).

When Clyde Alonzo Milner (1899–1988), president of Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, on behalf of the Friends Committee on National Legislation, described the Quaker's principled anti-war stance and gave a brief history of conscription, he emphasized one of the chief opponents of the conscription system, namely Jan Christiaan Smuts, who played a leading role in the Paris Peace Conference as second prime minister of the Union of South Africa (and former political opponent of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi in this country). In a 1963 U.S. Congress hearing, Milner said:

> In 1919, Jan Smuts of South Africa declared that conscription was the 'tap root of militarism' and proposed its abolition. In an early draft of the League of Nations Covenant a prohibition against conscription was proposed by Woodrow Wilson but was never incorporated (Milner, 1963: 125).

Even before, in 1918, US President Woodrow Wilson's first and second drafts of the Covenant of the League of Nations for the Paris (or Versailles) Peace Conference had proposed the worldwide abolition of conscription. In the notes of a meeting held at President Wilson's House, Place des-Etats-Unis, Paris, on May 23, 1919, we find this remarkable testimony: "President Wilson said that although he had been in favour of it, he regretted that the Covenant of the League of Nations had not abolished conscription" (The Department of State, 1937: 355).

That is why pacifist intellectuals drafted three significant peace declarations and manifestoes between 1919 and 1930 which were meant to renew the energy and spirit of Leo Tolstoy.

"Declaration of Independence of the Spirit" (1919)

In 1919, the Indian social reformer and poet Rabindranath Tagore exchanged letters with the French novelist and pacifist Romain Rolland, who later became most famous for his biographies of Tolstoy, Gandhi, Ramakrishna, and Vivekananda. Both, Tagore and Rolland, were concerned about the intellectuals' responsibility during and before war time. Rolland drafted and spread his "Declaration of Independence of the Spirit" (first published in the French newspaper *l'Humanité* on June 26, 1919 under the title "Fière Déclaration d'Intellectuels", then republished by Rolland as "Déclaration de l'Indépendance de l'Esprit" in *Les Précurseurs*,

Éditions de l'Humanité, 1920, pp. 221–226), which was then signed by, among others, Jane Addams (USA), Henri Barbusse (France), Paul Birukoff (Russia), Benedetto Croce (Italy), A. de Chateaubriand (France), Georges Duhamel (France), Prof. Albert Einstein (Germany), Prof. August Forel (Switzerland), Prof. Alfred Hermann Fried (Austria), Hermann Hesse (Germany), Ellen Key (Sweden), Selma Lagerloef (Sweden), Andreas Latzko (Hungary), Heinrich Mann (Germany), Frans Masereel (Belgium), Sophus Michaelis (Denmark), Mathias Morhardt (France), Prof. Georg Friedrich Nicolai (Germany), Eugenio d'Ors (Catalonia), Edmond Picard (Belgium), Prof. Leonhard Ragaz (Switzerland), Romain Rolland (France), Jules Romains (France), Bertrand Russell (England), Nicholas Roubakine (Russia), Fritz von Unruh (Germany), Henry van der Velde (Belgium), Israel Zangwill (England), and Stefan Zweig (Austria).

Tagore wholeheartedly supported Rolland's Declaration, which reflects the situation of international intellectuals after the First World War:

> The Spirit is the servant of none. It is we who are servants of the Spirit. We have no other master. We are made to carry, to protect its life, to rally round it all men who have gone astray. Our part, our duty is to keep a fixed point, to show forth the pole-star in the midst of the turbulence of the passions in the night. Among these passions of pride and mutual destruction we make no selection; we reject them all. We serve Truth alone, Truth that is free and frontierless, without confines, without prejudice of race or caste. Certainly we do not exempt ourselves from Humanity. It is for Humanity we labour, but Humanity whole and entire. We do not know peoples, we know the People, unique, universal, the People which suffers and struggles, which falls to rise again, which advances always over to the rough road, drenched with its own sweat and blood, the People of all mankind, and equally our brothers. And it is in order that they with us should gain the consciousness of this brotherhood, that we raise up over their blind conflict the Arch of Alliance, of the Free Spirit, one and manifold, eternal (Declaration of Independence of the Spirit, 1919: 81; cf. Aronson & Kripalani, 1945: 20–24).

Rabindranath Tagore added his signature to the list of names, and he replied to Romain Rolland's request dated July 9, 1919 in an open letter:

> When my mind was steeped in the gloom of the thought, that the lesson of the war had been lost, and that people were trying to perpetuate their hatred and anger into the same organized menace for the world which threatened themselves with disaster, your letter came and cheered me with its message of hope. The truths, that save us, have always been uttered by the few and rejected by the many, and have triumphed through their failures. It is enough for me to know, that the higher conscience of Europe has been able to assert itself in one of her choicest spirits through the ugly clamours of passionate politics; and I gladly hasten to accept your invitation to join the ranks of those free souls, who, in Europe, have conceived the project of a Declaration of Independence of the Spirit (Tagore, 1919: 81; cf. Aronson & Kripalani, 1945: 20–24).

Anti-conscription Manifesto (1926)

The historian Hans Kohn (1891–1971), after his recent arrival in Palestine, who later taught at City College of New York, the New School of Social Research, and at Harvard Summer School, suggested the 1926 Anti-Conscription Manifesto (Prasad, 2005: 107–111). This was promoted by his friends of the War Resisters'

International and signed among others by: C. F. Andrews (India), Norman Angell (England), Henri Barbusse (France), Albrecht Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (Germany), Annie Besant (India), Natanael Beskow (Sweden), Martin Buber (Germany), Edward Carpenter (England), Miguel de Unamuno (Spain), Georges Duhamel (France), Prof. Albert Einstein (Germany), Prof. August Forel (Switzerland), M. K. Gandhi (India), Dr. Kurt Hiller (Germany), Toyohiko Kagawa (Japan), Ellen Key (Sweden), Christian Lous Lange (Norway), George Lansbury, M. P. (England), Carl Lindhagen, M. d. P. (Sweden), Reichstagspräsident Paul Löbe (Germany), Arthur Ponsonby, M. P. (England), Prof. Leonhard Ragaz (Switzerland), Lajpat Rai (India), Eugen Relgis (Romania), Romain Rolland (France), Bertrand Russell (England), Philip Snowden, M. P. (England), Helena M. Swanwick (England), Rabindranath Tagore (India), Fritz von Unruh (Germany), Elin Wägner (Sweden), and H. G. Wells (England). The complete list of signatories is documented elsewhere (Kobler, 1928: 362–364).

In 1926, Herbert Runham Brown, Hon. Secretary of the War Resisters' International (11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England) issued the Manifesto's text directed at the League of Nations:

> It is our belief that conscript armies, with their large corps of professional officers, are a grave menace to peace. Conscription involves the degradation of human personality, and the destruction of liberty. Barrack life, military drill, blind obedience to commands, however unjust and foolish they maybe, and deliberate training for slaughter undermine respect for the individual, for democracy and human life.
>
> It is debasing human dignity to force men to give up their lives, or to inflict death against their will, or without conviction as to the justice of their action. The State which thinks itself entitled to force its citizens to go to war will never pay proper regard to the value and happiness of their lives in peace. Moreover, by conscription the militarist spirit of aggressiveness is implanted in the whole male population at the most impressionable age.
>
> By training for war men come to consider war as unavoidable and even desirable.
>
> By the universal abolition of conscription, war will be made less easy. The Government of a country which maintains conscription has little difficulty in declaring war, for it can silence the whole population by a mobilization order. When Governments have to depend for support upon the voluntary consent of their peoples, they must necessarily exercise caution in their foreign policies (Gandhi, 1926: 414f.).

Mahatma Gandhi expressed his solidarity when writing:

> The manifesto is signed by well-known men and women from England, Finland, France, Germany, India, Sweden, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Spain, Switzerland, Denmark, Austria, Japan and Norway. The first step towards the abolition of the military spirit is no doubt abolition of conscription. But the reformers will have to put up an immense struggle to secure State action in the desired direction. Each is afraid and distrustful of his neighbour (Gandhi, 1926: 414f.).

In the *Collected Papers of Albert Einstein Volume 15: The Berlin Years: Writings & Correspondence, June 1925–May 1927* (English Translation Supplement), edited by Diana K. Buchwald et al. Princeton University Press, 2018, pp. 353f. we find the Manifesto published in German in the *Vossische Zeitung* on August 26, 1926 under the title "Internationales Manifest gegen die Wehrpflicht" (p. 2) and on the front

page of *The New York Times* on August 29, 1926 under the title "Anti-Conscription Manifesto."

Manifesto Against Conscription and the Military Training of Youth (1930)

In 1930 the Joint Peace Council and the No More War Movement organized the "Manifesto against Conscription and the Military Training of Youth." The Joint Peace Council was a coalition of international peace organizations (The Friends' International Service, the International Antimilitarist Bureau, the International Cooperative Women's Guild, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, the International Union of Antimilitarist Ministers and Clergymen, the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends, the War Resisters' International, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom). In the spirit of the Kellogg-Briand Pact in 1928—the official prohibition of war in International Law—this Manifesto was signed among others by: Jane Addams (USA), Tolstoy's collaborators Pavel Birukov (Switzerland, originally Russia) and Valentin Bulgakov (Russia), John Dewey (USA), Prof. Albert Einstein (Germany), Prof. August Forel (Switzerland), Prof. Sigmund Freud (Austria), Arvid Jaernefelt (Finland), Toyohiko Kagawa (Japan), Selma Lagerloef (Sweden), Dr. Judah L. Magnes (Palestine), Thomas Mann (Germany), Ludwig Quidde (Germany), Leonhard Ragaz (Switzerland), Henriette Roland Holst (Netherlands), Romain Rolland (France), Bertrand Russell (Great Britain), Upton Sinclair (USA), Rabindranath Tagore (India), H. G. Wells (Great Britain), and Stefan Zweig (Austria):

> Military training is training of mind and body in the technique of killing. It is education for war. It is the perpetuation of the war mentality. It prevents the development of the Will of Peace. The older generation commits a grave crime against the younger generation when in schools, universities, official and private organisations, it educates youth, often under the pretext of physical training, in the science of war.
>
> […]
>
> If Governments fail to recognise the depth of the revolt against war, they must face the resistance of those for whom loyalty to mankind and conscience is supreme. Let the peoples of all countries determine:
>
> NO MORE MILITARISATION !
>
> NO MORE CONSCRIPTION !
>
> EDUCATION FOR HUMANITY AND PEACE !

In Germany, several artists and scientists supported this Manifesto and added a supplementary declaration (printed in: *Die Menschenrechte* [Human Rights], Zeitschrift der Deutschen Liga für Menschenrechte [Periodical of the German League for Human Rights], Berlin 1930, Vol. 5, No. 9, pp. 18–20), which rejected proposals to reintroduce military conscription and condemned any kind of militarism. Among these signatories were: Anita Augspurg, Julius Bab, Gertrud Baer, Prof. Dr. Martin Buber, Alfred Döblin, Dr. Lion Feuchtwanger, Paul Geheeb (Odenwaldschule), Hellmuth von Gerlach, Lida Gustava Heymann, Prof. Alfred Kerr, Käthe Kollwitz, Prof. Dr. Theodor Lessing (Hannover), Heinrich Mann, Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld, M. d. R., Dr. Helene Stöcker, Ignaz Wrobel (= Kurt Tucholsky), and Arnold Zweig.

Manifesto Against Conscription and the Military System (1993)

Inspired by bright intellectuals with critical minds such as the outstanding political journalist Carl von Ossietzky (1889–1938), who deeply appreciated and understood Mahatma Gandhi, the Gandhi Information Center — Research and Education for Nonviolence, registered society for education (Berlin, Germany), launched a new "Manifesto against conscription and the military system" in December 1993 (Gandhi-Informations-Zentrum/Bartolf, 2001), which has been signed since by celebrities, artists and scientists all over the world (www.themanifesto.info). Among them are, just to name few of them: Ela Gandhi (a granddaughter of Mahatma Gandhi, South Africa), Count Serge Tolstoy (a grandson of Count Leo Tolstoy), the artists Pete Seeger (USA), Luciano Pavarotti (Italy) and Ravi Shankar (India), Baba Amte (India), Mulk Raj Anand (Indian author of *Untouchable* [1935] and *Coolie* [1936]), Dr. S. N. Subba Rao (India), Narayan Desai (son of Mahadev Desai, Gandhi's Secretary, India), C. N. Patel (Historian, Editor of The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Ahmedabad, India), Peggy Seeger (labor, civil rights, anti-war and peace activist: folksinger, songwriter, activist, USA), Holly Near (singer, songwriter, USA), Tom Paxton (song poet, social activist, USA), Prof. Linus Pauling (Nobel Prize in Chemistry 1954, Nobel Peace Laureate 1962, USA), Prof. Ivan Illich (social philosopher, Mexico), Daniel and Philip Berrigan (USA), Studs Terkel (author and radio journalist, USA), Thomas M. Keneally (writer, author of "Schindler's List", Australia), Martin Sheen (film actor and producer, USA), Hildegard Goss-Mayr (International Fellowship of Reconciliation, Austria), Henri Cartier-Bresson (art photographer, France), Boubacar Traore (dit Kar Kar) (African Blues singer and guitar player, Mali), Prof. Paul Mendes-Flohr (professor, Israel), Athol Fugard (actor, writer, South Africa), Adolfo Perez Esquivel (architect, sculptor, human rights leader, Nobel Peace Laureate 1980, Argentine), Isabel Allende (writer, USA), George Woodcock (writer, Canada).

This Manifesto continues the legacy of Tolstoy, Gandhi, Einstein, and Freud who were the first to search for alternatives to all forms of economic and legal conscription (as a kind of "semi-slavery"), for alternatives to the military and war—by a new kind of "conscription of the spirit" (Franz Rosenzweig):

> Which is the magic that pours the appearance of movement over these masses? Where does the magician sit? It is the same one who in commercial life hurled into chaos of a mass, torn from the naturalness of need, the endless artificiality of the 'essential commodity' and thus falsified need into addiction, necessity into frenzy, way of life into fashion—it is the capitalist spirit. The same which, only intellectually [*geistig*] disguised, who hurled here the arbitrary, flighty words of its 'mottoes' into the tumult of the detached individualities and collected those who had fallen out of the bonds of the natural conscription of the spirit [*Geist*] into groups of mercenaries who were brought together only through the magic of the name of the leader or the glamour of the uniform (Rosenzweig, 2000: 90; German original Rosenzweig, 1937: 471f.).

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