

could well have been Vigdorchyk himself. I suspect indeed that the latter was by religious affiliation a Tolstoyan. And 'the nearest friend of Tolstoi,' mentioned here as being a personal friend of the prison visitor, can be only Vladimir Chertkov, who led the anti-militarist movement in the Soviet Union from 1918 until his death in 1936. As the Chertkov Papers in the Russian State Library in Moscow (*fond* 435) become accessible to scholars, we may find materials there on Vigdorchyk, provided of course that my tentative identification of Vigdorchyk as the anonymous prison visitor is correct.

6 I would like to thank Professor Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, Dr Antoni Mironowicz, and Tadeusz A. Olszański for their investigations on my behalf in Warsaw and Białystok. They were not able, however, to uncover in archives and libraries there anything that would throw further light on Vigdorchyk either as man or as pacifist activist.

7 If indeed he really was a Belarusan ...

5

War Resisters in Weimar Germany

GUIDO GRÜNEWALD

The Peace Movement to 1918

Conscientious objection was a concept foreign to the peace movements of nineteenth-century continental Europe. With their principles derived from the intellectual legacy of the Enlightenment, and their roots in liberal middle-class, or *bürgerlich* identity, they saw themselves as part of a more encompassing reform movement; they had pursued five fundamental goals: 'arbitration, arbitration treaties and clauses in treaties, an International Authority or Tribunal or Congress, and [simultaneous and proportional] disarmament.'¹ That conscientious objection was discussed at all at world peace congresses before 1914 can be attributed chiefly to the influence of nonconformist Protestant denominations in the Anglo-Saxon peace movement, and most notably the Quakers, who advocated unconditional non-violence.²

The international socialist labour movement also saw itself as anti-militaristic. Holding militarism to be an expression of the capitalist system, it believed that destroying that system would be necessary for world peace.³ The Dutch anti-militarist – and later anarchist – Domela Nieuwenhuis's resolutions for a general strike against war and against military service received, however, a negative response at congresses of the Second International in Brussels in 1891 and Zürich in 1893, as did the French socialist Gustav Hervé's call in 1907 in Stuttgart for a military strike and Eduard Vaillant's and Keir Hardie's, in 1910 in Copenhagen, for a general strike against war.⁴ The German delegation, more than any other, spoke out against these resolutions. In fact, the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, or SPD (German Social Democratic party), sought to restrict the role of the military to national defence by the device of a 'People's Army.'⁵

Translated from the German by Philip W. Giltner

The Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft, or DFG (German Peace Society) which, after several unsuccessful attempts in this matter, finally gave the German peace movement organizational expression in 1892, was completely within the internationalist tradition.⁶ Up to the First World War, under the influence of Alfred Hermann Fried, the DFG accepted national self-defence as a *sine qua non*. The German pacifists saw themselves as patriots in the best sense of the word. Accordingly, they decisively rejected unilateral disarmament and conscientious objection. Fried called anti-militarism the ‘pacifism of cretins,’⁷ while Otto Umfrid, vice-chairman of the DFG and publisher of its *Friedensblätter* (Peace Papers) regarded Tolstoyan non-resistance as ‘inapplicable’ to the international state system.⁸

In Germany there were only a few hundred conscientious objectors (COs) during the First World War: a small group of Seventh-day Adventists and some Mennonites, as well as middle-class intellectuals and left-socialists, who acted in any event as isolated individuals.⁹ Opposition to the war was more striking among the German anarchosyndicalists, though their protest was in the form not so much of conscientious objection as of open anti-war propaganda and desertion.¹⁰ After the war, large sections of the German anarchosyndicalists, especially the Berlin Working Commission of the Freie Arbeiter Union Deutschlands, or FAUD (German Free Workers’ Union), viewed non-violent ‘direct action’ as the most effective anarchosyndicalist tool in the fight against war.¹¹ The German anarchosyndicalists consequently adopted anti-militarism, categorically rejecting not only military service but also the production of armaments.¹²

The First World War had considerable consequences for the German peace movement. Established in 1914, the Bund Neues Vaterland (New Fatherland League) – from 1922 the Deutsche Liga für Menschenrechte (German League for Human Rights) – represented a peace organization whose explicit purpose was the pursuit of domestic and international peace as well as domestic reform in the form of democratization and social and legal equality.¹³ Towards the end of the war, the DFG began to realize that peace had to be accompanied by domestic political and social reforms. At this time some German advocates of peace began to discover the significance of conscientious objection. Disillusioned by the collapse of the organized peace movement, they recognized now that mass murder had been made possible by general conscription.¹⁴ Those of them who had been taken prisoner of war by the British were impressed by what they then learned of the experiences of British COs, and this information too played a role in spreading the idea of conscientious objection in postwar Germany.¹⁵

Conscription and Conscientious Objection

After the war was over the German peace movement became more diversified in ideological and organizational terms. At the end of 1921 the German Peace Cartel had emerged as a loose association to coordinate pacifist activities; in 1928 it reached its peak with twenty-two member peace and cultural-political organizations representing up to 100,000 members.¹⁶ The German peace movement, including the cartel, clearly shifted leftward during the 1920s. Alongside the internationalist-oriented, liberal middle-class pacifism of the pre-war era, a radical and often aggressive pacifism now found adherents among intellectuals, petty bourgeois, and sections of the social-democratic labour movement. Followers of this new trend could be classified mainly as supporters of the SPD and left-socialists; they strove to build a vaguely defined socialist society through democratic means.

Conscription and conscientious objection, taboo subjects in the pre-war era, had clearly gained new legitimacy. The Weimar-era peace movement – with a few exceptions, including members of the liberal minority of the German Peace Society (such as Ludwig Quidde and Count Harry Kessler¹⁷) as well as the semiofficial Liga für Völkerverbund (German League of Nations Union) and the Verband für international Verständigung (Association for International Understanding) – rejected universal military service. Despite the disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty (forbidding conscription in Germany and limiting that country to an army of 100,000 long-term professional soldiers), this was not a purely theoretical discussion, as the right-wing parties called for the restoration of conscription, while sections of the SPD held on to the idea of a ‘people’s army’ and the liberals wanted to replace the standing army with a militia.

Yet in the Weimar peace movement conscientious objection was a more controversial issue than conscription. The non-party Bund der Kriegsdienstgegner, or BdK (War Resisters’ League) advocated non-violence; members pledged themselves to refuse to perform any sort of war service. Established in 1919, the BdK was one of the founding members of the War Resisters’ International (WRI) in 1921.¹⁸ Another member of the WRI,¹⁹ the Großdeutsche Volksgemeinschaft or GVG (Catholic Greater German Peoples’ Community) and the German branch of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR), with a mainly Protestant membership, drew its non-violent principles from religious sources.²⁰ Most of this essay deals with these three organizations – the BdK, the GVG, and the German FOR.

At its 1924 Washington congress, the Women’s International League for International Peace and Freedom (WILPF) similarly rejected any form of war

or preparations for war.²¹ During the brief Soviet regime in Bavaria in the spring of 1919, and during the Kapp Putsch of March 1920, women from the German branch of the WILPF had some success in bringing the conflicting parties in the civil war into contact so as to hinder the outbreak of violent conflict.²² After the 1919 founding congress of the WILPF in Zürich, the German branch established a conscientious-objection section whose activity apparently remained only peripheral.²³

Principled adherence to conscientious objection was supported by the Deutsche Pazifistischer Studentenbund (German Pacifists Students' Union) at its fifth congress at Frankfurt-am-Main in 1926²⁴ and by the Vereinigung der Freunde von Religion und Völkerfrieden (Association of the Friends of Religion and Peace among the Peoples), whose activities, however, were confined mainly to the Berlin area:²⁵ both organizations had only limited capacity for action.

In the Weimar peace movement, not only principled pacifists saw conscientious objection and the general strike against war as the only proper response to war. Both methods, as well as abolition of the army altogether, were also advocated by the Friedensbund der Kriegsteilnehmer (Veterans League for Peace), which for a few years after the war had initiated a series of powerful 'no more war' demonstrations.²⁶ After 1918, the DFG – which was also the largest and most active German peace organization in the Weimar period – proposed recognition of the 'moral right' of conscientious objection.²⁷ The aggressive pacifism of Fritz Küster's journal *Das Andere Deutschland* (The Other Germany) came to be the dominant ideology of the DFG from the mid-1920s.²⁸ Most of the aggressive pacifists calling for large-scale conscientious objection and for a general strike against war as well as the end of all armaments production did so for purely practical reasons,²⁹ and their attitude was not fundamentally non-violent.³⁰ Likewise, the more conservative Friedensbund Deutscher Katholiken (Peace League of German Catholics) recognized defensive war as deriving from the principle of just war and therefore rejected absolute non-violence.³¹ But there were radical Catholic pacifists from the GVG and the Grossdeutsche Jugend (Greater German Youth) with its leader, Nikolaus Ehlens, as well as people such as Father Ohlmeier who agitated within the Peace League of German Catholics in favour of unconditional conscientious objection, while the 1929 congress of the Peace League, held in Frankfurt-am-Main, called for alternatives to a just (i.e., defensive) war and for the 'organization of other and better defensive methods,' such as 'a general strike against foreign tyranny, passive resistance,' and the practice of conscientious objection 'as an act of self-defence of the governed.'³²

An original view of pacifism was expressed by Kurt Hiller's Gruppe Revolu-

tionärer Pazifisten (Revolutionary Pacifist Group). Established in 1926, it reached at its peak a membership of some 160 left-wing intellectuals, located mainly in Berlin.³³ A member of Berlin's literary expressionist circles since about 1910, Hiller had urged a Nietzschean vitalistic life philosophy and developed an elitist concept of 'logocracy' (political leadership by intellectuals). After the First World War he became one of the leading advocates of radical pacifism within the peace movement. He rejected every form of war and saw the basis of pacifism in 'the sacredness of human life and its absolute inviolability';³⁴ the duty of the peace movement was 'to prepare conscientious objection carefully and to organize on the widest possible scale – nationally as well as internationally – for an emergency.'³⁵ From the mid-1920s, Hiller's perspective moved from an ethical-psychological focus on unconditional pacifism to concentrate on questions of power politics and techniques of domination. He now believed that only completion of the social revolution and victory over capitalism could finally serve peace. Under capitalism, the Revolutionary Pacifists indeed rejected defensive war – even as an enforcement action under the League of Nations – and offensive war;³⁶ Hiller, however, now stressed the right of the individual to renounce the right to life for the sake of self-chosen ideals such as socialism.³⁷ While Hiller's theory of revolutionary pacifism bolstered conscientious objection and non-violence, he favoured the use of violence in a 'Red civil war' as well as a defensive war in the event of a socialist state being attacked by the capitalists.³⁸

Bund der Kriegsdienstgegner

The BdK, whose members were required to sign the pledge of the WRI,³⁹ categorically rejected limits on pacifism in the name of these kinds of goals. The war resisters simply would not accept a separation of ends and means. Their basic principle was 'recognition of the sanctity of human life,' which they aspired to make the 'fundamental law of human society.'⁴⁰ Hence the BdK rejected not only every kind of defensive war or military sanctions under the League of Nations, but also a 'war to defend and liberate the oppressed proletariat.' Yet this stance did not mean that it accepted the social status quo. In accordance with the WRI pledge, which was marked by a confusing mixture of anarchistic and liberal thought,⁴¹ the BdK vowed to fight all the causes of war, including racial and ideological differences, class distinctions, nationalism in league with economic imperialism, and the false notion that the individual should be subservient to the state.

While war resisters criticized the League of Nations as ineffective and undemocratic and reproached its most powerful members for being dilatory

about disarmament and turning the league into a de facto alliance against the Soviet Union,⁴² they did believe in the need for an international organization. War resisters did not place 'the axiom of preserving human life' above 'justice itself,' wrote Martha Steinitz, a BdK member and WRI secretary, in a discussion over creating a League of Nations executive to defend peace.⁴³ In contrast to Tolstoy, most war resisters acknowledged the right of individual self-defence.⁴⁴ But a League of Nations war involving military sanctions against a transgression of international law would – given the nature of modern war – destroy the innocent as well as the guilty and bring with it 'new [and] ruthless injustices' along with the injustices for which the guilty were responsible.⁴⁵ Therefore the goal of pacifism must be 'to find a life-affirming humanitarian (*menschenbeglückende*) method of protecting life, law, and justice.'

The BdK saw itself as clearly non-partisan. Within the German Peace Cartel, however, it was part of the left wing; and its most active members were clearly anti-capitalist and sympathized with socialist or anarchosyndicalist ideas.⁴⁶ Against this background emerged repeated discussion within its ranks whether the principle of non-violence could also be justified in a revolutionary civil war. Arnold Kalisch, BdK delegate to the German Peace Cartel and later editor of the BdK's paper *Die Friedensfront* (Peace Front), clearly affirmed non-violence also in such situations; the revolutionary forces, he asserted, did not fire just 'bunches of roses.'⁴⁷ Robert Pohl, a cofounder of the BdK, rejected violence in 1923, even in defence against a putsch of the extreme right.⁴⁸ Above all, Helene Stöcker, one of the dominant personalities of the German peace movement after the First World War and the BdK's chief theorist,⁴⁹ repeatedly stressed the painful discrepancy between 'our ethical desires and reality.'⁵⁰ Stöcker, who was also a member of the Revolutionary Pacifist Group – she promoted the interpretation of its 'work for social revolution' along the lines of Friedrich Lassalle's peaceful evolution (*Umwälzung*)⁵¹ – had argued cogently that it was 'an insolubly tragic characteristic' of this world that made all equally guilty, since also the libertarian struggle that she thought necessary 'would almost certainly require death and destruction as part of the solution.'⁵² Though she warned against the dangers of being hypocritical vis-à-vis the class struggle, and therefore even pleaded for the sacrifice of internal peace if that would hinder a new world war,⁵³ she was nevertheless one of the few pacifists who would maintain their ideals of non-violence against the Nazis.⁵⁴

To secure the peace, the BdK advocated general disarmament (i.e., disbanding of armies), illegalization of war for any reason,⁵⁵ and – in case any government should break the peace – massive conscientious objection. The military would anyhow be unable to prevent an invasion physically, argued Arnold Kalisch, 'it could only execute a counterattack.' As real defence existed 'now

only in renouncing aggression i.e., in voluntary disarmament,⁵⁶ Germany should consider the disarmament called for at Versailles as a sort of liberation and make itself an example to the world.⁵⁷ The war resisters saw conscientious objection as more than just refusing to perform military service; they viewed it in the wider sense of refusing to produce or transport war materiel or weapons, lend money for warmaking, or perform alternative duties that would make others available for military service. This last point was, however, disputed; while some members supported legal alternative service for COs,⁵⁸ the majority, supporting voluntary service, warned against any kind of compulsory service as 'contrary to the interests of society, in particular if it were a substitute for military service in time of war.'⁵⁹ The BdK energetically resisted the introduction of conscription and the obligatory service demanded by the nationalists as an equivalent to military service.⁶⁰ The International Manifesto against Conscription of 1925, promoted by the WRI and signed by some famous personalities, was a BdK initiative.⁶¹ When the creation of a militia system through international negotiation crystallized as a policy goal of the republican parties in 1927, it was the BdK again that had publicly, as well as inside the German Peace Cartel, warned against militias as a force for the militarization of society.⁶² The BdK joined with syndicalist youth and other groups against proposals for a national labour service on the grounds that this would be a serious constraint on personal freedom, as well as an attack on the rights of the working man and his pay levels, and would lead to militarization, thereby increasing the risk of war.⁶³

Even if a prominent pacifist such as the ethical reformer Magnus Schwantje had hoped in the 1920s that massive conscientious objection would inhibit war,⁶⁴ the leading members of the BdK were aware of the limited effect of conscientious objection, no matter what their fairly radical rhetoric might have held. Conscientious objection could 'not [be] a method to stop a war that had already broken out,' argued Johann Orthmann; it constituted rather 'a spiritual attitude' and a 'symbol of a personal contribution in the fight for the peace of nations.'⁶⁵ Max Barth saw conscientious objection as a method of controlling the state by the citizen, 'a pressure tactic of the governed,' and 'a moral demonstration.'⁶⁶ The BdK regarded it as a way to get the individual to enter the struggle against war directly. In opposition to the segments of the peace movement that uncritically accepted some military experts' visions of future wars of aerial bombardment and poison gas attacks that would be led by small elite groups,⁶⁷ the BdK maintained its belief in the role of mass armies and hence also the importance of conscientious objection.⁶⁸ Albert Einstein's declaration that conscientious objection of only 2 per cent of those called up would stop a war also raised hopes.⁶⁹ Yet when war resisters thought about how a future war could be hindered by strikes,⁷⁰ the trade unions' bland declarations of their intention to

call a general strike in the event of a war, alongside the SPD's dismissive attitude, failed to convince them that, when things got serious, the workers could really be counted on.⁷¹ Conversely, while war resisters could look proudly to Gandhi's example of non-violent resistance, they were unable in fact to envisage non-violent defence against a potential aggressor.

The BdK saw itself above all as a 'community of conscience' and saw its task as 'getting other organizations to discuss and implement' conscientious objection.⁷² Accordingly, it was active in the districts of Zwickau as well as in the Rhineland and Westphalia in the war-resistance plebiscite, initiated in 1927 on an international scale by the British Labour politician and pacifist Arthur Ponsonby. Some 224,000 people in these districts signed the pledge to 'deny military service or labour to any government that resorts to arms.'⁷³ Yet as the BdK mostly worked together with other peace organizations, its small membership – at its peak in 1930, it had barely 3,000 members, of which only about one hundred were active – usually meant that its influence was small. High unemployment among members following the onset of the world economic crisis further limited its activities.⁷⁴ Its increasing marginalization, together with the growth of National Socialism at the beginning of the 1930s, led to a fundamental examination of strategy. War propaganda by the Nazis and the nationalist right was so effective because it drew on 'youthful lust for adventure,' argued Arnold Kalisch. The pacifist's task was therefore 'to create the peace adventure.'⁷⁵ As the kind of task that would encourage dedication, personal self-sacrifice, and a 'feeling of personal involvement,' the war resisters valued the work of the International Voluntary Service for Peace (IVSP), founded in 1920 by the Swiss Quaker Pierre Ceresole.⁷⁶ With the IVSP, the BdK adopted the WRI's notion of a 'peaceful heroism' and transformed the self-sacrifice ideal of the warrior hero in the service of his fatherland to a life-affirming heroism.⁷⁷ In November 1932 the BdK organized a conference on the practical implications of pacifism that called for a civilian alternative service for COs – clearly a reflection of Ceresole's thought. In connection with the conference, a German branch of the IVSP was established, which, as it turned out, was unable to achieve anything before the establishment of the Nazi regime.

Grossdeutsche Volksgemeinschaft (GVG)

GVG was a loosely organized group centring around the newspaper *Vom Frohen Leben* (From the Happy Life), established in October 1921 by the Catholic priest and author Ernst Thrasolt.⁷⁸ Followers of the group – it had no formal membership, dues, or rules – had come mostly from the Greater German Youth and other Catholic youth associations.⁷⁹ The GVG saw itself as a part of the

New Life Movement and viewed its mission as comprehensive Christian renewal of the people. The goal of its work of 'creating a German life and nation' was the 'essential man,' freed from such 'limits of this existence' as 'alcohol, nicotine, fashion, the city,' pursuing a life of 'natural simplicity, in spirituality and in brotherhood.'⁸⁰ The prescribed turn towards 'healthy, happy poverty and its riches of true happiness' revealed a blood-and-soil mythology that, however, was not rooted in a racial ideology but motivated by the quest for the primordial and the natural.⁸¹ For the GVG, politics was 'a continuation of the individual's humanity into the realm of public life,' with the goal of building the 'kingdom of God on earth.'⁸² As the GVG recognized the proletariat and 'his struggle for human justice and human dignity,' it rejected 'immoral capitalism' and the social model of 'Mammonism.'⁸³ In spite of several realistic social demands,⁸⁴ its alternative model – promoted above all by Ernst Thrasolt – of rural settlement was not really a suitable solution for social problems.⁸⁵ Its motto, 'back to nature,' hinted at hostility to industry and civilization;⁸⁶ it compared the complexities of industrial society unfavourably to the transfigured ideal of a society of rural peasant settlements.⁸⁷

The GVG saw itself not merely as a community of opinion, but above all as a society of deeds.⁸⁸ Readers of *Vom Frohen Leben* were constantly encouraged to give generously to charity and to participate freely in a spirit of 'Christian love' in welfare work – for example, in organizing children's groups and summer camps, the care of convicts (prison visits, support after release), and volunteering to help build houses for the needy.⁸⁹ Such works of charity, which the GVG could perform with its slim organizational resources and small memberships,⁹⁰ formed a concrete part of its peace work, the central element of which was the idea of conscientious objection. The GVG conceded both the individual and the state the right to self-defence, believing, however, that the true followers of Christ completely rejected violence.⁹¹ In modern war, which would guarantee 'complete ruin' and was 'immoral and unchristian beyond all measure,' conscientious objection was not only a right but a duty.⁹² Like the BdK, the GVG also held that conscientious objection excluded any direct or indirect support of the war effort; it could include refusal to work and the general strike.⁹³ Similarly, it rejected all forms of war, including civil war and military sanctions.⁹⁴ However, the GVG admitted the need for a police force for the League of Nations – which it sharply criticized as a necessary but flawed institution.⁹⁵ If there should ever be a foreign occupation, the GVG saw complete 'rejection of violence' and passive resistance as the only effective way to shake it off.⁹⁶

After some initial ambivalence, the GVG rejected conscription of labour.⁹⁷ Instead, it advocated voluntary labour, and it also encouraged Ceresole's IVSP, without taking an explicit position on the question of a legal alternative

service for COs.⁹⁸ The GVG saw conscientious objection as being rooted in the Christian tradition (for example, the Sermon on the Mount, the church of martyrs, Francis of Assisi). Conscientious objection therefore was by no means contradictory to the teaching of the church, even if the church universal had still to grow into 'a perfect successor of Jesus Christ.'⁹⁹ In the final analysis, war was for the GVG a moral and religious problem; only through 'the spirit of Christ and the Sermon on the Mount' could it be overcome.¹⁰⁰ The GVG saw work for radical pacifism as 'core storm troops' inside Catholicism as its mission. Its followers represented the radical wing of the Peace League of German Catholics. In 1926, with the BdK and other groups, the GVG formed the Union of Radical Pacifist Groups of Germany; little resulted from this cooperation, however.¹⁰¹ The GVG, which joined the WRI in 1928, had been calling on its members to register themselves as potential COs since the summer of 1925.¹⁰² But this call evoked little response; up to the summer of 1930, the organization had attracted only 706 registrations, of whom 118 were from women.¹⁰³

The GVG saw radical pacifism as an embodiment of a 'new heroism.'¹⁰⁴ As with the BdK, this aspect also came to the foreground for the GVG as militarism grew in the late 1920s.¹⁰⁵ In any event, neither the BdK nor the GVG disavowed patriotism; they pointed out that refusal to serve in a modern war was 'not treason to the fatherland, but an effort to rescue the fatherland.'¹⁰⁶ Within the GVG one could even detect a kind of idealistic Enlightenment nationalism, for Germany was attributed a 'world historic' peace mission.¹⁰⁷ The GVG had an equally rosy picture of democracy, which was its pronounced goal. While the BdK supported the republican parties and underestimated the dynamic strength of National Socialism,¹⁰⁸ the GVG denigrated the Weimar republic as 'a monstrosity,' as 'a mix of dopiness, stupidity, weakness, cowardice, half-measures, and dishonour.'¹⁰⁹ The GVG supported the radical pacifist Christlich-Soziale Reichspartei (Christian Social People's party) in the 1928 Reichstag elections, only to back off as the Christian Socialists moved closer to the Communist party after 1930.¹¹⁰ The GVG advocated a transitional dictatorship as a cure for Germany's ills, until a true democracy emerged, with free personalities who would represent the nation in place of parties.¹¹¹ Its call for a 'true dictatorship' and the fight against Weimar's party democracy was motivated by disappointment with the failure of the republic to address the rebuilding of society, but it ended by contributing to the general weakening of democracy. When the National Socialists had taken power, the GVG still bravely held to its democratic ideal.¹¹²

As in the case of the larger organizations of the Weimar peace movement, the

radical pacifists also engaged in international reconciliation.¹¹³ The BdK was not able to make any lasting contact with Polish peace advocates,¹¹⁴ but in its journal it attempted to counter anti-Polish hate propaganda and to transmit fairly the Polish point of view.¹¹⁵ In its journal the GVG too fought hate propaganda against the Poles and attempted, by giving balanced information, to create a basis for understanding.¹¹⁶ Members of the Greater German Youth, and Father Ernst Thrasolt as well, took part in various German-Polish meetings organized by the Quakers and the Veterans' League for Peace.¹¹⁷ The BdK favoured a solution of the border problem within a European union, which would retain the existing frontiers while making them invisible and thereby impossible to oppose.¹¹⁸ Thrasolt, in contrast, was ready to recognize Germany's eastern border, but at the same time he did not refrain from criticizing cases of Polish misconduct.¹¹⁹ The BdK and GVG both defended the cultural autonomy of national minorities, the GVG under the condition that the interests of nationalities were protected.¹²⁰

German Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR)

In addition to social work, mainly within the framework of the Soziale Arbeitsgemeinschaft Berlin-Ost and of Christian settlements such as those at Sannerz and Sonnefeld, work for international understanding was the chief sphere of activity for the German branch of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR). It seems that the German FOR had fewer than two hundred members during the Weimar period and only a very rudimentary organization.¹²¹ Based on Christian-inspired non-violence, the IFOR left it up to each member to decide his/her precise stand on conscientious objection.¹²² The German branch, which tended to think in national terms because of the influence of the eminent Protestant churchman Friedrich Siegmund-Schultze – a co-founder of the IFOR and president of the German fellowship – was indeed split on this issue.¹²³ At that time, Siegmund-Schultze saw conscientious objection as a prophetic act of individuals, of men specially chosen; he therefore refrained from any sort of open encouragement of conscientious objection.¹²⁴ On the other side of this issue stood Hermann Stöhr, who was executed in 1940 as a CO; he wished to give conscientious objection a more prominent role in FOR policy.¹²⁵

In spite of sharp criticism of the Versailles Treaty and French armaments, the German FOR strove above all to build understanding with France. This effort was especially strong in 1923–5, when the IFOR helped sponsor a great many Franco-German meetings, visits, and speaking tours, as well as a number of Franco-German hiking expeditions.¹²⁶ The overriding goal of these efforts at

reconciliation was to create a solid mutual basis of information; the IFOR was indeed well aware that, as a small group, its influence was limited. In connection with the Disarmament Conference the Franco–German question returned to the foreground yet again in 1932.¹²⁷ While the predominantly Protestant German FOR found an active partner for its reconciliation work in the French branch of the IFOR, in Poland it had no such contact (since the IFOR did not possess a branch there). The FOR's efforts to build understanding with Poland in the second half of the 1920s was the result mostly of the efforts of the scholarly Catholic priest Hermann Hoffmann, assigned by the IFOR to work for reconciliation with Catholic countries.¹²⁸ On occasion with the IFOR's secretary, the Austrian Kaspar Mayr,¹²⁹ Hoffmann established contacts with Catholic peace organizations in Poland during numerous speaking tours there. These efforts helped make possible the Catholic German–Polish conferences, organized in collaboration with the IFOR in Berlin in 1929 and in Cologne in 1931. Hoffmann and Mayr were also among the leading speakers at the international youth camp organized by the IFOR in August 1930 at Sromowce in Poland's Tatra Mountains, where participants were chiefly German and Polish young people.¹³⁰ And in 1932 Hoffmann and Mayr made one last peace trip to Poland.

Conclusion

At the end of the Weimar era the war resisters found themselves in an unenviable position. It had fallen to them to introduce conscientious objection as a matter for open debate in a German political culture where this was regarded as an alien concept, as well as to spread the idea of conscientious objection among the various sections of the traditional German peace movement. In fact radical pacifists were marginalized at this time. The economic crisis had hit working-class and petty-bourgeois supporters of the radical pacifist organizations especially hard and reduced their sphere of influence to a minimum. The war resisters found it difficult to defend themselves openly against the defamatory onslaught of the Ministry of War and the attacks of the National Socialists.¹³¹ After sober reflection, they were forced to agree with Heinrich Ströbel's assessment that conscientious objection was not going to secure world peace.¹³² Ironically, the idea of conscientious objection, through its radical character, was also responsible, by revealing the fragility of the republican concept of defence, for the break within the republican parties and organizations between the pacifistic elements and the elements ready to fight. Nevertheless, the war resisters cannot be held responsible for the resulting further weakening of the republic's defence against National Socialism.

NOTES

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- 1 A.C.F. Beales, *The History of Peace: A Short Account of the Organised Movements for International Peace* (London 1931), 8.
- 2 On radical pacifism before 1914, see Peter Brock, *Freedom from War: Nonsectarian Pacifism, 1814–1914* (Toronto 1991). For a discussion of conscientious objection at the international peace congresses, see Hans Wehberg, 'Das Problem der Kriegsdienstverweigerung auf den Weltfriedenskongressen der Vorkriegszeit,' *Friedens-Warte* (cited below as *FW*) (Berlin, etc.), 24 (1924), 290–92.
- 3 See, for example, the concise statement in the resolution passed at the Third Congress of the Second International at Zürich in 1893: 'The fall of capitalism means world peace (*der Sturz des Kapitalismus ist der Weltfriede*).' Cited by Christoph Butterwegge and Heinz-Gerd Hofschien, *Sozialdemokratie, Krieg und Frieden: Die Stellung der SPD zur Friedensfrage von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Eine kommentierte Dokumentation* (Heidelberg 1984), 46.
- 4 For Nieuwenhuis's resolutions and proposals, see Gernot Jochheim, *Antimilitaristische Aktions-theorie, Soziale Revolution und Soziale Verteidigung: Zur Entwicklung der Gewaltfreiheits-theorie in der europäischen antimilitaristischen und sozialistischen Bewegung 1890–1940, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Niederlande* (Assen and Amsterdam 1977), 90–2. Resolutions by Hervé as well as by Hardie and Vaillant are printed in Butterwegge and Hofschien, *Sozialdemokratie, Krieg und Frieden*, 70, 82. Ian McLean, *Keir Hardie* (New York 1975), 142, is unfortunately not very informative on this issue. Hardie was then chairman of the Independent Labour party.
- 5 See Karl-Heinz Rambke, 'Diesem System keinen Mann und keinen Groschen? Sozialdemokratische Wehrpolitik 1907–1914,' PhD dissertation, University of Würzburg, 1983; Wolfram Wette, 'Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie zur Krieg und Frieden: Ein Überblick,' in his *Militarismus und Pazifismus: Auseinandersetzung mit den deutschen Kriegen* (Bremen 1991), 11–25.
- 6 For the DFG, see Friedrich Karl Scheer, *Die Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft (1892–1933): Organisation, Ideologie, politische Ziele. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Pazifismus in Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main 1981); Guido Grünewald, ed., *Nieder Die Waffen! Hundert Jahre Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft (1892–1992)* (Bremen 1992).

- 7 Remark made at the sixteenth International Peace Congress at Munich in 1907; in Wehberg, 'Das Problem,' 291.
- 8 Otto Umfrid, 'Warum wir keine Antimilitaristen sind,' *Friedens Blätter* (Esslingen) 10 (1909), 38.
- 9 See Marceline Hecquet and Martha Steinitz, 'Kriegsdienstverweigerung während des Weltkrieges,' in Franz Kobler, ed., *Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit: Handbuch des aktiven Pazifismus* (Zürich and Leipzig 1928), 259.
- 10 Ibid., 257. See also Ulrich Klan and Dieter Nelles, 'Es lebt noch eine kleine Flamme,' in *Reinische Anarcho-Syndikalistin/-innen in der Weimar Republik und im Faschismus* (Grafenau-Döffingen 1990), 19.
- 11 Klan and Nelles, 'Es lebt noch eine kleine Flamme,' 34, 35. However, the anarcho-syndicalists of Berg and the Rhineland approved – and practised – the use of armed force under certain circumstances: for example, resistance to the Kapp Putsch in the ranks of the 'Red Army of the Ruhr.'
- 12 See the speech of Rudolf Rocker at the general conference (*Reichskonferenz*) of workers in the armaments industry held at Erfurt in March 1919 – *Der Syndikalist* (Berlin), 1 (1919) nos. 17 and 18 – as well as the resolution passed in 1921 by the Metalworkers Federation of the FAUD – *Der Syndikalist*, 3 (1921), 4.
- 13 For the history of this organization, see Otto Lehmann-Rußbüldt, *Der Kampf der Deutschen Liga für Menschenrechte, vormals Bund Neues Vaterland für den Weltfrieden 1914–1927* (Berlin 1927); also Ernst Gülzow, 'Der Bund "Neues Vaterland": Probleme der bürgerlich-pazifistischen Demokratie im Ersten Weltkrieg (1914–1918),' PhD dissertation, University of Berlin/GDR, 1969.
- 14 See, for example, Siegmund Münz, 'Gegen die allgemeine Wehrpflicht,' *FW*, 21 (1919), 14, 15.
- 15 For example, Robert Pohl, who was among the founders of the War Resisters' League; *FW*, 28 (1928), 358.
- 16 For the cartel, see Reinhold Lütgemeier-Davin, *Pazifismus zwischen Kooperation und Konfrontation: Das Deutsche Friedenskartell in der Weimarer Republik* (Cologne 1982).
- 17 For the controversy in the DFG over conscription, see Scheer, *Die Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft*, 473–8.
- 18 For the BdK, see Grünewald, 'Friedenssicherung durch radikale Kriegsdienstgegnerschaft: Der Bund der Kriegsdienstgegner (BdK) 1919–1933,' in Karl Holl and Wolfram Wette, eds., *Pazifismus in der Weimarer Republik* (Paderborn 1981), 77–90.
- 19 Unfortunately so far no history of the GVG exists. Useful information about it can be found in Dieter Riesenberger, *Die katholische Friedensbewegung in der Weimarer Republik* (Düsseldorf 1976), 77–80, 95–7, 158–81, and 244–6, and Franz Henrich, *Die Bünde katholischer Jugendbewegung: Ihre Bedeutung für die liturgische und eucharistische Erneuerung* (Munich 1968), 23–55.

- 20 Likewise no history of the German FOR is available, but see Lilian Stevenson, *Towards a Christian International: The Story of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation*, 3rd ed. (London 1941); Vera Brittain, *The Rebel Passion: A Short History of Some Pioneer Peace Makers* (London 1964); Hans Gressel, *Der Internationale Versöhnungsbund: Ein Modell des christlichen Pazifismus* (Uetersen 1993).
- 21 According to the organization's principles approved at the Washington congress; *FW*, 25 (1925), 217. The question of revolutionary violence had before been debated only at the Zürich congress in 1919. See Gertrude Bussey and Margaret Tims, *Pioneers for Peace: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915–1965* (London 1980), 39; also chapter 13 below by A.M. Pois.
- 22 *Völkerversöhnende Frauenarbeit*, part 2 (Nov. 1918–Dec. 1920) (Stuttgart 1921), 14–17.
- 23 This commission, which was dissolved in the mid-1920s, gathered signatures for a declaration that it circulated among women renouncing all support of a future war and, in case war did break out, promising to participate in an international general strike of women. Clearly not many signatures were obtained. *Völkerversöhnende Frauenarbeit*, part 2, 27, 28.
- 24 According to its new program; *FW*, 27 (1927), 90.
- 25 See Siegfried Heimann, 'Die Vereinigung der Freunde von Religion und Völkerfrieden (August Bleier, 1892–1958),' in *Internationale Wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung*, 28 (Berlin 1992), 52–62. The German League for Human Rights, however, did not support conscientious objection, as incorrectly stated by Riesenberger, 'Die Friedensbewegung in der Weimarer Republik,' in Thomas M. Ruprecht and Christian Jenssen, eds., *Äskulap oder Mars? Ärzte gegen den Krieg* (Bremen 1991), 208.
- 26 See Lütgemeier-Davin, 'Basismobilisierung gegen den Krieg: Die Nie-Wieder-Krieg-Bewegung in der Weimarer Republik,' in Karl Holl and Wolfram Wette, eds., *Pazifismus in der Weimarer Republik* (Paderborn 1981), 47–76. From 1922 the Veterans' League for Peace declined rapidly. The 1935 Nobel Peace Prize winner and Nazi concentration camp victim Carl von Ossietzky was a member of the Veterans' League and edited its journal, *Nie Wieder Krieg* (No More War). From 1927 on he was editor-in-chief of the radical anti-militarist paper *Die Weltbühne*. He died in 1938.
- 27 See its 1919 program in *FW*, 26 (1926), 330, and its 1929 program, in *FW*, 29 (1929), 380.
- 28 See Helmut Donat, 'Die radikalpazifistische Richtung in der Deutschen Friedensgesellschaft (1918–1933),' in Karl Holl and Wolfram Wette, eds., *Pazifismus in der Weimarer Republik* (Paderborn 1981), 27–45; Donat and Lothar Wieland, eds., *Das Andere Deutschland: Unabhängige Zeitung für entschiedene republikanische Poli-*

- tik. *Eine Auswahl (1925–1933)*, (Königstein 1980), xxxi–lxviii (from editor's introduction).
- 29 See, for example, Hein Herbers, 'Der Kriegsdienstverweigerungsbazillus,' *Das Andere Deutschland* (cited below as *AD*) (Hagen-Berlin) 7 (1927), no. 24.
- 30 'We will defend ourselves with all available means against reaction if it ever uses violence against us'; (Heinz Kraschutzki, 'Gegen den Kleinkaliber-Unfug,' *AD*, 6 (1926) nos. 51–2. Later, however, the usefulness of violence in domestic political conflicts came to be viewed with increasing scepticism; see 'Wie ist mit dem Bürgerkrieg?' *AD*, 11 (1931), no. 32. Leading associates of the *AD* such as the SPD Reichstag deputy Heinrich Ströbel advocated a strong executive for the League of Nations.
- 31 See *FW*, 24 (1924), 347, and 31 (1931), 188. Because of the destructiveness of modern war, however, the Peace League of German Catholics considered the conditions for a just war to be scarcely realizable in practice. For the Peace League, see Riesenberger, *Die katholische Friedensbewegung*; Beate Höfling, *Katholische Friedensbewegung zwischen zwei Kriegen: Der 'Friedensbund Deutscher Katholiken' 1917–1933* (Waldkirch 1979); Konrad Breitenborn, *Der Friedensbund Deutscher Katholiken 1918/19–1951* (Berlin, GDR, 1981).
- 32 From the guidelines passed at Frankfurt am Main; Höfling, *Katholische Friedensbewegung*, 139, 140.
- 33 See Rolf von Bockel, *Kurt Hiller und die Gruppe Revolutionärer Pazifisten (1926–1933): Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Friedensbewegung und der Szene linker Intellektueller in der Weimarer Republik* (Hamburg 1990).
- 34 Kurt Hiller, 'Linkspazifismus' (Speech at the general meeting of the DFG, Braunschweig, 30 Sept. 1920), in the collection of his speeches, *Radioaktiv: Reden 1914–1964. Ein Buch der Rechenschaft* (Wiesbaden 1966), 28.
- 35 *Ibid.*, 42.
- 36 See the 1926 program of the Group of Revolutionary Pacifists, in *FW*, 26 (1926), 288, and its 1929 program, in *FW*, 31 (1931), 314.
- 37 'Revolutionary pacifism ... is not based on the "sacredness of human life" but on the inviolability of the right to life. There is a great difference here. The "sacredness of human life" is unconditional whereas the "right" to life can be surrendered or alienated.' Letter from Kurt Hiller to Hans Wehberg, dated 5 May 1927; cited in von Bockel, *Kurt Hiller*, 93.
- 38 See Hiller, 'Militanter Pazifismus,' in the collection of his speeches, *Sprung ins Helle: Reden, offene Briefe, Zwiegespräche, Essays, Thesen, Pamphlete gegen Krieg, Klerus, und Kapitalismus* (Leipzig 1932), 19. At the general conference of the BdK, held in Berlin 28–30 March 1929, Hiller declared, 'The goal of revolutionary pacifism is nonviolence but one cannot reach this goal without a minimum of violence. The absolute rejection of violence is a counter pacifist principle'; *FW*, 29

- (1929), 184. The Communist faction left the Group of Revolutionary Pacifists in 1929 when its proposal to embody revolutionary use of violence in the new program was not accepted.
- 39 This ran as follows: 'War is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined not to support any kind of war and to strive for the removal of all the causes of war.' Cf. the program of the BdK in *FW*, 31 (1931), 313.
- 40 *Ibid.*
- 41 This point has been made by Wolfram Beyer. See his 'Die War Resisters' International,' in *Widerstand gegen den Krieg: Beiträge zur Geschichte der War Resisters' International* (Kassel 1989), 17.
- 42 See Helene Stöcker, 'Bringt Locarno den Frieden,' *Neue Generation* (Berlin), 22 (1926), 1–7, and the article 'Genf' in her *Verkünder und Verwirklicher: Beiträge zum Gewaltproblem* (Berlin-Nikolassee 1928), 28–33.
- 43 Steinitz, 'Zur Frage der Ablehnung jeder militärischen Gewaltanwendung,' *FW*, 25 (1925), 138. For a positive view, see, for example, Hellmut von Gerlach, 'Eine Völkerbundexekution und die Sicherheit Frankreichs,' *FW*, 23 (1923), 76–8.
- 44 See the systematic treatment of the problem by Magnus Schwantje, *Das Recht zur Gewaltanwendung* (Berlin 1922). Schwantje was one of the founders of the BdK.
- 45 Stöcker, 'Völkerbundexekutive, Frankreich und Sicherheit,' *FW*, 24 (1924), 320.
- 46 See, for example, Hermann Greid, 'Pazifismus – Sozialismus – Kapitalismus,' *Die Friedensfront* (cited below as *Ff*) (Heide [Holstein]), 2 (1930), no. 12.
- 47 Arnold Kalisch, 'Bürgerkrieg und Dienstverweigerung,' *FW*, 26 (1926), 143.
- 48 Wehberg, 'Grundsätzliche Erörterungen zur Politik der deutschen Friedensbewegung,' *FW*, 27 (1927), 164.
- 49 For Stöcker, see Rolf von Bockel, *Philosophin einer 'neuen Ethik' Helene Stöcker (1869–1943)* (Hamburg 1991); also Christl Wickert, *Helene Stöcker (1869–1943): Frauenrechtlerin, Sexualreformerin und Pazifistin. Eine Biographie* (Bonn 1991).
- 50 Stöcker, 'Klassenkampf und Gewaltlosigkeit. Ein Gespräch,' in Franz Kobler, ed., *Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit: Handbuch des Aktiven Pazifismus* (Zürich and Leipzig 1928), 145.
- 51 Stöcker, 'Vom Kampf gegen die Gewalt,' *Neue Generation*, 22 (1926), 247, 248.
- 52 Stöcker, 'Klassenkampf und Gewaltlosigkeit,' 145.
- 53 See Stöcker, 'Zum vierten Mal in Rußland,' in her *Verkünder und Verwirklicher*, 78, 79.
- 54 Von Bockel, *Philosophin*, 84, 86; Wickert, *Stöcker*, 153.
- 55 See the resolution at the BdK's general conference in Berlin on 3 April 1926 in WRI, *Bulletin No. XII: Der Kriegsdienstgegner* (Enfield, Middlesex) (May–June 1926), 12.
- 56 Kalisch, 'Die Kriegsdienstgegner: das internationale Volk,' *Ff*, 3 (1931), no. 15.

- 57 Kalisch, 'Abrüstung als Beispiel oder als Forderung,' *Ff*, 2 (1930), 19, and his 'Kriegsdienstverweigerung und Abrüstung,' *Ft*, 4 (1932), 6.
- 58 WRI, *Bulletin*, no. 2 (Nov. 1923), 3, 4.
- 59 Resolution of the BdK general conference in Berlin on 29–30 Dec. 1923, *Neue Generation*, 19 (1923), 234.
- 60 See Henning Köhler, *Arbeitsdienst in Deutschland: Pläne und Verwirklichungsformen bis zur Einführung der Arbeitsdienstpflicht im Jahre 1935* (Berlin 1967).
- 61 International Action against Conscription, Archives of the League of Nations, Quidde Papers, D II 3 d.
- 62 Lütgemeier-Davin, *Pazifismus*, 162, 163.
- 63 See the resolution of a meeting in Berlin in the autumn of 1924, *Neue Generation*, 20 (1924), 328, and an article 'Arbeitsdienstpflicht und Arbeitslosigkeit,' *Ft* (1931), 4.
- 64 Schwantje, *Das Recht zur Gewaltanwendung*, 12.
- 65 Johann Orthmann, *Die Kriegsdienstgegner-Bewegung: Von schlichtem Heldentum* (Heide 1932), 26. Orthmann was a member of the national committee (*Reichausschuß*) of the BdK and editor of the *Deutsche Zukunft*, in which *Die Friedensfront* appeared as a supplement from October 1929 on. See Donat, 'Johann Orthmann (1898–1978),' *Grenzfriedenshefte* (Flensburg 1983) no. 2, 90–102.
- 66 Max Barth, 'Kriegsdienstverweigerung?' *Neue Generation*, 22 (1926), 335. Barth was one of the editors of the democratic leftist *Sonntagszeitung*. See Manfred Bosch, ed., *Mit der Setzmaschine in Opposition. Auswahl aus Erich Schairers Sonntagszeitung 1920–1933* (Moos and Baden-Baden 1989).
- 67 See Riesenberger, 'Der Kampf gegen den Gaskrieg,' in *Lehren aus der Geschichte? Historische Friedensforschung (Friedensanalysen 23)* (Frankfurt am Main 1990), 267.
- 68 The military specialist Ernst Buchfinke wrote: 'The decision to engage in war will certainly be answered by a protest movement of pacifists and conscientious objectors. Every movement of that sort will be put down ruthlessly.' From his book *Der Krieg von Gestern und Morgen* (Langensalza 1930), 35; cited in Riesenberger, 'Der Kampf gegen den Gaskrieg,' 268.
- 69 Speech on 14 December 1930 at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, New York, printed in Otto Nathan and Heinz Norden, eds., *Einstein on Peace* (New York 1960), 116–18.
- 70 See, for example, Kalisch, 'Die Kriegsdienstgegner und der nächste Krieg,' *Ff*, 1 (1929), no. 1, and Heinz Kraschutzki, 'Generalstreik oder Dienstverweigerung?' *FW*, 30 (1930), 207, 208.
- 71 The closest approach between trade unions and the peace movement came at the international peace congress organized by the former at the Hague on 10–15 December 1922. In her comments on the practical results of the congress, Helene Stöcker expressed great disappointment; 'Der Haager Weltfriedenkongreß der Gewerkschaftsinternationale,' *FW*, 23 (1923), 39–42. Armin T. Wegner for the BdK, with other

- members of the German peace movement, issued a protest against the resolution of the congress peace commission, which had failed to bring up the subject of conscientious objection; Hiller, 'Haager Friedenskongreß,' in his *Verwirklichung des Geistes im Staat: Beiträge zu einem System des logokratischen Aktivismus* (Leipzig 1925), 242.
- 72 Alfred Oehmke, 'Zur Reichskonferenz des Bundes der Kriegsdienstgegner,' *FW*, 29 (1929), 212.
- 73 See Lütgemeier-Davin, *Pazifismus*, 240–9.
- 74 According to its 1930 annual report, only six local groups of the BdK were still active then, while only two groups were represented at its 1931 general conference. There was no money to sponsor a visitation of local groups for reactivating contacts. See *Ff*, 3 (1931), no. 21.
- 75 Else Hartmann, 'Arbeitstagung für werktätigen Pazifismus,' *Ff*, 4 (1932), no. 23. See also Kalisch, 'Das Schöne an Krieg und Frieden,' *Ff*, 4 (1932), no. 10, and Alfred Seligmann, 'Friedensbegeisterung!' *Ft*, 4 (1932), no. 13.
- 76 See Daniel Anet, *Pierre Ceresole, la passion de la paix* (Neuchâtel 1969); Hélène Monastier and Alice Brügger, *Paix, Pelle et Pioche: Histoire du Service civil international de 1919 à 1965* (N.p. 1966). The first international work camp (Hilfsdienst) in Germany was held in October 1930 at the Bruderhof near Fulda; twenty-five persons took part. As yet there was no direct contact with Ceresole's organization. See *Die Eiche* (Munich, etc.) (1931), 118.
- 77 See Beyer, *Widerstand gegen den Krieg*, 23ff. It is probably not a coincidence that the pacifists' idea of peace heroism surfaced when the remilitarization of German public opinion began in 1929.
- 78 For Ernst Thrasolt, the adopted name of Josef Matthias Tressel, see Walther Ottendorff-Simrock, *Es geht die Zeit zur Ewigkeit: Eine Begegnung mit Ernst Thrasolt* (Ratingen 1959).
- 79 For an introduction to the Greater German Youth, see Henrich, *Die Bünde*, 23–55.
- 80 Christian Imboden (E. Thrasolt), 'Untergang oder Ausstieg?' *Vom frohe Leben* (cited below as *VfL*) (Berlin-Würzburg), 2 (1922–3), 4.
- 81 Christian Imboden, 'Ein dreifacher deutscher Mythos: Scholle, Blut und Nation!' *VfL*, 11 (1931–2), 256ff.
- 82 Gottschalk (E. Thrasolt), 'Reichgottes-Politik,' *FfL*, 3 (1923–4), 143.
- 83 'Bekanntnis zum Proletariat! Revolution!' *FfL*, 9 (1929–30), 492.
- 84 See, for example, Gottschalk, 'Reichgottes-Politik,' 145.
- 85 Antaeus (E. Thrasolt), 'Rettung der Wirtschaft? Das Reich siedelt!,' *VfL*, 11 (1931–2), 349ff.
- 86 'Mörderin Zivilisation,' *VfL*, 7 (1927–8), 154. Thrasolt saw, above all, in the large modern cities a reflection of moral decay.
- 87 See, for example, Imboden, 'Ein dreifacher deutscher Mythos,' 258; Antaeus, 'Wesentliches Leben? Baurleben!' *VfL*, 11 (1931–2), 366.

- 88 'Großdeutsche Volksgemeinschaft und "Vom Frohen Leben,"' *VfL*, 9 (1929–30), 258.
- 89 See 'Veränderungen beim "Fohen Leben,"' *VfL*, 7 (1927–8), 475; 'Grossdeutsche Volksgemeinschafts-Arbeiten. Helft Mit!,' *VfL*, 10 (1930–1), 39–40.
- 90 In 1931 *Vom frohen Leben* had around 3,500 regular subscribers (a thousand of whom received, however, complimentary copies); *VfL*, 11 (1931–2), 126. But only a few of its readers participated regularly in the activities of the Greater German People's Community (GVG).
- 91 'Conscientious objection is true faith (*Kriegsdienstverweigerung ist wahrer Glaube*).' Gottschalk, 'Vom Wesen und Sinn der Kriegsdienstverweigerung,' *VfL*, 8 (1928–9), 465; also his 'Gewalt oder Gewaltlosigkeit?,' *VfL*, 8 (1928–9), 23.
- 92 Gottschalk, 'Der Sieg des Pazifismus,' *VfL*, 2 (1922–3), 154–61; also his 'Grund und Leitsätze eines christlich entschiedenen Pazifismus,' *VfL*, 8 (1928–9), 463.
- 93 See the text of the declaration members of the GVG were required to sign, printed in *Der Kriegsdienstgegner*, Bulletin no. 21 (Sept.–Oct. 1928), 21.
- 94 See Gottschalk, 'Gewalt oder Gewaltlosigkeit?' 23.
- 95 See Gottschalk, 'Die Wege vom Krieg zum Frieden,' *VfL*, 10 (1930–1), 409, also 'Völkerbund?' *VfL*, 12 (1932–3), 216.
- 96 See Gottschalk, 'Vom Wesen und Sinn der Kriegsdienstverweigerung,' 465, and the outline of non-violent methods of resistance in 'Passiver Widerstand?' *VfL*, 2 (1922–3), 134, 135.
- 97 See Damian Wiroth, 'Gegen die Arbeitsdienstpflicht,' *VfL*, 3 (1923–4), 264ff.; also 'Freiwilliger Arbeitsdienst?' *VfL*, 11 (1931–2), 169.
- 98 'Taten des Friedens! Ruf an junge Menschen!' *VfL*, 9 (1929–30), 379.
- 99 Gottschalk, 'Der Sieg des Pazifismus,' 161.
- 100 Gottschalk, 'Sieghafter Pazifismus,' *VfL*, 9 (1929–30), 82.
- 101 The leading figures in the union were Kurt Hiller, Helene Stöcker, and Ernst Thra-solt. Its program was printed in *Neue Generation*, 22 (1926), 246, 247.
- 102 'Einschreibung der Kriegsdienstverweigerer,' *VfL*, 4 (1924–5), 202.
- 103 'Kriegsdienstverweigerer aus Gewissen,' *VfL*, 9 (1929–30), 482. In the spring of 1931, 944 Catholics signed a new pledge of conscientious objection; *Der Kriegsdienstgegner*, Bulletin no. 28 (spring 1931), 7.
- 104 See Gottschalk, 'Der Sieg des Pazifismus,' 161.
- 105 Alfons Erb, 'Vom neuen Heldentum,' *VfL*, 11 (1931–2), 142ff.; also his 'Erziehung zum Frieden durch positive Zielsetzung,' *VfL*, 12 (1932–3), 131ff.
- 106 Gottschalk, 'Grund und Leitsätze eines christlich entschiedenen Pazifismus,' 461.
- 107 See Hans Konrad, 'Die Probe auf den Pazifismus oder Großdeutschlands Geburtstunde,' *VfL*, 2 (1922–3), 136; also Imboden, 'Ein dreifacher deutscher Mythos,' 259.
- 108 Kalisch, 'Vom Anschluß Deutschland. Eine Wahlbetrachtung,' *Ff*, 4 (1932), no. 21.
- 109 'Diktatur?' *VfL*, 5 (1925–6) 150.

- 110 For the CSRP, see the entry in *Lexikon zur Parteiengeschichte: Die bürgerlichen und kleinbürgerlichen Parteien und Verbände in Deutschland (1789–1945)* (Leipzig 1983), 1: 455–63.
- 111 See 'Kardinal Faulhaber und Faschismus? Diktatur,' *VfL*, 8 (1928–9), 328; also 'Diktatur oder Demokratie?' *VfL*, 8 (1928–9), 328, 329.
- 112 See, for instance, 'Demokratie?' *VfL*, 12 (1932–3), 334.
- 113 For work by the German peace movement on behalf of German–Polish reconciliation, see Höfling, *Katholische Friedensbewegung*, 202–31; Lütgemeier-Davin, *Pazifismus*, 211–14; Riesenberger, 'The German Peace Movement and Its Attitude towards Poland in the 1920s and Early 1930s,' in Grünewald and Peter van den Dungen, eds., *Twentieth-Century Peace Movements: Successes and Failures* (Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter 1955), 57–79.
- 114 'Tätigkeitsbericht 1930/31,' *Ff*, 3 (1931), no. 9.
- 115 See, for instance, Carl Mertens, 'Schluß mit der Korridorhetze,' *Ff*, 2 (1930), no. 13; also Alfred Falk, 'Gerechtigkeit gegenüber Polen,' *Ff*, 2 (1930), no. 18.
- 116 See for instance, 'Oberschlesienabstimmung und Teilung,' *VfL*, 8 (1928–9), 398, 399; also 'Die antipolnische Greuelpropaganda. Wie sie lügen und hetzen,' *VfL*, 10 (1930–1), 224–7.
- 117 For instance, in February 1926 and Easter week 1927 in Warsaw and in May 1929 in Berlin, when the first Catholic German–Polish conference took place.
- 118 Georg Risse, 'Ost-Locarno,' *Ff*, 2 (1930), no. 13.
- 119 'Garantie-Verträge,' *VfL*, 8 (1928–9), 517, 518; 'Der deutsch-polnische Komplex: Kriegs-Höchstgefahrenzone,' 10 (1930–1), 389, 390; 'Piaristen-Manöver in Polen,' 12 (1932–3), 116, 117.
- 120 See Kalisch, 'Pazifisten und nationale Minderheit,' *Ff*, 1 (1929), no. 3; 'Völkische Minderheiten?' *VfL*, 8 (1928–9), 521. Assignment of disputed territory should take place according to 'the viewpoint of the majority of the people.' 'Nationale Mehrheiten und Minderheiten,' *VfL*, 8 (1928–9), 329.
- 121 Lütgemeier-Davin, *Pazifismus*, 51; Eberhard Röhm, *Sterben für den Frieden. Spurensicherung: Hermann Stöhr (1898–1940) und die ökumenische Friedensbewegung* (Stuttgart 1985), 36.
- 122 Stevenson, *Towards a Christian International*, 29.
- 123 For Siegmund-Schultze, see Gressel, 'Für eine solidarische Kirche der Zukunft. Friedrich Siegmund-Schultze, Mitbegründer der Ökumene und Pionier der Friedensbewegung,' offprint from *Junge Kirche* (Bremen), 8/9 and 10 (1985); Friedrich Siegmund-Schultze, *Friedenskirche, Kaffeeklappe und die ökumenische Vision: Texte 1910–1969* (Munich 1990); Stefan Grotefeld, *Friedrich Siegmund-Schultze, Ein deutscher ökumeniker und christlicher Pazifist* (Gütersloh 1995).
- 124 See Grotefeld, *Siegmund-Schultze*, 83, 84. 'For fairness,' Siegmund-Schultze proposed a non-military type of alternative service that would last longer than the nor-

- mal term of service for conscripts and would involve danger – for example, at a hospital for epidemic diseases or where there was a risk of lethal explosions. Siegmund-Schultze, ‘Zivildienst,’ *Die Eiche*, 13 (1925), 35. After 1945, Siegmund-Schultze aggressively campaigned for conscientious objection.
- 125 For Stöhr, who from 1923 to 1925 was assistant secretary of the German FOR, see Röhm, *Sterben für den Frieden*.
- 126 See the reports in *Die Eiche*, 11 (1923)–14 (1926).
- 127 Report on the annual meeting of the German FOR held at Falkenburg (bei Herrenalb) in *Die Eiche* 20 (1932), 374, 375.
- 128 See Hermann Hoffmann, *Im Dienste des Friedens: Lebenserinnerungen eines katholischen Europäers* (Stuttgart and Aalen 1970), 188–241. In his book, *Die Kirche und der Friede: Von der Friedenskirche zur Friedenswelt* (Vienna and Leipzig 1933), 120, Hoffmann called conscientious objection a necessary consequence of realizing that ‘today a just war is no longer possible.’
- 129 In 1931, the International FOR distributed a booklet written by Kaspar Mayr entitled *Ist eine Verständigung zwischen Polen und Deutschland möglich?* (Is an Understanding between Poland and Germany Possible?). From February 1931 to May 1933 Mayr published under the FOR’s imprint a *Polnisch-Deutsche Korrespondenz*, which then continued for a few numbers under the name *Die Brücke*.
- 130 Report in *Die Eiche*, 19 (1931), 114, 115.
- 131 In a publication of the Ministry of War (*Reichswehrministerium*) during the winter of 1931 it was stated: ‘The conscientious objector, like the traitor, deserves the enmity and contempt of every German.’ ‘Das Reichswehrministerium beschimpft Kriegsdienstverweigerer und Pazifisten,’ *VfL*, 11 (1931–2), 209. Members of the Catholic peace movement protested – anonymously, to avoid reprisals – against this statement. See ‘Katholischer Protest gegen das deutsche Reichswehrministerium,’ *VfL*, 12 (1932–3), 16. In 1931 the National Socialist party (NSDAP) presented a bill in the Reichstag, according to which (at a future date) conscientious objection to military service would be punished by death; ‘Blut- und Zuchthaus-Kodex Hitler!’ *VfL*, 11 (1931–2), 248.
- 132 Ströbel had written in answer to an inquiry from Arnold Kalisch: ‘On the outbreak of war a war psychosis will be spread by means of the radio and cinema so effectively that the conscientious objectors will remain an insignificant minority, particularly in the most warlike states.’ ‘Die Schwere unserer Aufgabe,’ *Ff*, 3 (1931), no. 10. For Ströbel’s socialist pacifism, see Wieland, ‘Heinrich Ströbel (1869–1944). Entwurf einer deutschen Friedenspolitik in der Zwischenkriegszeit,’ in Christiane Rajewski and D. Riesenberger, eds., *Wider den Krieg: Große Pazifisten von Kant bis Böll* (Munich 1987), 139–46.

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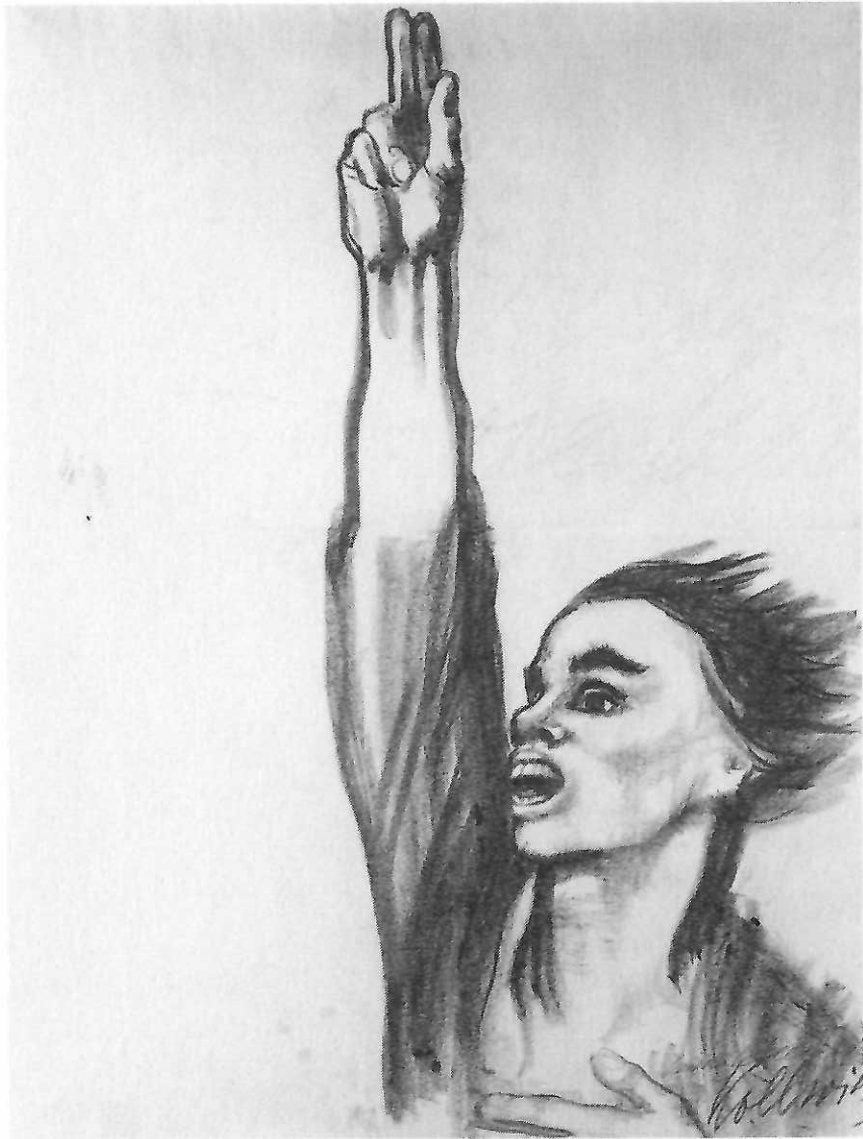
The Anarchopacifism of Bart de Ligt

HERMAN NOORDEGRAAF

The Dutchman Bart de Ligt (1883–1938) ranks among the most influential antimilitarists of the interwar period. His activities up to 1919 – his Christian-socialist period – were largely confined to his own country. Thereafter, when he was to link his anti-militarism to a free-religious anarchism, he became active in international networks of antimilitarists. An intellectual with a wide and deep erudition, he was not only an organizer but also an important theoretician who made original contributions to the debate on non-violent means of struggle. Following a concise biographical sketch, I present de Ligt’s main ideas and conclude with an overview of his final years, when fascism and National Socialism were growing stronger and a new war appeared on the horizon.

Career¹

Bartholomeus de Ligt was born 17 July 1883 in Schalkwijk (near Utrecht). His father was a clergyman in the Netherlands Reformed Church (the largest of the country’s Protestant churches); he belonged to its orthodox wing, which regarded the classical Calvinistic truths as unassailable. The development of de Ligt as an adolescent can be seen as a breaking out of a milieu that he increasingly experienced as a straightjacket. While at secondary school he became acquainted with the social writings of Tolstoy, Ruskin, and others. This evolution continued during his theological studies at the university in Utrecht where, largely outside the official syllabus, he was affected by influences that led him to liberal systems of belief. As a result of the Hegel renaissance in the Netherlands, German idealists – Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and especially Hegel – made an impression on him, and his thought in later years reveals this impact.



Käthe Kollwitz, *Nie Wieder Krieg* (Never Again War), 1924

Challenge to Mars: Essays on Pacifism from 1918 to 1945

EDITED BY
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