

**MANIFESTO
AGAINST
CONSCRIPTION
AND
THE
MILITARY
SYSTEM**

GANDHI-INFORMATIONEN-ZENTRUM
(editor)

Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Manifesto against conscription and the military system /
Gandhi-Informationen-Zentrum (ed.). Christian Bartolf - Berlin :
Gandhi-Informationen-Zentrum, 2001
Dt. Ausg. u.d.T.: Manifest gegen die Wehrpflicht und das Militärsystem
ISBN 3-930093-16-2

1. Auflage, 2001 - 1.000 Exemplare
First Edition, 2001 - 1.000 copies

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ISBN 3-930093-16-2

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Preface

The Gandhi Information Center - Research and Education for Nonviolence (Address: Postfach (PO Box) 210109, 10501 Berlin, Germany - email: mkgandhi@snaflu.de - Internet: www.snaflu.de/~mkgandhi) is a registered non-profit organisation for education, an international society of more than one hundred corresponding members from twenty countries. The English and German language publications of our Center have become known worldwide during the last five years. Our quarterly members' bulletin "Satyagraha" has been published since 1994 in English, French and German languages.

This publication is our contribution to a global Political Culture, World Peace, Human Rights and Justice. Since December 1993, our international society for education, the Gandhi Information Center, Research and Education for Nonviolence, has collected signatures and translations of the new Manifesto against Conscription and the Military System by numerous correspondences and at various peace conferences in Greece, India, Italy, Poland and Russia. Meanwhile, this new Manifesto spread worldwide by the Gandhi Information Center has been translated by friends in more than 25 languages.

Hundreds of people of integrity and/or celebrities in the fields of Science and Culture and/or engaged in the issues of Peace, Ecology and Human Rights already signed.

We followed the Tolstoy tradition line of the previous manifestoes, which we fully documented in the opening essay, and we wanted to learn a lesson from the past.

This secular tradition line of manifestoes against conscription, the military system and the roots of war was started by Leo Tolstoy and his work "The Kingdom of God Is Within You" (1893). It was particularly this work of Leo Tolstoy which deeply influenced the young lawyer in South Africa, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.

We shall overcome conscription and the military system by the enlightenment of Truth through active Nonviolent Resistance (Satyagraha) for the Welfare of All (Sarvodaya).

Gandhi Information Center (Chair)

"J'approuve de tout mon coeur l'idée d'un plébiscite contre la guerre. Je travaille de toutes mes forces à ce que le résultat du plébiscite universel puisse être favorable à la paix universelle.

Léon Tolstoy.

1900. 12 Août."

Letter of Leo Tolstoy to Jean Baptiste Coco, 12 August 1900, quoted in the French original from the Russian edition of Leo Tolstoy's Collected Works, vol. 72, p. 419:

"I wholeheartedly approve of the idea of a plebiscite against war. I am working with all my energy to the end that the result of this universal plebiscite may favour universal peace."

Leo Tolstoy.

1900, 12 August."

This contribution to the 2nd International Conference "Tolstoy and World Literature" in Yasnaya Polyana and Tula (Russia) from 12 to 28 August 2000 was given by Christian Bartolf, President of the International Society: Gandhi Information Center, Research and Education for Nonviolence, P.O. Box 210109, 10501 Berlin, email: mkgandhi@snaflu.de - http://www.snaflu.de/~mkgandhi

TOLSTOY'S LEGACY FOR MANKIND: A MANIFESTO FOR NONVIOLENCE¹

It was in 1884² that Count Leo Tolstoy continued his personal confession in "My Religion" - he found in the principle of nonviolent resistance (which he called "non-resistance") the key to understand the Gospels, a new understanding of his life and of modern society in his age. Nonviolence became the ethical basis for his doctrine of Truth Force which has later been developed by Mahatma Gandhi in his "Satyagraha" philosophy and Dr. Martin Luther King jr. in his concept of Soul-Force.

1. MY RELIGION

"My personal life is interwoven with the social, political life, and the political life demands of me a non-Christian activity, which is directly opposed to Christ's commandment. Now, with the universal military service and the participation of all in the court in the capacity of jurymen, this dilemma is with striking distinctness placed before all people. Every man has to take up

¹ This essay has been published by The Danish Peace Academy, 2001: www.fred.dk/akademi/library/tolstoj/tolstoy.htm
www.fred.dk/akademi/library/tolstoj/tolstoy2.htm

² You find chapters 1 to 4 earlier published by the Gandhi-Informations-Zentrum: Christian Bartolf: Tolstoy and Gandhi (Non-Violent Resistance), Berlin, Germany 1994 (on the occasion of Gandhiji's 125th birthday)

the weapon of murder, the gun, the knife, and, though he does not kill, he must load his gun and whet his knife, that is, be prepared to commit murder. Every citizen must come to court and be a participant in the court and in the punishments, that is, every man has to renounce Christ's commandment of non-resistance to evil, not only in words, but in action as well."³

And by the examples of the superior court and district court, criminal court and the court of arbitration Tolstoy illustrated the Christian doctrine condemning the State's principle of violent retaliation:

"Christ says, Do not resist evil. The purpose of the courts is to resist evil. Christ prescribes doing good in return for evil. The courts retaliate evil with evil. Christ says, Make no distinction between the good and the bad. All the courts do is to make this distinction. Christ says, Forgive all men; forgive, not once, not seven times, but without end; love your enemies, do good to those who hate you. The courts do not forgive, but punish; they do not do good, but evil, to those whom they call enemies of society. Thus it turns out, according to the meaning, that Christ must have rejected the courts."⁴

Whereafter Tolstoy pointed out how often Jesus had come into conflict with the political law, because he returned back to the origin of Divine Law. Jesus broke the law of the privileged castes which tortured and finally killed him. The lasting impression of a public execution in France during his trip through Europe was reflected in Tolstoy's words of ethical disgust with the human criminal law in "My Religion":

³ Leo Tolstoy: My Religion, on life, thoughts on God and on the meaning of life, transl. by Leo Wiener (Complete Works, Vol.16), My Religion (1884), Boston 1904, p. 22, ch. III

⁴ Leo Tolstoy: My Religion (1884), Boston 1904, p. 25, III

"No man with a heart has escaped that impression of terror and of doubt in the good, even at the recital, not to speak of the sight, of the executions of men by just such men, by means of rods, the guillotine, the gallows."⁵

"Christ says, You have been impressed with the idea, and you have become accustomed to it, that it is good and rational by force to repel the evil and to pluck an eye out for an eye, to establish criminal courts, the police, the army, to resist the enemy: but I say, Use no violence, do not take part in violence, do no evil to any one, even to those whom you call your enemies."⁶

Tolstoy realized that he would face stern resistance from two groups of people belonging to quite different ideological camps:

"These men belong to the two extreme poles: they are the patriotic and conservative Christians, who acknowledge that their church is the true one, and the atheistic Revolutionists. Neither the one nor the other will renounce the right of forcibly resisting what they regard as an evil. Not even the wisest and most learned among them want to see the simple, obvious truth that, if we concede to one man the right forcibly to resist what he considers an evil, a second person may with the same right resist what he regards as an evil."⁷

Not the annihilation of evil but the increase of injustice has been the result of the law of violence in the social, political and economic fields of human life:

⁵ Leo Tolstoy: My Religion (1884), Boston 1904, p. 35, III

⁶ Leo Tolstoy: My Religion (1884), Boston 1904, p. 36, IV

⁷ Leo Tolstoy: My Religion (1884), Boston 1904, p. 37, IV

"Not only Christ, but all Jewish prophets, John the Baptist, all the true sages of the world, speak of precisely this church, this state, this culture, this civilization, calling them evil and destruction of men."⁸

Tolstoy condemned the law of violence. He revealed the law of love, benevolence and conscience. And he appealed to the morality of his readers, to realize the ethical commandments: no more and no longer tortures or executions of more and more victims :

"Who will deny that it is repulsive and painful to human nature, not only to torture or kill a man, but even to torture a dog, or to kill a chicken or a calf? (I know men living by agricultural labour, who have stopped eating meat only because they had themselves to kill their animals.)"⁹

"Not one judge would have the courage to strangle the man whom he has sentenced according to his law. Not one chief would have the courage to take a peasant away from a weeping family and lock him up in prison. Not one general or soldier would, without discipline, oath, or war, kill a hundred Turks or Germans, and lay waste their villages; he would not even have the courage to wound a single man. All this is done only thanks to that complicated political and social machine, whose problem it is so to scatter the responsibility of the atrocities which are perpetrated so that no man may feel the unnaturalness of these acts. Some write laws; others apply them; others again muster men, educating in them the habit of discipline, that is, of senseless and irresponsible obedience;

⁸ Leo Tolstoy: My Religion (1884), Boston 1904, p. 40, IV

⁹ Leo Tolstoy: My Religion (1884), Boston 1904, p. 41, IV

others again -- these same mustered men -- commit every kind of violence, even killing men, without knowing why and for what purpose."¹⁰

No analysis could be given more precisely of the fatal system of command-and-obey which characterises the military system. Tolstoy objected to the despotisms of the Russian Tzar and the German Kaiser as harshly as to the dilution of the same principle of power by British parliamentarism. In his writings of confession he testified against the pseudo-security of a complacent bourgeoisie and feudal caste:

"(...) whether to know that my peace and security and that of my family, all my joys and pleasures, are bought by the poverty, debauch, and suffering of millions, -- by annual gallows, hundreds of thousands of suffering prisoners and millions of soldiers, policemen, and guards, torn away from their families and dulled by discipline, who with loaded pistols, to be aimed at hungry men, secure the amusements for me; whether to buy every dainty piece which I put into my mouth, or into the mouths of my children, at the cost of all that suffering of humanity, which is inevitable for the acquisition of these pieces; or to know that any piece is only then my piece when nobody needs it, and nobody suffers for it."¹¹

Tolstoy was right to condemn the reproaches of Christ's doctrine being a chimera by reflecting upon the reality of the real social and political disorder:

"Christ's teaching about non-resistance to evil is a dream! And this, that the life of men, into whose souls pity and love for one

¹⁰ Leo Tolstoy: My Religion (1884), Boston 1904, p. 41f., IV

¹¹ Leo Tolstoy: My Religion (1884), Boston 1904, p. 42, IV

another is put, has passed, for some, in providing stakes, knouts, racks, cat-o'-nine-tails, tearing of nostrils, inquisitions, fetters, hard labour, gallows, executions by shooting, solitary confinements, prisons for women and children, in providing slaughter of tens of thousands in war, in providing revolutions and seditions; and for others, in executing all these horrors; and for others again, in avoiding all these sufferings and retaliating for them, - such a life is not a dream!"¹²

Tolstoy illustrated the lucidity of the Christian doctrine of Non-Resistance, the key to understand the Gospels, with the ancient prophet Elijah to whom God manifested himself not with thunder and lightning but in a smooth breeze blowing from the refreshed leas after the storm:

"The movement of humanity toward the good takes place, not thanks to the tormentors, but to the tormented. As fire does not put out fire, so evil does not put out evil. Only the good meeting the evil, and not becoming contaminated by it, vanquishes the evil. (...) Every step in advance has been made only in the name of non-resistance to evil. (...) And if this progress is slow, it is so because the clearness, simplicity, rationality, inevitableness, and obligatoriness of Christ's teaching have been concealed from the majority of men in a most cunning and dangerous manner; they have been concealed under a false teaching which falsely calls itself his teaching."¹³

Tolstoy learned Hebrew and Greek in order to read and translate the Holy Scriptures of Judaism and Christianity in their ancient translations. Before he was excommunicated by the Orthodox Church, he had written "A Criticism of Dogmatic

¹² Leo Tolstoy: My Religion (1884), Boston 1904, p. 43, IV

¹³ Leo Tolstoy: My Religion (1884), Boston 1904, p. 44, IV

Theology" and "The Gospel in Brief", and, in addition, Tolstoy later gave an account of Christian doctrines in a version dedicated to children, which actually explained the originary meaning of Christ's teachings to all people who could read and listen.

2. THE KINGDOM OF GOD IS WITHIN YOU

In his famous work "The Kingdom of God is Within You" (1893), Leo Tolstoy laid down his political philosophy of nonviolent resistance. He ostracized in particular the modern slavery of military conscription or compulsory military service which had been introduced in Russia after the army reform of 1874:

"The establishment of general military service is like the activity of a man who wants to prop up a rotten house. The walls are crumbling - he puts rafters to them; the roof slopes inwards, he builds up a framework; boards give way between the rafters, he supports them with other beams. At last it turns out that although the scaffolding keeps the house together, it renders it quite uninhabitable.

It is the same with universal military service, which destroys all the advantages of that social life which it is supposed to guarantee.

The benefits of social life consist in the security given to property and labour, and in the mutual co-operation towards general welfare. Military service destroys all this.

The taxes levied on the people for armaments and war absorb the greater part of the products of that labour which the army is called upon to protect. Taking away the whole male population from the ordinary occupations of their life destroys the very possibility of labour. The menace of war, ever ready to

break out from one moment to the next, renders vain and profitless all improvements of social life."¹⁴

"For Governments, general military service is the utmost limit of violence required for the support of the whole system; for subjects, it is the utmost limit of possible subjection. It is the key-stone in the arch which supports the walls, whose removal would demolish the whole building.

The time has come when the ever-increasing abuses of Governments and their mutual feuds require from their subjects such material and moral sacrifices, that every man must necessarily hesitate and ask himself: Can I make these sacrifices? And for what am I to make them? they are required in the name of the State. In the name of the State I am required to give up everything that is dear to man: family, safety, a peaceful life and personal self-respect."¹⁵

It was quite significant that in the nineteenth century North American preachers gave up their offices within their denominations to found Socialist communities influenced by the ideas of the French Utopian thinker Charles Fourier in order to restore the pioneering spirit of the Pilgrim Fathers in post-revolutionary USA against the expansionist economism of early capitalism. Among those who wanted to revive the revolutionary spirit of the independence struggle against the British colonial power, we find the first secular theorists of Non-Resistance with arguments even for non-believers, atheists or agnostics. In his book "The Kingdom of God is Within You" Tolstoy quoted the voices of Adin Ballou and the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison who opposed the system of slavery. "The Kingdom of God is Within You" captured young

¹⁴ Leo Tolstoy: The Kingdom of God is Within You (1893), p. 7, II

¹⁵ Leo Tolstoy: The Kingdom of God is Within You (1893), p. 7, III

Gandhi's interest as an Indian lawyer in South Africa and won him over to follow Tolstoy's influence.

3. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

The participants of the Peace Convention in Boston 1838 drafted a Declaration of Sentiments in order to abolish war. These American precursors of Tolstoy's teachings of Non-Resistance were quoted by Leo Tolstoy:

"We register our testimony, not only against all wars, whether offensive or defensive, but all preparations for war; against every naval ship, every arsenal, every fortification; against the militia system and a standing army; against all military chieftains and soldiers; against all monuments commemorative of victory over a foreign foe, all trophies won in battle, all celebrations in honor of military or naval exploits; against all appropriations for the defence of a nation by force and arms on the part of any legislative body; against every edict of government, requiring of its subjects military service. Hence we deem it unlawful to bear arms, or to hold a military office."

"As every human government is upheld by physical strength, and its laws are enforced virtually at the point of the bayonet, we cannot hold any office which imposes upon its incumbent the obligation to compel men to do right, on pain of imprisonment or death. We therefore voluntarily exclude ourselves from every legislative and judicial body, and repudiate all human politics, worldly honors, and stations of authority. If we cannot occupy a seat in the legislature or on

the bench, neither can we elect *others* to act as our substitutes in any such capacity."¹⁶

These words indicate the principal refusal to cooperate with a system of injustice. The Roman law 'ius talionis', the law of retaliatory violence, had been laid down in the Law of Twelve Tables. The Non-Resisters criticised revenge as an endemic principle of contagious violence. The Non-Resisters were inspired by the ancient prophetic tradition and by their Christian political concept of nonviolent redemption.

"If we abide by our principles, it is impossible for us to be disorderly, or plot treason, or participate in any evil work; we shall submit to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake; obey all the requirements of government, except such as we deem contrary to the commands of the gospel; and in no case resist the operation of law, except by meekly submitting to the penalty of disobedience.

But while we shall adhere to the doctrine of non-resistance and passive submission, we purpose, in a moral and spiritual sense, to speak and act boldly in the cause of God; to assail iniquity in high places and in low places; to apply our principles to all existing civil, political, legal, and ecclesiastical institutions; and to hasten the time when the kingdoms of this world have

¹⁶ William Lloyd Garrison: Declaration of Sentiments (adopted by the Peace Convention, held in Boston, September 18, 19 and 20, 1838) (quoted by Leo Tolstoy: The Kingdom of God is Within You. Christianity Not as a Mystic Religion But as a New Theory of Life (1893), New York 1894, pp. 4f., ch. I) (William Lloyd Garrison: Selections from Writings and Speeches of William Lloyd Garrison, Boston 1852, pp. 72-77) - footnotes 12 to 16: Garrison and Ballou quoted from: Leo Tolstoy, Writings on Civil Disobedience and Nonviolence, Philadelphia 1987, pp. 287-302 -

become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ, and He shall reign forever."¹⁷

The individual boycott of war and poll taxes, of which Henry David Thoreau had given an example before writing his inspiring essay "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience" against the Government, the massive individual conscientious objection against all military services, against war preparation or participation in war, according to Leo Tolstoy's recommendation, the historical example of Indian "Satyagraha in South Africa" guided by Mahatma Gandhi, and the boycotts of the Civil Rights Movement claiming equal rights for all citizens guided by Dr. Martin Luther King jr. - all these realised the principle of non-cooperation with any political system which is based on injustice.

"It appears to us a self-evident truth, that, whatever the gospel is designed to destroy at any period of the world, being contrary to it, ought now to be abandoned. If, then, the time is predicted when swords shall be beaten into plowshares, and spears into pruning-hooks, and men shall not learn the art of war any more, it follows that all who manufacture, sell, or wield those deadly weapons do thus array themselves against the peaceful dominion of the Son of God on earth. (...)

Hence, we shall employ lecturers, circulate tracts and publications, form societies, and petition our state and national governments, in relation to the subject of Universal Peace. It will be our leading object to devise ways and means for effecting a radical change in the views, feelings, and practices of society, respecting the sinfulness of war and the treatment of enemies.

¹⁷ William Lloyd Garrison: Declaration of Sentiments (adopted by the Peace Convention, held in Boston, September 18,19 and 20, 1838) (quoted in Leo Tolstoy: The Kingdom of God is Within You..., p. 6, ch. I)

In entering upon the great work before us, we are not unmindful that, in its prosecution, we may be called to test our sincerity even as in a fiery ordeal. It may subject us to insult, outrage, suffering, yea, even death itself. We anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, calumny. Tumults may rise against us. The ungodly and violent, the proud and pharisaical, the ambitious and tyrannical, principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places, may contrive to crush us. So they treated the Messiah, whose example we are humbly striving to imitate. If we suffer with Him we know that we shall reign with Him. We shall not be afraid of their terror, neither be troubled."¹⁸

4. ADIN BALLOU

Leo Tolstoy corresponded with Adin Ballou, author of a dialogue on the teaching of Non-Resistance, and he discussed with him the ethical problem of self-defence which Tolstoy rejected by principle. In a pamphlet entitled "How many people are necessary to transform evil into justice", Adin Ballou rejected pseudo-legitimations for murder politically sanctioned. In his "Catechism of Non-Resistance", Adin Ballou consistently rejected human ways of behaviour such as insults, killing and hurting because of self-defense, the judicial procedures of claiming in order to punish people for an insult, the participation in armies against interior or exterior enemies, the participation in wars or armaments for war, the participation in drafting or equipping soldiers, voting at the poll elections, the participation in the courts or in the administration as participation in the power of governments, the paying of taxes for a government "that is kept up by war

¹⁸ William Lloyd Garrison: Declaration of Sentiments (adopted by the Peace Convention, held in Boston, September 18,19 and 20, 1838) (quoted in Leo Tolstoy: The Kingdom of God is Within You..., pp. 6f., ch. I)

power, by capital punishment, generally by violence", which means that one should not resist taxation by means of violence. Adin Ballou's comprehensive rejection of any kind of violence also referred to the political monopoly of violence and calls it evil that can only be destroyed by the doctrine of Non-Resistance. Ballou wrote about the principle of voluntary suffering to overcome the régime of violence:

"Good deeds cannot be performed under all circumstances without self-sacrifice, privations, suffering, and, in extreme cases, without the loss of life itself. But he who prizes life more than the fulfilment of God's will is already dead to the only true life. Such a man, in trying to save his life, will lose it. Furthermore, wherever non-resistance costs the sacrifice of one's life, or of some essential advantage of life, resistance costs thousands of such sacrifices.

Non-resistance preserves; resistance destroys.

It is much safer to act justly than unjustly; to endure an offense rather than resist it by violence; safer even in regard to the present life. If all men refused to resist evil, the world would be a happy one. (...)

Even if but one man were to act thus, and the others should agree to crucify him, would it not be more glorious for him to die in the glory of non-resisting love, praying for his enemies, than live wearing the crown of Caesar, besprinkled with the blood of the murdered? But whether it be one man or thousands of men who are firmly determined not to resist evil by evil, still, whether in the midst of civilized or uncivilized neighbors, men who do not rely on violence are safer than those who do. A robber, a murderer, a villain, will be less likely to harm them if he finds them offering no armed resistance. "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," and he who seeks peace, who acts like a friend, who is inoffensive,

who forgives and forgets injuries, generally enjoys peace, or if he dies, he dies a blessed death."¹⁹

And Adin Ballou resumed in his "Catechism of Non-Resistance":

"Hence, if all were to follow the commandment of non-resistance, there would manifestly be neither offense nor evil-doing. If even the majority were composed of such men they would establish the rule of love and good-will even toward the offenders, by not resisting evil by evil nor using violence. Even if such men formed a numerous minority, they would have such an improving moral influence over society that every severe punishment would be revoked, and violence and enmity would be replaced by peace and good-will. If they formed but a small minority, they would rarely experience anything worse than the contempt of the world, while the world, without preserving it or feeling grateful therefore, would become better and wiser from its latent influence. And if, in the most extreme cases, certain members of the minority might be persecuted unto death, these men, thus dying for the truth, would have left their doctrine already sanctified by the blood of martyrdom. Peace be with all ye who seek peace; and may the all-conquering love be the imperishable inheritance of every soul who submits of its own accord to the law of Christ.

Resist not evil by violence."²⁰

¹⁹ Adin Ballou: The Catechism of Non-Resistance (quoted in Leo Tolstoy: The Kingdom of God is Within You..., p. 15, ch. I)

²⁰ Adin Ballou: The Catechism of Non-Resistance (quoted in Leo Tolstoy: The Kingdom of God is Within You..., pp. 15f., ch. I)

5. ROMAIN ROLLAND AND STEFAN ZWEIG

As a young student, Romain Rolland (1866-1944) surprisingly received a long letter written in French language by Leo Tolstoy. This was in 1887. Romain Rolland wrote altogether seven letters to Tolstoy between 1887 and 1906. Most of these letters were reflections about the role of art and the artist in society. Tolstoy replied only once, to the first letter of Rolland. Rolland was inspired by Tolstoy's political writings. Tolstoy's writings about the Doukhobors inspired Rolland to write his drama "Le Temps viendra" (The Time will come) against the Boer War in 1903. In 1911, Rolland published "Vie de Tolstoi" (The Life of Tolstoy). In 1924, Rolland published his famous Gandhi biography. Rolland wanted to create an International of Intellectuals to stop the war machinery.

Romain Rolland was one of the very few European intellectuals who spoke out against the First World War right from the beginning. Actually he followed Tolstoy's example thinking responsible for his generation when he took a Pacifist stand against the military system. Among his intellectual friends was Stefan Zweig (1881-1942). Inspired by Tolstoy, Stefan Zweig wrote his novel "Der Zwang" (Der Refractair) about a conscientious objector in 1918, translated Rolland's drama "The time will come" into German language in 1919. He was invited to the official celebrations of Tolstoy's 100th birthday in 1928. In 1928, he wrote a magnificent portrait of Tolstoy which was later published in "Master Builders: A Typology of the Spirit" (New York 1939).

6. DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE SPIRIT

In the year 1919²¹, the Indian social reformer and poet Rabindranath Tagore had a letter exchange with the French novelist and pacifist, Romain Rolland, who became most famous for his biographies of Tolstoy, Gandhi, Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. Both, Tagore as well as Rolland, were concerned about the intellectuals' responsibility during and before war time. Rolland spread his "Declaration of Independence of the Spirit" signed among others by Jane Addams (USA), Henri Barbusse (France), Bazalgette (France), Roberto Bracco (Italy), Paul Birukoff (Russia), Dr. L. E. J. Bromver (Holland), 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), Verner von Heidenstam (Sweden), P. J. Jouve (France), Ellen Key (Sweden), C. Kapteyn (Holland), Selma Lagerloef (Sweden), Andreas Latzko (Hungary), Lindhagen (Sweden), M. Lopez Pico (Catalonia), Lehmann (Germany), 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. A. Prenant (France), Prof. Leonhard Ragaz (Switzerland), Romain Rolland (France), Jules Romains (France), Bertrand Russell (England), Nicholas Roubakine (Russia), Fritz von Unruh

²¹ You find chapters 6 to 10 earlier published by The International Journal of Humanities and Peace (IJHP), Flagstaff, Arizona, USA 1999, Volume 15, No. 1 (Synergy-Synthesis-Transformation), pp. 76-79: "Manifesto of Nonviolence: Tolstoy, Gandhi and the Responsibility of Intellectuals in the Nuclear Age" (Christian Bartolf)

(Germany), Henry van der Velde (Belgium), Israel Zangwill (England) and Stefan Zweig (Austria)²²:

"Toilers of the spirit, companions, scattered all over the world, separated from one another for five years by armies, by censorship and hate of nations at war, we take this opportunity, when barriers are falling and frontiers are re-opening, of making an appeal to you to re-form your fraternal union, - but let it be a fresh union, firmer and stronger than the one which existed before.

The war has thrown our ranks into disarray. The majority of intellectuals have placed their science, their art and their mind at the service of States. We do not wish to accuse or reproach anybody. We know the weakness of individual souls and the elemental strength of great collective currents: the latter have in an instant swept away the former, as no provision had been made for resisting. Let this experience at least serve us for the future!

And first of all, let us take note of the disasters that have resulted from the almost total abdication of the intelligence of the world and its voluntary subjection to the forces let loose. To the pestilence which is corroding Europe in body and spirit, thinkers and artists have added an incalculable amount of poisoned hate; they have searched in the arsenal of their knowledge, their memory and their imagination for old and new reasons, historical, scientific, logical and poetic reasons, for hating; they have laboured to destroy love and understanding between men. And in so doing they have disfigured, dishonoured, debased and degraded Thought, whose ambassadors they were. They have made it an instrument of passions and (perhaps without knowing it) of the

²² Rolland and Tagore, ed. by Alex Aronson and Krishna Kripalani, *Visva-Bharati*, Calcutta, September 1945, pp. 20-24

egotistic interests of a social or political clan, of a state, of a country or of a class. And now from this savage struggle, from which all the warring nations, victorious and vanquished, are emerging bruised, impoverished and in their heart of hearts (though they do not admit it to themselves) ashamed and humiliated at their orgy of madness, Thought emerges fallen with them, compromised by their conflict.

Arise! Let us extricate the spirit from these compromises, these humiliating alliances, this secret slavery! The spirit is the servant of none. It is we who are servants of the spirit. We have no other master. We are born to bear its torch, to defend it, to rally round it all those who have strayed. Our part, our duty is to maintain a fixed point, to point out the polar star, amidst the whirl of passions in the night. Amongst these passions of pride and mutual destruction, we shall choose none; we shall reject all. We serve Truth alone which is free, with no frontiers, with no limits, with no prejudices of race or caste. Of course we shall not dissociate ourselves from the interests of Humanity! We shall work for it, but for it *as a whole*. We do not recognise nations. We recognise the People - one and universal, - the People who suffer, who struggle, who fall and rise again, and who ever march forward on the rough road, drenched with their sweat and their blood, - the People comprising all men, all equally our brothers. And it is in order to make them, like ourselves, aware of this fraternity, that we raise above their blind battles the Arch of Alliance, of the Free Spirit, one and manifold, eternal."

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 letter²³:

²³ *The Modern Review*, July 1919, p. 81

"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 organised 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 freed souls, who in Europe have conceived the project of a Declaration of Independence of the Spirit..."

7. ANTI-CONSCRIPTION MANIFESTO

In 1926, Runham Brown, Hon. Secretary of "War Resisters' International" (11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England) issued the following "innocent" Anti-Conscription Manifesto directed at the League of Nations²⁴:

"During the War people in all the countries determined to throw off for ever the yoke of militarism, and, when peace came, the League of Nations was welcomed as the offspring of this hope. It is our duty to see that the terrible suffering of the War does not recur.

We call for some definite step towards complete disarmament, and the demilitarizing of the mind of civilized nations. The most effective measure towards this would be the universal abolition of conscription. We therefore ask the League of

²⁴ This English language translation of the Anti-Conscription Manifesto as well as Gandhi's comment are quoted from: The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, vol. 31 (1926), Ahmedabad 1969, pp. 414 f. (article in *Young India*, 16.9.1926)

Nations to propose the abolition of compulsory military service in all countries as a first step towards true disarmament.

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 may be, 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.

In the first draft of the Covenant of the League of Nations, President Wilson proposed to make conscription illegal in affiliated countries. It is our duty to restore the original spirit which created the League, a spirit shared by many of those who fought in the war, and professed by many of the statesmen of the countries concerned. By the universal abolition of conscription we can take a decisive step towards peace and liberty. We therefore call upon all men and women of good-will to help create in all countries a public opinion which will

induce Governments and the League of Nations to take this definite step to rid the world of the spirit of militarism, and to open the way to a new era of freedom within nations and of fraternity between them."

Mahatma Gandhi joined the signatories who stressed the Anti-Conscription Manifesto publicly; it was signed by:

C. F. Andrews (India), Norman Angell (England), Selma Antilla (Finland), Henri Barbusse (France), A. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (Germany), Annie Besant (India), Natanael Beskow, D.D. (Sweden), Lt.-Gen. G. J. W. Koolemans Beynen (Holland), Dr. Ctibor Bezdek (Czechoslovakia), Margaret Bondfield (England), Martin Buber (Germany), Edward Carpenter (England), Prof. Dr. Frans Daels (Belgium), General a. D. Berthold von Deimling (Germany), Miguel de Unamuno (Spain), Georges Duhamel (France), Gustave Dupin (France), Emile Ehlers (Belgium), Prof. Albert Einstein (Germany), Major Franz Carl Endres (Germany), Prof. August Forel (Switzerland), Maikki Friberg (Finland), M. K. Gandhi (India), Prof. Edward Geismar (Denmark), Lucina Hagman (Finland), Pierre Hamp (France), Prof. G. T. Heering (Holland), Dr. Friedrich Hertz (Austria), Dr. Kurt Hiller (Germany), Prof. Felix Iversen (Finland), Prof. Otto Jespersen, Ph. D., Litt. D. (Denmark), Dr. Luis Jimenez de Asua (Spain), Toyohiko Kagawa (Japan), Anna Kéthly (Hungary), Ellen Key (Sweden), Graf Harry Kessler (Germany), Chr. L. Lange (Norway), George Lansbury, M. P. (England), Carl Lindhagen, M. d. P. (Sweden), Reichstagspräsident Paul Löbe (Germany), Prof. Dr. Josef Macek (Czechoslovakia), Prof. Dr. G. Maranon (Spain), Victor Margueritte (France), Pavla Moudrá (Czechoslovakia), Lady Marian E. Parmoor (England), Lord Paarmoor (England), Georges Pioch (France), Dr. J. Polak (Polen), Arthur Ponsonby, M. P. (England), Prof. Dr. Emanuel Rádl (Czechoslovakia), Prof. Leonhard Ragaz (Switzerland),

Lajpat Rai (India), Eugen Relgis (Romania), Prof. Dr. K. H. Roessingh (Holland), Romain Rolland (France), Bertrand Russell (England), General-Major a. D. F. von Schönaich (Germany), Oskar von Schoultz (Finland), Dr. Ignaz Seipel (Austria), Hilda Seppala, M. d. P. (Finland), Robert Smillie, M. P. (England), Philip Snowden, M. P. (England), Pater Franziskus M. Stratmann (Germany), Prof. Dr. Emil Svoboda (Czechoslovakia), Helena M. Swanwick (England), Rabindranath Tagore (India), Prof. V. Tarkiainen (Finland), Fritz von Unruh (Germany), Prof. Dr. Karel Veleminsky (Czechoslovakia), General Verraux (France), Elin Wägner (Sweden), U. Wegelius (Finland), H. G. Wells (England), Mathilda Wrede (Finland), Jindriska Wurmová (Czechoslovakia)²⁵.

Mahatma Gandhi expressed his solidarity when he wrote the following words:

"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."

²⁵ The list of signatories is documented in: Franz Kobler (ed.): Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit. Handbuch des aktiven Pazifismus (Violence and Non-Violence. Manual of Active Pacifism), Zurich (Switzerland) 1928, pp. 362-364

8. AGAINST CONSCRIPTION AND THE MILITARY TRAINING OF YOUTH

In 1930, the "Joint Peace Council", a coalition of international peace organizations (The Friends' International Service, the International Antimilitarist Bureau, the International Co-operative 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), issued the Manifesto "Against Conscription and the Military Training of Youth"²⁶:

"The governments of all countries have at last officially recognized the right of nations to peace and renounced war as a means of national politics in the Kellogg-Pact.

Despite this, preparations are being made for war. In blatant contradiction of the peaceful postures of governments stands the maintenance and expansion of military training of youth.

Two kinds of military training prevail: in many countries it occurs as legal conscription, in others it actually is voluntary in name, but is imposed on youth by moral and economic pressure. Besides this, all governments consider it their right to demand military service of their male and female citizens.

We declare that whoever sincerely wants peace must promote the abolition of the militarisation of youth and deny the right of governments to impose conscription on their citizens.

Conscription subjects individual personalities to militarism. It is a form of servitude. That nations routinely tolerate it, is just one more proof of its debilitating influence.

²⁶ *Die Menschenrechte*, Berlin 1930, vol. 5, no. 9, pp. 18-20; translation into the English language by Christian Bartolf, Berlin, and Michael Graaf, Durban (Berlin, 1992)

Military training is schooling of body and spirit in the art of killing. Military training is education for war. It is the perpetuation of the war spirit. It hinders the development of the desire for peace. The older generation sins gravely against the future, if it teaches the skills of war to youth in schools and universities, in state and private organizations, often under the banner of physical training. The suspension of military training of youth and the abolition of conscription have been imposed on the defeated nations by peace treaties. The nations of the whole world should finally reject them (military training of youth and conscription) of their own accord. If the governments fail to recognize the great outrage at and opposition to war, then they must reckon with the resistance of all those whose highest law is dedication to humanity and to the voice of their conscience.

Nations of the world, resolve:

Away with militarisation!

Away with conscription!

Educate youth for humanity and for peace!"

According to the spirit of Briand-Kellogg-Pact in 1928 (the official prohibition of military aggressions in International Law), this Manifesto was signed among others by: Jane Addams (U.S.A.), Tolstoy's collaborators Pavel Birukov (Switzerland, originally Russia) and Valentin Bulgakov (Russia), John Dewey (U.S.A.), 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), Emanuel Radl (Czechoslovakia), Leonhard Ragaz (Switzerland), Henriette Roland Holst (Netherlands), Romain Rolland (France), Bertrand Russell (Great Britain), Upton

Sinclair (U.S.A.), Rabindranath Tagore (India), H.G. Wells (Great Britain) and Stefan Zweig (Austria).

9. NOBEL PRIZE LAUREATES' MANIFESTO APPEAL

In 1981, the Nobel Prize Laureates' Manifesto Appeal²⁷ stressed the significance of Mahatma Gandhi's Nonviolent Resistance:

"We the undersigned, men and women of science, letters, men and women of peace, of different religions, history and culture, we who have been honoured because we look for and celebrate truth in life and life in truth, in order that our work may serve as a universal testimony of dialogue, fraternity and a common civilization of peace and progress; we the undersigned appeal to all men and women of goodwill, appeal to the powerful and to the humble to act, each in their various responsibilities, for tens of millions of people on the point of dying from hunger and underdevelopment, victims of the international political and economic disorder which prevails in the world today, to be restored to life.

An unprecedented holocaust, encompassing in a single year all the horror of the exterminations experienced in the first half of the century is now being perpetrated and, with every moment that passes, is extending the frontiers of barbarism and death in the real world as well as in our consciences.

All of those who denounce and combat this holocaust are unanimous in maintaining that the causes of this tragedy are political.

²⁷ devised and written by Marco Pannella, Italy, signed by Nobel Laureates on 24 June 1981, published by Food and Disarmament International (FDI) and in the leaflet of the Radical Party (Brussels, Rome): "A Transnational", English issue of "Radical News", November 1987 (responsible: Michel Hancisse, Brussels, Belgium)

We therefore need a new political determination aimed at eradicating the causes of this extermination and at the immediate alleviation of its effects.

It is essential that a suitable method and procedure from the many possible ones that exist or can be imagined, should be devised, adopted and implemented immediately.

It is essential that there be devised a system of converging projects which answer the needs of the plural nature of the forces involved, of our responsibilities and our consciences.

It is essential that the highest international authorities, the governments, the people - too often kept unaware of the fact that policies to protect and preserve life are feasible-act - act, as some of the highest spiritual powers of the earth summon us to do, in concert or united by the work they do, with precise, certain and suitable objectives to combat and conquer the death which pursues, overwhelms and condemns a large portion of humanity at this time.

We must rebel against the false realism which accepts as inevitable what is in fact the outcome of the policies pursued by the established order, or rather "established disorder". We must fight in a realistic manner so that the attainable is attained and not lost forever.

We call for a positive change in the well meaning policies of aid which serve principally to salve the consciences of the more fortunate and which do not save those at whom they are directed, and of those cruel and barren utopias which sacrifice men of today in the name of projected new men and today's societies in the name of projected new societies of tomorrow.

It is essential that citizens and politicians choose and vote at their respective levels, in elections, in parliaments, in governments or at international level, new laws, new budgets, new projects and new measures designed to take immediate effect to save billions of people from malnutrition and

underdevelopment and hundreds of millions in every generation from death by hunger.

It is essential that each and every one give the force of law to the need to save the living, not to kill and not to exterminate, not even by inertia, failure to act or indifference.

Although the powerful of this earth bear the greatest responsibility, they are not alone. If the helpless take their fate into their own hands, if increasing numbers refuse to obey any law other than the fundamental human rights, the most basic of which is the right to life, if the weak organize themselves and use the few but powerful weapons available to them: non-violent actions exemplified by Gandhi, adopting and imposing objectives which are limited and suitable: if these things happen, it is certain that an end could be put to this catastrophe in our time.

We cannot stand idly by and watch as disaster approaches. Our knowledge tells us that the whole of humanity is increasingly in danger of death and we must use this knowledge to create hope and salvation to give substance to our beliefs and opinions.

If the news media and those who granted us the honours we have received, listen to our voices now and make them heard, give heed to our work and to the work of all those who have been making efforts in the same direction, if people know or are informed we have no doubt that the future can be changed for all the people of the world.

But only if this is done.

Now is the time to act, now is the time to create, now is the time for us to live in a way that will give life to others."

This 1981 Manifesto Appeal was signed by the following Nobel Prize Laureates:

Vincente Alexandre (Literature 1977), Hannes Alfvén (Physics 1970), American Friends Service Committee (Peace 1947), Philip Anderson (Physics 1977), Christian Anfinsen (Chemistry 1972), Kenneth Arrow (Economics 1972), Julius Axelrod (Medicine 1970), David Baltimore (Medicine 1975), Samuel Beckett (Literature 1969), Saul Bellow (Literature 1976), Baruj Benaceraff (Medicine 1980), Baruch S. Blumberg (Medicine 1976), Heinrich Boell (Literature 1972), Norman Ernest Borlaug (Peace 1970), Willy Brandt (Peace 1971), Bureau International de la Paix (Peace 1970), Elias Canetti (Literature 1981), Owen Chamberlain (Physics 1959), Subrahmanyam Chandrasekhar (Physics 1983), Mairead Corrigan (Peace 1976), André Cournand (Medicine 1956), Jean Dausset (Medicine 1980), Gérard Debreu (Economics 1983), John Carew Eccles (Medicine 1963), Odysseus Elytis (Literature 1979), Ernst Otto Fischer (Chemistry 1973), Paul John Flory (Chemistry 1974), William Alfred Fowler (Physics 1983), Alfonso Garcia Robles (Peace 1982), William Golding (Literature 1983), Ragnar Granit (Medicine 1967), Roger Guillemin (Medicine 1977), Charles Hard Townes (Physics 1964), Haldan Keffer Hartline (Medicine 1967), Odd Hassel (Chemistry 1969), Gerhard Herzberg (Chemistry 1971), Robert Hofstadter (Physics 1961), David Hubel (Medicine 1981), Francois Jacob (Medicine 1965), Brian Josephson (Physics 1973), Alfred Kastler (Physics 1966), Lawrence R. Klein (Economics 1980), Georges Kohler (Medicine 1984), Polykarp Kusch (Physics 1955), Wassily Leontief (Economics 1973), Salvador Luria (Medicine 1969), André Lwoff (Medicine 1965), Sean Mac Bride (Peace 1974), Czeslaw Milosz (Literature 1980), César Milstein (Medicine 1984), Eugenio Montale (Literature 1975), Nevill Mott (Physics 1977), Gunnar Myrdal (Economics 1974), Daniel Nathans (Medicine 1978), Louis Neel (Physics 1970), Marshall Nirenberg (Medicine 1968), Philip Noel-Baker (Peace 1959), Severo Ochoa

(Medicine 1959), Linus Pauling (Chemistry 1954 & Peace 1962), Arno Penzias (Physics 1978), Adolfo Perez Esquivel (Peace 1980), Rodney Robert Porter (Medicine 1972), Ilya Prigogine (Chemistry 1977), Quaker Peace and Service (Peace 1947), Isidor Isaac Rabi (Physics 1944), Tadeus Reichstein (Medicine 1950), Burton Richter (Physics 1976), Carlo Rubbia (Physics 1984), Martin Ryle (Physics 1974), Anwar El Sadat (Peace 1978), Andrei D. Sakharov (Peace 1975), Abdus Salam (Physics 1979), Frederik Sanger (Chemistry 1958 & 1980), Arthur Schawlow (Physics 1981), Jaroslav Seifert (Literature 1984), Kai Siegbahn (Physics 1981), Albert Szent Gyorgyi (Medicine 1937), Henry Taube (Chemistry 1983), Hugo Theorell (Medicine 1955), Jan Tinbergen (Economics 1969), Nikolaas Tinbergen (Medicine 1973), Sir Alexander Todd (Chemistry 1957), Desmond Tutu (Peace 1984), Simon van der Meer (Physics 1984), Ulf von Euler (Medicine 1970), George Wald (Medicine 1967), Lech Walesa (Peace 1983), Ernest Walton (Physics 1951), James Dewey Watson (Medicine 1962), Patrick White (Literature 1973), Torsten Wiesel (Medicine 1981), Maurice Wilkins (Medicine 1962), Betty Williams (Peace 1976).

10. MANIFESTO AGAINST CONSCRIPTION AND THE MILITARY SYSTEM

Since 1991, I have professionally counselled conscientious objectors for the Protestant Church and the Ecumenical Center in Berlin. Together with Nikos Pulos, I was glad to participate in Pacifist conferences, e.g. the War Resisters' Triennial Conference at Namur, Belgium, in 1991 and the International Conscientious Objectors' Meeting at Le Cun du Larzac, France, in 1992. In 1993, friends of mine asked me to participate in the International Conscientious Objectors' Meeting at Oeren, Turkey, in order to organize a workshop on

the nonviolent anti-war traditions of the 20th century. That is why the first draft of the new Manifesto became the result of an international five days' workshop and multilogue of 90 representatives from 19 nations. Together with Gyoergy Gado from the nonviolent peace movement Alba Koer, White Circle, Budapest, Hungary, I drafted the final version of the new Manifesto in Budapest, August 1993.

The Gandhi Information Center - Research and Education for Nonviolence (Address: Postfach (PO Box) 210109, 10501 Berlin, Germany - email: mkgandhi@snaflu.de - Internet: www.snaflu.de/~mkgandhi) is a registered non-profit organisation for education, an international society of more than one hundred corresponding members from twenty countries.

This publication is our contribution to a global Political Culture, World Peace, Human Rights and Justice. Since December 1993, our international society for education, the Gandhi Information Center, Research and Education for Nonviolence, has collected signatures and translations of the new Manifesto against Conscription and the Military System by numerous correspondences and at various peace conferences in Greece, India, Italy, Poland and Russia. Meanwhile, this new Manifesto spread worldwide by the Gandhi Information Center has been translated by friends in more than 25 languages.

Hundreds of people of integrity and/or celebrities in the fields of Science and Culture and/or engaged in the issues of Peace, Ecology and Human Rights already signed.

We followed the Tolstoy tradition line of the previous manifestoes, and we wanted to learn a lesson from the past.

This secular tradition line of manifestoes against conscription, the military system and the roots of war was started by Leo Tolstoy and his work "The Kingdom of God Is Within You" (1893). It was particularly this work of Leo Tolstoy which deeply influenced the young lawyer in South Africa, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.

We shall overcome conscription and the military system by the enlightenment of Truth through active Nonviolent Resistance (Satyagraha) for the Welfare of All (Sarvodaya).

MANIFESTO AGAINST CONSCRIPTION AND THE MILITARY SYSTEM

In the name of humanity,
for the sake of all civilians threatened by war crimes,
especially women and children, and
for the benefit of Mother Nature suffering from war
preparations and warfare,

We, the undersigned, plea for the universal abolition of
conscription as one major and decisive step towards complete
disarmament.

We remember the message of 20th century-humanists:

"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 may be, 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 life, 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." (1)

"Conscription subjects individual personalities to militarism. It is a form of servitude. That nations routinely tolerate it, is just one more proof of its debilitating influence.

Military training is schooling of body and spirit in the art of killing. Military training is education for war. It is the perpetuation of war spirit. It hinders the development of the desire for peace." (2)

We encourage all people to emancipate themselves from the military system and, therefore, apply methods of non-violent resistance in the line of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, as they were: Conscientious Objection (by conscripts and professional soldiers, in war and peace time), Civil Disobedience, War Tax Resistance, Non-Cooperation with military research, military production and arms trade.

In our age of electronic warfare and media manipulation, we cannot deny our responsibility to act in time, according to our consciences. It is high time to demilitarize our minds and our societies, to speak out against war and all preparations for it.

Now is the time to act, now is the time to create and to live in a way that saves the lives of others.

(1) Anti-Conscription Manifesto 1926, signed among others by Henri Barbusse, Annie Besant, Martin Buber, Edward Carpenter, Miguel de Unamuno, Georges Duhamel, Albert Einstein, August Forel, M.K. Gandhi, Kurt Hiller, Toyohiko Kagawa, George Lansbury, Paul Loebe, Arthur Ponsonby, Emanuel Radl, Leonhard Ragaz, Romain Rolland, Bertrand Russell, Rabindranath Tagore, Fritz von Unruh, H.G. Wells

(2) Against Conscription and the Military Training of Youth 1930, signed among others by Jane Addams, Paul Birukov and Valentin Bulgakov (collaborators of Leo Tolstoy), John Dewey, Albert Einstein, August Forel, Sigmund Freud, Arvid Jaernefelt, Toyohiko Kagawa, Selma Lagerloef, Judah Leon Magnes, Thomas Mann, Ludwig Quidde, Emanuel Radl, Leonhard Ragaz, Henriette Roland Holst, Romain Rolland, Bertrand Russell, Upton Sinclair, Rabindranath Tagore, H.G. Wells, Stefan Zweig

Complete list of (individual and group) signatories

This "Manifesto against Conscription and the Military System" has been signed by following individual signatories:

Dr. Serge Tolstoi (grandson of Leo Tolstoy, "Les Amis de Leon Tolstoi", Paris, France) - Mr. K.M. Gandhi (Sarvodaya Samaj, Mahadev Bhai Bhavan, Sevagram, Wardha, Maharashtra, India) - Mr. S.K. Bandopadhaya (Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, New Delhi, India) - Prof. Ramlal Parikh (The Gujarat Vidyapith founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920, Ahmedabad, India) - Dr. Y.P. Anand, S.K. Bhatnagar (National Gandhi Museum, Rajghat, New Delhi, India) - Baba Amte (Anandwan, Maharashtra, India) - Ravi Shankar (artist, India) - Adolfo Perez Esquivel (Nobel Peace Laureate, Argentine) - Mairead Corrigan Maguire (Nobel Peace Laureate, Northern Ireland) - Prof. Linus Pauling (Nobel Peace Laureate, USA) - Desmond Tutu (archbishop, Nobel Peace Laureate, South Africa) - Christian F. Beyers Naudé (theologist, South Africa) - Rev. Daniel Berrigan, S.J. (priest, writer, West Side Jesuit Community, USA) - Rev. Philip Berrigan (priest, writer, Jonah House, Baltimore, USA) and his wife Elizabeth McAlister, Dr. Jerome Berrigan / Dr. Carol Berrigan (all USA) - Danilo Dolci (Centro Studi E Iniziative, Sicily, Italy) - Prof. Ivan Illich (social philosopher, Mexico) - Mulk Raj Anand (writer, India) - Prof. Johan Galtung (Peace Research Institute Oslo, Norway) - Rev. Dr. Paul Oestreicher (Coventry Cathedral, England) - Dario Fo (Nobel Laureate Literature, Italy), Franca Ramé (Italy) - José Saramago (Nobel Laureate Literature, Lanzarote, Spain/Portugal) - Julien Green (writer, France) - Jean-Luc Green (Eric Jourdan) (writer, France) - Prof. Joseph Needham (orientalist, England) - Sir Georg Solti (conductor, Switzerland) - Luciano Pavarotti (vocal artist, opera singer,

Italy) - Thomas M. Keneally (writer, author of "Schindler's List", Australia) - Howard Fast (writer, USA) - Peter Bichsel (writer, Switzerland) - Bernard Clavel (writer, France) - Henri Cartier-Bresson (art photographer, France) - Aziz Nesin (writer, Turkey) - Peter Gabriel (singer, composer, England) - Prof. Jean Ziegler (sociologist, Switzerland) - Dr. J. Isa Sarid (Israel, grand-niece of Hermann Kallenbach who was the founder of Mahatma Gandhi's Tolstoy Farm in South Africa) - Stefan Heym (writer, Germany) - Constantin Costa-Gavras (film director, France) - Prof. Alan Lomax (music anthropologist, USA) - Prof. Shalom BenChorin (philosopher, Israel) - Isabel Allende (writer, USA) - Edward Bond (writer, England) - Helmut Heissenbuettel (writer, Germany) - Josef Tal (writer, Israel) - George Woodcock (writer, Canada) - Gyoergy Konrad (Hungary, writer) - Dr. Walter Spielmann (Director of Robert-Jungk-Library for Futurology, Salzburg, Austria) - Péter Esterházy (writer, Hungary) - Hella and Reinhard Mey (chansonnier, Germany) - Michelangelo Antonioni (film director, Italy) - Aki Kaurismaeki (film director, Finland) - Josef Reding (writer, Germany) - István Eoersi (writer, Hungary) - Karlheinz Boehm (actor, "Menschen fuer Menschen", Germany) - Jean Louis Trintignant (actor, France) - Jutta Lampe (actress, Germany) - Wladimir Schnittke ("Memorial" Human Rights Society, St. Petersburg, Russia) - Will Quadflieg (actor, Germany) - Robert Rauschenberg (artist, USA) - Elisabeth Trissenaar und Hans Neuenfels (actress and art director, Germany) - Christo and Jeanne-Claude (artists, USA) - Luise Rinser (writer, Italy) Prof. Eugen Drewermann (theologist, Germany) - Miklós Jancsó (film director, Hungary) - Prof. Hans-Werner Henze (composer, Germany) - Zoltán Kocsis (pianist, Hungary) - Bruce Hanson (John Ruskin House Museum, Brantwood, Coniston, England) - Georg Stefan Troller and Kirsten Troller (writer, journalist, France) - Dr. Franz Alt and Brigitte Alt

(journalist, author, Germany) - Roger Willemsen (journalist, Germany) - Prof. Edward W. Said (scientist, USA) - Rainer Erler (film director, Germany) - Gerhard Zwerenz (writer, Germany) - Miklós Mészöly (writer, Hungary) - Baerbel Bohley (civil rights' activist, Germany) - Hildegard Goss-Mayr (International Fellowship of Reconciliation, Austria) - Lavanam Rao (Atheist Centre, Vijayawada, India) - George Paxton (Scotland, "The Gandhi Way", Gandhi Foundation, Britain) - Rudolf Bahro (social philosopher, Germany) - Madalsa Narayan (Bajaj) (wife of Shriman Narajan, daughter of Jamnalal Bajaj, Wardha, India) - Dr. Erna Putz (biographer of Franz Jaegerstaetter, Austria) - Josef Steinkellner (priest of St. Radegund, Franz Jaegerstaetter's community, Austria) - Prof. Ulrich Albrecht (political scientist, Germany) - Trude Unruh (civil rights' activist, Germany) - James Kruess (children books' author, Spain) - Prof. Theodore Monod (scientist, France) - Prof. Joachim E. Berendt (writer, Germany) - Lisa Fitz (artist, Germany) - Prof. Thomas S. Szasz (psychoanalyst, psychiatrist, USA) - Otto Sander (actor, Germany) - René Dumont (ecologist, economist, France) - Gisela May (artist, actress, Germany) - Prof. Albert Jacquard (demographer, France) - Dr. Michael Schneider (writer, Germany) - Heinz Knobloch (writer, Germany) - Francoise Hardy (artist, France) - Dr. Till Bastian (medical doctor, "Komitee fuer eine zivile Gesellschaft", Germany) - Maud Mannoni (psychoanalyst, France) - Prof. Horst-Eberhard Richter (psychoanalyst, writer, Germany) - Lawrence Ferlinghetti (poet, editor, painter, City Lights Books, USA) - Dr. Paul Parin (psychoanalyst, Switzerland) - Prof. Luise and Willy Schottroff (theologists, Germany) - Dieter Lattmann (writer, Germany) - Athol Fugard (actor, writer, South Africa) - Prof. Dorothee Soelle (theologist, Germany) - Peter Zadek (art director, Germany) - Bernhard Haering (theologist, Germany) - Prof. Henry and Margaret Reynolds (Australia) -

Richard Meredith (Australia) - Prof. Wolf-Dieter Narr (political scientist, Germany) - Prof. Hans Heinz Holz (philosopher, Netherlands) - Prof. Reinhard Kuehnl (political scientist, historian, Germany) - Manfred Wekwerth (art director, Germany) - Hans A. de Boer (writer, Germany) - Prof. Albrecht Goes (writer, Germany) - Prof. Ossip K. Flechtheim (political scientist, futurologist, Germany) - Sigi Maron (artist, Austria) - Heinz and David Bennent (film and theatre actors, France) - Y Sa Lo (actress, drama teacher, Germany) - Renzo Craighero (Italy) - Prof. Claus Eurich (writer, Germany) - Prof. Hans-Jochen Gamm (educational scientist, Germany) - Solange Fernex (Women for Peace, Green Party, France) - Carla Goffi (Christian Movement for Peace, Belgium) - Dr. Fernando Aliaga Rojas and Luis Cárdenas Vásquez (SERPAJ, Chile) - Paul Renné (Pax Christi Luxemburg) - Aljosa Mimica (sociologist), Obrad Savic (philosopher), Miladin Zivotic (professor), Isidora Sekulic (journalist), Trivo Indjic (sociologist), Stasa Zajovic ("Women in Black", Beograd, Yugoslavija), Branko Baletic (film director), Goran Markovic (film director), Filip David (novelist), Borka Pavicevic (art director), Miodrag Zupanc (art director), Lazar Lalic (engineer, trade unionist), Jelena Santic (choreographer, ballet dancer), Irina Subotic (art critic) (all peace activists from Beograd, Yugoslavija) - Elsa Lauro, J. Das, A. Hardy (all Zaire) - Gertrud Mueller (association of former inmates of concentration camp Ravensbrueck, Germany) - Philippe Beck, Beate Furger, Maurizio Donati, Marcel Reynard, Chantal Varrin, Didier Varrin, Christian Etique, Marc Allenbach, Philippe Ambuehl (all Peace Brigades International, Switzerland) - Francois Vaillant ("Alternatives Non Violentes", France) - Albert Lazier (French Conscientious Objector, Italy) - Prof. Ram K. Jiwanmitra (Universal Correspondence Organisation of Nepal) - Vincent Decroly (ECOLO, Green Party Belgium) - Dr. Evgeny Novikov,

Mariina Babkina (League for Human Rights, Belarus), Valentin Taras (writer, translator), Svetlana Alexyevich (writer), Evgeny Konoplya (Belarus Academy of Sciences, Institute of Radiology) (all Belarus) - Nino Stepani (university librarian, Italy) - Francisco José Aguilar Urbina (Centro para la paz y la reconciliación, Fundacion Arias, Costa Rica) - Gyula Simonyi (Catholic Conscientious Objector, BOKOR, "Érted yagyok", Székesfehérvár, Hungary) - Norberto Chemin, Maria de Penna Felix (SERPAJ, Brasil) - Klaus Vack (Komitee fuer Grundrechte und Demokratie, Germany) - Elke Steven, Martin Singe (Komitee fuer Grundrechte und Demokratie, Germany) - Hellmut G. Haasis (historian, writer, Germany) - René Cruse (priest, IFOR France) - Maurice Montet (Union Pacifiste, Paris, France) - Stella Cornelius (The Conflict Resolution Network, Australia) - Dr. Keith Suter (Womens' International League for Peace and Freedom, Australia) - Alfred Bour (priest, IFOR France) - Yves Boulain (priest, IFOR France) - M.P. Bovy (IFOR France, Communauté de l'Arche) - Adam Jarecki, Agnieszka Dobzeledska, Lukasz Musolf, Iwana Szymanek, Katerzyna Milewska, Wojciech Klosowski, Stefan Poprawa, Mariusz Pawlowski, Michal Ruclenok, Blanka Gasirowksa, Leszek Michno, Rafal Kopczynski, Daniusz Szczysnowica, Joanna Dolla (all participants of the Forum about Conscientious Objection in Lodz, Poland, on 10 April 1994) - Sixto Rodriguez (SERPAJ, Ecuador) - J.B. Libouban (Arc Communities, France) - Thierry Castelbou (Arc Community, Les Truels du Larzac, France) - Yvette Naal, Hanna Khoury, Gesine Miller, Madeleine M. Schultz, Nanou Rousselle (all "Beit Noah", Arc community, Jerusalem, Israel) - Dr. Michael Schroeren (political scientist, Germany) - Piet Dijkstra (Gandhi Vredescentrum, Netherlands) - Bergrun Richter (Women for Peace, Germany) - Dr. Hans Modrow (Germany) - Frédéric Long, Marie and Daniel Wetzels (France) - L. M. Chatterjee (India) - Ernesto

Requets (Proyecto Caribeño de Justicia y Paz, Puerto Rico) - Akin Birdal, Erol Anar, Emel Demir, Eso Toper, Huesnue Oenduel, Ali Riza Soydan, Yasar Ertas (Insan Haklari Dernegi, Human Rights Association, Turkey) - Prof. Susumu and Michiko Ishitani (Conscientious Objection to Military Tax, Japan) - Joseph Peschon ("Flashes-Contacts-Echanges", Luxemburg) - Georges Krassovsky ("Nouvel Humanisme", France) - Matthias and Maria Reichl (Begegnungszentrum fuer aktive Gewaltlosigkeit, Bad Ischl, Austria) - Konrad Luebbert (Fellowship of Reconciliation, Germany) - Prof. L. Barbaroux (geologist, France) and friends - Prof. Anatoly A. Gorelov (Tolstoy Society, philosopher, ecologist, Moscow, Russia) - Prof. U. E. Babushkina (philosopher, Russia) - Prof. J. V. Giruzov (philosopher, Russia) - Michael Belov (interpreter, Russia) - Rev. Gyoyu Kijima (monk, Nipponzan Myohoji, Japan) - Johannes P. Wilbrand (Institute for the Study of Nonviolence, South Africa) - Olaf Michael Ostertag (actor, Germany) - Michael Schehl (film producer, Germany) - Peter Kanyandago (Uganda Martyrs University Kampala) - Andreas Rabl (International Conscientious Objectors' Meeting, Working Group Conscientious Objection and Non-Violence, Austria) - Ursula Hagedorn (teacher, Germany) - Prof. Rudolf Kautzky, Dr. Katarina Kautzky (Germany) - Juerg Amann (writer, Switzerland) - Andrea Graf (writer, Switzerland) - Freddy Allemann (writer, Switzerland) - Dr. Alexander J. Seiler (film author, Switzerland) - Gerda Meyer (pacifist, Germany) - Dieter Schoeffmann (pacifist, Germany) - Ulla Eberhard (pacifist, Germany) - Bernadette Ridard (pacifist, Germany) - Dr. Winfried Kurth (Germany) - Kaj Foelster (social scientist, Sweden) - Antonie Krug (Germany) - Dr. Michel Beatrice (writer, Switzerland) - Pierre Tourne (France) - Marcel Fischer (Switzerland) - Maja Eichenberger (Switzerland) - Erich Sommerauer (priest, Germany) - Gaby Taureg (Switzerland) - Dr. Hansjoerg Braunschweig (social

worker, Switzerland) - Dr. Umesh Patri (social scientist, India) - Anatoly Genz, Leonora Wagrianeva, Wladislav Gurgenovitch Akopian, Mihail Sergeevitch Papkov, Larissa Petrowna Paniuschina, Sergei Mihailevitch Paniuschina, Anna Petrowna Paniuschina, Prof. Lew Juriewitsch Shachbasian (philosophers, Fedorow Society, Moscow, Russia), Elisabeth Dmitrivna Shachbasian, Wladimir Petrovitch Danilov, Larissa Alexandrovna Danilov, Alla Wladimirovna Danilov, Boris Alexandrovich Koslov, Jelena Borisovich Woronova (all Moscow, Russia) - Tatjana Bjelakova, Julia Tisyayewa, Jelena Kusnitzov, Konstantin Shikov, Andrej Shukovskij, Wetscheslaw Tiguvlejev (ecology students, Moscow, Russia) - Alexander Kalinin (lawyer, Russia), Barbara Kramer (lawyer, "Zentralstelle KDV", Bremen, Germany), Peter von Overbecke (Pax Christi Netherlands), Vladimir Fedulov (Omega, Russia), Anton Karetnikov (son of composer Nikolai Karetnikov, Moscow, Russia), Martin Stohl, Peter Drác (Pax Christi Slovakia), Sergey Sorokin (lawyer, Movement against Violence, Moscow, Russia), Bruno Flock (Pax Christi Germany), Gerd Placke (Sozialer Friedensdienst Bremen), Chris Hunter (Quaker Peace & Service, Moscow), Stefan Hoeller (pacifist, Germany), Kalle Seng (East-West Transformation Network for Conscientious Objection, Germany), Antonio Pigna (Pax Christi Italia), Bernhard Redecker (pacifist, Germany), Oksana Cheremushkina ("Conversion and Women", Moscow, Russia) (all participants of the Pax Christi International and Quaker Peace & Service Conference on Conscientious Objection about Alternative Service, Demilitarisation & Arms Conversion at Domodedovo near Moscow, Russia, 30 October to 6 November 1994) - Prof. S. A. Srinivasan (India) - Erika and Georg Meusel (Friedensseminar Koenigswalde, Germany) - Christian Herz (Kampagne gegen Wehrpflicht, Zwangsdienste und Militaer, Berlin, Germany) - Alla Pechnikova (pacifist, Estonia) -

Wadim Jarmak (pacifist, Ukraine) - Harry Porschet, Lucie Porschet (Germany) - Dr. Detlef Bluemler (Germany) - Jan Christ (Germany) - Klaus Eitel (Germany) - Peter Kranz (priest, Germany) - Andreas Speck (conscientious objector, Germany) - Silke and Imke Kreusel (pacifists, Germany) - Kerstin Hornig (Germany) - Claudia Friedel (Germany) - Elke Schultze-Kranert (Germany) - Thomas Wolf (Germany) - Ike Walter (Germany) - Hubert Linder (Germany) - Ulrich Finckh ("Zentralstelle KDV", Bremen, Germany) - Peter Kottmeier (theologist, Germany) - Ulrich Sonn (Fellowship of Reconciliation, Germany) - Elmar Schmaehling (Germany) - Ulrich Frey (Aktionsgemeinschaft Dienste fuer den Frieden, AGDF, Bonn, Germany) - Leonard Skversky (artist, war resister, USA) - Dr. Hiltrud Ruestau (indologist, Germany) - Christoph Besemer (Werkstatt fuer gewaltfreie Aktion, Baden, Germany) - Erik Murmann (social worker, Germany) - Don José Maria Pires (archbishop, SERPAJ, Brazil) - Mario Mohl (Germany) - Koozma J. Tarasoff (Doukhobor documentarist and historian, Canada) - Martin Hartig - Heinz Werner Wessler - Olaf Gelhaar - Friedrich Hartmann - Ulrike Bukowski - Reinhard Auener - Willi Magg - Markus Lindemann (all Germany) - Klaus Dittmer (Gandhi Information Center, Germany) - Peter Ruehe (Germany) - Prof. H. M. Desarda (Mahatma Gandhi Foundation for Sustainable Development, India) - Gottfried Eitel - Marcus Gundlach (all Germany) - Ursula and Frank Neville (humanists, Dundee, Scotland) - Emil Fedrulani (Vojvodina, Yugoslavyya) - Theo Hengesbach (Germany) - Hartmut Weyel - A. Gebert (all Germany) - Rony Leibowitz, Elhanan Kahan, Maya Rubinstein, Amir Appelbaum, Avi Pitshon, Gavriel Ra'anani, Gil Ilan, Yuval Kadesh, Malka Gayer, Toma Sik (all Israel) - Dr. Matthias Fallenstein, Gisela Glasenapp, Susanne Baumann, Christel Fallenstein (all Germany) - Prof. Christine Reents (scientist, Germany) - Kaethe Brockmann (Germany) -

Uwe Painke (Germany) - Kurt Suedmersen (Bund fuer Soziale Verteidigung, Minden, Germany) - Dr. Hans Gressel (Fellowship of Reconciliation, Germany) - Helga and Konrad Tempel (Germany) - Hanne Rademacher (Germany) - Dr. Evgenij I. Ratschin, Dr. Elena N. Anikeeva (all Dept. Philosophy, Russian Peoples Friendship University, Moscow, Russia), Dr. Mahadeo Sah and Renu Saha Swarnkar, Nepal, Ali Mashar, Pakistan (all Inter-Universitarian Centre for Studies of Eastern Philosophy and Culture, Moscow, Russia), Prof. Nour S. Kirabaev (Dept. History of Philosophy, Russian Peoples' Friendship University, Moscow, Russia), Prof. Pyotr K. Gretchko (Dept. Social Philosophy, Russian Peoples' Friendship University, Moscow, Russia), Prof. M.A. Maslin (Dept. History of the Russian Philosophy, Moscow State University, Moscow, Russia), Prof. Y.N. Solonin (Dept. Philosophy, State University, Saint-Petersburg, Russia), Prof. R.N. Jungujin ("Juridical Gazette", Almaata, Kazakhstan), Prof. A. S. Loreev, Elista, Kalmikia, Russia, Prof. Al-Janaby, Iraq (all participants of the Second International Philosophical Symposium, organized by the Inter-Universitarian Centre for studies of Eastern Philosophy and Culture, Moscow, Russia, and the Dept. History of Philosophy, Russian Peoples' Friendship University, Moscow, Russia: "A Dialogue between Civilizations: East-West", 5 to 7 April 1995) - Prof. Ekkehart Krippendorff (writer, political scientist, John F. Kennedy-Institute for North American Studies, Free University Berlin, Germany) - Anne Dietrich (Germany), Germany - Maren Witthoef (Germany) - Stephan Gaendrich - Ernst-Ulrich Lentz (all Germany) - Zeynel Tepeli (Germany) - Osman Murat Uelke (conscientious objector, ISKD, War Resisters Izmir, Turkey) - Kurt Reinelt (theologist, Germany) - 185 signatures via Protestant Church community Patmos from Berlin (Germany): Renate Dreksler, Beate Werner, Heinrich Drewes, Antje Rohde, Carsten Oeztan, Isabel Holz, Brigitta

Henke, C. Hoffmann-Moeller, Ursula Hausbin, Christiane Steiner, Bodo Sengebusch, Karl-Heinz Bingen, Jutta Mollath, Edgar-Peter Frie, Anja Martens, Ursula Degner-Badawi, Monika Krueger, Jutta Tschioner, Sabine Grimm, Alke Naumann, Erik Maass, Uwe Stechi, André and Christine Wissenbach, Wolfgang Szepansky, Stefan Itzek, Carsten Heyden, Helmut Jenner, Stefan Buerger, Ingeborg and Joachim Kanitz, Andrea and Helga Perkiewicz, Hannelore Boehm, Marianne, Martin, Siegfried and Stefan Piske, Adelheid and Armin Wolter, Helga Mietzsch, Michael Sandfuchs, Karin und V. Broeker, P. Kenten, H. Heidenreich, G. Wagner, B. Biehahn, E. Arhona, Irmin Huecker, Martin Korbjuhn, Miriam Beins, Nora Windeck, Anna Grashorn, Sophia Gerhold, Beate Friedrich, Viktoria Suhrmann, Christel and Michael Geyer, Erna Immisch, Christ Schultz, Michael and Yvonne Gehre, Caine Mundt, Winfried Heck, Christel Fermor-Heck, Silvia Fruehwald, Sigrun Scheel, Albert Gendelmann, Ulrich Sieveke, Hermann Tuerk, Wolfgang Laux, Frank Mueller, Gerold and Maria Hofmann, Valentin Steinhauser, Simone Hofmann, Ludwig Schrameyer, Susanne Kuballa, Lisa Schrameyer, Caecilie Gudopp, Carole Behr, Rose Fait, Ilse Sterry, E.v. Stubberleinen, Eva-Maria Klucke, Eleonore von der Laucken-Corlei, Helga Sell, Heinz Potschies, Helmut Gembitzki, Ute Steinkopff, I. Saenger, G. Thomas, Christian Hintz, Ralph Koeppe, Stefan Voig, Christian Mighoff, Rico Kranz, Stephan Mauerberger, Astrid Novy, Ingrid Anschuetz, Johanna Schwerdtfeger, Christian Upperheide, Dr. A. Puhle, Hilde Ninow, Baerbel Schuermann, Alexandra Schmitdt, Margrit Meffert, Margarete Wenzel, Karin Kleinschmitt, Heidrun Danot, Ingeborg Rething, Vera Bahrtdt, Gisela, Sylvia and Thomas Strzyjesch, Elge Stockmann, Manuela Bornemann, Sibylle Suess, Elke Kupsch, E. Fassbender, Beate Treptow, Bernd Mueller, Bernd Hoffmann, Waltraud Messer, Kristin Mueller, Waltraud and

Oliver Ludwig, Isabel Krueger, Sandra Zielinski, Angelo Jahnke, Christel Engler, Else Gaede, Claere Maeusser, Gabriele Volkmann, Eva Scherbarth, Jutta Mueller, Lilo Greiner, Anita Schroeder, Frauke Schroeder, Juergen Nimz, U. Steffen, H. Scheel, S. Gerhardt-Mallow, Helga and Fritz Heyland, Eugen, Joachim and Markus Pannek, Ulla Kadow, Sascha Striemer, Harald Dieter, Cathleen Rompe, G. Smuda, Claudia Straube, André Riedrich, Hedwig Ruf, Roland Adomat, Sadmon Karaca, Yilmaz Yenguel, Rainer Kuhling, Brigitte Straube, Katharina and Nikolaj Straube, Paul von der Vecht, Gabriele Banaski, Peter Opper, Christin Koeppe, Ingrid Habermann, Gabriele Conrad, Karin Kaiser, Mandy Donatz, Esther Azabi, Sebastian Hufnagel, Heinz-Joseph Kirschbaum-Henke and Barbara Henke, Maria Oberlaender, Martin and Ursula Fait, Rose Fait, Mechthilde Weiss, Maria Schellhoss - Matthias Bauer - Ingo Ritz - Helene Triller - Andreas Mevius (all Germany) - Udo Muszinsky (Begegnungszentrum Wege zur Gewaltfreiheit, Eberswalde, Germany) - Kaj Raninen (Finnish Union of Conscientious Objectors, Helsinki, Finland) - Jesse Heiwa (Youth Peace, War Resisters' League, New York, USA) - Monika Graef - René Reimann - Tim Fischer (all Germany) - Christel Koenemund (Bund fuer Soziale Verteidigung, Minden, Germany) - Prof. Andreas Buro (Helsinki Citizen's Assembly, Komitee fuer Grundrechte und Demokratie, Germany) - Dr. Michael Venedey, Florian Huelsey, Bernward Benedikt Jansen, Prof. Knut Krusewitz, Laura von Wimmersperg (all Friedensgruppe Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Germany) - Christine Schweitzer (Bund fuer Soziale Verteidigung, Balkan Peace Team, Minden, Germany) - Mr. V. G. Raju (India) - Albert Kuemmel (Germany) - Vasco Schirrmacher (Germany) - Tadashi + Mihoko + Mamoru + Atsushi Kanemoto, Kyoko + Eriko Aoyama, Kazuhiko + Shigeru + Kazuko + Hiromi Hirota, Shiro + Kimie Kudo, Makoto + Kyoko Morio, Jiro + Masako Iwaino, Masaru +

Emiko Komatsu, Tomoko + Tatsuru Ishibashi, Arthur Binard, Robert W. Paul Williams, Yuichi Akiyama, Sakuichi Nakagawa, Kazuhito Yamagishi, Juri Kamegawa, Masayuki Aoki, Katsuhiko Sakurai, Yoshihiro Kiuragi, Tomokazu Fukumiya, Yoshio Tsuruoka, Kazuhiro Seki, Motoyasu Sudo, Yoshihara Sayuri, Mayumi Nakamura, Noiko Suyama, Kumiko Takeuchi, Sen Kobayashi Kirohi Kondo, Wataru, Hamano, Koji Hirasawa, Takahiro Murayama, Yakashi Nagai, Yae Yamada, Atsushi Yoshikawa, Megumi Isuda, Youko Kikuchi, Kiwako Hosi, Syunsuke Yamamoto, Kozo Sasaki (all Japan) - Nihal Das (Sri Lanka) - Michèle Nicolas (France) - Cécile Bacquillon (Stop Essais, France) - Michael Steinke (Germany) - Dr. Horst Goldstein (Franziskanisches Bildungswerk, Berlin, Germany) - Fernando A. Rojas (Movimiento de Objecion de Conciencia, Paraguay) - Yolanda Juarros Barcenilla (Noviolencia y Educación, Spain) - Xabier Agirre Aranburn (Basque War Resister, Spain) - Mirko S. Mandrino (telecommunication engineer, pacifist, Pancevo, Yugoslavyya) - Roberto Spiz (peace activist, Croatia) - Edeltraut and Franz Wellschmidt (Germany) - Michael Kottmeier (photojournalist, Germany) - Boris Hoorbaum (German conscientious objector, alternative civilian peace service in Minsk, Belarus) - Miguel Angelo Jardim (social and church worker, "world citizen", Portugal) - Hanna Schiemann - Fridburg Thiele, Sieglinde Duscheleit - Frieder Schoebel - Oliver Schmidt - Gernot Grube - Dr. med. Thomas M. Ruprecht (all Germany) - Pete Haemmerle (Fellowship of Reconciliation, Austria) - Humberto Kirchheim (Evangelical Church of Lutheran Confession of Brazil, ECLG), Hildegard Hertel (Diaconesse, IECLB, Brazil), Edson E. Streck (Pastor and Secretary, IECLB, Brazil), Carlos C. Aveline (journalist, Protector Confederation of Natural Environment, Brazil), Hélio Bicudo (Jurist, Federal Deputy, Author of the Law Project for Demilitarization of the Police, Brazil), Dom Pedro

Casaldáliga (bishop, São Félix do Araguaia, Brazil), Nair Becher (broadcaster, retired), Frei Betto (liberation theologian), Thiago de Mello (poet), Luís Inácio Lula da Silva (Ex-Candidate to Republic Presidency of Brazil), Jaime Wright (President of IECLB, Brazil), Arnaldo Claudino Rodrigues (FCB, Brazil), Nelson Junge (FCB, Brazil), Ricardo Fiegenbaum (National Lutheran Youth, Brazil), Frei Alamiro (Franciscan Service of Justice, Peace and Ecology, Brazil), Jair Krishke (Human Rights Director, Porto Alegre, Brazil), Isaura Maria Andrade da Silva (Regional Councillor, FCB, João Pessoa, Brazil), Dom José Maria Pires (bishop, Paraíba, Brazil), Jamil Murad (state deputy, Brazil), Juliano Basile (Academic Centre XI of August, Brazil), Protásio Prates (singer, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil), José Pinto de Lima (singer, Fortaleza, Brazil), Frei Sérgio Antônio Gorgem, Antônio Gringo (singer, Rio Grande Do Sul, Brazil), Alcides Modesto, José Dirceu, Adão Preto, Jacques Wagner (Workers Party, Brazil), José Zunga A. Lima (CUT/DF, Brazil) (all Brazil) - Sebastian Schleicher, Dietmar von Boetticher (all Germany) - Dr. Shalini Randeria (ethnosociologist, India) - Herbert Fischer (Germany, joined Mahatma Gandhi in India) - Hanna Brinkmann (pupil, Rosenfeld, Germany), Iris Maute, Michaela Rott, Susanne Schweinfurth, Merlind Witte, Charlotte Martinet, Anja Lindner, Vivian Grom, Christina Mack, Nina Pohlmann, Julia Fischer, Sandy Sickmann, Judith Schick, Gerina Vollmers, Johannes Konzelmann, Johanna Vogel, Till Warth, Raphael Lorch (all Germany) - Lineke Schakenbos (Women for Peace, Netherlands) - Hans-Joachim Boettcher, Sebastian Tesch, Daniel Sander, Elke Rutzenhoefer, Olaf Kelm (all Germany)- Paul Hubers ("Nonviolence International", Washington, USA) - Zinaida Bogatcheva (Leo Tolstoy Estate Museum, Yasnaya Polyana, Russia) - Bernhard Nolz (Paedagoginnen und Paedagogen fuer den Frieden, Germany) - Erik Hummels (Kerk en Vrede, Netherlands) - Anatoly Ionesov

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So far, this "Manifesto against Conscription and the Military System" has been translated into various languages:

Arabic, Belarus, Bengali, Bulgarian, Catalan, Croatian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Esperanto, Estonian, Finnish, Flemish, French, German, Greek, Gujarati (India), Hebrew (Ivrit), Hungarian, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Lingala (Angola), Lithuanian, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Serbian, Slovakian, Slovenian, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish, Ukrainian

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Birdal, Akin	11.5.1994
Bjelakova, Tatjana	13.11.1994
Bluemler, Dr. Detlef	9.3.1994
Boehm, Hannelore	6/1995
Boehm, Karlheinz	27.6.1994
Boer, Hans A. de	31.3.1994

Boettcher, Hans-Joachim	6.1.1996
Boetticher, Dietmar von	13.12.1995
Boff, Prof. Leonardo	9.6.1997
Bogaert, Erik	6.7.1997
Bogatcheva, Zinaida	13.3.1996
Bohley, Baerbel	1.5.1994
Boissière, Bruno	19.1.1994
Bolzschritt, Ruediger	21.3.1995
Bond, Edward	12.4.1994
Bornemann, Manuela	6/1995
Borst, Konrad	1.12.2000
Bosch, Ronald	5.4.2000
Boulain, Yves	29.3.1994
Bour, Alfred	28.3.1994
Bovy, M. P.	30.3.1994
Braunschweig, Dr. Hansjoerg	18.9.1994
Brinkmann, Hanna	9.2.1996
Brockmann, Kaethe	2.4.1995
Brody, Janos	8.12.2000
Broeker, Karin and V.	6/1995
Buerger, Stefan	6/1995
Bukowski, Ulrike	21.3.1995
Bulányi, Gyoergy	25.11.2000
Burian, Robert	9.3.2001
Burjanova, C. B.	7.4.1995
Burnier, Francois	27.6.1994 / 12.5.2001
Buro, Prof. Andreas	13.6.1995
Cáceres, Antonio Martinez	21.6.1997
Cartier-Bresson, Henri	18.4.1994
Casaldáliga, Dom Pedro	26.10.1995
Castelbou, Thierry	21.12.1994
Cavelier, Alain and Nadine	23.9.1994

Chargaff, Dr. Erwin	24.5.1997
Chatterjee, L. M.	16.4.1994
Chemin, Norberto	23.3.1994
Cheremushkina, Oksana	11/1994
Chiniah, Paya	2.3.2000
Chitrakar, Purna Shova	14.3.2000
Chitrakar, Purna Shova	14.3.2000
Chmelár, Eduard	20.8.2001
Cholkar, Parag	3.2.1998
Chorin, Prof. Shalom Ben	19.4.1994
Christ, Jan	22.3.1994
Christo and Jeanne-Claude	16.5.1997
Cizek, Martin	2.3.2001
Clark, Howard	11.2.1996
Clavel, Bernard	3/1994
Cloet, Marc	28.8.1997
Cohin, E.	27.6.1994
Conrad, Gabriele	6/1995
Cornelius, Dr. Stella	31.3.1994 / 23.2.2000
Cornell, Thomas C.	22.7.1996
Costa-Gavras, Constantin	26.5.1994
Craighero, Renzo	11.4.1994
Cremer, Cathrin	9.1.2001
Crieking, Jan Van	6.3.2000
Cruse, René	3/1994
Danilov, Larissa Alexandrovna and Alla Wladimirovna	13.11.1994
Danilov, Wladimir Petrovitch	13.11.1994
Danot, Heidrun	6/1995
Das, J.	21.2.1994
Das, Nihal	20.6.1995
David, Filip	8.2.1994

Decroly, Vincent	25.2.1994
Degner-Badawi, Ursula	6/1995
Demir, Emel	11.5.1994
Deraedt, Dr. Georges	4.9.1997
Desai, Narayan	3.2.1998
Desarda, Prof. H. M.	24.3.1995
Deschner, Dr. Karlheinz	15.4.1994
Devoucoux, B.	19.1.1994
Dhoble, Prakash	4.2.1998
Dichtel, Klaus	26.6.2001
Dieter, Harald	6/1995
Dietrich, Anne	10.4.1995
Dietz, Ulla	16.11.1995
Dijkstra, Piet	21.4.1994
Dilmamode, Amin	2.3.2000
Dirceu, José	26.10.1995
Dittmer, Klaus	20.3.1995
Dobzeledska, Agnieszka	10.4.1994
Doe, Samuel Gbaydee	7.3.2000
Dolci, Danilo	20.3.1994
Dolla, Joanna	10.4.1994
Donath, Sascha	7.8.1997
Donati, Maurizio	2/1994
Donatz, Mandy	6/1995
Dorp, MAC Blankevoort van	12.6.2001
Drác, Peter	11/1994
Drehmann, Nancy	16.11.1995
Dreksler, Renate	6/1995
Drewermann, Prof. Eugen	14.6.1997 / 8.5.2001
Drewes, Heinrich	6/1995
Dumont, Prof. René	3.3.1994
Duscheleit, Sieglinde	5.11.1995

Dvorak, Oldrich	30.1.2001
Eberhard, Ulla	23.10.1994
Eichenberger, Maja	27.8.1994
Eisenhardt, Kristin	16.11.1995
Eitel, Gottfried	24.3.1995
Eitel, Klaus	18.5.1994
Elliott, Andrew	4.4.2000
Engler, Christel	6/1995
EOERSI, István	3.5.1994
Erler, Rainer	1.6.1994 / 25.5.2001
Ertas, Yasar	11.5.1994
Esquivel, Adolfo Perez	21.4.1994
Esterházy, Péter	22.2.1994
Etique, Christian	2/1994
Eurich, Prof. Claus	13.4.1994
Fabry-Gasser, Clara	21.6.1997 / 8.5.2001
Fait, Martin and Ursula	6/1995
Fait, Rose	6/1995
Fallenstein, Christel	31.3.1995
Fallenstein, Dr. Matthias	23.3.1995
Fassbender, E.	6/1995
Fast, Howard	8.5.1994
Fedrulani, Emil	26.3.1995
Fedulov, Vladimir	11/1994
Felix, Maria da Penna	23.3.1994
Ferlinghetti, Lawrence	19.4.1994 / 22.9.2001
Fermor-Heck, Christel	6/1995
Fernex, Solange	19.1.1994
Ferrara, Fernando	5.2.1998
Fiegenbaum, Ricardo	26.10.1995
Finckh, Ulrich	7.3.1995
Fischer, Daniel	24.3.2001 / 11.9.2001

Fischer, G.	18.9.2001
Fischer, Herbert	25.1.1996
Fischer, Julia	9.2.1996
Fischer, Norbert	25.5.2001
Fischer, Tim	7.6.1995
Fischer-Byland, Marcel and Susy	12.8.1994
Fitz, Lisa	15.4.1994
Flechtheim, Prof. Ossip K.	9.4.1994
Flock, Bruno	11/1994
Flory, Kristin	17.3.1995
Fo, Dario	25.5.1997
Foelster, Kaj	26.6.1994
Folléas, Romuald	9.5.1996
Foubik, Michal	8.3.2001
Franz, Marian C.	23.8.2001
Frei, Alamiro	26.10.1995
Frei, Betto	26.10.1995
Frei, Sérgio Antônio Gorgem	26.10.1995
Frey, Ulrich	8.3.1995
Fricke, Eckehard	9.3.1995
Frie, Edgar-Peter	6/1995
Friedel, Claudia	7.2.1995
Friedrich, Beate	6/1995
Friedrich, Paul	24.3.2000
Frohmueller, K.	16.10.1996
Fromes, Thorsten	2.3.1995
Frommen, Johannes	2.3.1995
Fruehwald, Silvia	6/1995
Fugard, Athol	20.4.1994
Fukumiya, Tomokazu	20.6.1995
Funck, S.	26.3.2001
Furger, Beate	2/1994

Fuss, Alisa	23.12.1993
Gabriel, Peter	19.5.1997 / 17.5.2001
Gaede, Else	6/1995
Gaendrich, Stephan	12.4.1995
Galdean, Edgar	7.8.1998
Galtung, Prof. Johan	9.9.1996
Gamm, Prof. Hans-Jochen	14.4.1994 / 6.6.2001
Gandhi, K. M.	28.11.2000
Gartner, Odilia	6.3.2000
Gasiorowska, Blanka	10.4.1994
Gayer, Malka	1994
Gebert, A.	17.3.1995
Gehre, Michael and Yvonne	6/1995
Gelhaar, Olaf	17.3.1995
Gembitzki, Helmut	6/1995
Gendelmann, Albert	6/1995
Genz, Anatoly	13.11.1994
Georg, Benjamin	28.9.2000
Gerhardt-Mallow, S.	6/1995
Gerhold, Sophia	6/1995
Geyer, Christel and Michael	6/1995
Gibney, Cara	12.3.2000
Giruzov, Prof. J.V.	9.7.1994
Glasenapp, Gisela	28.3.1995
Goes, Prof. Albrecht	7.4.1994
Goffi, Carla	27.1.1994
Goldstein, Dr. Horst	10.8.1995 / 16.5.2001
Gorelov, Prof. Anatoly A.	9.7.1994
Goris, Mark	3.6.1998
Gorski, Jonas	26.9.2000
Goss-Mayr, Hildegard	3/1994
Graef, Monika	8.5.1995

Graf, Andrea	7.10.1994
Graf, Max	14.5.2001
Graf-Siebenmann, Lotti	14.5.2001
Grashorn, Anna	6/1995
Grasreiner, Anneliese	8.8.1994
Green, Jean-Eric (Eric Jourdan)	23.4.1994
Green, Julien	12.3.1994
Greiner, Lilo	6/1995
Greising, Franziska	17.10.1994
Gressel, Dr. Hans	2.4.1995
Gretchko, Prof. Pyotr K.	7.4.1995
Griffin, Nicholas	20.4.1998
Grimm, Sabine	6/1995
Gringo, Antônio	26.10.1995
Grom, Vivian	9.2.1996
Grube, Gernot	17.11.1995
Grubic, Sandy	27.3.2000
Gruenig, Paul	11.9.2000
Gruenke, Michael	20.9.1997
Gryl, Ralf Kerstin Inga Ingo	3.3.1999
Gudopp, Caecilie	6/1995
Gundlach, Marcus	24.3.1995
Haas O.S.B., Abt Odo	12.5.1998
Haasis, Hellmut G.	1/1994
Habermann, Ingrid	6/1995
Haemmerle, Pete	6.11.1995
Haering, Bernhard	17.5.1997
Hagedorn, Ursula	17.8.1994 / 22.5.2001
Hair, Susie	4.4.2000
Hakim, M. A.	23.2.2000
Hanisch, Hella	2.3.1995
Hansen, Peter Mikael	28.2.2000

Hanson, Bruce	24.10.1995
Hardy, A.	21.2.1994
Hardy, Françoise	30.4.1994
Haro, Silvia	6.3.2000
Hartig, Martin	19.3.1995
Hartmann, Friedrich	20.3.1995
Hartsough, David	14.9.1996 / 6.3.2000
Hausbin, Ursula	6/1995
Head, John V.	6.3.2000
Heck, Winfried	6/1995
Heidenreich, H.	6/1995
Heissenbuettel, Helmut	25.4.1994
Heiwa, Jesse	5.5.1995
Hengesbach, Theo	28.3.1995
Henke, Barbara	6/1995
Henke, Brigitta	6/1995
Henze, Prof. Hans-Werner	7.4.1994
Hermstedt, Philipp M.	2.5.1998
Herrmann, Julian, Anita and Boris	16.1.1998
Hertel, Hildegard	26.10.1995
Hertzberger, Abel	30.10.1996
Herz, Christian	14.12.1994
Herzog-Schlagk, Bernd	5.9.2000
Herzog-Schlagk, Christiane	10.9.2000
Hesse, Andreas	29.3.1995
Hetherington, William	8.5.1995
Heyden, Carsten	6/1995
Heyland, Helga and Fritz	6/1995
Heym, Stefan	31.3.1994
Hintz, Christian	6/1995
Hirasawa, Koji	20.6.1995
Hirota, Kazuhiko Shigeru Kazuko	20.6.1995

Hiromi	
Hirschmueller, Tilo Jena Carmen Tim	3.7.2000
Hißler, Carl-Martin	4.9.2001
Hoder, Krystof	6.3.2001
Hoeller, Stefan	11/1994
Hoerig, Rainer	5.6.1998
Hoffmann, Bernd	6/1995
Hoffmann, Dr-Ing. Oliver	3.4.2000
Hoffmann-Moeller, C.	6/1995
Hofmann, Gerold and Maria	6/1995
Hofmann, Simone	6/1995
Holmes, Virginia D.	25.3.1998
Holz, Isabel	6/1995
Holz, Prof. Hans Heinz	31.3.1994
Holz, Silvia	31.3.1994
Hoorbaum, Boris	12.10.1995
Hoppe-Veresse, Regina	2.3.1995
Hornig, Kerstin	2.2.1995
Hosi, Kiwako	20.6.1995
Hosken, P.	16.11.1994
Hostetter, Douglas	23.9.1996
Howard-Hastings, Tom	14.2.1998
Hubers, Paul	4.3.1996
Huecker, Irmin	6/1995
Huelsey, Florian	19.6.1995
Hufnagel, Sebastian	6/1995
Hume, Douglas A.	13.3.1997
Hummels, Erik	4.5.1996
Hunter, Chris	11/1994
Iervese, Vittorio	27.6.1997
Iida, Yoshiharu	11.5.1994

Ikeda, Arata	11.5.1994
Ikeda, M.	11.5.1994
Ilan, Gil	1994
Illich, Prof. Ivan	18.5.1994
Immisch, Erna	6/1995
Inagaki, Masaharu	11.5.1994
Indjic, Trivo	8.2.1994
Ingiullo, Francesco d'	24.4.1998
Ionesov, Anatoly	8.5.1996
Ishibashi, Tomoko Tatsuru	20.6.1995
Ishitani, Prof. Susumu and Michiko	5.5.1994
Isuda, Megumi	20.6.1995
Itzek, Stefan	6/1995
Itzkin, Eric	22.11.2000
Iwaino, Jiro Masako	20.6.1995
Jacquard, Prof. Albert	3/1994
Jahnke, Angelo	6/1995
Jancsó, Miklós	3/1994 / 15.11.2000
Jansen, Bernward Benedikt	19.6.1995
Jardim, Miguel Angelo	10/1995
Jarecki, Adam	10.4.1994
Jarmak, Wadim	21.12.1994
Jelinek, Elfriede	30.5.1997
Jellema, Olaf	31.10.1996
Jenner, Helmut	6/1995
Jiwanmitra, Prof. Ram K.	6.3.1994
Johansen-Berg, John	6.3.2000
Jones, Peter D.	4.9.2001
Jordán, Michal	6.5.2001
Jourdan, Eric (Jean-Eric Green)	23.4.1994
Junge, Nelson	26.10.1995
Jungujin, Prof. R. N.	7.4.1995

Kabuki, Hidekatan	11.5.1994
Kadesh, Yuval	1994
Kadow, Ulla	6/1995
Kahan, Elhanan	1994
Kaiser, Karin	6/1995
Kalinin, Alexander	11/1994
Kamanina, Diana L.	9.7.1994
Kamegawa, Juri	20.6.1995
Kanemoto, Tadashi, Mihoko, Mamoru, Atsushi	20.6.1995
Kanitz, Ingeborg and Joachim	6/1995
Kanitz, Jochen	2.1.1996
Kanyandago, Peter	25.8.1994
Karaca, Sadmon	6/1995
Karetnikov, Anton	11/1994
Kaurismaeki, Aki	20.4.1994
Kautzky, Prof. Rudolf and Dr. med. Katarina	1.9.1994
Keenan, David C.	5.3.2000
Kelm, Olaf	9.3.1996
Keneally, Thomas M.	25.4.1994
Kenten, P.	6/1995
Kervick, Daniel M.	11.3.1998
Kettelhack, Angelika	10.7.1997
Khoury, Hanna	12.4.1994
Kijima, Rev. Gyoyu	9.7.1994
Kikuchi, Youko	20.6.1995
Kinkelbur, Dr. Dieter	9.9.1996
Kinoshita, Hisako	11.5.1994
Kirabaev, Prof. Nour S.	7.4.1995
Kirchheim, Humberto	26.10.1995
Kirschbaum-Henke, Heinz-Joseph	6/1995

Kiuragi, Yoshihiro	20.6.1995
Kleinschmitt, Karin	6/1995
Klosowski, Wojciech	10.4.1994
Klucke, Eva-Maria	6/1995
Knobloch, Heinz	24.4.1994
Knotek, Leos	13.2.2001
Kocsis, Zoltán	18.3.1994
Koenemund, Christel	12.6.1995
Koeppe, Christin	6/1995
Koeppe, Ralph	6/1995
Komatsu, Masaru Emiko	20.6.1995
Kondo, Sen Kobayashi Kirohi	20.6.1995
Konoplya, Evgeny	11.3.1994
Konrád, György	10.11.2000
Konzelmann, Johannes	9.2.1996
Kopczynski, Rafal	10.4.1994
Korbjuhn, Martin	6/1995
KoreYasu, Mi and Ho	11.5.1994
Kosgin, Aziz	22.8.1996
Koslov, Boris Alexandrovich	13.11.1994
Kottmeier, Michael	9.10.1995
Kottmeier, Peter	8.3.1995
Kouril, Vít	4.7.2001
Kozin, Valerij	7.4.1995
Krain, Bernd	19.5.1996
Krajunkin, N. A.	7.4.1995
Kramer, Barbara	11/1994
Kranz, Peter	10.1.1995
Kranz, Rico	6/1995
Krassovsky, Georges	23.7.1994
Kreml, Imke	2.2.1995
Kreml, Silke	2.2.1995

Krippendorff, Prof. Ekkehart	7.4.1995
Krishke, Jair	26.10.1995
Krueger, Isabel	6/1995
Krueger, Monika	6/1995
Kruess, James	20.4.1994
Krug, Antonie	7/1994
Krusewitz, Prof. Knut	19.6.1995
Kuballa, Susanne	6/1995
Kubenska, Zdenek	13.2.2001
Kuca, Petr	28.3.2000
Kudo, Shiro Kimie	20.6.1995
Kuehn, Matthias	13.9.2000
Kuehnl, Prof. Reinhard	31.3.1994
Kuemmel, Albert	17.7.1995
Kuhling, Rainer	6/1995
Kuile, Frits ter	4.10.1996
Kumar, Dig Vijay	3.2.1998
Kumar, Mahendra	3.2.1998
Kuprilyova, M. E.	7.4.1995
Kupsch, Elke	6/1995
Kurth, Dr. Winfried	8.10.1994
Kusnitzova, Jelena	13.11.1994
Kwitnitskaja, Maja L.	9.7.1994
Lalic, Lazar	8.2.1994
Lampe, Jutta	20.4.1994
Lanaikay, Avinty	11.1.2000
Lattmann, Dieter	23.3.1994
Laucken-Corlei, Eleonore von der	6/1995
Lauro, Elsa	21.2.1994
Laux, Wolfgang	6/1995
Lazier, Albert	3/1994
Leibowitz, Rony	1994

Lennert, Gernot	13.3.1995
Lennert, Gernot	25.4.1995
Lentz, Ernst-Ulrich	12.4.1995
Libouban, J. B.	3.9.1994
Lierde, Jean van	10.5.1996
Lima, José Pinto de	26.10.1995
Lima, José Zunga A.	26.10.1995
Lindemann, Markus	21.3.1995
Linder, Hubert	24.2.1995
Lindner, Anja	9.2.1996
Linka, Manfred	25.3.2001
Lo, Y Sa	30.4.1994
Lodarsee, Ajay	2.3.2000
Loeber, G.	15.3.1995
Lomax, Prof. Alan	13.4.1994
Long, Frédéric	27.4.1994
Lorch, Raphael	9.2.1996
Loreev, Prof. A. S.	7.4.1995
Lowlinski, Denis	11.9.1996
Lucas, Caroline	17.1.2000
Ludwig, Waltraud and Oliver	6/1995
Luebbert, Konrad	28.6.1994
Luense, Dieter	16.1.1998
Maass, Erik	6/1995
Mack, Christina	9.2.1996
Maeusser, Claere	6/1995
Magg, Willi	21.3.1995
Maguire, Mairead Corrigan	1/1994
Maier, W.	29.3.1995
Mandrino, Mirko S.	8/1995
Mannoni, Maud	28.4.1994
Markovic, Goran	8.2.1994

Maron, Sigi	12.4.1994
Martens, Anja	6/1995
Martinet, Charlotte	9.2.1996
Mashar, Ali	7.4.1995
Maslin, Prof. M. A.	7.4.1995
Massarrat, Prof. Mohssen	4.4.1997 / 7.5.2001
Mathur, Prof. J. S.	8.1.2001
Matsumoto, Minori	11.5.1994
Mauerberger, Stephan	6/1995
Maute, Iris	9.2.1996
May, Gisela	1.4.1994
Mazzoli, J.	27.6.1994
McAlister, Elizabeth	14.11.1996
Meffert, Margrit	6/1995
Meier, Annika	8.9.2000
Melchumova, Jelena R.	9.7.1994
Mello, Thiago de	26.10.1995
Menzel, Jiri	26.5.1997
Mercieca, Dr. Charles	5.3.2000
Meredith, Richard	31.3.1994
Meseci, Uenver	26.6.1997
Messer, Waltraud	6/1995
Mészoely, Miklós	20.3.1994
Meusel, Erika and Georg	12.12.1994
Mevius, Andreas	4.5.1995
Mey, Reinhard and Hella	21.4.1994
Meyer, Gerda	30.8.1994
Michno, Leszek	10.4.1994
Mietzsch, Helga	6/1995
Mighoff, Christian	6/1995
Milewska, Katzeryna	10.4.1994
Miller, Gesine	12.4.1994

Mimica, Aljosa	8.2.1994
Misecka, Rastislav	23.4.2001
Modesto, Alcides	26.10.1995
Modrow, Dr. Hans	18.5.1994
Moeyeux, Annie	4.9.1997
Mohl, Mario	15.3.1995
Mollath, Jutta	6/1995
Monnier-Besombes, G.	19.1.1994
Monod, Prof. Theodore	29.3.1994 / 31.7.1995
Montet, Maurice	3/1994
Moon, Susan	23.7.1996
Mootoosamy, Kersley	2.3.2000
Morio, Makoto Kyoko	20.6.1995
Moriyama, Koji	11.5.1994
Mross, Bernd	16.3.1997
Mueller, Bernd	6/1995
Mueller, Frank	6/1995
Mueller, Gertrud	24.2.1994
Mueller, Harald	17.3.1995
Mueller, Jutta	6/1995
Mueller, Kristin	6/1995
Mundt, Caine	6/1995
Murad, Jamil	26.10.1995
Murayama, Takahiro	20.6.1995
Murmann, Erik	18.3.1995
Musolf, Lukasz	10.4.1994
Muszinsky, Udo	4.5.1995
Naal, Yvette	12.4.1994
Nadler, Franz	13.7.1997
Nagai, Yakashi	20.6.1995
Naito, Mariko	11.5.1994
Nakagawa, Sakuichi	20.6.1995

Nakamura, Mayumi	20.6.1995
Nakatawa, Akiteru	11.5.1994
Nanda, Prof. B. R.	27.4.1994
Narayan Bajaj, Madalsa	16.4.1994
Narr, Prof. Wolf-Dieter	29.3.1994
Naudé, Rev. Christian F. Beyers	20.5.1997
Naumann, Alke	6/1995
Navarro, Dr. Ricardo	6.3.2000
Needham, Prof. Joseph	9.4.1994
Neidhardt, Kathleen	9.5.1995
Nesin, Aziz	11.1.1995
Neuenfels, Hans	21.5.2001
Neville, Ursula and Frank	26.3.1995
Nicolas, Michèle	29.7.1995
Nikitin, Sergei	7.3.2000
Nikolaewa, N. X.	9.7.1994
Nimz, Juergen	6/1995
Ninow, Hilde	6/1995
Nohr, Christine	16.11.1995
Nolz, Bernhard	21.4.1996
Novikov, Evgeny	11.3.1994
Novy, Astrid	6/1995
Nozoe, Tatsushi	11.5.1994
Oberg, Dr. Jan	10.5.2001
Oberlaender, Maria	6/1995
Oedinger, Peter	2.3.1995
Oenduel, Huesnue	11.5.1994
Oestreicher, Dr. Paul	26.4.2001
Oeztan, Carsten	6/1995
Ohara, Kazutoshi	11.5.1994
Oka, Gedong Bagoes	4.2.1998
Onechunov, U. T.	7.4.1995

Onesta, Gérard	19.1.1994
Oppper, Peter	6/1995
Orlova, Galina	7.3.2000
Ortmann, Werner	2.3.1995
Ostertag, Olaf Michael	22.8.1994
Overbecke, Peter von	11/1994
Oza, D. K.	3.2.1998 / 11.5.2001
Paige, Prof. Glenn D.	14.12.1996 / 12.3.2000
Painke, Uwe	2.4.1995
Palamarchouk, Andrew	7.4.1995
Palas, Petr	30.1.2001
Paliza, Miss	6.3.1994
Panhuis, Dirk	13.4.2000
Paniuschina, Larissa Petrowna	13.11.1994
Paniuschina, Sergei Mihailevitch and Anna Petrowna	13.11.1994
Pannek, Eugen, Joachim and Markus	6/1995
Papadimitriou, Georges	16.8.1996
Papkov, Nihail Sergeevitch	13.11.1994
Parikh, Prof. Ramlal	8.1.1997
Parin, Dr. med. Paul	23.3.1994
Patel, C. N.	11.2.1998
Patri, Dr. Umesh	5.9.1994
Patzak, Peter	26.5.1997
Paul, Florian	23.10.2000
Pauling, Prof. Linus	22.2.1994
Pavarotti, Luciano	26.5.1994
Pavicevic, Borka	8.2.1994
Pawlowski, Mariusz	10.4.1994
Paxton, George D.	2.9.1994 / 13.11.2000
Pearson, Ed	23.5.2001

Pechnikova, Alla	19.12.1994
Perkiewicz, Andrea and Helga	6/1995
Perkins jr., Ray	11.3.1998
Perneczky, László	9.5.1996
Perolino, Franco	27.6.1997
Peschon, Joseph	31.5.1994
Petersson, Lars	12.5.2000
Petuchowa, Galina N.	9.7.1994
Pigna, Antonio	11/1994
Pinto, Dr. Vivek	11.5.2001
Pires, Dom José Maria	9.3.1995 / 26.10.1995
Piske, Marianne, Martin, Siegfried, Stefan	6/1995
Pitshon, Avi	1994
Placke, Gerd	11/1994
Plehn, Heinz	9.5.1995
Poddar, Shrikumar	21.11.2000
Pohlmann, Nina	9.2.1996
Poprawa, Stefan	10.4.1994
Porschet, Harry	18.9.1994
Porschet, Lucie	20.12.1994
Potschies, Heinz	6/1995
Pratap, Vijay	3.2.1998
Prates, Protásio	26.10.1995
Prchal, Jiri	30.1.2001
Preto, Adão	26.10.1995
Prokic, Nenad	8.2.1994
Protopopowa, O. A.	9.7.1994
Puhle, Dr. A.	6/1995
Putz, Dr. Erna	15.9.1994
Quadflieg, Will	7.4.1994
Ra'anan, Gavriel	1994

Rabl, Andreas	2.9.1994
Radmacher, Hanne	5.4.1995
Raju, V. G.	28.6.1995
Ramé, Franca	26.5.1997
Ramlallah, Soodhakur	2.3.2000
Ramsamy, Cyril	2.3.2000
Randeria, Dr. Shalini	11.12.1995
Raninen, Kaj	4.5.1995
Rao, Dr. S. N. Subba	4.2.1998 / 7.6.2001
Rao, Lavanam	5.9.1994 / 3.2.1998
Rátkai, János	22.2.2000
Ratschin, Dr. E. I.	7.4.1995
Rauschenberg, Robert	14.4.1994
Recknagel, Dr. Rolf and Ellen	12.5.1997
Redecker, Bernhard	11/1994
Redina, S. A.	9.7.1994
Reding, Josef	20.4.1994
Reents, Prof. Christine	30.3.1995 / 11.5.2001
Reichl, Matthias and Maria	27.6.1994
Reimann, René	10.5.1995
Reinelt, Kurt	25.4.1995
Renné, Paul	2/1994
Requets, Ernesto	5.5.1994
Rething, Ingeborg	6/1995
Reynard, Marcel	2/1994
Reynolds, Margaret	31.3.1994
Reynolds, Prof. Henry	31.3.1994
Richter, Bergrun	24.4.1994
Richter, Prof. Horst-Eberhard	22.3.1994
Ridard, Bernadette	6.9.1994
Riedrich, André	6/1995
Riesland, Mark	7.12.2000

Ringuinard, M.M.	19.1.1994
Rinser, Luise	2.4.1994
Ritz, Ingo	4.5.1995
Rocco, Gabriele Guerini	28.3.2000
Rodrigues, Arnaldo Claudino	26.10.1995
Rodriguez, Sixto	31.3.1994
Roeber, Klaus	24.5.2001
Roemer, Hilde and Bruno	2.6.1997
Rohde, Antje	6/1995
Rojas, Dr. Fernando Aliaga	2.2.1994
Rojas, Fernando A.	29.8.1995
Rolnik, U. A.	9.7.1994
Rompe, Cathleen	6/1995
Roos, Alfred	27.3.1995
Rosenke, Jens	22.10.1997
Rott, Michaela	9.2.1996
Rottenberg, Sven	22.5.1996
Rousselle, Nanou	12.4.1994
Rubinstein, Maya	1994
Ruclenok, Michal	10.4.1994
Ruehe, Peter	21.3.1995
Ruestau, Dr. Hiltrud	12.3.1995
Ruf, Hedwig	6/1995
Ruprecht, Dr. med. Thomas M.	22.11.1995
Rush, Ann and John	28.12.1996
Rutzenhoefer, Elke	23.2.1996
Saenger, I.	6/1995
Sah, Dr. Mahadeo	7.4.1995
Saha Swarnkar, Renu	7.4.1995
Said, Prof. Edward W.	22.4.1994
Sakurai, Katsuhiko	20.6.1995
Salgado-Ibarra, Juan	27.4.2000

Samastur, Marko	9.5.1996
Sander, Daniel	21.2.1996
Sander, Otto	11.4.1994
Sandfuchs, Michael	6/1995
Sandy, Leo R.	11.3.1998 / 23.5.2001
Sanglee, Rajen	2.3.2000
Santic, Jelena	8.2.1994
Saramago, José	8.5.2001
Sarid, Dr. Isa	18.9.1996
Sarita, Miss	6.3.1994
Sasaki, Kozo	20.6.1995
Savelyev, Peter	9/1996
Savic, Obrad	8.2.1994
Sayuri, Yoshihara	20.6.1995
Schakenbos, Lineke	19.2.1996
Schakenbos, Lineke	28.5.2001
Schapira, Jan	8.11.2000
Schapira, Raphael	27.9.2000
Scheel, H.	6/1995
Scheel, Sigrun	6/1995
Schehl, Michael	20.8.1994
Schellhoss, Maria	6/1995
Scherbarth, Eva	6/1995
Schick, Judith	9.2.1996
Schiemann, Hanna	1.11.1995
Schirrmacher, Vasco	17.7.1995
Schlagk, Hanna	29.10.2000
Schlagk, Paul	3.8.2000
Schleicher, Sebastian	1.12.1995
Schleusener, Johannes	7.9.2000
Schmaehling, Elmar	5.3.1995
Schmidt, Alexandra	6/1995

Schmidt, Deborah	29.9.2000
Schmidt, Oliver	15.11.1995
Schneider, Antje	16.11.1995
Schneider, Dr. Michael	24.4.1994
Schneider, Ginny	4.4.2000
Schnittke, Wladimir	22.10.1994
Schoebel, Frieder	18.11.1995
Schoeffmann, Dieter	8.10.1994
Schottroff, Prof. Luise and Willy	24.4.1994
Schrameyer, Lisa	6/1995
Schrameyer, Ludwig	6/1995
Schroeder, Anita	6/1995
Schroeder, Frauke	6/1995
Schroeren, Dr. Michael	21.4.1994
Schroff, Victor	19.6.1995
Schuermann, Baerbel	6/1995
Schultz, Christ	6/1995
Schultz, Madeleine M.	12.4.1994
Schultze-Kranert, Elke	10.2.1995 / 8.5.2001
Schupp, Hansjoerg	7.5.1998 / 7.5.2001
Schweinfurth, Susanne	9.2.1996
Schweitzer, Christine	22.6.1995
Schwerdtfeger, Johanna	6/1995
Seiler, Dr. Alexander J.	29.10.1994
Seki, Kazuhiro	20.6.1995
Sekulic, Isidora	8.2.1994
Sell, Helga	6/1995
Seng, Kalle	11/1994
Sengebusch, Bodo	6/1995
Shachbasian, Elisabeth Dmitrivna	13.11.1994
Shachbasian, Prof. Lew Juriewitsch	13.11.1994
Shankar, Ravi	13.7.2001

Shatalov, A. J.	7.4.1995
Shaufuk, Ibrahim	7.4.1995
Shikov, Konstantin	13.11.1994
Shinju, Hikaru	11.5.1994
Shito, Reijiro	11.5.1994
Shrestha, Bhola	6.3.1994
Shrestha, Gayatri	6.3.1994
Shrestha, Jyoti	6.3.1994
Shrestha, Kamala	14.3.2000
Shrestha, Vikas	6.3.1994
Shukovskij, Andrej	13.11.1994
Sickmann, Sandy	9.2.1996
Sieveke, Ulrich	6/1995
Sik, Toma	2.1.1994 / 1994
Silva, Isaura Maria Andrade da	26.10.1995
Silva, Luís Inácio Lula da	26.10.1995
Simonyi, Gyula	3/1994
Simopiarref, Ottis	19.6.1997
Singe, Martin	2.3.1995
Sivaraksa, Sulak	3.2.1998
Skiba, Wolfgang	2.3.1995
Skversky, Leonard	10.3.1995
Smirnov, Shasha	7.4.1995
Smuda, G.	6/1995
Soelle, Prof. Dorothee	25.3.1994
Solonin, Prof. Y. N.	7.4.1995
Solotarewa, Olga U.	9.7.1994
Solti, Sir Georg	25.4.1994
Sommerauer, Erich	8.8.1994
Sonn, Ulrich	7.3.1995
Soonoo, Ravin	2.3.2000
Sorokin, Sergey	11/1994

Soydan, Ali Riza	11.5.1994
Speck, Andreas	2.2.1995
Spielmann, Walter	12.4.1994
Spiz, Roberto	30.8.1995
Spree, Tommy	12.1.1998
Srinivasan, Prof. S. A.	4.12.1994
Statun, V. R.	9.7.1994
Staufcik, Kamil	1.3.2001
Stechi, Uwe	6/1995
Steffen, U.	6/1995
Steiner, Christiane	6/1995
Steinhauser, Valentin	6/1995
Steinke, Michael	8.8.1995
Steinkellner, Josef	18.10.1994
Steinkopff, Ute	6/1995
Stepani, Nino	3/1994
Sternstein, Dr. Wolfgang	2.5.2001
Sterry, Ilse	6/1995
Steven, Elke	2.3.1995
Stockmann, Elge	6/1995
Stohl, Martin	11/1994
Stoltzfus, Gene	19.7.1996 / 6.3.2000
Stoupaz, Oleg V.	7.4.1995
Straube, Brigitte	6/1995
Straube, Claudia	6/1995
Straube, Katharina and Nikolaj	6/1995
Streck, Edson E.	26.10.1995
Strecker, G. M.	27.6.1995
Striemer, Sascha	6/1995
Strohmeyer, Erich	2.3.1995
Strunga, Vladimir	3.2.2001
Strzyjesch, Gisela, Sylvia, Thomas	6/1995

Stubberleinen, E. v.	6/1995
Stubenrauch, Mirko	14.9.2000
Styrnal, Petr	30.1.2001
Subhi, Dr. Taisir	3.4.2000
Subotic, Irina	8.2.1994
Sudo, Motoyasu	20.6.1995
Suedmersen, Kurt	2.4.1995
Suess, Sibylle	6/1995
Suhrmann, Viktoria	6/1995
Suleymanova, Prof. Elmira	23.2.2000
Suter, Dr. Keith	31.3.1994
Suyama, Noiko	20.6.1995
Suzuki, Chizuko	11.5.1994
Suzuki, Nobuyuki	11.5.1994
Szasz, Prof. Thomas S.	11.4.1994
Szcysnowica, Daniusz	10.4.1994
Szepansky, Wolfgang	6/1995
Szymanek, Iwana	10.4.1994
Takeuchi, Kumiko	20.6.1995
Tal, Josef	15.4.1994
Tanaka, Yoshko	11.5.1994
Taras, Valentin	11.3.1994
Tarasoff, Koozma J.	15.3.1995 / 10.5.2001
Taureg, Gaby	21.8.1994
Tempel, Helga and Konrad	4.4.1995
Tepeli, Zeynel	21.4.1995
Tesch, Sebastian	19.2.1996
Thiele, Fridburg	5.11.1995
Thomas, G.	6/1995
Thomson, Brenda	14.11.2000
Tichomirov, P. N.	9.7.1994
Tiguvlejev, Wetscheslaw	13.11.1994

Till, Bronislav	2.3.2001
Tisyayewa, Julia	13.11.1994
Tolstoi, Dr. Serge	9.9.1994 / 9.8.1995
Tooper, Eso	11.5.1994
Torres, Prof. Enrique D.	4.2.1998
Tourne, Pierre	16.8.1994
Treptow, Beate	6/1995
Triller, Helene	4.5.1995
Trintignant, Jean Louis	15.4.1994
Trissenaar, Elisabeth	21.5.2001
Troller, Georg Stefan and Kirsten	14.5.1997
Tschioner, Jutta	6/1995
Tsuruoka, Yoshio	20.6.1995
Tuerk, Hermann	6/1995
Turksma, Ingeborg	26.11.2000
Tutu, Rev. Desmond	28.3.1994
Tyagi, Dr. Nisha B.	30.11.1996
Tzimas, Paul	17.1.2000 / 9.5.2001
U, Pain Shwe	20.3.2000
Uelke, Osman Murat	21.4.1995
Unnithan, Prof. T. K. N.	16.5.2001
Unruh, Trude	1.5.1994
Upadhaya; Sandeep	6.3.1994
Upperheide, Christian	6/1995
Urbina, Francisco José Aguilar	3/1994
Uspensky, Prof. Boris	2.6.1997
Vack, Klaus	21.3.1994
Vaillant, Francois	4.3.1994
Vallentine, Jo	12.3.2000
Varma, Gautam	3.2.1998
Varrin, Chantal	2/1994
Varrin, Didier	2/1994

Vásquez, Luis Cárdenas	2.2.1994
Vecht, Paul v. d.	6/1995
Venedey, Dr. Michael	19.6.1995
Victus, Dr. Solomon	19.9.1997
Vierkant, Paul	11.9.2000
Vitova, Alena	1.3.2001
Vogel, Johanna	9.2.1996
Voig, Stefan	6/1995
Voigl, Ditna	16.11.1995
Volkman, Gabriele	6/1995
Vollmers, Gerina	9.2.1996
Voss, Katharina	9/2000
Vukosavljevic, Nenad	12.3.2000
Vysocie, Philip	29.2.2000
Wagner, G.	6/1995
Wagner, Jacques	26.10.1995
Wagrianseva, Leonora	13.11.1994
Walden, Hans	6.9.1994
Walter, Ike	26.2.1995
Warth, Till	9.2.1996
Wataru, Hamano	20.6.1995
Weil, J. F.	27.6.1994
Weiss, Mechthilde	6/1995
Wekwerth, Manfred	5.4.1994
Wellschmidt, Edeltraut and Franz	31.8.1995
Wenzel, Margarete	6/1995
Werner, Beate	6/1995
Wessler, Heinz Werner	21.3.1995
Wetzels, MarieDaniel	27.4.1994
Weyel, Hartmut	28.3.1995
Wilbrand, Johannes P.	22.8.1994
Willemsen, Roger	15.5.1997 / 9.5.2001

Williams, Robert W. Paul	20.6.1995
Willitzkat, Fred R.	22.5.1996
Wimmersperg, Laura v.	19.6.1995
Windeck, Nora	6/1995
Winkel, Heidemarie	12.4.1994
Winkler, Petr	13.2.2001
Wissenbach, André and Christine	6/1995
Witte, Merlind	9.2.1996
Witthoeft, Maren	10.4.1995
Wolf, Thomas	26.2.1995
Wolter, Adelheid and Armin	6/1995
Woodcock, George	8.4.1994
Woronova, Jelena Borisovich	13.11.1994
Wright, Deborah	11.5.1994
Wright, Jaime	26.10.1995
Wulff, Katrin	8.9.1997
Yamada, Yae	20.6.1995
Yamagishi, Kazuhito	20.6.1995
Yamamoto, Syunsuke	20.6.1995
Yenguel, Yilmaz	6/1995
Yogi, Ombhai	4.2.1998
Yoshikawa, Atsushi	20.6.1995
Zadek, Peter	30.3.1994
Zajovic, Stasa	8.2.1994
Ziegler, Prof. Jean	20.5.1997 / 15.5.2001
Zielinski, Sandra	6/1995
Zimmer-Winkel, Rainer	12.4.1994
Zivotic, Prof. Miladin	8.2.1994
Zock, Michael	26.5.1997
Zupanc, Miodrag	8.2.1994
Zwerenz, Gerhard	22.3.1994

Appendix: Documents

In October 1996, together with Dominique Blondeau, I was glad to study and copy documents of the rich archives (W.R.I.; Harold Bing) in the International Institute of Social History of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, Amsterdam. That is why we happened to find the two original English language text versions of the Anti-Conscription Manifesto 1926 (translation from the German text) and the Manifesto against Conscription and the Military Training of Youth 1930. Together with the lists of signatories which we were able to find during our research work, we now document these original texts - for the first time:

Ia. Anti-Conscription Manifesto 1926

"Many men and women of all countries, wishing to see the yoke of militarism broken and the burdens of militarism eliminated and hopefully looking towards the League of Nations as a step towards reaching that goal, are now anxious to see some real progress towards total disarmament, particularly towards moral disarmament.

The most effective measure to achieve this would be the general abolition of military conscription. We, therefore, ask the League of Nations to propose as the first step towards real disarmament the abolition of military conscription. We are convinced that armies based on conscription with their large staff of professional officers constitute a serious threat to peace. Compulsory service is degradation to the free human personality. Barrack life, military training, blind obedience to unjust and senseless commands, the whole system of training

people to kill undermines the respect for the human personality, for democracy and for human life. Military conscription, thus, is arming the whole nation. It inculcates a militarist spirit into the whole male population at the most impressionable age. Thus, war comes to be regarded as inevitable, even as desirable.

A State, believing itself justified in enforcing military service on its citizens, will, in peace time, not show the necessary consideration for the welfare of the individual.

A Government, having at its back military conscription, can declare war more easily and, at once, silence the voice of opposition through mobilisation. Governments depending upon the voluntary support of their peoples will, necessarily, be more careful in their foreign policy.

The first version of the League Covenant, as suggested by President Wilson, recommended the abolition of military conscription in all member states. Let us revive this original spirit of the League, that spirit which filled so many soldiers of the World War and was hailed by so many statesmen.

The general abolition of military conscription means a decided step forward towards peace and freedom. We, therefore, call upon all men and women of good-will to help us in persuading the governments of all countries, through the pressure of public opinion, to take this decisive step so that the way may be made free towards a new era of national and personal freedom and brotherhood among nations."

Signatories:

"C. F. Andrews (India), Norman Angell (England), Selma Antilla (Finland), Henri Barbusse (France), A. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (Germany), Annie Besant (India), Natanael Beskow D.D. (Sweden), Lt.-Gen. G. J. W. Koolemans Beynen (Belgium), Dr. Ctibor Bezdek (Czechoslovakia), Margaret Bondfield (England), Martin Buber (Germany), Edward Carpenter (England), Prof. Dr. Frans Daels (Belgium), General a. D. Berthold von Deimling (Germany), Miguel de Unamuno (Spain), Georges Duhamel (France), Gustave Dupin (France), Emile Ehlers (Belgium), Prof. Albert Einstein (Germany), Major Franz Carl Endres (Germany), Prof. August Forel (Switzerland), Maikki Friberg (Finland), M. K. Gandhi (India), Prof. Edward Geismar (Denmark), Lucina Hagman (Finland), Pierre Hamp (France), Prof. G. T. Heering (Netherlands), Dr. Friedrich Hertz (Austria), Prof. Felix Iversen (Finland), Prof. Otto Jespersen, Ph.D., Litt.D. (Denmark), Dr. Luis Jiménez de Asúa (Spain), Toyohiko Kagawa (Japan), Ellen Key (Sweden), Harry Graf Kessler (Germany), Chr. L. Lange (Norway), George Lansbury, M.P. (England), Carl Lindhagen, M.d.P. (Sweden), Reichstagspraesident Paul Loebe (Germany), Prof. Dr. Jos. Macek (Czechoslovakia), Prof. Dr. G. Maranon (Spain), Victor Marguerite (France), Pavla Moudrá (Czechoslovakia), Lady Marian E. Parmoor (England), Lord Parmoor (England), Georges Pioch (France), Arthur Ponsonby, M.P. (England), Prof. Dr. Em. Rádl (Czechoslovakia), Prof. Leonhard Ragaz (Switzerland), Lajpat Rai (India), Prof. Dr. K.H. Roessingh (Netherlands), Romain Rolland (France), Bertrand Russell (England), General-Major a.D. Frh. von Schoenaich (Germany), Oskar von Schoultz (Finland), Dr. Ignaz Seipel (Austria), Hilda Seppala, M.d.P. (Finland), Robert Smillie, M.P. (England), Philip Snowden, M.P. (England), Pater

Franziskus M. Stratmann (Germany), Prof. Dr. Emil Svoboda (Czechoslovakia), Helena M. Swanwick (England), Rabindranath Tagore (India), Prof. V. Tarkiainen (Finland), Fritz von Unruh (Germany), Prof. Dr. Karel Veleminský (Czechoslovakia), General Verraux (France), Elin Waegner (Sweden), U. Wegelius (Finland), H. G. Wells (England), Mathilda Wrede (Finland), Jindriska Wurmova (Czechoslovakia)"

Ib.
Report of Anti-Conscription Manifesto, 1926 (War Resisters' International, 11, Abbey Road, Enfield, England)

"The fact that the Manifesto with its signatures received practically universal publication speaks for the general interest in the subject of Conscription and the general desire for its abolition even on the part of those who believe that it is not at the moment possible. We have certain information of its publication in the journals of almost every country in Europe; in Canada, the States, Argentine and Chile; in South Africa and Australia; in India, Palestine, China and Japan. But the full extent of its publication is not actually known. That can only be surmised through the allusions to press publications of some of our correspondents, and through references in certain papers to articles which, unknown to us, have appeared in other journals; as e.g. the reference in the "Manchester Guardian" to the wide publicity given by Flemish papers to the Manifesto. The sneers of the London Correspondent of "Le Temps" were also an excellent witness.

In large sections of the British and German press the importance of the Manifesto was emphasised by the comments, mainly favourable, which it received. The same may be said of the notices in the journals of India, South Africa, and other parts of the British Empire. Had not many of the German

papers omitted to publish the address and the request for signatures, it is certain that there would have been even greater response from Germany than there has been. In France, where there was less publicity than in either England or Germany, interest and approval were most striking. Very little hostile criticism is recorded. Doubtless the Reactionary Press considered that hostile comment would be a dangerous advertisement. The many valuable signatures, representing the leading thought of the world, clearly created a profound impression, for included amongst them were the unexpected names of officers of high military standing. It should be noted that by means of Esperanto the Manifesto reached countries which would otherwise have been inaccessible, and met there as elsewhere with pronounced interest.

The publication of the signed Manifesto has brought in a large number of additional signatures some of which we give below. To them we have a special pleasure in subjoining the names of various organisations, scattered through different European countries which have expressed their desire to identify themselves with the work of abolishing conscription. The evidence of the widespread desire to be rid of this tyranny is confirmed by the number of sympathetic letters which we have received, expressing (in many ways) appreciation of our campaign and a hearty desire for its success. Above all we value the grateful letters which tell us of the immense moral help which the campaign has given to those who, hitherto unknown to us, are carrying on a brave fight against militarism and militaristic education.

We have received some 400 further signatures from 23 different countries merely as the result of an invitation in the press without having specially written for them. Also, we have received the support of various organisations and we are

contemplating making an effort to obtain the support of numerous organisations with a view to further publicity.

New Signatures.

a) ORGANISATIONS

The Socialist Party of Esthonia.

The Independent Socialist Party of Poland.

Young Socialists of Poland.

Labour Party of Spain.

Socialist Party of Portugal.

Agricultural Labour Party of Cyprus.

The Fabian Society of India.

The Danish Sailors' Union.

The Committee on Militarism in Education, U.S.A.

Jeunesse Laiques et Républicaines, France

and sections of

La Fédération Ouvrière des Anciens Combattants and

L'Association Universelle pour Supprimer de Crime, la guerre,

France.

b) INDIVIDUALS (among many others)

England. Lord Olivier, Vernon Lee, Mrs. Ensor, Countess of Warwick.

Poland. Dr. Polak.

Italy. Dr. Luigi Sturgo.

Roumania. Eugen Relgis.

Bulgaria. Prof. Gusorgoff.

Czechoslovakia. Maria Aull, Frau Prof. Wiechewski, Dr. Max Brod.

Switzerland. Alice Descocudres.

Germany. Dr. Kurt Hiller, Elisabeth Rotten, Dr. Wehberg, Prof. Oestreich, Ernst Toller, Leonard Nelson.

Hungary. Anna Kéthly, M.P., Dr. Hebelt, M.P., Dr. Peidl, M.P.

Spain. Prof. Dalmav.

Belgium. L. P. Valat.

France. Mathias Morhardt, Mme. Sévérine, Dr. Sorel. and long lists from Holland and Denmark."

II.

Manifesto against Conscription and the Military Training of Youth
1930

"The Governments of the world now officially acknowledge the supreme claims of peace. In the Paris Pact they have repudiated war as an instrument of national policy. Nevertheless preparation for war continues. Especially pronounced is the contrast between the Peace declarations of Governments and the maintenance and extension of military training.

Military training takes two forms. In many countries it is imposed by law. In other countries, whilst nominally voluntary, it is imposed on a wide scale by moral or economic pressure. Furthermore, all Governments claim the ultimate right to demand war service from their citizens, men and women.

We urge the time has come when every sincere lover of Peace should demand the abolition of military training of youth, and should deny the right of Governments to impose conscription. Conscription subjects the individual entirely to the military powers. It is a form of servitude, the habitual acceptance of which only illustrates its deadening effect.

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 to 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.

The Peace Treaties imposed on the defeated countries the suppression of conscription and the military training of youth. It is time for the peoples of the world to take the initiative in freeing themselves from both.

If Governments fail to recognise the strength of the revolt against war they must expect the resistance of those for whom loyalty to mankind and conscience is supreme.

Let the peoples of all countries demand:

**AN END TO MILITARISM AND CONSCRIPTION!
EDUCATION FOR HUMANITY AND PEACE!"**

Signatories:

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Acknowledgements

We are grateful to the following persons and organizations for sharing helpful information with us for our research work:

Prof. Alex Aronson (Haifa, Israel); Arnold-Zweig-Archiv, Akademie der Kuenste Berlin; Peace Pledge Union London (William Hetherington); War Resisters' International London (Howard Clark); International Institute of Social History of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, Amsterdam (Liesbeth van der Sluijs, Mieke Ijzermans).

Pacifists before, during and after the First World War with organisations like e.g. "Women's International League for Peace and Freedom", "Peace Pledge Union", "No-Conscription Fellowship", "Bund der Kriegsdienstgegner", "Paco" (Esperanto for Peace), "The No More War International Movement", "International Fellowship of Reconciliation", "War Resisters' International", the "International Antimilitarist Bureau", the "Joint Peace Council", will certainly be remembered again!

We gratefully acknowledge the receipt of donations for this publication by: Mr. Frank Neville, Dundee, Scotland, Mr. Hansjoerg Schupp-Schied, Appertshofen, Germany, Mr. Klaus Dittmer, Berlin, Germany, Mrs. Gisela May, Berlin, Germany, Mrs. Erika Luise Greiner, Berlin, Germany, Prof. Dr. Christine Reents, Varel, Germany, Mr. Heinz and Mrs. Paulette Bennent, Pully, Switzerland, Mr. Koozma J. Tarasoff, Ottawa, Canada, Prof. T. K. N. Unnithan, Jaipur, India, Mr. Paul Aristides Tzimas, Brussels, Belgium, Prof. Dr. Hans-Jochen Gamm, Darmstadt, Germany, Mr. Maurice Montet, Paris, France, Mr. Tim Fischer, Berlin, Germany, Mrs. Christel Engler, Berlin, Germany, Mr. Piet Dijkstra, Bergen, Netherlands, Mr. Marcel Fischer-Byland, Suhr, Switzerland, Dr. Oliver Hoffmann Auckland, New Zealand, Taraknath Das Foundation, Berlin, Germany.

The Gandhi Information Center Chair: Christian Bartolf (President), Nikos Pulos (Vice-President), Dr. Klaus-Dieter Lischka (Treasurer), is grateful to its members for their invaluable support!

**"The first step towards the abolition of the military spirit
is no doubt abolition of conscription."**

Mahatma Gandhi (*Young India*, 16.9.1926)

ISBN 3-930093-16-2