Danish Peace History
Danish titles translated in text, the original titles and names are in the notes or in the literature list.

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Introduction

When the history of peace disappears, myths are created. The most important is the myth that all agreed with the policy of their rulers, and yes, there was no opposition. The early Danish concepts of peace and pacifism have yet to be fully investigated.

Little has been written in the international academic literature about peace work in Denmark. “The Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders” has only two Danish entries. Professor Gene Sharp discovered one of many Danish publications on non violence. The history of peace work and pacifism in Denmark is nearly non existent before 1849.

The much learned Canadian professor of history Peter Brock (1920-2006) fails to find one Scandinavian pacifist in his “Pacifism in Europe to 1914”. The volume of Brock could have been titled, ‘Religious Pacifism in Europe to 1914’ from 1972 an update of Hirst’s “The Quakers in Peace and War” from 1923. Peter Brock knows the history of the peace movement including the history of the radical and political parts of the movement. He has read Bart de Ligt, Jacob ter Meulen and the learned publications from the Norwegian Nobel Institute. In “Pacifism in Europe to 1914” there is on p. 508 one promising reference to Norway and one reference to a Norwegian publication: August Schou: “Historie de l'internationalisme” vol. II and III. Brock has no direct references to Danish and Norwegian pacifism, even though Schou in Vol. III refers to Fredrik Bajer and in the chapter §3 Le movement de la paix organisé Danemark, has a short history of Bajer and the Danish Peace Society. In vol. II August Schou and Christian L. Lange tells the story of Norwegian peace apostle Anders Kempe, but they also overlook the story of Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken.

Two years before the publication of “Pacifism in Europe to 1914”, Peter Brock had discovered the Danish conscientious objectors law of December 1917: “In no country could non-religious objectors gain official recognition until in 1917 Denmark instituted an alternative service system for which no religious test was required”.

Then Peter Brock did not ask the simple question: why was the Danish conscientious objectors law written as it was? Could the answer be because of great politically based

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2 Kamp uden Vaaben : Ikke-Vold som Kampmiddel mod Krig og Undertrykkelse / Niels Lindberg ; Gammelgaard Jacobson ; Karl Erlich. 1937.
Brock, Peter: Twentieth Century Pacifism.
Http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/lange.pdf
objection? Twenty-one years later Peter Brock publish his “Freedom from violence”, wherein Fredrik Bajer is (rightly) turned down as pacifist, he was an internationalist. In “Freedom from violence” Peter Brock describes Scandinavian Christian pacifism. As in his former books we see that the main focus of Brock is the religious pacifism, as the appendix has the title “Christian Pacifism in Denmark and Sweden to 1914”. In the appendix appears the following to me unknown pacifists: Mogens A. Sommer and Christian Hope, but the domestic and international Danish peace work has a long tradition, just as other countries.

I am not a historian or peace researcher. I am an educated librarian with poor eyes, using the tools of my trade and here mostly historian thesis and printed primary sources. Secondary volumes are used mainly to check how the history had been used.

Thanks for the kind help and expertise from the employees at the Record Office, the Royal Library of Copenhagen and my local library at Friheden. Also many thanks to American professor in English Julianna Free for improving my poor English.

The first student rebellion

During the Nordic war between Denmark and Sweden 1657-59, while Copenhagen was the capital of the dual monarchy Denmark and Norway, Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken or Jasper Könekenii (1629-1715) as he later was called in the Netherlands, in training for the ministry preached to the war-torn state. Among the audience in the pews were students from his own university, citizens and the defenders of Copenhagen. At that time people were allowed to speak in the course of the service who was not actually the minister of the church congregation.

Taken by surprise, the patriots heard from the learned young man, that according to the New Testament, wars for Christians were unlawful. Also, it was the view of Könecken, that Christians should not be rulers6. And if war were unlawful for the Christian Danish monarch, so it also was unlawful for the Christian Swedish king Charles Gustav (1622-1660). Accordingly Könecken wrote two letters to the Swedish monarch, demanding him to stop the war7.

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6 The concept patriot is borrowed from the first volume of Dansk identitetshistorie. 1991. See also Ludwig Helweg: Den danske kirkes Historie efter Reformationen, Vol. 1, 1851 pp. 390-391.
Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken was not alone in his views, but disappeared from history, until the church historian Holger Rørdam (1830-1913) published a learned biography “the fanatic Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken” in his journal Church historical Collections in 1853; the second biography on Könecken. Two years later Rørdam published his most important study on the Danish and Norwegian student’s participation in the defence of Copenhagen against Charles Gustav.

On October 5th., 1658 all students at the University of Copenhagen were ordered by the king to “military service”; on the walls at day and guard duty at night. Of the 600 students less than 266 ‘volunteered’, even though the penalty for disobedience was both arrest and exile. This means that more than three hundred forty students absented their military duty. In his name index Rørdam records “the students of the University of Copenhagen during the siege”; including the name of Könecken. However Rørdam publish “the newly found” university conscription registers from September 1658 and January 4th., 1659; without the name of Könecken.

Parts of the files of the University were destroyed during the British terror bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807. As the war year 1659 passed the students

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7 The first letter is dated September 16, 1658, the second is undated. Bishop Brochmand helped Könecken to become a student in 1648 and Könecken was a house teacher and friend of Professor M. Peder Spormand.
10 Rørdam 1855 p. 26. According to Rørdam, the 87 student witnesses in the court case of the student Niels Kragh, hardly accounted for more than one third of the students who took to the walls at the beginning of the war, though Rørdam himself questions the high number: 'A not insignificant numbers had evaded from the war service, though it cannot be accepted it is certain, that one and two abstained during a time when it had been more honourable for him, if he had laid down the book to catch the sword'.
11 The citizens of Copenhagen are recorded in: Marquard, E.: Kjøbenhavns Borgere 1659. 1920. Marquard index 1) Census over those who can go to the walls January 10th. 2) Census over accommodated December 1659, 3) the students, including: conscription registers over the regiment of the students, list over the students January 1659 and the students receipts for financial assistance. No mention of Könecken.
12 The names of the students at the University of Copenhagen are recorded in: Birket Smith, S.: Kjøbenhavns Universitets Matrikel I 1611-67. 1890. Birket Smith wrote that in the year 1659 'some confusion has entered into parts of the great report of the university's headmaster R. E. Brockmand'. It has the character of a scamp draft. In the printed volume of the student register of the university of Copenhagen 14 close hand-written folio pages is missing! 'Umiddelbart efter følger i Manuskriptet paa 14 tæt skrevne Foliesider en meget ordrig Skildring af danske, særligt Københavnske Tilstande ved begyndelsen af den anden svenske Krig'. Skildringen er oversat af Engelstoft and publiseret i tidsskriften Skandinavisk Museum 1803.
13 Four of the students are listed as dead! Konsistoriets Arkiv: Acta belli Svecici.
14 "Konsistoriets Kopibøger for Aarene 1646-1671, der existerede dengang [Professor L.] Engelstoft udgav sine Analer, nu er forsvundne". Fortegnelse over Konsistoriets Arkiv i Selmers Københavns
dissatisfaction with the military service grew, proved the later research of Holger Rørdam.

The total number of students in the University of Copenhagen in 1658 was 600 so the total given by Helweg is a misunderstanding. The drafted students were the subject of royal letters (orders) concerning “greater precision in the fulfilment of their military duties”, and, that “the professors ordered the students to be at their post”\textsuperscript{14}. The rebukes did not work; so the students were drafted\textsuperscript{15}. Neither did this help. A month later a new letter from the king shows, that even the conscription had failed. Again the professors were commanded to “order the students to diligent to stay at their posts yet some time”\textsuperscript{16}.

The head master of the university, Rasmus Enevoldsen Brochman posted his resignation on May 21, 1659 thereafter he wrote two apologies to the King. On September 12, 1659, three days after the second letter from the king the Academic Council agreed to continue as usual! Therefore first after the drafting of the students in October 1659 the new head master of the university was appointed\textsuperscript{17}.

Later next year, while the Kings Council agreed on a cut in the defence expenses in Norway\textsuperscript{18}, the king commanded to the new head master of the university, that “the arms of the deserted students should be returned”\textsuperscript{19}.

Because of his pacific and anti-authoritarian views in the newly absolute state of Denmark, Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken was condemned in 1663 by the Copenhagen University Academic Court and expelled from Denmark after spending some time in prison\textsuperscript{20}.

Universitets Aarbog 1842 pp. 20-26. Rørdam, Holger: De danske og norske Studenters Deltagelse i Kjøbenhavns Forsvar mod Karl Gustav p. 5. The 500 year jubilee volume of the University of Copenhagen is here only quoting Rørdam’s De danske og norske Studenter...

\textsuperscript{14} Kongebrev, til Professorer om at tilholde Studenterne at varetage deres Poster, dated September 9, 1658. Ibid. p. 174.

\textsuperscript{15} Konfirmation paa Studenternes leges Militares, dated October 5, 1658. Ibid. p. 73-78.

\textsuperscript{16} Kongebrev, til Professorer om at tilholde Studenterne endnu nogen Tid flittigt at tage vare paa deres Poster, dated November 9,1658. Ibid. p. 180.

\textsuperscript{17} Engelstoft: Nogle Fragmenter om Dr. Rasmus Enevoldsen Brochmans rectorat ved Kjøbenhavns Universitet i Aarene 1658 og 1659. In: Skandinavisk Museum, 1803, vol. 2 pp. 121-134. Brochman’s two apologies to the King are dated June 16 and 30, 1659 regarding the university and the students: “At Universitetets Privilegier maatte fornyes, og at alt, hvad der i den sidste svenske Feide (1657-1658) var passeret i adskilige maader, særdeles med Vagt, Indqvartering og Rytterhold og andet, som Akademiet for sin underdanige Trofasthed at betee, sig saa godvillig paatog taalmodig leed og udstod, aldrig kulde komme Akademiet, dets Professorers eller Supposita, nærværende eller tilkommende, paa nogen af deres Privilegier, enten i Fred eller i Feides Tid”... Engelstoft p. 126.

\textsuperscript{18} Aktstykker og Oplysninger til Rigsrådets og Strendermodernes Historie i Frederik III’s Tid, Vol 1 1648-50 / Editor C. Rise Hansen, 1959. See also: Aktstykker og Oplysninger til Statskollegiets Historie 1660-1676, 2 Vols. / Editor J. Lindbæk, 1903-1910.


\textsuperscript{20} Rørdam, Holger Fr.: Efterretninger om Sværmeren Jesper Könecken. In: Kirkehistoriske Samlinger, 2. række, vol. 3. 1853, pp. [225]-261. [In: Southwest University Library].
Via Sweden he settled in the Netherlands, where he continued to express and publish his pacific views²¹.

Danish Peace Literature

The first Latin printed book in Denmark was on war²². The possible first pacific book in Denmark was printed shortly after the church reformation: Erasmus of Rotterdam's “Een christelig og nyttig bog om kongers, fursters riigts landes oc stoeders regimente digtighed ... och kaldet en christen fyrstis underwiisning och laere”, printed in Roskilde 1534; a translation of “Institutio principes christiani saluberrimis referta

Könecken, Jesper Baltzarsen: De bellis Christianorum Novi Testamenti. Handwritten copy recorded by the court during his trial at the University of Copenhagen; filed in the Record Office: Konsistoriets Kopibøger 1656-58, No. 12.13.06 Fol. 333-336. See also Ludvig Helweg: Den danske Kirkes Historie 1855, vol. 1 p. 390.


Bibliotheca Danica includes: “domestic published authors, Danish authors publications translated into foreign languages” and “foreign authors publications Danica he is headlined Jasp. Könecken under the subject theology and the name is spelled in Latin: Könekenius when indexed. In Vol. 3 his first name is spelled in Dutch: Jasper and his surname is spelled in Danish, under the headline history. In the online edition of Bibliotheca Danica there is a second Latin version of his surname: Könekenii. In the printed Latin student register 1611-1667 of the University of Copenhagen from 1890, he is spelled Casper Baltazar Koneche. All the Dutch publications of Jesper Baltzarsen Konecken was according to Bibliotheca Danica published within two years, 1665 and 1666. One of the publications Pacifica Belgis is recorded twice in the printed Bibliotheca Danica. Though aimed at being complete, Bibliotheca Danica fail to index six booklets of Könecken recorded by Jasp. Henr. Strackii in Dänische Bibliothek, 1746. Vol. VIII pp. 672-674. The volumes of Könecken in the nuclear safe box of the Royal Library of Copenhagen may surely be unique.


Könekenii, Jaspersi: Pacifica Belgis per gratiam Dei, quoad ipsi modo pacem ita non nimium nolint, ad Anglæ Regem Carolum II : Oratio. Hagæ circa Idus Maji 1665. – 11+3 pp. [Pacifica Belgis includes Könecken's second letter to the Swedish king Charles Gustav. In the Royal Library, Copenhagen. Recorded in Bibliotheca Danica online; title only – title in Bibliotheca Danica slightly different from Rørdam's. Two editions?]


²² Guillelmi Caoursin descripito obsidionis urbis Rhodie per johannem snel in ottenia impressa anno dni 1482.
præceptis", from 1515. The volume of Erasmus of Rotterdam is the first Danish entry in Jacob ter Meulen's Bibliography of the peace movement before 1899, 1480-1776. In the Royal Library in Copenhagen there are two copies of Een christelig og nyttig bog om kongers, fursters rigts landes oc stoeders regimente digtighed. The translator was the karmaliter monk, author and historian Poul Helgesen or Paulus Helie (1485-1534). Sebastian Olden Jørgensen wrote in the Royal Library's Danish Literature Archieve's - "Poul Helgesen – author portrait", that, “the translation in 1522 of Erasmus of Rotterdam's prince mirror were an attempt to shout to King Christian II and warn him against the tyranny, he were about to induce.23 Also there is an early Danish publication of “The Praise of Folly”24. This translation and publication is not in Bibliography of the peace movement before 1899, 1480-177625.

Around the same time as the sermon of Könecken a theological booklet was circulated: “A little track, how a just Christian soldier ought to warre against spiritual and carnal enemies. Also on some causes to War; thereupon, on the noble and precious gift of the peace of God”. This edifying booklet was an reprint of an edition from 1647, where the name of the author appears: Jens Søffrensen Nørnissom26. According to Bibliotheca Danica, this is the only Danish published publication recorded in the national bibliography relevant here.

Foreign peace books were banned and burned in Scandinavia: Paul Felgenhauer's “Perspicillum Bellicum” was, according to Arthur Thuesen, published in German in 1656 and translated into and published in Swedish by peace apostle Anders Pedersson Kempe in 166427. The book was banned in both Sweden and Norway and on March 31, 1671 judged to be burned on the fire. It is not known, but likely, that this book also was banned in Denmark.

23 Oversættelsen af Erasmus af Rotterdams fyrstespejl En cristhen førstis lære (SPH I 3-159) fra 1522 var et forsøg på at råbe Christian II op og advare ham mod det tyranni, han var ved at bevæge sig ud i). Een christelig og nyttig bog om kongers, fursters rigts landes oc stoeders regimente digtighed is republished in Skrifter af Paulus Helie vol. 5 (pp: I - 333). Arkiv for Dansk Litteratur has published Een christelig og nyttig bog om kongers, fursters rigts landes oc stoeders regimente digtighed on the Internet. There is a second early printing of The Education of a Christian Prince printed in Aarhus.

24 http://www.archive.org/details/folly_erasmus_0811_librivox


Danish-Norwegian censure, established during the church reformation in 1536, was not complete\(^{28}\). Privileged could read Marsilius of Padna: “Defensor Pacis”. Basle, 1522; which later was destroyed during the British terror bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807\(^{29}\) and a Danish translation of Immanuel Kant’s “Zum ewigen Frieden” published in 1796 and employees in the foreign office could read a copy of Hugo Grotius: “De Jure Belli et Pacis”\(^{30}\) from 1696\(^{31}\). Jesper Baltzersen Könecken explained to the court, that before he wrote “De bellis Christianorum Novi Testamenti”, he had read one German book with the title “Irenicum” by an unknown author. If I read Jacob ter Meulen right, the author could be Daniel Zwicker, whose “Irenicum irenicorum” first was published in Amsterdam in 1658, short time before Könecken’s sermon, but there are another English book by Jeremiah Burroughs from 1653 with the same title: Irenicum : to the lovers of truth and peace : heart-divisions opened in the causes and evils of them. I don’t know if this volume has been translated into German\(^{32}\). The early Danish conception of peace and pacifism needs to be investigated.

The state gave up as late as in 1849 and with the new Danish constitution granted religious and political freedom, but according to a classic study by church historian Bjørn Kornerup: “Quaker propaganda in Denmark and Norway in older times”, the Quakers were not accepted by the church of Denmark before 1924, when pacific bishop Valdemar Ammundsen (1875-1936) wrote the preface to Anne Vedde’s book “the Quakers” and by then there even was a Christian peace group in Denmark; but on the other hand most of the fiction works of Count Leo Tolstoy was translated and published in Denmark from the 1880s onward to the first world war.

During World War One, youth socialist Niels Johnsen was rewarded two months prison for the authorship of the booklet “the Fight against Conscription”\(^{33}\). This is as far as I know the last direct censorship of pacific publications in Denmark.

Danish history research and communication

Könecken is neither recorded in Jacob ter Meulen’s “Bibliographie du movement de la paix, 1480-1776”, in the “Catalogue de la bibliotheque l’ institut Nobel Norwegien” from 1912, in Swinne’s “Bibliographia Irenica 1500-1970”, and to my knowledge Jesper Baltzersen Könecken is not mentioned in the text books on the history of the peace movements, peace research and pacifism or in popular Danish history books\(^{34}\).

\(^{30}\) http://www.archive.org/details/hugonisgrottiide00grotuoft
\(^{31}\) http://www.archive.org/details/irenicumtothelov00burruoft
\(^{33}\) Johnsen, Niels: Kampen mod Værnepligten, 1915.
The early press of Denmark is recorded in the literature historian P. M. Stolpe (1832-1918): “The Press in Denmark”. Stolpe’s history of Danish newspapers also includes a commented bibliography of books and leaflets from 1482 to 1671 and mentions some 150 Danish and foreign newsletters published in the years 1657-1660. No mention of Könecken. Fr. Hammerich’s historical lecture on “Christian II in Sweden and Charles X in Denmark” has a most important bibliography of contemporary handwritten and printed sources to the war between Denmark and Sweden. He even index “the most important” newspapers Stolpe not recorded 35.

Historical research and historical publications are indexed in the “Danish Historical Bibliography” and there is great interest in Denmark for writing about historical subjects. The Danish Historical Bibliography 1943-1947 alone index 9343 titles, two articles on political pacifists can be used in our study: one on Lars Bjørnbak and one on Viggo Hørup and two articles on Frederik III are useful 36. Diaries and biographies on Frederik III? The Danish historical Bibliography was taken over by the Royal Library and made online from 1990 at http://rex.kb.dk:4505/aleph/-/start/BGF01_DBH

Most Danish academic research fields have their own research guides and specialized magazines, with the exception of the peace movement. The history of the international peace movement is more or less left undone except for Danish historians studying parts of the Danish peace movement. There are some learned prefaces to a dozen or so academic theses.

The main cause of this unfortunate situation is the missing peace (research) education in Danish universities. According to Robin's “Directory of College and University Peace Studies Programs”, there is only one International Peace University Programme c/o Copenhagen Peace Research Institute.

http://csf.colorado.edu/peace/academic.html

Also there are no peace libraries and peace archives in Denmark, though some libraries and archives have publications and archives from the peace groups. The most important are The Royal Library, the Record Office and the Labour Movement Library and Archive all in Copenhagen and the State Library in Aarhus.

Schultz Danmarkshistorie: Vort Folks Historie gennem Tiderne skrevet af danske Historikere. 6 Vols. 1941-1943.
Even though it is possible through long and complicated studies of history, social movements, administrative history, agricultural history and so on it is possible to find single visionary individuals who have misunderstood the policy of the rulers, they are according to myth the exception, which proves that the myth is right\textsuperscript{37}.

However, reading of history prove, that Danes both before and after Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken protested against wars, conscription, the burden of militarism and that these protests are recorded in the most unusual places, some in criminal and military records. As early as 1584-1585 skilled labours deserted from conscripted service; the building of ships for the navy\textsuperscript{38}.

**Forced conscription during the Viking age**

Around the year 700 the Danes developed a ship building technique, which made it possible to travel long distances. Some predictably aggressive persons used the ships to plunder northern Europe. As time went by, records shows that it became increasingly unpopular to partake in the plundering. To get the Viking ships manned a national conscription register system called leidang or skipæn, was created\textsuperscript{39}. The Scandinavian country laws had punishment for neglect or absence from leidang.

Rich persons could by themselves to stay home during leidang. This was called Qwærsæth. Only ‘learned men’, priests were exempt from the duty of leidang. Even though there are no records of early conscientious objection, the creation of the conscription system proves, that the farmers and fishers did not volunteer.

As we move up in the European middle age before 1200, the printed research material about conscription become greater. The historian C. A. Christensen wrote in 1980, that the church in Roskilde became rich, because of local collective draft resistance. The only lawful way to avoid the draft was to give up land and farms to the church, which then was in charge of the draft. Even though Christensen is investigating only one bishopric, Roskilde, one could with caution conclude, that there were similar draft systems and resistance to them in the other countries of Denmark. However, this has still to be researched.

In the 13, century the country laws in Denmark (Sweden and Norway), which introduced the international laws of the church became effective\textsuperscript{34}. And with the new

\textsuperscript{37} See also the introduction by Flemming Mikkelsen in: Protest og oprør. Århus 1986 pp. 3-8.
laws came the growing influence of the church and the kings as the leidang system were later transformed into the qwærsæth (military) tax system.

Light in darkness

In 1095, Treuga Dei, the peace and truce of God was created for all Christians and some of the first peace groups like the English the Lollard’s and the French Poor men from Lyon appears\(^{40}\). The peace and truce of God was a part of an early Christian conflict resolution system. During the synods of 1047 (Synodus Helenesis) and Narbonne 1054 the peace of God was expanded to include the clergy, monks, nuns, pilgrims, merchants, farmers, women, churches, monasteries etc. The peace of God meant, that violent conflicts had to cease from Wednesday night to Monday morning and also on holidays.

During the time of Queen Margrethe 1 (1353-1412), the Peace of God was developed into a complex Danish conflict preventing system of women peace; and also the peace of the king, the peace of houses, farms, fields, things and ships. The peace of women from 1396 meant, according to historian Erik Arup, that women should enjoy a particular peace n not be violated during times of war n with the offender being punished by death. This was way in advance of the addendum to the Geneva-protocol of 1977.

In Scandinavia there are two expressions for disarmament: “afrustning” which means complete disarmament and “nedrustning” which means partial disarmament. The following is the case of complete disarmament.

In 1631, King Christian IV commanded the rebuilding of the fortification of Ålborg by forced labour\(^{41}\). Thus the construction of the fortification was slow. Nine year later the

\(^{40}\) Hirst, Margaret E.: The Quakers in Peace and War. London, 1923.

History of the Christian Church, Volume IV: Mediaeval Christianity. A.D. 590-1073. (i.vi.vi). the Christian Classics Ethereal Library at Calvin College.

http://www.ccel.org/ccc/church/i.vi.vi.html


Jørgensen, Chr.: Det underjordiske Aalborg. Indhold: Udgravninger i 1934 på Bispegårdens grund ; Et nyt fund, der fortæller om Aalborgs befaestning ; Det store gennembrud ved anlægget af det nye Vesterbro 1930-31 ; Hvor lå Aalborg Gråbrødrekloster? ; Aalborgs befaestning og Skipper Klemens
Kings Counsel granted two taxes more for the work. Too late. For the enemy a year later came to the town where the citizens opened the gate and asked the enemy colonel to show mercy. Shortly afterwards the fortification disappears so completely, that today there is no “trace left of it”.

The war in 1658 went bad for the Danes. The Swedes conquered Jutland. Danes in Jutland were drafted by the Swedes, but deserted and only Danish officers were in place in the island Funen. The peasants of the small island were drafted, but deserted helped by the landowners because all the officers were Dutch, and the peasants did not want to learn that foreign language, tells the military historian Th. Thaulow. Thus deserting from the draft and deserting from war service was common in Denmark.

According to church historian Ludwig Helweg who preceded by two years Rødam’s biography of the first student rebellion with “the History of the Danish Church after the Reformation” from 1851, during 1658 the king did not hope in vain for support by the bourgeois and the academic in Copenhagen for the throne: “The students and the citizens competed to give the promise, to defend themselves until the uttermost. Then the powers were not used; but soon the opportunity to honour the promise came”. “While the enemy was at the gate of the city, the promise to the king was given again. The students armed. They totalled 600 in two companies. Everybody was ready for the defence of the city, but first they congregated in the churches where the priests admonished the great gathering to serious prayer and penance to turn the threatening wrath of God. While everybody did their duties the priests and the bishop were on the walls strengthening the terrified and weak-hearted”.

One student, Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken inspired by the Quaker views of the sermons of Niels Svendsen, recommended the citizens to lay down their arms in order to not be defiled with the blood of the enemy”. “But his voice”, wrote Helweg “became silent in the common zeal".
Also in Norway, there was rebellion against the draft. On April 28, 1663 the king ordered eight named persons who had rebelled against the draft and killed an officer to be sent to the military prison in Copenhagen to labour in iron.

During the Scandia war 1675-1679 between Denmark and Sweden there were so many Danish draft absence cases and deserters, that they are described in the popular Politiken's History of Denmark. Even some Swedes deserted from their war duties.

The Swedish priest Nicolaus Petri and the Danish priest Mikael Colding living across the border of Småland in Sweden made together with their vassals and parochial church councils a peasant peace treaty in spite of the newly declared war: “No one in their parishes should fall upon each other and with murder, plunder and fire inflict one another damage, but just as before stand by a common good neighbourhood. There had earlier been similar peace treaties in 1611 and 1644”. The peasant peace treaty worked, until it was broken by the Danish guerrilla soldiers, called snaphaner, during the Swedish conquest of the Danish territory in Scania, Halland and Blekinge.

Denmark-Norway during the dictatorship of the kings 1660-1849

The ruling system of absolutism created a perverse system of oppression against the unpropertied persons, culminating with the adscription (registration of and forced labour of villeinages) in 1701.

To learn about the absolute society I am dependent on archival references of the administration of agricultural history, development of law & order and punishment, legal history and the history of taxation. Taxation could show the interaction between the military burden, taxes and protests against them.

Denmark was a farming country then. Browsing in the encyclopaedic “Handbook for Danish local historians” gave the article Hartkorn, a Danish unit for land valuation and the key words and the reference needed were given. The key words are: portion

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Hammerich, Fr.; Christiern II. i Sverrig og Carl X. Gustav i Danmark p. 143.


money\textsuperscript{47}, cavalry money\textsuperscript{48}, march money\textsuperscript{49}, food tax\textsuperscript{50}, all taxes that were part of the military burden. The reference is Nielsen and Thalbitzer’s jubilee publication “Tax and tax administration in older times”\textsuperscript{51}. It was the first breakthrough. The two tax historians wrote that by the time of the great Nordic war 1701-1720, the navy had to be rearmed and an expensive system of conscripted soldiers was introduced: “The share of military burden in the total state budget was so great, that changes in the military areas marked the total account (of public expenses). The preponderance of the military expenses of wars, armaments and changes in the military policy thus greatly influenced the states finances and was quickly manifested in the tax policy\textsuperscript{48}”. And because it was the history of tax and tax administration, the different military related taxes and the protests against them was easy to find and prove; as the connection between tax administration and conscription also is the subject of the important philosophical doctor’s thesis “Great Landowner and Public Administrator” of the archivist Birgit Løgstrup.

Law & order and punishment would possible show non book printed protests especially regarding to the military, conscription and desertion. By 1701 a complex detailed adscription conscript registration system was enforced wherewith the agricultural workers became slaves of the landowners. The only time off was during military service\textsuperscript{52}. Historian Finn Stendal Pedersen connects again the conscription register to the landowners from 1733 to 1793, when conscription was taken over by the military\textsuperscript{53}, resulting in a growing number of complains to the Danish Chancellery. This had been possible from 1687. By 1785 there were 5086 complaints. In 1795, there was 9546 according to the research done by Michael Bregnsbo. The files of Danish Chancellery are a new source to complaints about enlistment and conscription\textsuperscript{54}.

By the year 2000 Tyge Krogh was able to publish his second major empirical based thesis, “The Enlightenment and the magical: Executions and corporal punishments in Denmark in the first half of the 18th century”\textsuperscript{55}. Krogh analyses criminal cases 1719 to 1756 presented to military courts covered by the Provincial court of Zealand. Krogh ’s volume even has a database of military criminal cases\textsuperscript{56}! Soldiers drafted collectively.

\textsuperscript{47} Portionspenge.
\textsuperscript{48} Rytterholdspenge.
\textsuperscript{49} Rytterholdspenge.
\textsuperscript{50} Fourageskat, madskat.
\textsuperscript{52} Løgstrup, Birgit: Jorddrot og offentlig administrator: Godsejerstyret inden for skatte- og udskrivningsvæsenet i det 18. århundrede, 1983.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.: Landmilitære straffesager i Sjællandsfar Landstings område m. fl. (1722) 1728-56. pp. 454-514.
The military historian Niels Friis wrote, that as late as July 21, 1783, 37 soldiers deserted, “possibly at the same time”\(^{57}\).

Birgit Løgstrup proves in 1986 that general protests, disobedience, strikes and even civil disobedience, like boycotts was possible for the peasants, at least from 1781\(^{58}\). She analyses in her thesis some of the conscientious objector cases: refusal to engagement up to 1741\(^{59}\), bribery\(^{60}\), complaints to the supreme court and the king\(^{61}\), deserting from the land owners\(^{62}\), refusal of church confirmation and communication to 1777\(^{63}\), marriage, employment in towns and skilled employment as in the case of the musician Olle Larsen Esch (after 1755) etc.

In a later volume “Bound to the Earth”, Birgit Løgstrup also describes immigration by conscientious objectors\(^{64}\) and self mangle is seen as late as 1846\(^{65}\), but it should be kept in mind that these learned historians only researched local cases and that similar research has to be completed in the rest of Denmark and Norway.

Conscription to the navy during time of war there have always been in Denmark, by 1688-1689 the admiraltry introduced conscription in peace time for sailors, doctors and trumpeters with little success. By 1705 the navy again tried by forcing persons who wanted to become ordinary sailors to enlist with the result, that during the great Nordic war there were so many deserter cases, that the conscription system nearly broke down as the sailors emigrated to foreign countries. By 1722 the admiraltry by it selves gave quarter to the sailors, shows a new study by Claus Rafner.

According to the Record Office’s Militære fondsregnskaber, the army and navy departments established 1790-1871 funds by which salaries and pensions could be

\(^{57}\) Deserters were guilty in two crimes: perjure and desertion. Friis, Niels: Slesvigske Fodregiment i Krig og Fred. Haderslev, 1953 p. 37.

\(^{58}\) Løgstrup, Birgit: Bondeprotester på Lynderupgård 1781-1802. In: Protest og oprør. 1986 pp. 11-45. See also:

\(^{59}\) Gårdfæstnægtere. Løgstrup, Birgit: Jorddrot og offentlig administrator p. 265.

\(^{60}\) Ibid. p. 275.

\(^{61}\) Ibid. pp. 278-279.

\(^{62}\) Ibid. p. 301.

\(^{63}\) Kassation p. g. a. "ej konfirmeret". Ibid. p. 301 61 Ibid p. 300.


paid or supplemented. The income from those funds came from fines and fees from failing to appear at the session.

Now the pacific desertion cases and protests against conscription should be easy to record in the period up to the Danish constitution of 1849.

The intelligence work of the police began on May tenth 1780, according to the historian Kenn Tarbesen. The police intelligence should “control and put social clubs under surveillance”.

During the Napoleonic wars there was a rebellion in the Norwegian valley Lejrdalen or Lerdalen against conscription in January 1802. Also there was a similar rebellion in the island Karmø near the Norwegian town of Stavanger. The people in Lejr-dalen meet at the draft and were registered, but did not report for service in the army. An armed military expedition was sent from Denmark to the dale, and the citizens gave in; but formed only a light company with the explanation, that none of them “could ski”!

After the battle of Copenhagen, Danish and Norwegian prisoners of war were imprisoned in English prison ships (an early form of concentration camps) up to 1814, when they were released. Some of the imprisoned Norwegian sailors became Quakers and established Quaker communities in Norway, which came under Swedish rule after the Napoleonic wars. The British imprisonment policy during the Napoleonic wars needs attention, regarding the prisoners of war from countries other than Denmark and Norway.

In 1841 the Quaker Elizabeth Fry and her brother Joseph John Gurney visited Copenhagen, where they had talks with the king, recommending him to abolish slavery in the Danish West Indies Islands.

In the “strange year” of 1848 the Danish-German three year wars began.

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68 Here Norway disappears in my article. London Meeting for Sufferings: Minutes 1807-1814. The archives of London Yearly Meeting (now Britain Yearly Meeting), including the minutes and other records of the Meeting for Sufferings are housed in Friends House in London. Friends Historical Library has microfilm of the minutes as well as microfilm of other records of London/Britain Yearly Meeting.
70 The concept strange year is borrowed from the anthology: 1948 – det mærkelige år / editor Claus Bjørn, 1998.
In August 1850 the third international peace congress was held in the German town of Frankfurt a/M. The congress asked Elihu Burritt (1810-1879), Joseph Sturge and Frederick Wheeler to mediate in the war between Denmark and Germany. The mediation offer was accepted as they were “reminded that an old treaty made provision for the settlement of disputes by arbitration”.71

Burritt spoke Danish; one of his booklets was later translated into Danish.72 This mediation case needs more research in Danish.

War resistance in Slesvig during the Danish German war 1849

During the mobilisation of the army in December 1849, which needed men from Slesvig, the military police officer Leerbeck asked for help from the Haderslev country house authorities to announce the draft,73 (recorded the Danish general staff 30 years after the war). The country house in Haderslev declared that it could not accept the usual draft announcement, only that the parish executive officers made the draft announcement, leaving it up to each individual, whether he would co-operate or not. Then Leerbeck did not use the country houses, but himself announced the drafts in the whole of Slesvig.

Consequently not all the soldiers could be drafted at once so that enlisting men became difficult as the order had to be given to nearly every man individually; and in different areas the civil servants and agitators tried to sabotage the draft pretending that the draft did not have the legitimacy of the legal authorities; even some of the persons sent out with the draft orders were arrested and enlistment campaign results were very small.

Announcement in pro-Danish newspapers resulted in most of the draft enlistment. However, some did not meet and on the other hand not a few people fearing draft enforcement by the army of Slesvig-Holstein left Slesvig for the island of Als. Thereupon the ministry of war decided, that they should be sent to the island Funen, and if they would not accept the military service during war, they had to prove to the civilian authorities that they were able to support themselves, they could take residence where they wanted.

71 Hirst, Margaret E.: The Quakers in Peace and War, 1923, pp. 255-256.
Verhandlungen des dritten allgemeinen Friedenskongresses, gehalten in der Pauls Kirche zu Frankfurt a/M. - Hirst, Margaret E.: The Quakers in Peace and War, 1923, pp. 255-256.
Verhandlungen des dritten allgemeinen Friedenskongresses, gehalten in der Pauls Kirche zu Frankfurt a/M. - Frankfurt a/M, 1851.
72 Burritt, Elihu: Et par ord til drenge om krig.
http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/boywar.htm
73 Amtsstatu.
Liberal political antimilitarism 1849-1914

The political debate over the defence and security policy of Denmark began before and during the discussions over the new constitution in 1849.

This long and heated debate resulted in the creation of a radical political culture, which succeeded in the nearly complete disarmament of Denmark after World War One.

As early as in May 1836, counsellor of justice and land owner Malte Bruun Nyegaard (1789-1877), in the Viborg Assembly of the Estates of the Realm 75, argued against general conscription and a rise in military expenditures, “Because of the coming rule of reason, wars will become rare, and the best projection for the country is the diplomacy”. Expensive Danish armament would “not benefit against the great powers” 76.

Later prime minister, bishop D. G. Monrad (1811-1887) concluded the debate as being “about political dreaming”, when the Danish nationalists wanted a strong defence 77. Monrad immigrated to New Zealand.

75 Viborg Stænderforsamling.
During this debate the first liberal party the Society of Friends of the Farmers, was created\textsuperscript{78}, with the pacifist teacher and politician Lars Bjørnbak (1826-1878) as one of the leaders. In 1870 the Christian Lars Bjørnbak was the author of the first pacific protest to the parliament. Bjørnbak was active in the Danish Folk High School movement.

Journalist, publisher and liberal politician Viggo Hørup (1841-1902) is unknown outside Scandinavia, though he was the most important Danish anti-militarist politician in the last part of the 19th. century, when Denmark 1849 to 1894 was a militarised police state.

Viggo Hørup introduced the concept militarism in the debate over the fortification of Copenhagen and asked the simple but powerful question in the parliament: What should it [the military] benefit? As a part in the political struggle between the nationalists and the liberals, Hørup and journalist Edvard Brandes (1847-1934) founded the newspaper Politiken 1884 of which Hørup became the chief editor. The liberals founded many newspapers to conquer the public opinion\textsuperscript{79}.

Viggo Hørup was the father of Ellen Hørup, herself a pacifist journalist. Most Danish biographies about Viggo Hørup are written by politicians, and only a couple by historians.

Fredrik Bajer (1837-1922) published his memories in 1909. This covers the period up to 1908. As one of the few Danes in international organized peace work he was awarded with a half Nobel peace prize in 1908\textsuperscript{80}. Bajer was a founding member of the Inter-Parliamentary Union\textsuperscript{81}, The International Peace Bureau\textsuperscript{82} and the Danish Peace Society\textsuperscript{83}, a Danish biography covering the period from 1908 to 1922 is much needed and an English biography might highlight Danish peace work\textsuperscript{84}.

His wife Mathilde (1840-1934) is nearly forgotten today, even though she worked in international women peace groups in her own right\textsuperscript{85}, she were vice-president in Alliance universelle des femmes pour la paix. Also the couple established the first

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Risskov Sørensen, Kurt: Fredssagen i Danmark 1882-1914, 1981 See also the volume of Sune Pedersen. In 1971 the Danish Peace Society became a part of the Danish United Nations Union, FN-forbundet
\item § 3 Le mouvement de la paix organisé. In: Augsut Schou: Histoire de l’internationalisme III. Oslo: MCMLXIII pp. 510-516
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
women rights organization in Denmark. A biography of Mathilde Bajer might be needed. Also useful might be bibliographies on both Bajer’s.\textsuperscript{86}

Though they were members of the same political party Bajer and Hørup didn’t get along well. The rich Hørup wanted to conquer the political power in the parliament, while the poor Bajer was working a grass root.

The Danish Peace Union worked in the beginning for Danish neutrality with the hope that this policy could regain the in the 1864 war lost territories to Denmark. Within a couple of year the union changed tactic and added arbitration as it's main focus.

Browsing through the justice ministry’s files in the Record Office revealed, that this ministry was in charge of the general conscription in the period 1851 to 1914; when conscription was taken over by the Ministry of the Interior, which still is the administrator of conscription, just recently taken over by the ministry of Defence.\textsuperscript{87}

\textsuperscript{86} See Appendix 1.
\textsuperscript{87} Petersen, Niels: Justitsministeriet: Organisation og arkiv, 1982.
The war of 1864

Danes used civil disobedience, desertion and were conscientious objectors during the 1864 war with Germany-Austria. In the period 1863-65 the moulder Ove Petersen was sentenced four times for objection based on religious conviction. The military court used the same argumentation as in the case of Könecken: "because of religious fanaticism objected to dress in the uniform and conscription", and because of religious fanaticism objected "duty" and "deserted". This is but one of many cases during and after the war.

Some Danish prisoners of war were returned to Denmark years after the war. Their German prison experience made them insane. This subject is unknown even to military historians and needs more research.

The lost war of 1864 became an important subject in the continued Danish security debate.

One of Fredrik Bajer's booklets on the diplomatic negotiations after the war in 1864, "A serious drama of modern history: how Danish Slesvig was lost: a peep behind the veiled scenes of diplomacy, and a warning", was translated by P. H. Peckover and published in 1867 by the London Peace Society. In his book Bajer documents that it

88 Bajer, Fredrik: Livserindringer. 1909 p. 120.
Map Credit: Courtesy The Private Collection of Roy Winkelman
http://etc.usf.edu/maps/pages/6900/6926/6926.htm
was not the Danish military that lost the war in the winter and spring of 1864. The war was lost later in the summer by the diplomats who would not give in to the stronger foes, because of popular support to the war from the big landowners, the politicians and ordinary people. Concluding Bajer lamented that the Danish militarism which boasted that it could get a military victory over both Prussia and Austria only was so strong because there were too few pacifists in the state of Denmark, but hope there was for the future. In the might and glory of the militant, romantic nationalism the first small voice of pacifism came from the Friends of the Farmers.

German military service was enforced upon the conquered Danes of South Jutland who only had one legal option to escape the draft: immigration. By 1870 nearly all conscripted Danes in the so called optant movement, emigrated\(^91\).

It is not known how many Danes immigrated to the United States, Canada and Australia\(^92\) because of the military conscription in the years 1849 to 1917\(^93\). However the study of historian Peter Mikael Hansen suggests a strong connection with the abstention from the draft and the Danish immigration in the period 1880 to 1914\(^94\).

Also during World War One more than 2,400 Southern Jutlander’s with Danish sympathies deserted from the German colours by escaping to Denmark\(^95\).

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\(^94\) Hansen, Peter Mikael: Militærvægring 1849-1917 pp. 60 and 83.
The first Danish Christian Peace Union, Kristeligt Fredsforbund, was created in the spring of 1913. Its now rare magazine “Fredsvarden” named after the German magazine “die Freidens-Warte” / the “Peace Observation Tower”, is an invaluable source of information about Danish and international Christian peace work from 1913 to 1940. Today there is only one complete set of “Fredsvarden” in the State Library in Aarhus. After World War One the Christian Peace Union became a member of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. The Danish Christian Peace Union’s history needs to be written.
Danish pacifism during World War One

The First World War introduced women and workers to the Danish peace movement. After the international women’s congress in the Hague, the Danish chapter of the later Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom was created; much to the dislike and debate of the men in the Danish Peace Society. Several Danish women attended the congress in The Hague.

The unknown printed record of the congress at the Hague was located in the Royal Library in Copenhagen by the key word women’s movement, not under peace movement, and it is republished in the bibliography Peace in Print.

Some of the world’s first anti-war movies were produced in Denmark during WW1 by Ole Olsen (1863-1943) the owner of Nordisk Films Kompagni. The first anti-war movie might be the Belgian “Maudite soit la guerre”, which, according to Erich-Maria-Remarque-Friedenszentrum’s online data base “Modern war on screen”, had its first performance on May 22, 1914, shortly before the war. The first of several Danish anti-war movies was based upon the novel of Bertha von Suttner: „Die Waffen Nieder“. It had its first performance on August 14, 1914 in New York. From 1914 four anti-war movies were produced in Denmark.


See:
The Danish Film Institute: http://www.dfi.dk
Danmarks Nationalfilmografi / Danish Film Bibliography: Ned med vaabene:
imdb.com has it listed as “Ned Med Vaabnene” and says it’s also known as “Down with Weapons” (USA) and “Lay Down Your Arms.” There’s a little more information there about cast and plot as well.
Nancy Slator,
Ware (Mass.) High School
Danmarks Nationalfilmografi / Danish Film Bibliography:
Danmarks Nationalfilmografi / Danish Film Bibliography: Verdens Undergang ; Flammesværdet / The End of the World ; The Flaming Sword:
Danmarks Nationalfilmografi / Danish Film Bibliography : Pax æterna; Den evige Fred / Peace on Earth:
The World War One also saw the first Danish produced newspaper satire against the war. One of the first artists against war was Anton Hansen (1891-1960) whose illustrations first appeared in the daily Ekstra Bladet99.

Also during World War One the Danish missionary teacher Karen Jeppe in Armenia was a eye witness to the genocide on the Christian Armenians during 1915100. Another Danish eye witness on the Armenians was the nurse missionary Maria Jacobsen101.

Political conscientious objectors during WW 1 created the first conscientious objectors union on September 17, 1915102. The union’s members of worker’s pacifists and anti-militarist’s were total objectors. Also there were abstention and deserter cases from “simple people” during the war103. The heated debate over the imprisonment of the conscientious objectors led to the conscientious objectors law of December 1917.

At the end or soon after WW1 the German aid organisation: Deutscher Sonderausschuss für Kriegsgefangenenhilfe · Kopenhagen Deutsche Wohlfahrtstelle · Auslandstelle · Kopenhagen, / German Special Board for Support of War Prisoners, Copenhagen · German Welfare Board, Foreign Office, Copenhagen, was established. This organization had connections to the Christian Peace Society and aided German prisoners of war and German children who came on holiday in Denmark. The last mentioned country wide relief work for the starving German children lasted from August 1919 to April 1925, when the justice department closed down this aid work.

Also Danes aided starving children from Vienna after World War One.

In the 1920s the Danish chapter of the Womens International League for Peace and Freedom used Pax æterna in their meetings. Around February 1928 the organization were given a copy of the film by Nordisk Films Kompagni under the condition, that the Women did not charge money when showing the film at their meetings. Source: Pax æterna. Fred og Frihed, 1928 nr. 3 p. 8.
Danmarks Nationalfilmografi / Danish Film Bibliography: Himmelskibet or Excelsior / A Trip to Mars / Der Himmeleschiff:

101 Dickran, Karekin: Maria Jacobsen and the genocide in Armenia.
http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/karekin/ukmaria.htm
102 Foreningen for Konsekvente Antimilitarister.
Danish discovery of Mahatma Gandhi

Danish foreign missionary work had began in 1714 in the Danish colony Trankebar in India. After the turn of the 20. century missionary Edvard Løventhal was advocating women missionaries to work in India, because men could not enter the houses, where the women were. In 1913 teacher and missionary Anne Marie Petersen (1878-1951) joined the elder Løventhal at his mission station, which she later took over.

While doing research on Indian education Anne Marie Petersen and Mahatma Gandhi met for the first time in January 1917, long before Gandhi was a popular politician in the West.

The Danish mission to India is a subject for the thesis “Dependency and Identity : Problems of Cultural Encounter as a consequence of the Danish Mission in South India between World Wars I and II” by Bent Smidt Hansen.104

The contact on the one side between Danish missionaries, Scandinavian supporters of the Indian liberation movement and on the other side Mahatma Gandhi is documented in the online anthology “Gandhi and Nordic Countries” and in the book Friends of Gandhi.

The meeting of Mahatma Gandhi and Anne Marie Petersen resulted in her establishing of a national Indian school at Porto Novo in 1921. Within the framework of the struggle for Indian political and social liberation Anne Marie Petersen and Gandhi pioneered a South-South dialogue.

They were in India, but came from different cultures. Also it was an early North South dialogue including development aid, because Anne Marie Petersen couldn't have made her school as big as it became, without financial support from Christian friends and friends from the Folk High school movement in Denmark.

Some of the concepts and terms they used in developing an national Indian school system were later used in the development of the pedagogy of liberation, based upon the “ethical indignation, the preferential option for the poor and finally the liberation of the poor and oppressed - and of the oppressor”106. Thus during the early 1930s Gandhi literature was published in Denmark107; more than in the rest of the Scandinavian countries together. The Friends of India was organised by pacifist Ellen Hørup (1871-1953) in 1930 in Copenhagen, and the organization published one of the first magazines outside India, promoting the Indian non-violent political struggle for freedom.

105 http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/nordic/index.htm
106 Jacobsen, Marina: Fra Barbari til værdighed, RUC, 2001 p. 271
Both Ellen Hørup and the Friends of India organization were under surveillance by British intelligence services in the beginning of the 1930s. After Ellen Hørup in 1933 moved to Geneva the International Committee for India was created. The Committee which had elected Ellen Hørup as secretary organised international conferences on the political situation in India and published a newsletter Indian Press to 1936.

The Danish debate over peace education from the late 19. Century was renewed in the inter-war period. In 1921 Quaker inspired teacher Peter Manniche (1889-1981) founded the International People’s College as an expansion of the (Christian national oriented) folk high schools. The Nordic Teachers Peace Union was created in 1925 parallel to a growing debate amongst historians over nationalism and militarism in text books. The debate lead to a reform of Danish school books in 1933.

The sixth International Montesorri Congress on peace education was held in Copenhagen in August 1937.

During the early twenties were founded Danish chapters of War Resisters’ International, Aldrig mere Krig, and the religious international organisations the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches and Faith and Order and around 1936 a Danish chapter of the International Friendship League was created, led by police chief C. R. Ege in Hobro.

In May 1933 the Danish chapter of the All Peoples Association’s invited Sir Norman Angell to a lecture in the Women’s Reading Society in Copenhagen.

108 Lawson, Max: The International People’s College 1921-96.
109 Nordiske Læreres Fredsforbund established in Helsinki, Finland.
Denmark and the League of Nations

After Denmark joined the League of Nations in 1920, the Danish defence policy was adjusted accordingly. The Danish army and navy were disarmed; a policy even bourgeois politicians after much debate agreed on as no foreign threats were seen against Denmark.

According to George Lansbury's *My Quest for Peace*: “Very little money is spent on war preparations [in Denmark in 1938]. It would in any case be absurd for Denmark to arm against her enormously powerful southern neighbour. She has moreover no empire to hold by force, or to excite the covetousness of other countries. Iceland has the same King, but is in no other way dependent on Denmark. The Danish West Indies were sold to America early this century. The sole trace of the imperialist habits of the early Danes is the Danish flag that flies over the inhospitable Greenland. The country is not out-and-out pacifist by any means. Conscription is still the law and there is a small "coast defence" which is hardly a real navy. But the policy of Denmark ever since the war has been to support earnestly every move which seemed to help peace. Nobody who considers the Danes' record can deny that their efforts have been genuine and continuous.”

Though the Danish military was small in the 1920s, it was in several times used against striking workers.

Danish politicians and idealists got involved with the promotion of the League of Nations. Accordingly the Danish Peace Society changed its name to The Danish Peace and League of Nations Society. When Fridtjof Nansen received the Nobel Peace Prize

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115 Lansbury, George: My Quest for Peace. 1938 pp. 105-106.
See also C. E. M. Joad's *Why War?*, mentioned in the article 'En udlænder ser paa Danmark'. In: Fred og Frihed, 1939:4 p. 33.
in 1922, the Danish publisher Christian Erichsen gave his whole fortune to Nansen, the matching amount of Nansen’s Nobel Prize. Nansen gave the Nobel Prize money and the money from Erichsen to humanitarian work in the Soviet Union.

The Day of Peace was one day a year, when the Danish Peace Society and the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom collected money. The first League of Nations Day in Danish schools was celebrated on September 7, 1925. Also the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom broadcasted the world message of the Children of Wales.

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The World Message of the Children of Wales.

We, boys and girls of Wales, from our mountains and valleys, our villages and towns, greet with a cheer the boys and girls of every country under the sun. Our hearts are thrilled by the wonderful response to our yearly message and we cherish the many new links of friendship which we have formed. Will you, millions of you, join with us to-day in thinking with gratitude of those men and women of every race and people who are working so hard to build a finer, better world? Next year, in 1926, the League of Nations will celebrate its tenth birthday. Let us determine, here and now, to help it, with all our power, to go forward with its great task of peace on earth and goodwill among men.

1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, and
Goodwill Day, May 18, 1929.

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While Germany was busy rearming and preparing for the Second World War, the War Resisters’ International held its international conference in Copenhagen in July 1937.\(^{118}\)

After the congress the Dutchman Bart de Ligt (1883-1938) published *The Conquest of Violence* in English and *Fight without Weapons*\(^{119}\) was published in Denmark a volume of which professor Gene Sharp later made good use of.\(^{120}\) Sharp wrote, ”that Lindberg attempted, and appealed for, a comparative evaluation on practical grounds of the advances, disadvantages and consequences of non-violent action, military resistance, terrorist resistance and guerrilla war”\(^{121}\).

While responsible politicians declared ‘peace in our time’ the year following, informed pacifists, journalists and refugees knew better. Ellen Hørup established the international news agency: *Journal des Archives*, 1938-1939, in Geneva to communicate analyses of the current political situation in Europe to the rest of the world. It was described as “Service of international documentation. – Correspondents in London, Paris, Geneva, Zurich, Copenhagen and Chicago. Monthly Bulletin in three editions: English, French and German. Documents on political, economical and financial questions. Reproduction authorised and gratis, on condition of stating the source of origin and sending voucher numbers”. There is a copy of the English version at the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

Because of criticism against the Swiss restricted policy towards German political émigrés, on February 2, 1939 the chief of the Swiss Police fédérale des étrangers

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\(^{119}\) Kamp uden Vaaben: Ikke-Vold som Kampmiddel mod Krig og Undertrykkelse / Niels Lindberg ; Gammelgaard Jacobsen ; Karl Erlich. 1937.


\(^{121}\) Sharp, Gene: The Dynamics of Nonviolent Action p. 569.
recommended that the residence permission of Ellen Hørup not was renewed. She moved to France\textsuperscript{122}.

In May 1938 Ellen Hørup took the initiative to a three days international conference in the French town Marseilles for prominent women on the subject “the morale in international relations”. The conference was attended by 700 women\textsuperscript{123}.

I have failed to find research references to Journal des Archives in the international peace literature; so this subject awaits its historian.


\textsuperscript{122} Police fédérale des étrangers, Case no. 778792 G/L. In: the Swiss Public Record.
\textsuperscript{123} Marseille-Kongressen. In: Fred og Frihed, 1938:5 p. 45.

Moralen i internationale Forbindelser. In: Fred og Frihed, 1938:4 p. 29. Some documents relating to the conference in Marseille are at the University of Colorado at Boulder: “I was able to find letters, registration, announcement, and newspaper articles about the conference in Marseille. Although I was unable to find any information about Ellen Horup. Most of the information is general and just describes the conference. There are still some folders though that I was unable to get to in the free hour, these include:

WILPF Collection Accession 1: Series I- Box 8 fd16 Box 6 fd 16-17 WILPF Collection Accession 2: Box 12 fd 8-11 Box 46 fd 4 Box 148 fd 2.

Sincerely,
Ashleig h Mayer Student Assistant
Refugee work before World War Two

In 1938 three Danish women, Melanie Oppenheim, Kirsten Gloerfelt-Tarp and Thora Daugaard from the Danish Women’s Council and the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, began the immigration of German and Austrian Jewish children to Denmark, which “needed agricultural students”! 325 Jewish children came to Denmark and in December 1939 most of them were shipped to Haifa in Palestine124.

Shortly before the World War Two aid to the families of prisoners in German concentration camps was organized by the organization Skandia-Hjælp. Ellen Horup as well as other Danes like Else Zeuthen had protested against the Spanish civil war 1936-1939, the battlefield of Capitalism125. The Danish country wide collecting of aid in cooperation with Swedish and French refugee organizations to the suffering women and children of the Spanish civil war began in January 1936126. The Danes and Swedes worked also together with the International Save the Children Fund at Geneva.

They might have been inspired both by the well known work of Nansen in Russia, the Danish refugee work for starving Austrian children after WW 1127, and by a lecture held September 30, 1935 by Pierre Ceresole in Copenhagen on “Conscientious objection and reconstruction in ravaged areas”128 and by aid work of the War Resister’s International129.

In April 1939 the Danish author and refugee friend Karin Michaëlis visits New York. She returns to Denmark in 1946130.

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125 Horup, Ellen: Spain the Battlefield of Capitalism. Geneva, [1936?]
   – Online version: http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/disarm.htm
The German professor Walther A. Berendsohn (1884-1984) from the University of Hamburg was living in Denmark after 1933. He collected German language émigré literature for his study Die Humanistischen Front (Zurich 1946 and Worms 1976).  

Also the German educator Dr. Franz Mockrauer was living in Denmark in 1937. Mockrauer offered lectures to persons interested in subjects related to peace.

Non-violent resistance during WW 2

The civil Danish aid and solidarity work in support of German, Jewish and Spanish victims of fascism as documented earlier, came to a stand by situation with the German military occupation of Denmark in the morning of April 9th, 1940. The official Danish policy at the beginning of the occupation was cooperation with the powerful and by some Danes admired victorious Fascist Germans.

Thus the Justice Department ordered in March 1941 the dissolution of Danish the émigré organisations. The mostly German émigrés were placed in the Danish concentration camp Horserød. Thereafter the Danish Government deported the German political refugees and deserters back to Germany; who according to the Germans:

“werden wegen Vorbereitung zum Hochverrat von Deutschen Gerichten gesucht. Es besteht hier ausserdem der Verdacht, dass sie heute noch ihre staatsfeindlichen Betätigung fortzetzen. Sie bilden eine Gefahr für die Aufrecht-


132 Fred og Frihed, 1937:10 p. 84.

The German demand was „met“ so complete, that even the seized archives of the Danish émigré organizations were handed over to the Germans, who alas, “did not return them”\textsuperscript{135}. Also 61 British and French citizens were deported to Germany on May, 17th, 1940\textsuperscript{136}. Co-operation from the Danish police with the German police began even before the war in the International Criminal Police Commission\textsuperscript{137}.

Export of Danish produced weapons and food to Germany and her allies took place during the whole war. Also some Danish companies worked inside Germany and in Poland for the Nazi military using Russian and Polish concentration camps prisoners. Younger Danish historians experienced during their research in this matter that those companies had destroyed their files from the years of the occupation\textsuperscript{138}.

One of the first Danish resistance actions were the modern play of Aristophanes: Lysistrata renamed Dyveke, played at the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen from May 1940. The play of Aristophanes Lysistrata was first translated and published in Danish in 1969.

On October 12, 1935, the fascist Germany had forbidden Negro Music, Unerwünschte Musik: jazz. Therefore jazz became a popular form of protest during the occupation, which later became known as the golden age of Danish jazz.

On the morning of August 29, 1943 the Germans banned the Danish State Radio from playing American and British music and the following day even Swedish music was banned: “No more Pan-Scandinavianism in the Danish Radio, no zoot suiting, no Jews, and no parlour bolshevism”\textsuperscript{139}.

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\textbf{DYVEKE}
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\textsuperscript{134} Ibid. p. 187.
\textsuperscript{135} Ibid. p. 189.
\textsuperscript{136} Ibid. p. 33.
\textsuperscript{139} Frit Danmarks Hvidbog Vol. 2, p. 1407.
At the end of 1940 the yearly published Christmas stamp appeared. The only Danish Christmas stamp with a peace dove as illustration. This might be the only peace dove published on stamps during the Second World War.
One of the major accomplishments of the Danish resistance movement was the illegal press; even the German émigrés had their own news agency and communicated their documents to members of the German army, for instance Offiziere, Soldaten und Matrosen/ Deutsche in Dänemark/ Macht Schluss. Die deutsche Freiheitsbewegung zur Zeit der Besetzung Dänemarks documents were collected shortly after the war. The paper war of the illegal press and its news agencies such as Information was not only important sources of news and documentation for Danes and the rest of the world, but they also served as instruments for recruiting personnel to the militant resistance movement.

Thus the resistance work was partly non violent civil disobedience during war and partly violent, or as the Danish historians debate active and passive resistance. This is clearly exemplified by the medical profession.

The escape to Sweden of the 5,600 Danish Jews after October 1943 was only possible because the medical profession and students on a mass scale helped the Jews to escape. The doctors used hospitals to hide the Jews and their cars for

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transportation\textsuperscript{141}. Also the Danish chapters of WRI and the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom were active in the rescue of the Jews. However, not all the Jews were saved. Four hundred eighty-one Danish Jews ended in the concentration camp Theresienstadt.

After the escape of the Jews many of the doctors and students became active in the militant resistance movement.

In 1963 the Danish-American entertainer Victor Borge and the New York attorney Richard Netter founded Thanks to Scandinavia to commemorate the courage and decency of people who rescued Jews during WW 2\textsuperscript{142}.

Members of the Other Germany, like Hilltgunt Zassenhaus (born 1916), tried to help the Danish and Norwegian prisoners in Germany during World War II\textsuperscript{143}. Her American autobiography was published in Danish in 1974.

The émigré Walther A. Berendsohn, the son of a Jew, escaped to Sweden in a small boat together with two German deserters from Luxemburg and a Danish saboteur\textsuperscript{144}.

On October 22, 1942 the German soldier Alfred Andersch deserted in Germany and sailed to Denmark\textsuperscript{145}.

Denmark was in the unique situation that it was the only German occupied country, where organised peace work could continue without German persecution and imprisonment of pacifists. Thus Denmark became a safe heaven for German peace literature during World War Two, because of close contacts between Danish and German pacifists.

A rare copy of Emil Flusser’s “Krieg als Krankheit” from 1932 survived the German fascists book burnings of May 10\textsuperscript{th}. 1933 and November 1938 in Denmark\textsuperscript{146}. Among

\textsuperscript{141} Den hvide Brigade: Danske Lægers Modstand / editor Aage Svendstorp, 1946.
http://www.dchf.dk/pdf_filer/flugt%20DOC.pdf
Hong has been investigating, for the first time, Statsadvokaturen for særlige Anliggenders, indexing of the illegal press. One of Hong's findings was that the Danish Communists had nearly monopoly on the illegal press from October 1941 with the exception of Frit Danmark. Another of his findings was that by February 1943, the illegal press geographically covered the whole of Denmark, still with the illegal Communistic press as the dominating.
Hong is an American historian and media researcher; publisher during the Vietnam War.
\textsuperscript{142} http://www.thankstoscandinavia.org
\textsuperscript{143} Zassenhaus, Hiltgunt: Walls.
\textsuperscript{146} Dungen, Peter van den: Dr. Emil Flusser: Forgotten Precursor of the Medical Peace Movement. In: Medicine, Conflict and Survival, 1996:2 pp. 90-106.
other surviving books were Ernst Friedrich’s: “Krieg dem Kriege” from 1925 (later reprinted in Germany) and Mathilde Vaerting’s “Die Struktur des friedlichen Menschen” from 1933. Around 100,000 Jewish books at the Royal Library were hidden from the Germans.\textsuperscript{147}

The Danish peace groups continued to publish their magazines and other publications during the occupation. In 1941 the young poet Halfdan Rasmussen (1915-2002) published his first pacific poems in the collection “Soldat eller Menneske” / Soldier or Human. In the spring of 1943 the Christian Peace Union published in their magazine the Peace Prayer attributed to St. Francis; but according to the French professor Christian Renoux, this poem was written and published during World War One.

The important Danish aid work during and after World War Two began with the aid to Norway founded in 1940 at Copenhagen by the Norwegian Ladies Committee.\textsuperscript{148} During the war the aid work grew in size and importance. The peace groups organised nation-wide collections of money and clothes and training camps for volunteer skilled workers.

Even new peace groups like The Youths Peace Society\textsuperscript{149} and the most important aid and relief organization the Peace Friends Relief Work\textsuperscript{150} were established the latter in January 1944. The Peace Friends Relief Work was supported by all the Danish peace groups, the Quakers and Kirkeligt Verdensforkund.

At the end of World War II hundreds of volunteers Danish craftsmen organised by the Peace Friends Relief Work supported by the governments Liaison Committee Concerning International Aid Work established in September 1944; the Danish Red Cross and Save the Children\textsuperscript{151} were ready to begin aid- and reconstruction work in Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Finland and

\textsuperscript{147} Haxen, Ulf.: Det lille mirakel. Gyldendal 2003.
\textsuperscript{148} Boken om danskehjelpen. Oslo, 1947. The Norwegian aid collecting in Denmark closed down at the end of 1945.
Poland. Food parcels relief was also sent to Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Germany and the Soviet Union.

The motives for participating in the aid and reconstruction work were for the pacifist reconciliation and for the government bridge building into the victorious allied countries which succeeded when Denmark in late 1945 joined the United Nations\textsuperscript{152}.

When the Danish government in 1946-1947 closed the food aid programmes because of a poor balance of trade, the successful International Tuberculosis Campaign was created\textsuperscript{153}.

Danish United Nations societies organised the umbrella organisation Dansk Samråd for forenede Nationer and in November 1946 the Danish chapter of the World Association of World Federalists was created. In 1948 the United Nations Day replaced the League of Nations Day on October 25 in the first year only, as October 24, 1948 was a Sunday.

In 1947 Peter Manniche was a Danish delegate to the UNESCO conference in Mexico City. Manniche “aimed at education for international understanding” with “adult education as a way to peace”\textsuperscript{154}. According to the Australian education historian Max Lawson, Manniche was “instrumental in arranging the first UNESCO international course on adult education” in 1949. It marked the beginning “of an international adult education movement”\textsuperscript{155}.

In the meantime the military American bases on the Danish colony of Greenland changed the security policy of Denmark as she became a member of NATO in 1949 and the most important Thule Air base was created during the cold war.

\textsuperscript{149} Ungdommens Fredsforbund. File in the private files of Holger Terp. Ungdommens Fredsforbund is described in the thesis of Peter Kragh Hansen and Sune Petersen.

\textsuperscript{150} FredsvennernesHjælpearbejde. See: Haugaard, Svend: Fredsvennernes Hjælpearbejde.


\textsuperscript{154} Manniche, Peter: Adult Education as a Way to Peace. In: The International Peoples College 1921-1971, pp. 18-75.

Flexible double standards policies during the cold war

The cold war in Denmark is the subject of both heated political debates and historical research. The main Danish contributions to the iron curtain of the cold war were the membership of NATO and the American Thule Air Base. According to a study by Geir Lundestad, “it is impossible to study American-Danish relations without bringing in Greenland”; and the Danish governments' top secret allowances of US nuclear weapons in Greenland, contradicting the official security policy of no foreign bases and no nuclear weapons on Danish territory.

This was made possible by a little known Danish-American agreement, dated January 27, 1950, which article III stated, that “all military related information between the two governments should be classified.”

A new treaty on general security of military information was made February 27, 1981 after Scandinavian peace researchers discovered that the American archival rules were more liberal than their own countries restricted rules. The much debated anthology: “Grønland Middelhavets Perle: Et indblik i amerikansk atomkrigsforberedelse” from 1983 is one of many samples of peace researchers who...

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\[156\] The concept iron curtain is traced to the beginning of World War One, where the Swedish politician Hjalmer Branting uses the concept to describe Germany during the mobilising in 1914: “The iron curtain went down around the great military power at the same moment Germany was declared in a state of war” – a kind of preparation for mobilisation. At once the isolation became complete. News were censured by civilian and military authorities and nobody gets to know what is happening outside the borders of the realm. Though propaganda the citizens are given the impression that they are surrounded by enemies who aspire their lives and during these conditions they must guard themselves. It is only from this psychological chance, continues Branting, this mass psychosis, that the sudden change (the war fever) can come”. Hjalmar, Hjalmer: Arbetarklassen och världsslägten. Stockholm, 1915. Quoted from: Boje, Andreas: Det tyske Socialdemokrati før og under Verdenskrigen, 1916 p. 92.


were looking too close into the politicians cards. The Americans in Greenland have been investigated by the Danish Institute of International Affairs, Greenpeace and others, though not all yet has been said in this matter, neither by the historians nor the courts.\textsuperscript{160}

The American military facilities in the Faeroe Islands during and after the cold war need also a closer look.

After Denmark in the spring of 1949 became a member of NATO two communistic inspired peace organizations were created: the Danish Peace Conference and the Danish chapter of the international les Partisans de la Paix\textsuperscript{161}. From March 1950 the Danish Peace Supporters collected signatures to the World Peace Council's Stockholm-appeal against nuclear weapons; while the Danish Peace Conference during the first part of the cold war in the 1950s held three conferences to get the labour movement into organised peace work with little success. Other initiatives were the Committee on an independent foreign policy established by the magazine “Frit Danmark” and Danish chapters of the One World Movement and Federation demokratique internationale des femmes. The Federation demokratique internationale des femmes held an international congress in Copenhagen at the same time as the new Danish constitution entered into force in 1953.

A good candidate for the first protest song against nuclear weapons is the American journalist Vernon Partlow's Atomic Blues or Talking Atomic Blues, written in 1945, published and recorded in 1950 by Sam Hinton. During the Newport 1963 Folk Festival

Sam Hinton made a new recording of the song. In the autumn of 1953 Atomic Blues was translated into Danish and performed by actress and jazz singer Lise Ringheim (1926-1994), together with composer Børge Roger-Henrichsen (1915-1989) in a Saturday Martine for the Partisans for peace in the Hall of the Student Union in 1953.

\textsuperscript{160} The Danish Institute for International Affairs has been tasked by the Danish government to prepare a study (white paper) on the security policy situation of Denmark during the Cold War 1945-1990. The white paper is expected in 2004.

Copenhagen. Atomic Blues was later published in the magazine Dialog in November 1953.

Danes protested against West Germany’s admission in NATO.

The radical liberal Else Zeuthen (1897-1975) had become member of the executive committee of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom in 1946. In 1954 Zeuthen was elected chairwomen of the organisation; also she had become member of the parliament in 1953¹⁶².

After the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956 the umbrella organisation Danish Refugee Council was created for the Danish aid and refugee organisations¹⁶³.

Both official and private intelligence services surveyed and recorded opposition groups as well as peace groups during and after the cold war; contradicting official government policy statements of March fifth 1947, November 13, 1952 and September 30, 1968 on no intelligence filing of “lawful political activities”. As one of many protests against the intelligence services huge files on political active persons, the Zealand Committee against the Card Files was established in 1965¹⁶⁴. The Danish intelligence services activities needs more research¹⁶⁵.

¹⁶³ Den humanitære udfordring” http://www.flygtning.dk/publikationer/boeger/flugt/kap1/index.php#1
¹⁶⁴ Sjællandskommitten mod Kartotekerne.
From the end of World War two the main focus of nuclear weapons had been on power and deterrence. Back in 1944 the Danish nuclear scientist Niels Bohr (1885-1962) recommended to the UK Prime Minister Winston Churchill the establishment of international control over the use of nuclear weapons.

Shortly before the beginning of the Korean War July ninth, 1950 Bohr wrote an open letter to the United Nations, because “The promise and danger involved in the technical advances have now most forcibly stressed the need for decisive steps towards openness as a primary condition for the progress and protection of civilisation”.

The Danish debate over nuclear weapons came after the North Atlantic Council in December approved a political directive to NATO's military authorities. According to the historians Jonathan Søborg Agger and Lasse Wolsgård, the political directive stated, “that all NATO forces should have the capability to respond quickly and with nuclear weapons to any type of aggressions”. The United States stated that “modern weapons with nuclear capability would be offered to all NATO-countries. Thus, the Danish government was forced to formulate a policy on nuclear weapons. The Danish government declared in December 1957, that “the government would not stockpile atomic warheads and deploy IRBMS on Danish soil “under the present circumstances”.

In the middle of the 1950s the general view on nuclear weapons policy changed with growing concern over health and environmental damages caused by atmospheric nuclear weapons tests. The Einstein-Russell-appeal of 1955 saw the creation of many campaigns for nuclear disarmament. Inspired by England the Danish Campaign against Nuclear Weapons was created in January 1960 by members of the Danish chapter of the WRI.
By the parliamentarian election of 1964, the nuclear pacifists were so strong, that a new liberal Peace Political Peoples Party was created; however it failed after the election to be represented in the parliament\textsuperscript{169}. In 1973 Klaus Jørgensen published the first academic thesis on The Nuclear Weapons Issue in Danish Politics, with Special Reference to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament\textsuperscript{170}.

Anders Boserup (1940-1990) and Claus Iversen published a study on the Easter marches in the “past eight years”\textsuperscript{171}. By then they had established the short lived Institute for Peace and Conflict Research Copenhagen.

Boserup was a member of the editorial board of the Journal of Peace Research 1972-1974 and worked also for SIPRI on international law relating to chemical and biological weapons\textsuperscript{172} - as an example from 1972: CBW and the law of war. From 1985 Anders Boserup played a key role in the European development of the theory on Non Offensive Defence\textsuperscript{173}. The work of Boserup and others sparkled a growing interest for peace and conflict research in Denmark\textsuperscript{174}, culminating so far with the creation of the Working Group of the Academic Council of the University of Copenhagen on Peace and Conflict Research in


The Easter demonstrations against nuclear weapons were followed by demonstrations against the Vietnam War. In January 1967 the Danish Bertrand Russell Committee was created to organize the second session of the International War Crimes Tribunal, which was forbidden to hold its session in Paris and Stockholm. Under much publicity and debate the second session was held at Roskilde, late November 1967. The report of the tribunal was published in 50 copies in English and in French each and 100 copies in Danish.

The Danish police attacked a huge peaceful demonstration against the Vietnam War at the American embassy in Copenhagen on April 27th. 1968. Afterwards the Danish anti-Vietnam war groups split over discussions about imperialism, but out of the Vietnam war movement grew the book shop Demos and its co-operation with the Danish chapter of the WRI on the analysing and mapping of the Danish arms industry and military research establishment. A work still undertaken by the Danish chapter of WRI.

The revolt of the youth culminating with the partly occupation of the University of Copenhagen in 1968 began in the camps of the conscientious objectors in the 1950s.

At the same time the numbers of discarded drafted personnel grew rapidly. The conscientious objectors began organising in 1965 and by January 1967 they established their own union. Up to 1973 the Danish numbers of conscientious objectors grew, and the politicians felt forced to change the conscription system to halt the growing political influence of the conscientious objectors.

174 In 1982 several attempts to establish peace research institutions in Denmark were recorded by G. K. Wilson in his A global Peace Study Guide, including: the Danish Peace Research Group (Arbejdsgruppen for Freds- og Konfliktforskning) established in January 1977) and the Danish Peace Research Society. Some of the founding members of the Danish Peace Research Group were Maja Naur, Gunnar Adler-Karlsson, Hans-Henrik Holm, Jan Øberg and Jens Thoft. Jens Thoft were member of the International Working Group on Social Defence, established in July 1976. Rasmussen, Søren Hein: Sære Alliancer : Politiske bevægelser i efterkrigstidens Danmark, 1997. Rasmussen of the University of Århus describes careful and deeply social movements in Denmark after World War II: the peace movements, the movement against Danish membership of the EEC and the movement against nuclear power. Literature pp 289-299. Also references in notes pp 300-358.


176 Tribunal, Nr. A1 C to N 2 C.


180 Militærnægterforeningen.
In 1973, the yearly meeting of the Conscientious Objectors Union was under surveillance by the military intelligence service. The secret surveillance became the topic for investigations by two later commissions’ law courts and a third might be needed. This story needs more research.

New Cold War

The debate over the new ‘European’ tactical nuclear weapons began in the Danish newspapers during the spring of 1979. The double decision of NATO in December 1979 created a new fear for nuclear war. Both adults and children were worried over a potential third world war. Was it possible to prevent one? Early 1980 saw the creation of the first two of the many new Danish peace groups: No to Nuclear Weapons (the Danish chapter of the European Nuclear Disarmament Appeal) and Women for Peace.

In the late 1980 the Danish chapter of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation publishes a translation of the article, “Reviving Unilateralism: Report on a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in the Netherlands”, written by the Dutch peace researcher Philip Everts. It was to be the organisations last publication. The booklet by Philip Everts was viewed as important by the new Danish peace groups, which all had to learn how to set goals, organize and work for disarmament.

In May 1981 a huge Nordic Peace Conference was held in Aalborg, organized by unions and the pacifist poet Carl Scharnberg and this time succeeded in getting the labour movement and the unions into the peace movement, as a result the number of local and union based organizations grew rapidly, peaking with the much debated World Peace Conference in Copenhagen October 1986.
Bach then the Liaison Committee for Peace and Security. The umbrella organization for the Danish peace groups had been established in 1973. In 1977 it had launched a nation-wide campaign against neutron weapons, but after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 most of the non communists left the organization. Also the members of No to Nuclear Weapons and the Liaison Committee heated disagreements over tactics, slogans and policies especially over the idea of Scandinavia as a nuclear free zone disempowered the two groups.

In spite of the political disagreements the old iron curtain became rusty and peace began to move. The Soviet Peace Committee and the Soviet Women’s Committee had already seen the International Peace March-82 (Stockholm-Moscow-Minsk) organized by Scandinavian women peace organizations and the Bike-ride for Peace 83 from Moscow via Scandinavia to Washington DC. Also Danish youth organizations created the campaign: Next Stop Soviet. In the summer of 1989 nearly 3,000 Danish peace activists demonstrated in Soviet Russia.

Military personnel organizations and the right wing created its own groups to fight the peace movement. The Soviet nuclear submarines in Swedish waters and on the Swedish archipelago was used by the growing right wing to claim, that the leaders of the peace movements indeed were Soviet and East German influential agents or spies, and as a result many left the peace groups.

The Danish politicians held the election of May 10, 1988 on the nuclear weapons issue, which “endangered the Danish membership of NATO”. The liberals and the conservatives won the election.

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189 Samarbejdskommiteen for Fred og Sikkerhed.
The summits between Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev were seen as the end of history, where nuclear war and weapons had been defused by international treaties. The No to Nuclear Weapons split over the position to the Gulf war.

With the active participation in the Gulf war and by the creation of the inappropriately named Danish international Brigade (all the soldiers are Danes and they can be used wherever the US government wants them), the military policy was acceptable to the voters, according to several opinion polls during the late 1990s.

The disenfranchised peace movements began a long, but difficult successful campaign to aid draft evaders and deserters from the former Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) in Denmark, while Danish racism was growing. The successful campaign against Danish export of naval ships and naval ship technology to Indonesia was begun by the Danish chapter of the WRI. Also Danish shipping companies worldwide transport of arms was stopped, after it was discovered, that the shipping companies were subsidised by low insurance premiums, funded by the partly state owned Foundation for War Insurance of Ships, established during World War One which permitted them to bid more competitively internationally. During the budget negotiations of 1997, the politicians were asked to privatize the foundation, which they did and Danish shipping companies no more transport arms, supported by the state.

The small peace movement became invisible in the media, though it had political success while the Danish governments acted as being a local American state by rearming and participating in the Gulf war.

The Danish peace and disarmament activist Ulla Røder, is a fine sample of Denmark’s commitment to international solidarity, when the need is seen. She began her peace work protesting against the French nuclear weapons tests in the Pacific, became secretary for the Danish Peace Commission and later a member of the Trident Ploughshares.

The Danish Peace Commission’s members came from the Danish chapter of Artists for Peace, the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Pugwash Conferences of Sciences and World Affairs, War Resisters’ International and the Danish organisations: the Conscientious Objector’s Union, the Peace Tax Foundation, Women for Peace and other organisations.

The war against terrorism and the US war against Iraq created many new Danish campaigns against the war and also a new umbrella organisation the Danish Peace Council was created in February 2003.

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195 Hvidbog udgivet af Kampagnen til støtte for desertører og militærnægttere fra det tidligere Jugoslavien, 1996.
Many Danes are against the war in Iraq, and they get great help by few dedicated journalists and a couple of newspapers, with the daily Information being the most important. The Internet is used by the peace groups and campaigns to communicate ideas and information.

For the last 15 years the Danish government has had just as many problems in clothing its citizens in the uniform as the rulers had during the time of Jesper Baltzarsen Könecken. The difference from then and the present time is, that now the government is spending about £ one million/$1,800,000 on military advertisements each year in vain.

After word: A Danish Peace Academy

War is the alternative to peace, not the other way around. On June 19, 2000 the Danish Peace Academy was established as an educational institution still under development.

We Danes knew much about war and too little about peace. Already the author Ludvig Holberg complained in his history of Denmark, that other authors ‘only occupied themselves with wars, battles and sieges’.

The idea of establishing a Danish peace academy had developed from the wars in Yugoslavia, where army personnel dominated the news every night. Why not a civilian or better a pacifist explaining what was was going on?

A few friends of mine established a working group and we are trying to get Danish academicians to establish peace education in Denmark, so far, with but little response.

For many years I have had the idea that the history of pacifism and the peace movements were neglected within the Danish research establishment, where more important things were studied to get butter on the table. For me it meant that all historical and political text books were wrong, because they missed the peaceful corrective in long periods of Danish as well as international history and policy. None in Denmark had heard of Anthony Benezet (1713-1789), the French American inventor of social movements.

I started of by collecting a bibliography of the international peace movement, Peace in Print, and then I got the idea to write a documented world history and a Encyclopaedia on peace and security. Because of the Internet, I could publish there, not being ready to publish on paper, yet. There are still a few subjects which needs to be taken care of.

The peace academy has a time line where documented events can be followed as they develop both at the present, past and future. The time line is linked with the

encyclopaedia so it is easy to read the definitions. And it is possible to go from the encyclopaedia to the time line. The documentation is printed publications, reprints and links. Also there are some few experimental lessons.

The idea with the peace academy has taken some 20 years of work to evolve. Most of the documents are in Danish, but there are some English and a few German pages.

The address is http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/index.htm

Conclusion

When the published documents of social movements disappear, the communication of their history and ideas from primary sources prove to be difficult. Danish peace work has been and still is international oriented.

The online access to records of printed books in Denmark is surprisingly good. However, the same is not the case regarding articles in newspapers and magazines, though specialized bibliographies exist.

The cases here presented shows that protests against militarism in Denmark are much more common than recorded by the popular historians from the middle age to the present time, and that future historians of Danish peace history have many subjects to deal with. Danes have used all legal ways and some illegal means to stay civilians. The problems seem to be, that either the popular historians are victims of propaganda, asleep eyes wide open, or they are fabricating slick volumes which leave out the history of peace, the protests against armaments, wars and conscription. And by doing this, the popular Danish history books become lopsided. Military personnel take the floor every time present and historical events are explained in the mass media, especially radio and television.

Researchers in the field of peace history in other countries where written records of protest against militarism are sparse might benefit from using some of the methods used in this article. Old historical presentations as well as old sources are vitally important, especially while researching for events, which might only be described by local or specialised historians.

Comments, debate and critique is most welcomed.

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