

PAX INTERNATIONAL

OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SCIENCES

The W. I. L. P. F. aims at uniting women in all countries who are opposed to every kind of war, exploitation and oppression and who work for universal disarmament and for the solution of conflicts by the recognition of human solidarity, by conciliation and arbitration, by world co-operation, and by the establishment of social, political and economic justice for all, without distinction of sex, race, class or creed. The work of all the National Sections is based upon the statements adopted and the Resolutions passed by the International Congresses of the League.

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Jane Addams, Honorary President

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN GERMANY

What does the present situation in Germany mean for us as pacifists? The elections of March 5th with Hitler's unexpectedly big victory would not have been conclusive; but the way the victory has been exploited surpasses even the darkest fears of the Left Wing parties. Suppression of the Left Wing press; introduction of censorship of letters; seizure of the radio and similar means of propaganda by the majority parties; exclusion of the Communists from the Reichstag; arbitrary removal from office of officials and employees who are rumoured, justifiedly or not, to have close or distant relations with Communism, Socialism or Pacifism; perquisitions; persecutions; maltreatment of political adversaries; boycott of the Jews; concentration camps with forced labour: these are irrefutable facts. In our eyes they are devastating facts. But they do not prevent statements from the German press which is still in existence,

and from German speakers, declaring the wonderful awakening of Germany and the dawn of a new springtime for the German people.

What should our attitude be, as pacifists?

Do not these facts justify those persons who look down on pacifism as weak sentimentality, who preach the gospel of the strong hand, or those who demand at least a few generations of pacifist education, before pacifism can be taken seriously?

In my opinion, through these events we come undeniably to the conviction that these methods of violence, with glorification of violence and abuse of violence, must now or never be opposed by other methods. We must not fall into the error of combatting reaction and fascism with reactionary and fascist methods. We must go forward along our own road, the road of right, of justice, of reconciliation which will certainly be the way of sacrifice and therefore also the way of heroism.

As far as we are able to reach our friends and fellow workers in Germany, we want to assure them of our deep sympathy. We can imagine how heavily present conditions weigh on them and that their burden is increased by the isolation in which they find themselves. Steadfastness in solitude calls for great heroism. We want also to assure them that they are not quite alone, and we want to remind them of the truths we have found during our fifteen years of cooperation, and of the principles we have established: principles that cannot perish though at times they seem drowned in the fearful wave of delirious violence. As during

the war we stood for *peace* and prepared peace work, so today we shall hold fast, in spite of all oppression, to the second principle of our League: *freedom*. In this spirit we shall carry on our work with redoubled earnestness and devotion.

Clara Ragaz.

The Executive Committee of the Women's International League (British Section)

While aware that recent conditions in Germany are largely the result of unjust treatment since the war by this and other nations, is convinced that the adoption by those in power to-day, of methods of cruelty and terrorism to political opponents, inevitably creates antagonism in other countries and thus hinders the removal of the admitted grievances of Germany.

It urges that the immediate restitution of liberty of speech and action now in abeyance throughout the country would help towards the extension of peaceful co-operation in Europe, so urgently necessary at this moment.

SECTION NEWS

Canadian Section. The Canadian Section has forwarded the following resolutions to the Disarmament Conference:

"The Canadian Section of the W.I.L.P.F. again brings to the Disarmament Conference an earnest plea for real disarmament.

"Confident that peace and goodwill between Canada and the United States of America have been furthered by the absence, during more than one hundred years, of military forces and fortifications

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along the international border, this organisation urges the Disarmament Conference to give serious heed to Canadian conviction and experience regarding disarmament.

"It strongly urges the Conference:

"(a) To agree upon such drastic decrease in armaments and in armed effective forces as to avoid any danger of increase in armaments in any country;

"(b) To recognise equality of treatment for all nations, by an unequivocal declaration that the new General Disarmament Treaty, merging and replacing all existing treaties concerning armaments, must be freely accepted by all parties to it as regards any obligations assumed;

"(c) To use the opportunity presented by the discussion of the Lytton Commission's Report to ensure the necessary reinforcement of security for all nations, by applying loyally the Covenant of the League of Nations and by developing and establishing a method of consultation in order to deal with a violation of the Briand-Kellogg Pact;

"(d) And to abolish the private manufacture of arms."

"The Canadian Section of the W. I. L. P. F. strongly urges the advisability of immediate publication of the evidence upon which was based the Report (A 81) made in 1921 by the First Sub-Committee of the Temporary Mixed Commission of the League of Nations, appointed to inquire into the problem of the private manufacture of arms."

In a letter of February 17th, Mrs. Robert Ayre, Secretary of the Canadian Section, writes:

"Last month witnessed the final scene in the cadet question here in Toronto, perhaps Canada's most military-minded city. It has taken sixteen years of tact and perseverance on the part of those interested in keeping the military finger out of the educational pie to get the authorities to actually discard the system of cadet training for young boys in the public and high schools of the city. Much of the credit for the ultimate victory in this regard is due one of the vice-presidents of the W. I. L., Mrs. Ida Siegel..."

Report of Activities of the British Section.

Embargo on Armaments.

A letter was sent round with a suggested resolution to be passed at meetings asking supporters to do all in their power to put pressure on the Governments to prevent the supply of armaments and munitions to States

which have violated the Covenant in resorting to methods of war, and to put an embargo on all financial help-loans and credits, and on certain materials such as aircraft and petrol, in order to make further aggression by Japan impossible.

Annual Council Meetings.

Delegates from all over the country assembled for the 19th Annual Council Meetings of the W. I. L. which were held in London on March 6th and 7th. Miss Kathleen Courtney, the National President, took the chair.

Special attention was paid to the situation in Disarmament, India and the Far East. A resolution was passed calling upon the Government to press publicly and with energy for international agreement to withhold from Japan, armaments, aircraft, petrol, selected minerals and financial facilities, such prohibition to apply to existing contracts.

Dr. G. P. Gooch addressed the Council on the subject of an International Police Force and Measures of restraint in the case of a country which has resorted to violence.

Miss Courtney opened the discussion on Disarmament. A resolution was passed urging the necessity of securing a Convention which should include the abolition of the weapons forbidden to Germany in the Peace Treaties, drastic reduction of all other weapons, limitation of arms expenditure and the setting up of a Supervisory Commission, and above all the total abolition of military and naval aircraft combined with an effective international control of civil aviation.

International Friendship League.

A meeting was held in London at which M. Noel Ede, Secretary of the International Friendship League spoke. This League is doing splendid work in bringing together the young people of Europe by organising joint holidays. The W. I. L. in France, Germany and Belgium is taking an active part in running holiday hostels and the British Section wishes to do the same in Great Britain.

Friends of Peace and World Disarmament.

This movement, which is run under the auspices of the W. I. L., is intended to enrol people who are keen on peace but cannot afford to pay any subscription to join a society. The numbers are growing steadily and at present stand at nearly 2000. Simple leaflets for distribution to members will be brought out at intervals.

United States Section.

The W. I. L. in the United States is organising a second annual tour for the study of political conditions in Europe. The tour will be led by Miss Edith Osburn and will visit Germany, Finland, Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Switzerland and France during July and August. The tour is for teachers, lecturers and lay students of international affairs and is open to both men and women. Miss Osburn hopes to meet with W. I. L. Groups wherever possible. W. I. L. Sections which would like to receive the tour, or W. I. L. members who would like join the tour (and who will be heartily welcomed) should communicate with Miss Osburn, 606 West 115th Street, New York City. The tour will arrive in Bremen on July 10th and sail from Boulogne on August 18th.

Belgian Section. The Belgian Section is organising a *Youth Camp* at Blankenberghe from August 15th to 30th, with lectures and discussions on subjects of international interest. Participation in the camp will cost 25 Belgian francs a day (about 75 cents). Registrations can be sent from now on to the Secretary of the Belgian Section, 1, rue de l'Aurore, Brussels.

W. I. L. P. F. CONFERENCE ON VARIOUS OBSTACLES TO DISARMAMENT

This Conference will be held at the Salle Centrale, Geneva, on April 6th and 7th. On the program are reports and discussions on military education, defence against air attacks, war industries, conscription, the militia system and an international force. A big public meeting will close the Conference. Mr. Max Gerber, Mme Gabrielle Duchêne and Mme Camille Drevet will speak on "Why not Disarm?"

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AND SUBSCRIBERS TO PAX

AND HELP OUR INTERNA-

TIONAL WORK

THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

The War Veterans held a big demonstration at Geneva on March 19th, of which there have not been full reports in the press. More than 3000 delegates came from 15 countries, many people took part in the demonstration and there was a procession through the streets, two meetings in the Salle de la Reformation and the solemn presentation to Mr. Henderson of a resolution voted by two big organisations representing 8 million men.

The delegate who presented the resolution to Mr. Henderson protested energetically against fine distinctions between airplanes, cannons, different kinds of death-dealing gas. He asked for internationalisation of civil aviation, large reductions in armaments, abolition of private manufacture and trade in arms, and effective mutual international control. Mr. Henderson, in his reply, summarised the demands of the war veterans:

"In your resolution I notice that you put forward five indispensable basic principles of any system that can be expected effectively to keep the peace of the world. May I remind you what those principles are?"

"(1) A system of arbitration which is universal and complete;

"(2) A fundamental law that in no case will nations resort to force;

"(3) An effective form of full security by which each nation is protected from aggression, not by its own efforts alone but by the organised pressure of the world at large;

"(4) Real disarmament, drastic, comprehensive, moral and material alike;

"(5) You suggest, and rightly so in my opinion, the elimination of private profit from the preparation for war. (Applause.)

"I believe with you in thinking that disarmament can only be made effective when the motive of profit derived from preparation for war has been entirely wiped out. (Applause.)

"Whether the Conference now sitting can achieve the total suppression of manufacture for which you ask I am not in a position to say, but I certainly hope it will not separate without having established some effective system to deal with the grave evils which certainly exist at present.

"I agree with you also in thinking that the aim before us must not be a futile attempt to humanise war. On the contrary our definite aim and purpose must be all the time to put a stop to war entirely.

"This doctrine which you bring before us in so concise and practical a form is the only doctrine of salvation for mankind so far as peace and war are concerned. I hope that your voices—the voices that have been heard today with such confidence—will end the talk of war of which we have recently been hearing so much. I hope you will go out and make your doctrine known in every quarter of the world and in every section of the organised democracy in which you live. I hope you will not be afraid to speak plainly to all who will listen to you. Of all living men you have the best right to speak on this question." (Applause.)

Three days later Mr. Henderson read the resolution of the war veterans to the Disarmament Conference and said how much he would have liked to see the Conference Delegates present at the presentation of the resolution so that they might have realised how burning were the convictions of those who had suffered by the war.

No single Delegate at the General Commission replied to Mr. Henderson's words. In the icy silence we were reminded of a phrase pronounced a short time after the war by a soldier, Marshal Pétain: "It is not possible that after all this bloodshed we shall go back to our former ways of self-interest." The self-interest of individuals and of nations. Will the Delegates to the Conference have the strength to deliver their governments from the egoism that is leading us into war?

The Disarmament Conference has adjourned until April 25th when it will take up the proposals made by Great Britain. During this "vacation", the diplomats are travelling about and meeting each other. What with the four Power conversations (Germany, England, France, Italy), the re-grouping of the Little Entente, the attempt at the formation of a Baltic bloc, the arrival in Europe of Mr. Norman Davis, the new political orientation of the U.S.S.R. marked by rapprochement with France and by the possibility of rapprochement with the Slavs of Eastern Europe, the political situation in Europe and the whole world changes with every hour.

The situation is so grave that we must all continue with all our strength to work in countries where it is still possible, to bring all organisations together and unite against the dangers of war which are growing more and more distinct. We must work against the weariness, the scepticism and the divisions which weak-

en our strength, for, favored by divisions and weakness, dictatorships and violence are gaining torrential force.

Disarmament is more necessary than ever. The French Section of our League has once again sent an appeal to the President of the Disarmament Conference. The Canadian Section has sent us a resolution for the Conference. When April 25th arrives, the Delegates to the Conference must hear, not only the voices of 8 million war veterans, but the voices of all those millions of men and women who little by little have come to the horrifying realisation that, for the world today, there is the sole choice of Disarmament or Disaster. C. D.

APPEAL OF THE FRENCH SECTION

Since the presentation of our last manifesto, the world situation has become even worse.

We have reached the parting of the ways: either the Governments will at last take the road to Disarmament by immediately proceeding to *substantial reduction of existing armaments*, or the race in armaments will be hastened up and will inevitably lead the world towards a new catastrophe which will far exceed the horrors of 1914-1918.

In spite of the Nationalists having come into power in Germany, we continue to declare for the principle of equality, but an equality to be achieved by the *disarmament of the highly armed countries* and not by the re-armament of countries more or less disarmed.

Once again we demand total and universal Disarmament, but we should welcome with joy, as a first step towards that end, important reductions in actual armaments.

We cannot concede, as effective and satisfactory measures, the prohibition of the use of one or another kind of arm or methods of warfare (use of gas or bacterium, bombardment of the civil population, etc.) for history has proved the uselessness of such prohibition.

We are profoundly shocked and indignant to see that use of certain of these methods, considered inadmissible in wars between independent countries, becomes legitimate where "operations of the colonial police" are concerned.

The mass of the peoples becomes daily more unanimous in its horror of war and more firm in its opposition to war. When will the men in power finally hear and understand the voice of the people?

WAR INDUSTRIES

The German Group of the Czecho-Slovak Section recently sent the following declaration to the Council of Ministers of Czecho-Slovakia :

"The German Women's League for Peace and Freedom in Czecho-Slovakia requests the Council of Ministers to propose without delay a bill prohibiting export of arms and munitions.

"The Women's League, knowing that factories of war materials in our State furnish arms and munitions to States at war or threatened by war, urges you to put an end to this trade. The principle of international solidarity must be maintained, even if immediate economic interests are opposed.

"We know that our country is traversing a great economic crisis and we welcome all possibilities of diminishing unemployment and of giving bread to the numerous unemployed, but we strongly protest in the name of humanity at the fact that death and destruction are ravaging other countries thanks to work carried on in our country.

"The Women's League for Peace and Freedom requests the Council of Ministers at the same time to present a bill by which the manufacture of arms and munitions would be placed under State control, for it sees in this measure the

sole possibility of avoiding international wars and preventing war profits for private persons and certain groups. Traffic in arms should be prohibited throughout the world as is the case today with traffic in women and children.

"The Women's League acts as an interpreter of public opinion. In particular it speaks for women and mothers who feel deep anxiety at international politics and strongly urge the Council of Ministers, in agreement with the governments represented at the Disarmament Conference, to take diplomatic, political and economic measures with a view to cessation of hostilities, withdrawal of military forces and respect for international treaties."

A new leaflet of information has just been published in Paris by the Permanent Commission for Disarmament on "Les marchands de canons et la guerre", (text and documents by G. Vigué and J. Ganuchaud). This pamphlet can be ordered through W. I. L. Headquarters, price 20 Swiss centimes.

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SECRETARY'S LECTURE TOUR IN CENTRAL EUROPE

On my way to Hungary in reponse to an invitation from our Section, I stopped at Salzburg on March 14th, as it had

been arranged with the Austrian Section, to give a lecture on the present situation in Europe. On March 15th I was in Vienna and saw members of our Group and gave a lecture at the Quaker Centre. I was in Budapest on March 17th for the closing of the Peace School, which has been attended all winter by a very interested and faithful public, including many young people.

In the course of this journey to Central Europe and at the moment of the tragic events which we have experienced, I felt very strongly the necessity of tightening the bonds between all sections.

On my return journey, I had to hurry back for work in Geneva and could not accept a new invitation from the Salzburg Group.

Since this journey, we have received news from all these friends and suggestions for the next Executive. C. D.

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