

# PAX INTERNATIONAL

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Editor: KATHLEEN E. INNES

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## CZECH DEMOCRACY LIVES

A feeling of tremendous pressure weighs upon millions of people. The results of the strict censorship of newspapers are, on the one hand, countless, unverifiable rumours and, on the other hand, the fact that the Czechoslovak population is completely ignorant of exactly what is happening. Foreign and internal political considerations, economic and social problems, questions of population and emigration, all are tangled into a knotted ball; and the hands that pull the threads remain hidden. The picture that Czechoslovakia presents to-day to a foreign onlooker is to a large extent determined by the orientation of present foreign policy: manifestations of unrestricted hatred by reactionary politicians and the Press, of everything that may be freedom-loving or democratic. All that formerly was held venerable and holy is now termed heresy and spat upon; mean personal lust for revenge is given free rein; a flood of dirty abuse is unloosed. The picture of public life may in the superficial critic give rise to the impression that the strong democratic forces, which up to now were the keynote of Czech character were overthrown, had disappeared.

*But they have not:* they are only silent as they feel alone, isolated, and weak because a storm is raging against them which is encouraged by powerful support from outside. Czechoslovak love of democracy lives!

But the greater danger exists that the source of Czech democracy will for a long time be buried, if the democratic world does not demonstrate and prove that it is alive; that it is strong; that it does not leave its friend in the lurch and betray her; that it helps her. There is the question of economic and moral help, aid in the solution of population and emigration questions. But most urgent of all, it must not be forgotten that time is pressing.

Help the Czech Democracy *in your own interest!* Help her and prevent her from being destroyed by those who are to-day ready to sell their own nation to foreign slavery, if only they themselves were certain of being appointed as slave drivers! (*Contributed.*)

## AN INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR AID IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

To help meet Czechoslovakia's present need, and in answer to enquiries from many countries as to how funds can be sent to that country, an "International Centre for Aid in Czechoslovakia" has been constituted at Geneva.

The President of the Centre is Professor Victor Martin, President of the University of Geneva, and the officers include Judge Michael Hansson, M. Guillaume Fatio, M. M. L. Henriod, Miss Mary Dingman and Professor T. Ruysen.

The objects of the Centre are:—

1. To receive and hold, from all countries, funds to be transferred to Czechoslovakia according to the need and demands of the officially constituted agencies such as the Government and the Czechoslovak Red Cross.
2. To inform the public about the situation in Czechoslovakia and the growing needs of the refugees who number already nearly 250,000.
3. To assist in every possible way those persons or groups who in every country are endeavouring to canalise the existing desire to help meet the urgent needs of Czechoslovakia.

The offices of the Centre are situated in the Palais Wilson, Geneva.

## The U.S.A. Section and Refugees

*Statement adopted at meeting of National Board on the question of Refugees, October, 1938*

I. Filled with profoundest sympathy for the victims of political and racial intolerance, convinced, moreover, that there is good reason to believe that the refugees now coming to this country will prove as great an asset as were the Huguenots of the seventeenth century and the German Liberals of 1848,

We commend the federal authorities in the State and Labour Departments and urge them to continue facilitating, as far as the law permits, the entry into this country of members of such minorities.

II. Convinced that our work as an organisation is and should be the promotion of peace and freedom and not relief of the victims of war and tyranny, we nevertheless recognise that we must do everything in our power for our refugee members and their relatives without lessening our efforts for peace. Accordingly, we are setting up a Committee on Refugees, initiated by the Women's International League, but not absolutely limited to members of the Women's International League, either as regards the make-up of the Committee or, strictly and necessarily, as regards its beneficiaries, and we urge our members to give the fullest possible co-operation, personal and

financial, to this Committee (for information write Miss Emily Greene Balch, 17 Roanoke Road, Wellesley, Massachusetts), spending freely time, trouble and money in welcoming our refugee friends and helping them to find a happy and useful way of life in our country.

#### Canada Helps

Our Canadian Section is accumulating a refugee fund by the sale of hand-woven cushion tops and scarves.

#### The Generosity of the French People

The less people earn, the less they spend for themselves, the more generously they give when they are asked to help the victims of brute force and injustice. This fact which is true for most countries is true also for the French people. In a recent collection for Refugees in Czechoslovakia the most enthusiastic response came from a place unknown even to our French co-workers who had sent out the call. It came from the Port des Barques on the Atlantic Ocean.

There was a long list of six pages before us—scribbled full with names. With every name was marked the profession of the signer and the sum he or she had given. There were fisherwomen and fishermen, men teachers and women teachers, vegetable-raisers, gardeners, the roadman, the keeper, the small customs official, the grocer, the hairdresser, the butcher, the mason and the milkman. 1,242 francs were collected by them and they promised more. The list carried a special recommendation from the Mayor of the little town.

#### The British Section and Hospitality

The Chairman, Mrs. Duncan Harris, visited Prague during the crisis, and brought back a list of twenty W.I.L.P.F. members requiring hospitality. For most of these hospitality is already found and it is hoped they will soon be able to get to England.

#### OUR U.S.A. SECTION AND NEUTRALITY

*Statement adopted by the Annual Meeting, 1938*

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom urges prohibition of all sale and shipment of war supplies, that is, of arms and munitions of war, to any country, at any time, in peace or in war. In view of the biased application of the present neutrality law, we favour amendments prohibiting the sale of munitions and war materials to belligerents and extension of the law to include Governments which, directly or indirectly, are giving military assistance.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom supports mandatory legislation forbidding the extension of loans and credits to belligerents. Such legislation should be accompanied by clauses providing for government subsidies to affect industries. The Neutrality Law should not be applicable to shipments of non-military aid such as food, clothing and medical supplies.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom believes that the discretionary power of the President in foreign relations should in all cases be subject to the advice and consent of the Senate. This should apply to movements of naval and military forces, including manoeuvres, having political significance. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom intends these measures as part of a policy of international solidarity and co-operation in the interest of peace.

#### CANADA AND PEACE

The President and Secretary of the Canadian Section, sent two letters to their Prime Minister, which reflect their point of view and attitude to a Europe in turmoil. One runs:—

"We believe that Canada should make no commitments until the people directly concerned, and particularly the younger people of military age, have had an opportunity to clarify and express their views.

"Should Europe be determined to go through the physical and spiritual ruin of another war, fought with the terrible modern implements, we believe that Canada's truest contribution to the situation would be to become once more a haven for the victims of war and its aftermath."

#### STUDY GROUPS

Our Canadian Section has prepared three study outlines, "Interdependence and Peace," "Canada To-day and To-morrow" and "Organising Peace," and is encouraging the formation of study groups.

Another sign of increasing interest there is the formation of a Branch of the League in Montreal.

#### EXTRACTS FROM "FINIS AUSTRIAE"

by M. W. Fodor, in "Foreign Affairs," Quarterly Review—U.S.A.

"... The foreign correspondents in Vienna believed that the German troops had already crossed the frontiers. But our inquiries on the telephone at various frontier points brought no substantiation. Everywhere Austrian gendarmerie officials informed us that German troops had not as yet crossed into Austria. 6 p.m. . . . 8 p.m. . . . Midnight . . . Everywhere the inquiries brought a negative answer.

"Actually it was at 5.40 a.m. on the 12th that a small contingent of German troops finally crossed the frontier at a point in Tyrol and then at 6.20 a.m. troops started to pour across at a series of places—at Scharnitz, Kufstein, Salzburg, Passau, etc. Why did Hitler wait so long, from 7.50 p.m. on the 11th until 5.40 a.m. on the 12th?"

"Hitler's hesitation was due to the need of making sure whether or not Czechoslovakia contemplated any military move in the event of the occupation of Austria by German troops. At 9 o'clock on the evening of the 11th the German Minister in Prague, Herr Eisenlohr, called on the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, Dr. Krofta, and asked whether Czechoslovakia had ordered a mobilization, because rumours to this effect were circulating in Berlin. He was given a categorical answer in the negative. Twice more during the night the German Minister telephoned asking that the assurance be repeated, the last time at 3 a.m. on the morning of the 12th. Only after it was certain that Czechoslovakia had taken no measures to defend Austrian independence did the German troops receive their orders to march. The proceeding shows how cleverly Hitler had calculated his moves. He knew that Great Britain was handicapped by the quarrel between the followers of Halifax and Eden, and that France had just passed through a major crisis and on that very night had no Premier. But only when he was certain that Czechoslovakia had not mobilized did he give the orders to march into Austria. Hitler knew that Czechoslovak intervention might soon have led to the intervention of France, and even of Russia, and that the German Army was not prepared for a general war. . . ."

#### PETROLEUM-OIL

Petroleum—"lighting-gas"!—the delight of our great-grandmothers because it lightened their dark evenings, to-day has, through the ingenious inventive faculty of man, "become" the most dangerous object of warfare for imperialistic ambitions,—a struggle for the oil reserve of the whole world.

That it should be so, is not necessary, if mankind would put reason and understanding of mutual claims in the place of imperialistic profits, power and covetousness.

At the last autumn executive of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom it was resolved, on the motion of Gertrud Woker, to take up and study the question of Petroleum-Oil, in order to criticise the purposes for which it is now used, and offer proposals to make it effective for productive purposes for all nations.

The literature about oil during the last forty years has increased enormously. Books are innumerable but not all of them are worth reading. After consulting an expert, I have put together a list, a small selection of books about the subject for the members of the W.I.L.P.F.

In the first line I mention the book of

KARL HOFFMANN: "Oelpolitik und angelsächsischer Imperialismus" 1927, Ring-Verlag, Berlin.

My authority declares the book of Hoffmann the standard work of modern times.

LUDWELL DENNY: "We fight for Oil". Published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1929. German Translation: "Oelquellen/Kriegsquellen" Orel Fussli-Verlag, Zurich, 1930.

LUDWELL DENNY: "America conquers England", 1930, Allen and Unwin, London.

ANTON ZISCHKA: "Der Kampf um die Weltmacht Oel," Leipzig, Wilhelm Goldmann. Verlag, 1934. This book reads like an exciting novel. It is the result of five journeys round the world. The author demonstrates reality, and does not preach theory.

HENRI BERENGER: "La France et le Pétrole," 1921, Paris. During the world war Senator Bérenger was the head of the oil-administration.

FRANCIS DELAISI: "Le Pétrole," 1920, Paris.

LOUIS FISCHER: "Oel-Imperialismus," 1927, Neuer deutscher Verlag, Berlin.

WILHELM MAUTNER: "Kampf um, und gegen das russische Erdöl," 1929, Wien, Manz'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. Wilhelm Mautner is the editor of the Standard-Oil Journal and the greatest specialist for information on the oil question.

Further special journals about the oil question are published in Paris, London, Brussels, New York, Washington, Texas, Ohio, etc.

FRITZ TETZER: "Oelpolitik der Grossmächte unter Kriegswirtschaftlichen Gesichtspunkten; Japan als Beispiel," Hamburg, 1935, Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt.

ERNST REINHARD: "Petrol! Ein Beispiel imperialistischer Politik" Bern, 1925, Verlag der sozialdemokratischen Partei der Schweiz. Reinhard is 'Nationalrat' in Switzerland. His short pamphlet gives a quick review, perhaps a little superficial.

L. NAUWELAERTS:—a Fleming, wrote in 1936 a book entitled "Petrol". It appeared in the same year in German under the title "Petrol, Power of the Earth"

in the Paul List Verlag, Leipzig. Nauwelaerts is perhaps a little onesided, but he writes interestingly and with intuition, and gives much reliable material.

F. W. VON OERTZEN: "Die Menschheit in Ketten," Kräfte und Mächte im Dunkeln, 1935, Alleinige Vertiebsstelle München, 2, S.W. Landwehrstrasse 61.

Another book by a Fascist has to be mentioned. We have to pay attention to the extent to which the Fascists are occupied with the oil question. I quote again my authority: F. W. von Oertzen is a Nazi pioneer; as all Nazis do, he plagiarized everything and dressed it up anew; but his book is by no means bad.

Whoever wishes to be informed on special questions, ought to read the following theses:—

AZAMU ZAMGUENEH: Persia (Iran), "Le Pétrole en Perse," 1933, Paris, Les éditions Domat-Montchrestien, 160 Rue St. Jacques.

MEHDI HESSABI: Irak, "Le Pétrole de l'Irak," 1937, Paris, Jaure et Cie, Editeurs, 15 Rue Racine.

MIHAIL PIZENTY: la Roumanie, "Le Pétrole en Roumanie," Bucarest, Institut Roumain du Pétrole.

ELIOT JONES: "The Trust Problem in The United States," Macmillan, New York.

This list of books does not claim to be complete, but the books mentioned give insight to uninformed people into the ghastly struggle about oil. Whoever reads two or three of them, not superficially but trying to get at their contents, will be able to judge as to the real importance oil has to-day for the very existence of States. To know in an informed way about that is the duty of everybody, and especially of every pacifist who takes part in international politics. L. G. H.

#### THE END OF THE CHACO DISPUTE

By MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS, Ph.D.,

Professor of History, Goucher College

Through a recent arbitral award the dispute over the Gran Chaco has been ended, and thus has been removed the most serious menace to peace in the Americas. The century-old boundary quarrel between Bolivia and Paraguay was much aggravated in 1928, through border friction between soldiers of the two countries, and war threatened. Neutral governments made great efforts to secure peaceful settlement. A commission of inquiry and conciliation made up of Cuba, Colombia, Mexico, Uruguay, and the United States of America extended its good offices, which were accepted, and a conference with delegates from Paraguay and Bolivia took place in Washington. But it was unsuccessful. Later, the League of Nations tried, but in vain, to end the trouble. Fighting began on a serious scale in 1932, and the next year Paraguay announced that a state of war existed with Bolivia.

Nevertheless, neutral nations strove tirelessly to end the slaughter. Acting jointly, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Peru drafted a peace formula; the League of Nations sent a commission to confer with the warring Governments; pacific attempts came from various other quarters; but all to no effect. The best that was accomplished was a truce of a little more than two weeks achieved by the Seventh Inter-American Conference, which met in regular session in December, 1933, at Montevideo. Perhaps never before in world history have nations at peace tried so hard to

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prevent war, in the first place, and to stop it after begun, as was done in the case of the Chaco conflict. This fact should give hope and courage to lovers of peace.

By June, 1935, Paraguay occupied most of the disputed area, but she was unable to win decisive campaigns in what was admittedly Bolivian territory and thus be in a position to dictate the terms of peace. Social and economic conditions were appalling in the two countries, which had lost a total of at least 100,000 men, with countless others permanently maimed. At last the belligerents were ready to listen to reason. Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and Peru jointly suggested an armistice, and this was signed on June 14th, 1935. Soon afterwards peace negotiations began in Buenos Aires, under the auspices of these five neutrals, with the addition of a representative from the United States.

The way of the peacemakers was beset with troubles, however, and repeatedly renewal of the conflict was threatened, because Paraguay demanded adjustment on the basis of her military victories, to which Bolivia, desiring a waterfront in the Plata basin, would not consent. But with great patience the neutral commission prevented the negotiations from ending in failure. In June, 1938, the outlook seemed especially dark. Then, early in July dawn began to break on the situation. The belligerents expressed willingness to arbitrate. On the 21st of the month, they signed a treaty in Buenos Aires. "Peace between the Republics of Bolivia and Paraguay is re-established," reads the first article of the document, in which the two countries agreed to the prompt arbitration of the boundary by the presidents of the six mediating Governments. But the line to be laid down by them was not to go beyond certain points on the east, west and north. By the treaty, Paraguay guaranteed Bolivia free transit through Paraguayan territory, especially through the zone of Puerto Cassado, for goods coming from or intended for Bolivia, and also the right for Bolivia to install customs agents and construct depots and storage places in the zone mentioned. Finally, and most important, both countries solemnly pledged themselves "not to make war on each other nor to use force, directly or indirectly, as a means of solution of any present or future difference."

After the signature had been attached to the treaty, the Paraguayan chargé d'affaires remarked, "Peace between Paraguay and Bolivia has been brought about by the faith of all nations of the Americas in the reality of the fundamental precepts of law." Great was the rejoicing throughout the western hemisphere over the belated agreement. Congratulations were showered upon the recent belligerents, and upon the mediators, successful after three long years of patient effort. A number of Latin American Governments proclaimed holidays to mark the event.

The treaty was soon ratified, and the arbitral board began its work. On October 10th, 1938, it announced its decision, which gave Paraguay approximately three-fourths of the disputed area in the Gran Chaco. After the award was announced, the Bolivian representative called attention to the "enormous sacrifice" made by his country; but he added, "Bolivia extends the hand of friendship to Paraguay."

#### A SCANDINAVIAN FORTIFICATION PROBLEM OF VITAL INTERNATIONAL IMPORTANCE

This is to draw your attention to a quite serious military question as to the Aland Islands situated between Finland and Sweden, and after the World War handed over to Finland by the League of Nations, although their pure Swedish population voted for coming to Sweden. There are, of course, no Swedes—with the exception of a few Nazis—who are claiming them back.

Self-government and neutrality rights were given to the Aland farmers at a time when the league of Nations did not take any notice of their wishes. (See § 27 in the Self-government Law and the Neutrality Convention of 1921.) "We got that when they sold us," they say in these days, when new fortifications seem about to be forced upon them,—because last summer the Finnish Government approached the Swedish Government with the request to take part in the fortification of the islands, in order, as they put it, to defend the neutrality of the Northern Countries,—placed as we are between two great Powers, Soviet Russia and Germany, which have not a very friendly feeling for each other, but more for our Swedish iron ore.

Mr. Sandler, the Swedish Foreign Minister, has declared that he wants to take into consideration the will of the Aland people, but Finland and Sweden together are likely to try to force upon the free, independent Aland farmers both fortification and military service.

The Conventions of Stockholm (December, 1918) and Geneva (October, 1921) provided for the demolition of the fortifications on the Islands and their non-fortification and neutralisation, in all future circumstances. The 1921 Convention was signed by ten States:—Germany, Denmark, Esthonia, Finland, France, Great Britain, Italy, Latvia, Poland and Sweden.

The Aland farmers, summoned by the President of Finland to an extraordinary Landsting, said that they have to rely on the guarantees. They consider, anyhow, the guarantee of ten Powers of more worth than fortifications. Czechoslovakia, they say, had strong fortifications, but what happened to it! They are afraid that the cannon now being placed on their islands will disturb the peace of the northern countries instead of defending peace. That they are not selfish or afraid of conscription is shown by their willingness to serve much longer as pilots than as soldiers. They are a people of sailors.

The Swedish and the Finnish Government seem to have come to complete understanding about the necessity of fortifying the Aland Islands. But the last step is to get the agreement of the Great Powers in order to change the Aland Convention.

Fortifications on the Aland Islands have never brought anything but disturbances in the Baltic Sea and Europe. Is this small, free and interesting population of farmers to be deprived of independence, peace and self-government by another violation of treaties?

GRETA ENKVIST.

31 MAY 1920

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