

PAX INTERNATIONAL

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THE SITUATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

The British Government's Agreement with Italy has aroused strong opposition among Left-Wing bodies. The British Section of the W.I.L., in a letter to the Prime Minister on April 21, urged that aggression should not be condoned by a state member of the League; and that it was not even a fact that the Italian conquest was complete. "The peoples of Ethiopia are more united than they have ever been, and their defence is now stronger than at any period since 1935." Moreover, they declare, "Great Britain would be indelibly dishonoured by such an act."

The attitude to Fascist aggression expressed in the above letter was voiced in a more far-reaching fashion in a Manifesto of the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party on February 23 last. They deplored the then impending negotiations with "a bankrupt dictator" and urged that "a stand shall be taken with the other peace-loving states against the violence and threats of the Fascist Powers." "Chamberlain must go" was the slogan in a subsequent "Peace Week" and in the by-election campaign at Fulham which carried Dr. Edith Summerskill to victory.

Liberal leaders too proclaim the need for "a union of peace-loving states" and press the Government to pledge itself to support Czecho-Slovakia in the struggle for her unity and independence. This agreement of aim among the Left-Wing parties has led to a campaign, among certain sections, for a Popular Front against the Government's policy of compromise. The Co-operative Party expressed this desire at a recent conference, but has met with a rebuff from the Labour Party, which sees no advantage in sacrificing its position, especially at an election, for the sake of the co-operation of such a relatively weak body as the Liberal Party—and still less for that of the Communists. The chief argument used by the peace-seekers of the Left is that absence of clarity and of expressed commitments, may have the effect of encouraging the war-like Powers and thus lead to war.

The Government's policy, which has aroused such intense opposition, is one of compromise. Mr. Chamberlain's view, as expressed at Birmingham and elsewhere, is that it would be a gamble with human lives for the Government to lay down the circumstances in which they would or would not go to war. The Government does not approve of dictatorships, "but there they are. You cannot remove them. We have to live with them. . . . We should

try to remove any genuine and legitimate grievances that may exist." If the Government tried to organise collective security against Germany they would be destroying all hope of winning Germany and other Powers back to European co-operation, as well as dividing Europe into *blocs*.

At the same time the Government's Rearmament Programme must, he contends, go on. "I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that, under the present conditions of the world, we have no alternative but to go on with it, because it is the very breath of our British being, our freedom itself, that is at stake."

The Peace Movement is inevitably suspicious of Mr. Chamberlain's policy. Typical of a large section, the Peace Pledge Union is opposed to the stress laid on rearmament and critical of the lack in the Government's speeches, of a clear programme of economic appeasement. The Women's International League, with its divergent membership, while in general supporting collective economic action for the restraint of aggression, is equally opposed to the rearmament programme and urges positive action to secure general economic appeasement. It deplores the bi-lateral bargaining, which signifies a reversion to a pre-League policy.

Whatever the divisions in British public opinion and between the different sections of Pacifists, one fact stands out clearly—that from top to bottom the British people are solidly united in the determination to uphold their own democracy.

The effect of the Agreements with France and Ireland on Mr. Chamberlain's popularity, or lack of popularity, remains to be seen. It is certain that he is not so clever in winning the trust of his opponents as was Mr. Baldwin. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted that he has achieved tangible results.

The British Section, believing that the situation makes it both opportune and necessary, has started a campaign with the object of getting more women to unite in the work for peace. Villages and small towns hitherto untouched are being visited and after preparation "women peace campaigners" are going down to hold a meeting.

The first meeting in a village where no peace meeting had previously been held met with most encouraging response.

MOSA ANDERSON.

THE JEWISH SITUATION IN AUSTRIA

The Question of Refugees

Apart from the way in which the Anschluss of Austria with Germany was accomplished, a way repugnant to all pacifists and especially to those who have been making efforts since the treaty of Versailles to obtain justice for Germany, the cruel and relentless persecution of people of Jewish and partly Jewish blood has profoundly shocked and revolted even those who can see some possibilities for good in the absorption of Austria into the German Reich.

The motive for pressure on the Jews appears to be mainly economic, and intended to extract money from all who have possessions, especially abroad. Methods of extorting it involve the imprisonment of relatives as hostages, the complete expropriation in many cases of house property, and every form of revolting and humiliating device. Jewish employees have lost their employment, Jewish professional people are unable to follow their professions, and Austrian Jews have no protection under the present law.

In the Burgenland, near the Hungarian frontier, groups of the poorest orthodox Jews were driven out under circumstances which make one wonder whether war itself would be worse. Driven to the Hungarian frontier they were refused admission by Hungary and were turned loose to lose themselves, where?

It is probable that the beating of Jews in their houses, and other forms of maltreatment and humiliation of which ample evidence is available, is carried on by Austrian Nazis, whose enthusiasm has been bottled up too long. Such practices, however, do not appear to be actively discouraged from above.

No one can wonder at the continuation of suicide in sensitive and highly cultured circles; name after well-known name is reported to have found this last tragic way out.

The queue before the various consulates in Vienna is enormous, but so far very few have obtained permits either to leave Austria or to enter other countries.

In Great Britain, where public opinion is deeply stirred, it is hoped that more facilities will be given than has been the case previously. A special committee has been set up with a view to the co-ordination of policy and effort, representing all non-Jewish as well as Jewish organisations. It is highly desirable that the American initiative with regard to emigration should be followed up immediately by her suggested conference of which nothing has been heard lately, and opportunities in British Dominions ought to be explored during the visit to Europe of the Dominion Premiers.

The forthcoming meeting of the Council of the League of Nations is to decide whether refugees from Austria are to come into the category for whose protection the latest convention has just been agreed. This is one more argument if another were needed on behalf of one single department within the framework of the League to which all refugees might turn as of right. But even this will not stretch its protection where the Jews seem most to need it nowadays, in the countries which they have enriched

with their great heritage of learning and culture. There are said to be some 14,000 political prisoners in Austria, but what proportion are Jews is not known—in any case, the imprisonment or persecution of an individual because of his racial inheritance is an offence against civilization which cannot be too strongly condemned by those who do not happen to belong to a persecuted race to-day.

E. M. P.

RECENTS EVENEMENTS A TUNIS

Pour comprendre ces événements, il faut, à notre avis, connaître les tendances qui s'opposent en ce pays. Et, les connaissant, on ne peut pourtant pas affirmer d'avoir une vue absolument juste de la situation.

Chez les Français, il y a : 1° *l'Elément nationaliste, conservateur* (en général très opposé aux réformes demandées par les Arabes et les travailleurs);

et 2° *le Front populaire français* qui s'applique à améliorer la situation de tous les travailleurs sans distinction de race, de nation, ni de religion.

Chez les Tunisiens musulmans, nous trouvons : 1° *l'Archeo-Destour*, qui se compose plutôt d'aristocrates, militant pour occuper une place plus importante dans les affaires du pays, mais n'ayant que peu ou pas d'influence sur la masse qui les accuse d'être trop sensibles aux avantages personnels et à l'argent;

2° *le Néo-Destour* qui comprend l'équipe d'intellectuels politiques démocrates. Ils ont souffert sous le Résident Peyrouton, ont été rappelés en Tunisie par M. Guillon, militant pour obtenir une constitution en s'appuyant sur le peuple auquel ils promettent que cette constitution mettra fin à la misère et à l'ignorance qui l'accablent.

A cette équipe s'est ajouté, ces derniers mois, un nouvel élément : une jeunesse intellectuelle que les promesses du Front Populaire (tenu en échec par *l'Elément Nationaliste Français*, très influent ici) n'ont pas contentée.

Alors que le *Néo-Destour première manière* s'était rapproché des partis français de gauche pour obtenir des réformes économiques et politiques,

le *Néo-Destour deuxième manière* semble avoir confondu dans la même hostilité tous ceux qui n'étaient pas lui-même : c'est-à-dire tous les Français de droite et de gauche, ennemis ou amis des Arabes, et *l'Archeo-Destour*, jaloux de l'influence grandissante des jeunes et la combattant ouvertement et insidieusement.

Parmi les Italiens, enfin, nous trouvons : 1° *Un parti antifasciste*, travaillant avec les Français de gauche, les Syndicats, les travailleurs arabes;

2° *Un parti fasciste* très remuant, très nombreux, dont on a senti les intrigues partout où l'on peut dresser les unes contre les autres des ambitions et des misères, propageant les fausses nouvelles, probablement de connivence avec des personnages qui resteront anonymes et impunies, mais qui préfèrent le fascisme, même italien aux réformes sociales, même françaises.

A Tunis, l'Anschluss coïncida avec une aggravation marquée de l'attitude fasciste; si bien que quelques uns d'entre nous se demandaient si Mussolini n'allait pas tenter en Tunisie, le coup de force qui avait si bien réussi en Autriche. C'est alors que se sont produits les événements du 9 Avril auxquels nous avons dû l'Etat de siège.

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR THE DEFENCE OF PEACE, FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY, Marseilles, 13th-15th May, 1938

Während ich diese Zeilen schreibe geht die Konferenz zu Ende, die zum ersten Male in der Geschichte der internationalen Frauenarbeit, Frauen aller politischen und religiösen Richtungen, Frauen aller Rassen und Klassen vereinigte. Circa 700 Delegierte aus 18 Ländern, darunter China, Mexico, Cuba, Algerien nahmen an den Arbeitssitzungen im Opernhaus von Marseille teil und der Besuch der öffentlichen Versammlung zeigte den regen Anteil der Bevölkerung an der Konferenz.

Ihr Charakter war verschieden von den anderen grossen internationalen Konferenzen. Und ihre Basis hätte viel breiter sein können, wenn nicht fast alle internationalen Frauenorganisationen so angstlich den brennenden Tagesfragen ausweichen wurden. Die Referate zeugten zu grossem Teil von einem hohen Niveau-Spanien, China und die Tschechoslowakei standen im Vordergrund der Diskussionen. Arbeiterinnen aus Konfektions, Textil und Chemischen Industriebetrieben Marseilles begrussten die Vertreterinnen dieser Länder mit herrlichen Blumen aus dem südlichen Frankreich. Aus der Tschechoslowakei waren 50 Delegierte—Tschechinnen, Slovakinnen und Deutsche—gekommen; die meisten von ihnen hatten eine weite und beschwerliche Reise im Autobus zurück gelegt. Zu ausgezeichneten Referaten berichteten Frau Plaminkova, Lola Hanouskova und Vertreterinnen aus den Minderheitsgebieten über die Lage in der Tschechoslowakei und bewiesen, dass die demokratischen Kräfte im Lande auch von der gewissenlosesten und brutalsten Einschüchterungspropaganda nicht erstickt werden können, und trotz allem einen entschlossenen und zielsicheren Kampf führen.

Das republikanische Spanien hatte eine repräsentative Delegation entsandt, der die Parlamentarierinnen Victoria Kent und Margarita Nelken, die Stadträtin Dolores Píera aus Barcelona, die Direktorin der Ecole Normale in Madrid und andere spanische und catalonische Frauen angehörten. Die junge Lo-Tsei vertrat die Sache Chinas in einem ausgezeichneten Referat. Gleich am ersten Tage wurde in der Diskussion über die internationale Lage die durch eine fesselnde Übersicht Geneviève Tabouis eingeleitet wurde, das Problem Athiopien zur Erörterung gestellt, und in einem Telegramm an den in Genf tagenden Völkerbundsrat die Entsendung einer internationalen Commission nach Athiopien gefordert, die an Ort und Stelle feststellen solle, welche Teile des Landes sich tatsächlich in der Hand des Angreifers befinden. Resolutionen über Spanien, die Tschechoslowakei, China, die Lage der aus Mittelmeergrenzenden Länder, den Boykott aller Angreifer-Staaten, die Flüchtlinge, die politischen Gefangenen, über wirtschaftliche Massnahmen zur Behebung der Krise, wurden einstimmig angenommen. Das Präsidium war in den Händen von Mmes. Malaterre-Sellier, Plaminkova, Duchêne, Corbett-Ashby und Isabelle Blume.

Es ist ganz unmöglich, auf diesem beschränkten Raum die vielen Kräfte namhaft zu machen, die an dem Gelingen dieser Konferenz teil hatten. Von Neuem wurde bewiesen dass die Frauen die friedlichen Beziehungen zwischen den Staaten mit einem Reichtum von Kennt-

Une agitation s'empara de quelques éléments de la population. Un des chefs du Néo-Destour ayant voulu prêcher le calme à la foule fut hué tandis qu'on acclamait un agité, demi-fou qui tint des propos extrêmement violents. Cela donnait à penser que le Néo-Destour le manière était dépassé par la population et que des provocateurs intervenaient. Le Samedi après midi, Ali Belhouane, un des membres du Destour deuxième manière ayant, quelques jours plus tôt, créé une vive agitation dans la classe du collège Sadiki où il est professeur, fut appelé au Palais de Justice pour y être interrogé. Le bruit courut parmi les étudiants de la Grande Mosquée que Belhouane était arrêté et la jeunesse de la Grande Mosquée et du collège Sadiki se porta en masse au Palais de Justice pour réclamer Belhouane. La police repoussa les manifestants sans avoir recours aux armes. C'est alors que de deux autres côtés, une autre sorte de foule armée de matraques, de couteux de madriers vint envenimer le conflit en voulant rompre les barrages tandis qu'une grêle de pierres, lancées des terrasses voisines, s'abattit sur la police et les soldats. Un gendarme fut tué, un Zouave grièvement blessé; l'armée tira; beaucoup d'hommes, de femmes et d'enfants tunisiens (entraînés là au nom de la patrie et de la religion) tombèrent grièvement blessés ou tués.

De plusieurs côtés on raconte que des Italiens avec leur insigne fasciste circulèrent sans être molestés parmi la foule des émeutiers. L'Etat de siège fut proclamé, d'abord à Tunis puis le lendemain et surlendemain, dans la Régence.

Il fut procédé à des arrestations en masse de membres du Néo-Destour et de tous individus porteurs d'armes quelconque ou soupçonnés d'en avoir caché. Le Néo-Destour se défend d'avoir voulu cette 2e manifestation. Nous n'avons que la parole d'un d'entre eux comme garantie qu'il n'y a pas eu collusion entre eux et le fascisme italien qui semble bien avoir intrigué de tous coté. L'Etat de siège a rétabli le calme dans la rue, mais c'est moins certain qu'il soit aussi dans les coeurs.

D'autre part s'il y a entre le Néo-Destour et une nation étrangère une collusion prouvée comme c'est le cri général : il faut honnêtement reconnaître que les lenteurs françaises pour opérer les réformes promises et attendues, le ton de la presse de droite, méprisante et haineuse à l'égard des revendications tunisiennes les plus légitimes, la misère et le chômage ont travaillé avec les adversaires de la France en ce pays.

Cela prétend non pas disculper mais expliquer.

Nous attendons les procès des chefs du Néo-Destour pour connaître de quoi on les accuse exactement, et sur quelles preuves.

Notre désir est que ces événements qui n'étaient, dit-on, que le prélude à des choses plus graves, ne fassent pas reculer la cause de la Liberté et de la Paix en ce pays. En ce moment, une houle de haine et de peur soulève beaucoup de personnes jusqu'ici neutres; et de vieilles préventions endormies se réveillent avec une acuité nouvelle.

La censure, levée d'hier, mais encore menaçante, et les événements internationaux toujours dominées par la diplomatie secrète, permettront-ils de connaître et de dire toute la vérité?

EVA FICHET.

missen und sittlichen Kräften zu festigen und auszubauen vermöchten, die Regierungen, Gewerkschaften, Parteien, etc., heute zu ihrem eignen Schaden und zum Schaden der Welt brach legen. Umso bewundernswerter ist der Kampf der Frauen in allen Ländern an den vielen Fronten des politischen, wirtschaftlichen und geistigen Lebens.

Obwohl viele Frauen in persönlicher Eigenschaft gekommen waren und nicht ihre Organisationen vertraten, sollte es möglich sein, das einmal Begonnene fortzuführen. Die Comités, welche den Congress vorbereiteten bleiben bestehen und wurden beauftragt, die Möglichkeiten der Weiterarbeit zu erörtern und zu gegebener Zeit zu weiteren internationalen Aktionen aufzufordern. Dieser Congress, der aus der Not der Zeit geboren war, war für mich eine grosse Lehre und eine grosse Hoffnung. . . .

GERTRUD BAER.

English Summary

This was the first conference in the history of women's international work to unite women of all political and religious views and of every race and class. About seven hundred were present from eighteen countries, including China, Mexico, Cuba, Algeria, and many Marseilles women came to the open sessions. Among much of a high level the contributions of women from Spain, Chain and Czecho-Slovakia stood out. A group of 50 Czechs, Slovaks and Germans came (most of them in an autobus) from Czecho-Slovakia, and the character of the group demonstrated the strength of democratic forces there.

Distinguished women were present from Spain and China. Geneviève Tabouis gave the opening survey, and action taken included a telegram to the League of Nations Council urging the sending of a commission to report on the position in Ethiopia and resolutions on many topical subjects.

The success proved again that women would be able to build up a world of peaceful relations between States, controlled by intellectual and moral forces, which, to the shame of those in authority, lie broken to-day.

The work is to be continued by a committee which at an appropriate time will make proposals for further action.

This Congress, born out of the needs of the time, was for me a great revelation and embodies a great hope.

THE RECOGNITION OF ETHIOPIA

The International Chairman sent the following letter to the President of the League of Nations Council.

" Sir,

The undersigned Chairmen of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom express their deep indignation at the fact that the question of the recognition of Italy's Sovereignty over Ethiopia has been put on the Agenda of the forthcoming Meeting of the League of Nations Council on May 9th, 1938.

Recalling that the question of Ethiopia concerns all the States Members of the League of Nations and not only those represented on the League of Nations Council;

recalling the legal consequences of the Covenant of the League of Nations and in particular of Article 10;

recalling the resolution adopted by the League of Nations Assembly on March 11th, 1932;

recalling the last resolution concerning the Italo-Ethiopian conflict, passed at the League of Nations Assembly in 1936;

and drawing the attention of Members of the League of Nations Council to the recent reports from well-informed sources that Italy's conquest of Ethiopia is by no means complete

we urge the Council to decide that the question raised by the British Government does not come within its competence.

It cannot be the intention of the Council to sanction a breach of international law, committed by the violation of the territorial integrity and political independence of a State Member of the League of Nations.

The conquest of certain other countries at present invaded or threatened with invasion would thus be sanctioned in advance, and it would be a fresh disillusionment for all those who still refuse to accept the principle that "might is right" to see a premium thus put upon aggression.

Believe us,

Yours truly,

CLARA RAGAZ, GERTRUD
BAER, K. E. INNES,

Joint Chairmen.

Similar action was urged on the Sections.

SHAREHOLDER OBJECTS TO ARMAMENTS MANUFACTURE

The following letters speak for themselves, and suggest a line of action in face of a common problem.

" Sir,—As the subject of warfare in general, and gas warfare in particular, is now prominently before the minds of the public, I would be glad if you would kindly give publicity to the enclosed letter, which I have sent to (name of firm) as an explanation of the fact that I find it no longer possible to remain a shareholder in that company.

..... (signature)."

"..... (name of firm)

..... (address)

" Sir,—Until lately, and misled in part by your own report, I hoped you were only making explosives for industrial purposes, chemical manures and other commodities of a mainly useful nature. But I have come to see that you are making armaments. I have, therefore, decided on the sale of my small holding. I fully realise that you can afford to smile at this weak effort to oppose the making of armaments. I also realise that I am putting another person, the buyer of my shares, into a position which I myself refuse to continue to hold. Yet I feel I can no longer continue to handle this bloodstained source of income. My last dividend, and the profit, if any, on the sale, will go to a Peace Society, because, though I am a poor financier, I know that when other mothers—and fathers—come to see that they pay for income derived from such sources with the blood of their children, they too will count the price too high.

..... (signature).

..... (address)."