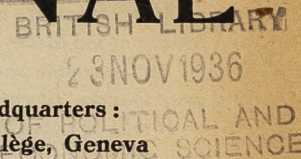


PAX INTERNATIONAL

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PEOPLES' MANDATE TO GOVERNMENTS

To meet the present threat of world chaos we, the undersigned, having faith in the power of human intelligence, demand that our Government abandon all preparation for war and develop rapidly the needed peace machinery, national and international, to solve our economic and political problems. While we sign this mandate to our own Government, the people of other nations are signing the same mandate to their Governments, determined, all of us, to exert our combined pressure for immediate world cooperation for peace.

This mandate is to be presented to representatives of the League of Nations and of National Governments in the course of an intensive international campaign to be initiated by the W. I. L. P. F., as was decided by the International Executive Committee in London. (See the last issue of *Pax*.) It has proved an unexpectedly slow business to arrange details by cable and letter but at last a promising plan has been worked out, workers from the U. S. are coming this month to Europe to help organise the work and enough money is in hand to make a start.

The idea is to have a great meeting in September in Geneva and to send an International Deputation to representatives of the League of Nations with this "Mandate from the Peoples". Visiting Deputations should then go to the different countries, where in turn meetings would be held and Deputations sent to National Governments.

Each National Section of the W. I. L. P. F. has been asked to set up an "Action Committee" at once, to prepare this campaign.

We want to secure the support and active cooperation in this movement of as many other organisations as possible, getting them to accept and sign the Mandate, either by a resolution in a public meeting or in whatever way they can take action. We have in mind labour bodies, women's organisations, peace and anti-war societies, political clubs (so far as they are interested not merely in party politics but in aims like ours), cooperatives, educational organisations, reform and religious movements, literary, professional and business associations, and — quite specially — youth associations, and, as well, individuals such as well-known speakers, writers and specialists.

The work of organising this support can begin this summer, when working people at least are not too scattered and inaccessible. Speakers can begin now preparing themselves; a press campaign, a radio campaign and the raising of money can be started.

The main object of the campaign is to help the latent mass-feeling for peace to become articulate, realise and exert its immense moral, political and economic strength and give its efforts more definiteness, self-confidence and intensity.

Of late the peace movement has seemed more or less paralysed in view of the terrible complexity of the situation and as a result of the series of shocks and disappointments that it has suffered, notably in the matter of disarmament and the failure, to date, of the Governments in the League of Nations to do anything effective to check fascist militarism in Germany, Italy or Japan.

Not only is a huge proportion of public money spent on preparing for war but what energy remains free for work to avoid war is mainly devoted to negotiating a confused network of pacts, in the supposed interest of "security"—pacts in which those who sign them do not themselves have much faith, and which offer nothing to alter the wrong basis of international relations. What the peace movement, what the world, needs to release it from its paralysis is a new orientation.

The world has been brought to a pass where the peoples are living under the sense of a coming catastrophe. They huddle together within their frontiers telling themselves lies about how different and how superior they are. In an increasingly interdependent world they try to cut off the natural flow of goods and intercourse and vainly attempt each to be more heavily armed than any other.

Let the people call a halt now. Let them insist that their governments turn the other way and work together to create the conditions under which alone political and economic problems can be progressively solved. The real task of our era is the transformation of social and economic conditions to fit the moral sense and technological developments of our time. It is impossible to get on with this fruitful labour so long as men centre their attention on the idea of making war or avoiding war, convinced that only violent solutions are realistic.

Let us see what can be done toward proving that racial, national and class separatism and ill-will, which are hurrying mankind in the direction of utter and universal misery, are not the strongest human motives—that, on the contrary, the energy and devotion available on behalf of peace and international cooperation are stronger and able to open the door not, indeed, to a utopian and perfect world-system but to one in which human progress is possible. We propose to do what we can toward evoking this energy.

E. G. B.

P. S. The text of the Mandate to Governments and the plan as here outlined, should be understood as subject to change as the campaign proceeds.

E. G. B.

NATIONAL SECTIONS

Editor's note. Reports received in response to the questionnaire sent to all National Sections on Feb. 20, taken in connection with recent correspondence, give a more comprehensive picture of the activities and interests of our membership than we have had. In order to reproduce this picture, as far as space permits, we are including here some news that is not recent but none that has been previously reported in Pax or that is mentioned under separate headings.

Many members will doubtless say "This report of our Section is very scrappy and inadequate". That this is so may often be due to a failure of the editor to choose the most significant items or to distribute the inadequate space wisely, but she would be able to do better if each Section made sure that Pax received full material and especially copies of all pertinent printed matter—bulletins, reports, flyers and propaganda "literature".

It will be noted that for lack of material or other reasons some Sections are not mentioned but this by no means necessarily implies that they are not, also, active.

Australia and New Zealand are two of our most distant Sections, counting from Geneva, and the mere fact of carrying on a common piece of work while so far separated carries its own thrill. From Auckland (N. Z.) the W. I. L. P. F. reports action in accord with recent circular letters from Geneva. Interesting is the news that when a clash occurred locally between police and workers our League protested against the action taken by the police on the ground of freedom of speech. The Newcastle branch in New South Wales reports activity as to disarmament and "a good bit of work through the local press".

The Sections of both Australia and New Zealand are active in the Pan-Pacific Women's Conference in which Jane Addams took such a lively interest. The latest conference held in Honolulu last summer passed resolutions against manufacture of arms for private profit, on the right of women to work, on improvement of films and the need for greater peace mindedness and more peace action.

Austria continues to report activity in spite of difficult conditions. The Vienna group is now unified and held its Assembly in February with Olga Misar as chief speaker. This was followed by lectures on such subjects as protection against air-warfare and education for peace and non-violence. Activities of the previous year included protests, etc., "actions" relating to disarmament, militarisation of the young, economic situation of young women. Austria was represented at the War Resisters Congress, in London by Olga Misar who also carried out an English lecture tour. A history of the W.I.L.P.F. in Austria is being prepared. Pax readers will not have forgotten the courageous protest against conscription published in the last issue of Pax.

The Belgian Section reports cooperation with the Women's Movement against War and Fascism, viz, in the publication of leaflets against air manoeuvres and in sending a delegate to the Saar.

It also participated in the Congress of League of Nations Societies and organised a debate on *Reform of the League of Nations: Why and How*. The annual meeting was in December with a lecture on the illusion of protection against air attack. It collaborated in meetings on behalf of China, in protest against measures following the events of February 1934, in Paris and Vienna, and, later, in Spain; against restriction of women's labour; also, as in previous years, in a vacation camp in Brussels. It has set up a study circle, meeting monthly, and committees to study women's employment and passive defence. One of its recent bulletins says "We have not fascism in Belgium but we are indignant to see the attacks of the government on expenditure for education, social insurance, protection of children, old age pensions, help for the unemployed etc., while a crazy amount is devoted to the preparation for war. The regime of plenary powers is a step toward fascism".

Bulgaria reports that it is alive and active. Three lectures were organised in March and at that date a detailed report, which we await with interest, was promised.

Czecho-Slovakia. Clara Ragaz and E. G. Balch had the pleasure of a too brief tour, speaking at meetings at Prague and Bratislava, shortly before the May election. The Section cooperates finely in proposals sent out from Geneva as well as working on its own initiative.

Finland sends a report which is specially interesting as showing the lines followed by one of the smallest Sections. The Executive Committee meets nine times a year, takes action on letters received from Headquarters, distributes Pax, plans monthly meetings for members and visitors. The Section does propaganda work by articles, lectures and speeches; cooperates actively with the Finnish Peace Society and other organisations. It is represented on the Finnish Joint Committee for Peace and

Work. The financial situation is reported as satisfactory.

Great Britain. The best way to keep in touch with the many sided and important work done by the British Section is to read their Monthly News Sheet, and the pamphlets which they publish from time to time, notably three by Mrs. Swanwick and one, entitled *Africa*, which gives a report of a very useful conference arranged by the W.I.L. in November in London. They also publish a comprehensive annual report. The News Sheet carries excellent political articles as well as W. I. L. news: the subscription is a shilling six pence a year.

The Section has been actively interested in the problems, among others, of Abyssinia and India, disarmament, internationalisation of civil aviation, and opposition to the proposed increase of British Air Armament. Members have taken an active part in the extraordinarily successful Peace Ballot campaign and in efforts against the Sedition Bill which was finally passed, though considerably modified for the better by amendments. Mary Sheepshanks attended the Ukrainian Women's Jubilee Congress in East Galicia, carrying greetings from the W. I. L.

Holland. Among other actions of the Dutch Section was a protest sent in February to their Minister of Justice against sending German refugees back to Germany and as to possible internment camps, also many instances of cooperation in actions proposed from Geneva. E. G. Balch was very much pleased to be able to go to Holland, on her return from the Executive Committee meeting, and to confer there with Mme Ramondt and the Dutch Executive.

Hungary. The Section has set an admirable example in sending to Geneva a full and extremely interesting account of its history. It vividly recalls three personalities: Vilma Glücklich, Prelate Giesswein and Rosika Schwimmer who have done full service for peace, the latter happily still active. The Hun-

garian Section, in cooperation with the new Jugo-Slav Section, is trying to improve feeling between the two peoples. During the March elections the Hungarian Section requested all political parties to declare their attitude on two questions: Peace and Equal Rights for Women, and to instruct their candidates to inform the voters of their stand on these. Mrs. Meller attended the Istanbul Congress of the International Alliance for Suffrage, acting as a fraternal delegate for the W.I.L.P.F.

The Jugo-Slav Section has subdivisions to deal with international policies, organisation and lectures. It collaborates with the Bulgarian, Czecho-Slovak, Swedish and Hungarian Sections of the W. I. L. P. F. as well as with other organisations working for peace and on behalf of women. A series of some twelve radio lectures has been given, largely by members of the Section, to spread the idea of peace.

Norway. After a period of quiescence the Norwegian Section has again become active. About a year ago a new Board was chosen with Marie Mohr, whom all members of the Zurich Congress will remember, as Chairman. A winter camp was held in January, eleven Swedish friends attended. It opened with a lecture by Christian Lange at Nobel House in Oslo, before going out to Sundvollen for a stimulating combination of winter sports and discussions and lectures. The topics included Disarmament Questions in Norway, the Armament Industry, Science in the Service of Life and Death, the League of Nations, peace work among young people.

A resolution on refugees was sent to the Governments of Sweden and Norway. The latter replied: "Norway has signed the Convention of the 28th of October 1933 from the L. of N. with regard to the international status of refugees. The Government intends to try to get the Convention ratified during this session of the Storting".

Norway now has a Labour Government and is carrying out the request of the League of Nations with regard to political refugees.

The Section is extending into new territory and increasing its membership.

Sweden. A letter from Dr. Sahlbom reports that the women's groups of the Socialist party have decided to cooperate with the W. I. L. in peace propaganda; she says "this is very encouraging because they have always been so afraid of bourgeois movements". A new activity of the Section is the Women's Young Front for Peace and Free-

dom which works to interest school girls in peace. The Section is also at work to put the law as to conscientious objection on a more satisfactory footing. Alternative civilian work is now allowed but only in time of peace. Since 1921 over 6000 young men have claimed this, although the period of service is longer. 9000 citizens have declared that in case of war they will refuse all cooperation. The Section is very much interested in the armaments situation in Sweden where the industry is of considerable importance. New arms factories must now have Government permits and open their books to Government inspectors. The Government has a right to revoke permits at any time and to decide what constitute war materials. A law forbidding dummy holding companies has led to acquisition of German shares by a Swedish syndicate which includes 3 leading banks.

Switzerland. The Swiss Section has been very active in the struggle against Fascism and Militarism within the country. The Government has been circulating an alarmist exhibition in the interest of prevention against air attack and has encouraged the public to secure provision of gas masks and shelters. Experience shows that this exhibition offers an excellent opportunity for counter propaganda. The Swiss Section, working with other organisations, has circulated a very able and interesting exhibition of its own, shown also at Zurich during our Congress, to demonstrate the costs, in human lives, money and goods of the last war, the interdependence of munitions industries during the war and the effects of war and in special of gas war.

The Section opposed the proposal to lengthen the time of military training and though this was accepted it was by an unexpectedly small margin. Another popular consultation on a proposal to give exceptional powers to the government to fight the crisis was defeated by the combined votes of conservatives and those non-conservative voters who regarded it as a step in the direction of fascism.

The Swiss Section has also helped find vacation opportunities for emigrant children on the ground that this is a question of internationalism quite as much as of philanthropy, and a gift given to Clara Ragaz on her sixtieth birthday was devoted by her to this use.

Tunis. The Tunis Section has always had a unique character working in a colony, where it strives to mitigate the excesses of militarism and bureaucracy, and to develop fruitful relations be-

tween French and Arabs, as well as to work for peace. At present is much hampered by a wave of political reaction. It has just submitted an 11 page report of its six years of activity.

The United Stations Section. In despair, in view of the inadequate time and space at her disposal, the Editor feels obliged to postpone to another occasion any account of the recent work of this important and active Section.

INTERNATIONAL ACTION FROM GENEVA OFFICE

A letter to Mussolini sent also to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations and to all members of the Council at the May meeting, and to the press, called attention to bad conditions under which Italian political prisoners are reported to be suffering and begged for them the opportunities for intellectual occupation that civilised States commonly grant. It also expressed hopes that in a series of political trials about to take place in Naples there would be provision for adequate defence.

A letter, sent on April 30 to the Members of the Committee on the Suppression of Terrorism, set up by the L. of N. after the Marseilles assassinations, urged that the Committee, while doing everything to eliminate political crime, should take care to frame its suggestions in such a way that they cannot be used to prevent legitimate movements of political protest nor to encourage Governments to assume that the maintenance of order requires suppression of liberty and normal human rights.

In May Abyssinia was again the subject of representations. The Geneva office sent to the Council of the League of Nations the resolutions voted at London by our International Executive Committee and with this also a resolution of our French Section and one from the World Committee against War and Fascism. All of this was sent to the Press and to our National Sections.

The Chinese-Japanese situation was the subject of a letter sent on June 20 to National Sections. The letter urged that it is worth while to help to keep alive, by giving it public expression in every way possible, the conviction that abuse of power by the strong to the disadvantage of the weak is something shameful. It suggested deputations to representatives of Japan in the different countries, articles, meetings, etc., and, politically, efforts to induce Governments to take a clear stand in regard to the policy of pressure employed by Japan.

OUR TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY

This occasion was marked by a notable celebration in Washington in which Jane Addams took an active and happy part.

With the wife of President Roosevelt she received the guests at a reception at the White House; she spoke at a public banquet in her honour, said to have been the largest ever given in Washington. She took part in the international radio programme, along with speakers from Tokyo, Moscow, London, Paris and Geneva, though she was not allowed by her doctor to speak outdoors as planned. The crowd massed in a square to hear her message "left as if from a religious service".

In Budapest the occasion was also celebrated. Countess Apponyi made a handsome acknowledgment of the work of the W. I. L. P. F. and a former minister of State spoke of the importance of woman suffrage and of political activities for peace. Madame Szelegowska, one of the Consultative members of our Polish Section, and a Government Delegate to the Disarmament Conference, and Madame Jaworska, M. P. and President of the Committee on Education and Culture in the Polish Parliament, spoke on education for peace and moral disarmament.

The Norwegian Section celebrated the anniversary with an Anti-War Exhibition at Oslo opened by a broadcast address by Miss Mohr. Thousands of persons visited the exhibition and it closed with a great peace meeting in the University Aula. The exhibition was then sent on to Trondheim where it led to the founding of a new local group; in the autumn it will go to other towns.

Nurses demonstrated gas masks to show how useless they are.

GOOD-WILL DAY

The 18th of May was celebrated by our members in various countries. In Vienna it took the shape of a very beautiful festival; in Amsterdam a silent procession of women flowed through the streets for two hours. Similar processions took place in England, Scotland, France, Jugo-Slavia, and South Africa.

PACIFIST AID

In memory of Jane Addams, members of our Section in Czecho-Slovakia, and of the National Council of Women there, have sent contributions for the aid of pacifist refugees, certainly a practical and useful form in which to express their sympathy and one that is much appreciated.

DISARMAMENT TO DATE

Official

Now, at the close of the season, it may be worth while to consider how things stand that we may not, like too many "peace defeatists", proclaim prematurely that all is lost.

(I) The Disarmament Conference is adjourned but not disbanded. It is hoped that it will meet again in the autumn and that recent diplomatic developments may then make it possible to reach an agreement stabilising armaments and, effecting some measure of reduction.

(II) Three special committees set up by the Disarmament Conference are still in being. By one of these an extremely interesting Draft Convention for Regulation and Control of Manufacture of and Trade in Arms, (essentially the same as that proposed by the U. S. last November), has already been sent to the Governments after having been agreed to by the great majority of the delegations. This will come up for a second reading in Geneva next autumn and meanwhile it is extremely important that the Governments should decide to support it without any weakening amendments.

(III) The Committee on military expenditure has also prepared a Draft Convention, providing for publicity of military budgets and has submitted it to the Disarmament Conference.

(IV) The Air Commission, on the contrary, has never been even called together. The British W. I. L. wrote on June 12 to the Prime Minister begging that it be convened and that the British Government should present definite proposals to it for maximum reduction of air forces as a first step toward their complete abolition. The letter also urged control of civil aviation.

Continuing Propaganda

The *Women's Peace Crusade* in Great Britain, of which the British W. I. L. is a member, is campaigning for the complete abolition of air-craft, military and naval. It seeks to educate people away from the idea of security through air armament, to expose the illusion of defense against air attack and the horror of defense through threat of reprisals.

A petition urging new effort toward disarmament sent out by *La Ligue Internationale des Mères et des Educatrices* was presented to the Council of the L. of N., at its May session. The petition was supported by 32 organisations; of these the *Confédération Générale du Travail* alone has a membership of two millions.

AIR ATTACK

The efforts of Governments to arrange drills and manoeuvres against air attack continue to exercise our members. On April 27, for instance, the Swedish Section passed an extremely interesting resolution with special reference to Swedish and Danish policies in this matter. On May 24 the British W. I. L. issued the following statement, which admirably gives our general position.

The proposals now being put forward for drilling the public in preparation for some future air attack are deplored mainly on the following grounds.

(1) Such preparation is bound to contribute to the creation of a war mentality which in itself is a contributory factor in causing war;

(2) Where children are obliged to share in such preparation it is highly probable that such an experience will have a harmful effect on them. Their minds are likely to be dominated by fear of an experience which our present Government is striving to avoid, so that we hope it may never be the lot of these children to have to put such training into practice;

(3) The suggestion that there is any real defence against air attack is, as has been stated repeatedly by those with expert knowledge, entirely illusory. There is no defence except the total abolition of military and naval air forces of every country, it not being possible for us as women to contemplate the infamous suggestion, increasingly commonly accepted, that since there is no actual defence we must undertake immediate retaliation in case of attack, and that our airmen—while the home population is admittedly not protected—shall go out and slaughter men, women and children in other countries. Those who trust in the fear of reprisals as a deterrent to attack are gambling with a terrible weapon.

(4) Preparation of the people for gas attack is further to be deplored, because it is based on the assumption that the obligations not to resort to war, by which all the Governments concerned are bound, are not going to be kept. We believe this to be bad psychologically, and we hope that on this as well as on the other ground indicated, the proposals will be withdrawn.

WOODROW WILSON AWARD

A signal honour has come to the United States Section in the award from the Woodrow Wilson Foundation of three thousand dollars with the following "citation".

"To the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Washington, D.C., for its useful part in informing public opinion regarding the dangers involved in the unregulated private manufacture of the munitions of war, and in the international trade in such munitions, and for the success in helping to focus the influence of that public opinion on the Congress of the United States."