

Volume 15

No. 2

BRITISH LIBRARY

8 MAR 1940

5665

OF POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC SCIENCE

February 1940

PAX INTERNATIONAL

Published by
the Women's International League for Peace
and Freedom



International Headquarters:
12, rue du Vieux-Collège, Geneva

Editor: CLARA RAGAZ Administration: LOTTI BIRCH

Subscription price: 2.50 Swiss francs, \$1 or 2/6 a year — Chèques postaux: I. 1869

"Die aufrichtige Neutralität ... ist kein so ganz einfaches Ding. Wie alle menschlichen Anstalten kann sie einem Ende, einer Katastrophe unterworfen sein und was dann? Alsdann hat sie ihren Charakter dadurch zu bewähren, dass man sich ... treulich auf Seite des strengsten Rechtes stellt, möge dies sein, wo es wolle." Gottfried KELLER.

"Sincere neutrality ... is not so simple a thing. Like all institutions of men it, too, may be subject to end, to catastrophe. What then? It must then prove its character by taking loyally sides with the strictest Right—be it where it will." Gottfried KELLER.

EDITOR'S NOTE

We reprint below a letter which, though it does not emanate from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, deals with a problem with which all our Sections in democratic neutral countries in Europe are faced. It has been addressed by several groups of young Swiss people, men and women, to young people in Belgium, Holland and the Scandinavian countries. W.I.L.P.F. Groups in these countries may like to discuss the letter among themselves and make it known, especially among young people.

Replies to this letter or requests for further copies (which are available in the languages of the different countries) should be sent to the address given at the end of the letter.

LETTER TO YOUNG WOMEN AND MEN OF BELGIUM, DENMARK, HOLLAND, NORWAY AND SWEDEN

Friends,

We are writing you in the name of several groups of young Swiss women and men from different parts of our country and of different religious belief, knowing that you are in a similar position as ourselves. We would like to make sure whether there are people in your countries who think and feel in the same way we do.

One thing all of us, Belgians, Danes, Dutchmen, Norwegians, Swedes and Swiss, have in common is that we belong to democratic and neutral European States. None of our States has, through any threat against any other State, contributed to the outbreak or the extension of the war. On the contrary, it is obvious that owing to our relatively small military power the sole aim we can have in foreign policy is to maintain our existence and independence within a peaceful Europe. In home

The quotation on this issue of PAX is taken from a most interesting and charming little collection "Tages-Brevier für denkende Menschen" published by "Der Neue Bund", Zurich, Switzerland, with the collaboration of Dr. Elisabeth Rotten. The first name in the list of authors represented in the booklet is Jane Addams! We recommend the "Brevier" to all who read German.

affairs we all consider that democracy is the best guarantee of internal and external peace.

We are certainly all united in esteeming highly the benefits of Justice and Peace, which we owe to the achievements of our ancestors. But now we ask you: Are we, after the experiences of the last months and years, not also united in thinking with growing apprehension of the foreign policy of our own States, if it is carried on as heretofore?

We of the undersigned Swiss Groups are most concerned with the contradiction which lies in the following facts: While it becomes almost every day more obvious that efficacious national defence and, still more, the making and preservation of peace, are possible only through the cooperation of several States, each of our States, owing to its policy of passive neutrality, remains isolated until its turn to defend its own territory may come. Moreover, we feel that the present fights are fragments of a struggle in which, in reality, our fate will be decided too. Therefore, we become more and more convinced that a policy of mere passive onlooking does not correspond to the importance these events have for our whole existence. We must, on the strength of our ideals, on our own decision, and at a moment chosen by ourselves, find the way to an active, far-sighted policy. How easily could we otherwise be forced into action, at a time and according to plans which are not in our interest!

The idea of military intervention in the struggle of the big powers is, for us, out of the question for many reasons. On the other hand, the neutral States have no opportunity to-day of developing an active foreign policy within the framework of the League of Nations in Geneva. However, there exists another way which suits present circumstances and offers many prospects — the explicit solidarity of the democratic, neutral States. The Oslo Block is one step in this direction. The attack on Finland has now made the problem of active solidarity a vital question for the Northern States. It is not for us Swiss, living where we do, to

give you advice in this question. But on principle we would like to put this question to our friends in other neutral countries: **Do you not think that the task of our generation is to promote, each in his own country, inward preparedness for greater solidarity among our peoples?** And would it not be of great help to the work in every country if we of the younger generation were in contact with each other and knew of each other's activities?

It is not possible to foretell what forms the cooperation we are advocating would have to take. May be the course of the war will put the solidarity of our States to heavier tests than it can as yet bear. But even if the worst happened, the idea of solidarity among the small neutral States would not perish. We might see in its increase our special contribution to the construction of a new Europe. Solidarity among small States may be the example for and a first step towards that greater solidarity which alone can save our continent from the danger of self-destruction. The last peace—the peace of the League of Nations—has failed because the hearts and minds of the peoples were not sufficiently prepared for it. If by our preparatory work we are able to contribute, in however small a degree, to making the next peace a more lasting one, it will have been extremely fruitful.

Friends in Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Norway and Sweden! We are sending this letter into your countries though we have no special relation to organisations there. We are confident that the problems with which we struggle are also on your minds. If there are in your countries groups or individuals who hear our voice and who have similar ideas we ask you to write to us. (Address: "Neuer Bund", Postfach Fraumünster, Zürich, Switzerland.) If our letter finds a lively echo, we shall let you know in the same way.

Signed by representatives of:
"Entscheidung",
"Groupes Esprit de Suisse" and
"Escherbund".

GABRIELLE DUCHÈNE POUR SON 70^e ANNIVERSAIRE

Devant l'énergie et l'activité de notre amie Gabrielle Duchêne nous avons peine à croire à ses 70 ans!

Pourquoi nos vœux ne peuvent-ils lui parvenir en un temps de pacifique et joyeux renouveau de fraternité internationale, de progrès social, de liberté sans entrave, espoir de toute sa vie ! Il est bien dur, pour elle comme pour nous, de célébrer son anniversaire au milieu d'un bouleversement mondial plus terrible encore que celui où, répondant la première en France à l'appel de Jane Addams, elle formait le noyau de la Section Française de la L.I.F.P.L. Nous étions bien peu nombreuses alors; mais nous savions toutes que l'amour du pays peut et doit se concilier avec l'amour de l'humanité.

Combattre l'aveuglement de la haine fut d'abord le but de ses efforts, puis, quand survint le traité de Versailles, elle en vit aussitôt les dangers. Et dès lors, elle n'a cessé de faire tout ce qui était en son pouvoir pour renouer ou resserrer les liens entre les peuples et pour les prévenir de la catastrophe menaçante qu'ils n'évite-

raient qu'en cherchant à se comprendre. Dévouée tout entière à l'œuvre que se traçait la Ligue, elle a compris que la tâche en était multiple et que, pour arriver à la remplir, il était essentiel de ne se désintéresser d'aucune activité, nationale, sociale, politique; et surtout elle a vu que la Paix ne saurait se concevoir sans la Liberté. Aussi a-t-elle toujours été le guetteur vigilant prêt à donner le signal d'alarme à la moindre tentative contre cette liberté précieuse, et à dénoncer avec véhémence chaque injustice, où qu'elle fut commise, dans son propre pays aussi bien qu'au delà des frontières.

Passionnément internationale, embrassant d'un coup d'œil perçant les grands problèmes mondiaux, ouverte à toutes les idées nouvelles qui lui paraissent devoir servir la cause à laquelle elle se consacre, elle reste pourtant bien française par son esprit critique, la lucidité de son jugement, et son sens des réalités. Tout éprise d'idéal qu'elle soit, elle ne se perd jamais dans l'utopie et sait qu'on ne peut brûler impunément les étapes.

Ardente à la lutte, inébranlable dans ses convictions, elle est toujours prête à sacrifier ses préférences personnelles pour sauver les valeurs essentielles comme elle l'a montré maintes fois.

Elle a été pour notre Ligue une animatrice incomparable et pour nous une amie loyale et sûre à qui vont notre affection et notre respect. En ces heures d'angoisse, de la sentir parmi nous est un réconfort. Ne perdons pas courage ! Patience ! une fois la tourmente passée, avec elle nous reprendrons le combat. M. R.

NEWS FROM W.I.L.P.F. SECTIONS

Holland

Like from 1914-1918 many proposals spring up which are considered the one method to put an end to war in no time. We are not quite so optimistic, but we feel sure that the present terrible situation is a result of obsolete conceptions which may have had their right of existence in the past, but for which there is no place in the new era which is coming into being and which will carry with it profound and drastic changes; first and foremost universal abolition of armaments and war. This may take decades, but it is sure to come.

The activities of the Dutch Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom have first of all been directed towards joint attempts for bringing unity to the peace-movement in Holland. We are happy to state that a feeling of solidarity is undoubtedly growing and, in spite of differences of opinion and in methods of working, there is a sincere desire to co-operate. Proof of it lies in the joint preparation of a three days' conference to be held in April, which the Dutch Section had planned and which, owing to the desire for co-operation, was put on a larger basis. The general subject (originally planned as "No second Versailles") is to be: "Principles of international co-operation aiming at lasting peace". In the historical-juridical part are to be considered: methods of co-operation in the past: (a) for purposes of war, (b) for special political objects, (c) for maintaining the *status quo*, (d) for organising Europe. After that, examples of existing co-operation are to be worked out (Switzer-

land, U.S.S.R., U.S.A., Brazil, British Commonwealth), to wind up with "Federal Union or League of Nations".

Under "Economic co-operation" the following problems will be taken up: commercial treaties, customs union, monetary problems, the colonial problem, raw materials, migration, sanctions and, what seems of the utmost importance, the switching over of war economy to peace economy. The last sessions will be devoted to: "Influencing public opinion" and "Education of youth". Experts are to treat the different subjects. We are already meeting with a great deal of interest.

A possible fusion of our Section with another woman's peace organisation, like ours founded in 1915, is being studied.

Since the beginning of November we have been spreading a pamphlet "Recall to Reason". Moreover, we drew up a plan, urging educators, scientists of all kinds, economists, jurists, psychologists, etc., to start organising peace now, and not to leave anything to chance. Peace ought to be organised and constructed at least as seriously and efficiently as war !

A cable was sent to President Roosevelt, urging him to call a permanent conference of neutral States, ready to offer mediation any time this should be desired by the warring parties. Copies were sent to the Dutch Government, the Queen, Princess Juliana and to the Press.

A Committee of three, set up by our Section, has initiated a kind of study class in writing, sending out papers on a special subject with questions to be answered by a number of leading people in the peace-movement, trying to find a common ground on which we can all agree. The fact that we are internationally organised is more than ever felt as a great help and privilege.

C. R.-H.

Sweden

The W.I.L.P.F. Swedish Section is adhering to its standpoint that membership in the League of Nations compels our country to partake in economic sanctions against an aggressor. This is also part of the resolutions adopted by the first International Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom at The Hague in 1915. However, as the system of collective security has failed to function, there is, in the present situation no other alternative for a small State than to observe political neutrality. The recently reconstructed Cabinet, consisting of representatives of all political parties—except the rather small communist minority—has repeatedly declared our will to remain strictly neutral towards all sides. At the same time our brother-country Finland shall receive from us every economic and humanitarian support compatible with this neutrality, and in accordance with the recommendations of the League of Nations, and Parliament has given its full assent to this declaration. The help to Finland has become the all-absorbing interest of the present time. With the warmest sympathy our people of all ranks hurried to do all they were able to do.

A Central Bureau organized to collect money and clothing, etc. has received up to now 12 million crowns—cheques and bank-notes from the rich, pennies from the poor. Local bureaus for the same purpose are working

all over the country. Trains and long caravans of trucks loaded with clothing are constantly running to the North. Every day the Bureaus receive heaps of clothing from private persons and shops. Small farmers, big landowners and foodstuff-dealers give plenty of victuals for the evacuated and suffering population in Finland. Several big papers have also started successful collections of their own. Firms and private persons have given cars, motor-lorries and their own dogs for the service of the army. A big shop in one of the principal streets of Stockholm has been rented where other gifts: jewelry, antiquities and precious things, which are flowing in, are being sold.

At Epiphany—a holiday in Sweden—more than 90.000 workers offered to work on condition that their wages be transferred to the assistance of Finland. This fine example is still being followed every Sunday, bringing in big sums. Many people in all walks of life are giving each month one day's earning. Quite privately, without any public propaganda, 62.000.000 crowns were collected among commercial and industrial leading men.

15.000 homes are ready to receive evacuated children and mothers with babies. Schools for the children and asylums for old people are organized. The activities of the Red Cross and the "Save the Children Fund" are meeting with enormous and most generous response. Thousands of young men are going out as volunteers to Finland.

These are only glimpses. It is impossible to tell everything; much is done privately and does not reach the ear of the public. Everywhere, in the homes, in trains, at social entertainments, women are knitting and sewing warm clothing for Finnish soldiers and refugees.

Of course, our own members have not been inactive. Besides taking an active part in the general relief work they sent to our office about 7.000 crowns to be used for immediate relief of the misery among destitute refugees who are flocking over the frontier in the North.

We are all revolted at Russia's brutal attack on the peaceful, industrious and unpretentious Finnish people. We all feel a flaming indignation at her atrocious warfare against open cities and the defenceless civil population. And more strongly than ever we realize how many and how firm are the ties which for centuries have bound our countries together.

E. B.

Switzerland

The Swiss Executive of the W.I.L.P.F. met on the 18th February in Zurich. In connection with a very good report by Dr. H. Stähelin on the meeting of the International Executive of last December, it was decided to arrange a Swiss Summer School where the problems of a Federated Europe shall be treated from the political and economic point of view.

In order to have a good documentation ready for the discussion of a durable peace, several members of the Executive undertook to collect from daily newspapers and periodicals facts and articles that make valuable contributions to such a discussion. A woman experienced in scientific classification of such material will be asked to file the cuttings.

A pamphlet on the situation of refugees in Switzerland in past and present times is being published by the Swiss Branch. The Swiss Branch as such does not consider the giving of material help to refugees as its special task, although several of its members are individually very much engaged in work for emigrants; but it has always stood for a better legal position of the refugees, and this pamphlet is a very urgent appeal for keeping up the old Swiss tradition of giving shelter to those who seek it in Switzerland.

The local branches are asked to support or hand in petitions in favour of better legal arrangements for the refugees in their respective cantons.

The draft of a Declaration of Human Rights which was presented at the International Executive is recommended to the local branches for study.

A letter was addressed to the members of the Swiss Parliament in which they were asked to defend the liberty of press and publications, not only because this liberty is one of the fundamental rights of democracy, but also because a people who helps to veil the truth makes itself an accomplice to those who have an interest in keeping it from being known. Besides, it is only by knowing facts and looking truth in the face that a people is capable of making its contribution to a new order of things.

C. R.-N.

U. S. A.

The following resolution was, among others, passed by the National Board of the United States Section, Washington D.C., January 20-21, 1940.

Conference on Mediation.

To the President of the United States.

The National Board of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, meeting in Washington to-day, calls upon you, Mr. President, to initiate immediately a conference of neutrals which shall sit continuously and be ready at all times to offer its services in mediation to open the way for a negotiated peace. We believe that speedy cessation of hostilities would prevent much suffering and loss among both the neutral and belligerent peoples. War continues in the Far East. A new and dreadful conflict has broken out between the Soviet Union and Finland. Believing that prolongation of the war and the consequent intensification of bitterness would greatly lessen the chances of negotiating a just and lasting peace, we urge you, Mr. President, to call such a conference now, lest the coming months bring greater and more widespread hostilities.

A SERVICE OF INTELLECTUAL ASSISTANCE TO PRISONERS OF WAR

has been instituted by the International Bureau of Education in Geneva (Palais Wilson). The Bureau of Education points out that this Service, far from duplicating the work of the International Red Cross or other institutions, will, on the contrary, be co-ordinated with the work of the International Red Cross Committee in favour of prisoners of war.

The Bureau will place itself especially at the disposal of members of the teaching profession and of students

who are prisoners of war. It will endeavour to be useful to all those on whom rests the duty of transmitting culture to the generation of to-morrow and who may be able to utilise the enforced leisure of captivity to prepare themselves for their future task, or to complete their studies.

The International Bureau of Education has received a donation of Swiss francs 10,000 towards this work from the Swiss Government and it expresses the earnest hope that other Governments will follow this example and that teachers' organisations and educationists will give tangible expression to their interest in the humanitarian work undertaken by the Bureau.

BOOK CORNER

Bohus BENES: *Czechoslovakia—Its Sacrifice and Future*, published by the Czechoslovak National Council of America, Chicago, 2608 South Central Park Avenue.

Copies may also be obtained from W.I.L.P.F., International Headquarters, Geneva, 12 Rue du Vieux-Collège (international reply coupon to be enclosed).

Events are moving so rapidly to-day that even the most inhuman actions are soon pushed into the background by new happenings. Times of catastrophe like these bring forth craving for ever new sensations and—oblivion! Who is mindful to-day of the heroic attitude and the sufferings of the Czech people? That is past and forgotten...

"Czechoslovakia—Its Sacrifice and Future" tells in a most captivating way of the work for the future that has been carried on by Mr. Benes and his followers since the rape of Czechoslovakia on March 15th, 1939. A Council presided over by Mr. Benes has been formed—the centre of a two million people without a country. This people without country not only finds itself to a great extent supported by the United States of America, its existence and justified claims are also recognized by France, Great Britain, the Dominions, etc.

Vigorous realistic Pacifists who stand for Right—even if unwritten—have the duty to see to it that this booklet is made known in wide circles so as to keep alive, in the name of Justice, the claim for righting the wrong done to Czechoslovakia.

L. G. H.

John D. CRAIG: *Danger is my Business*. Messrs. Simon and Scheuter, New-York, 386 Fourth Avenue. (In German:) *Gefahr ist mein Beruf*. Orell-Füssli Verlag, Zurich.

Outside the atmosphere of violence, war and political hatred, J. D. Craig creates a life of his own, warmly supported by his mother and his wife. In order to serve science and technical progress, he exposes his life without hesitation to any danger. He makes his experiments not on animals, but on his own person! The depths of the sea are his home, he shows us the miracles of the sea and of its inhabitants in their unexpected splendour. His book captivates one's attention and makes one forget for hours the nerve-racking politics of the day. It is refreshing and stimulating, and the fact that there are nowadays young men like Craig gives one courage and hope for the future.

L. G. H.

-1 APR. 1941

RES
PERIOD