

# PAX INTERNATIONAL

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## PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S CHICAGO SPEECH

As the editor of *Pax* has asked me to write an article on the reaction of the United States Section to the President's speech, I am very glad indeed to clarify the position of our Section on many points raised in Chicago. This necessarily will have my own "slant", and will not represent the opinion of all of our members. I can only try to interpret our voted policies and the reasons behind our action.

We rejoiced at much which the President said at Chicago.

### United States Section Writes to the President

In a letter to Mr. Roosevelt, sent the day after the Chicago speech and signed by Hannah Clothier Hull, President of the U.S. Section, and myself, we wrote in part as follows:—

"Your Chicago speech on foreign policy has been studied with the keenest interest by the members of the Executive Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. May we join with others in expressing to you our belief that you have rendered a most important service in stressing the fact that the world is now a single economic unit and that the United States cannot escape its responsibility in an internationally organized world.

"We rejoice in your pledge 'to pursue a policy of peace', and in placing the moral force of the United States so firmly behind the observation of treaty obligations as well as urging a return to a belief in the 'pledged word and the value of a signed treaty'."

These sentiments are definitely reflected in the stated policies voted at the last Annual Meeting of the United States Section, when, under the heading of INTERNATIONAL, we said:—

"We urge that the United States should make clear that it is ready to do its part in an international conference to try to reach a world settlement, economic and political."

Further in our Policies, we went on to say:—

"We urge the extension of the Good Neighbour Policy to the Far East by such measures as a treaty with Japan, China, Russia and other Pacific powers on the basis of no new fortification in the Pacific, of naval limitation, neutralization of the Philippines and modification of the United States Immigration Law, and also on the part of Japan of cessation of interference in China through military expansion, through opium traffic, or in the Chinese customs administration."

### The President Invokes Unjustifiable Fear

However, we seriously question the President when he said at Chicago:—

"If those things come to pass (war) in other parts of the world, let no one imagine that America will escape, that it may expect mercy, that this Western Hemisphere will not be attacked and that it will continue tranquilly and peacefully to carry on the ethics and the arts of civilization."

The President knows as well as we do that Continental America will not be attacked. Quite literally there are not ships enough in the world for any two or more powers successfully to attack and invade our country, and we believe, therefore, that such a statement is unworthy of the head of a nation. We feel that, for the unthinking who do not know the facts, it is an appeal to fear. Some of us are aware that, in spite of the President's magnificent efforts, unemployment is still a hideous problem which is not being solved. For the President, therefore, to suggest a threat of attack is the most subtle and effective way to push forward the two billion dollar armament programme which will follow soon on the heels of his speech, in an effort to deal with the unsolved unemployment problem at home.

We also feel that the President was speaking in riddles when he said:—

"When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease."

We think the President should have clarified what he meant. We believe in quarantining ourselves against war (not against a nation). The Neutrality Act is the only effective instrument for that.

### The President is Ambiguous and Evasive

Finally, we do not like the statement from the President's speech which reads as follows:—

"It is my determination to pursue a policy of peace and to adopt every practicable measure to avoid involvement in war."

What does this mean, "*every practicable measure*"? We are sure the President would have had the country with him had he said:—

"As long as I am President of the United States we shall not go to war under any circumstances. Knowing this, I am

going to ask the country to support me in using all the moral and economic and political pressure I can use in concert with other nations, after I apply the Neutrality Act."

His Chicago speech did not give us that assurance.

### Roosevelt's Chicago Speech Contradicts His Own Definition of War

Again we quote the President, this time from his Armistice Day Address in 1935, when he declared:—

"We are acting to simplify definitions and facts by calling war, *war* when armed invasion and a resulting killing of human beings takes place."

In 1937 there is armed invasion in China. Those who wrote the so-called Neutrality Act, having anticipated this very situation, having debated it from every angle, drafted a bill which began as follows:—

"Upon the outbreak or during the progress of any war between or among two or more foreign states, the President shall proclaim such fact, and it shall thereafter be unlawful to export or to attempt to export or to cause to be exported or to sell for export, arms, ammunition or implements of war from any place in the United States to any belligerent country named in the proclamation, or to any neutral country for trans-shipment to or for the use of any such belligerent country."

A law with this wording was temporarily adopted by the Congress for a two-year period. Last year the law was made final but the wording in this section was changed to read:—

"Whenever the President shall find that there exists a state of war . . . ."

### The State Department Assures the Country that the President Will Act

The Administration asked for this change on the ground that Congress might not be in session, and that someone should be responsible for invoking the Neutrality Act in the event of hostilities breaking out in other parts of the world. Nevertheless the new wording was vigorously questioned at a hearing before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives on January 7, 1936 (less than two years ago) when the Hon. R. Walton Moore, Assistant Secretary of State, appeared before that body to represent the Administration in asking for this change in wording. Congressman Tinkham of Massachusetts demanded to know if the new wording would not permit the President to evade invoking the law. In reply to this question Mr. Moore said:—

"He (the President) has not thought that he had authority to delay, and I can say with the utmost confidence that is the interpretation placed upon that language by the present Executive."

The Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee:—  
"And the State Department?"

Mr. Moore:—

"And the State Department. He (the President) would not believe that when a war actually occurred, he (the President) would have any authority to defer action for six months or a year, or two years, any other period of time; but that he would be under obligation to act promptly . . . if hostilities become more or less flagrant, and there is no doubt that a war is in progress, then there rests upon the Executive, under the language of the present law—and would rest upon him under the language of the proposed legislation—the duty to make his proclamation."

Thus, with this pledge, the Administration was able

to change the wording of the law. However, it never was able to change the mandatory provisions on munitions and loans and credits.

The Act unfortunately was misnamed, for it is not "neutrality" in the old sense of the word. Rather it is *positive neutrality*, or better still, non-co-operation, or non-intervention in war.

### The President of the United States Disobeys the Law of the Land

The President did not veto the bill. He had an opportunity to do so. He signed it. The President of the United States has taken an oath of office. In that oath he pledges himself to uphold the Constitution and the *laws of the land*. The so-called Neutrality Act was an overwhelming expression, through the democratic method, of the will of the American people. Yet the President, who in 1935 stated that we were simplifying definitions in order to call war, *war*, and whose State Department representative gave assurances of Presidential action in case of war, finds that in 1937 he is unable to apply the law of the land.

### State Department Searches for Legal Excuse

It is, of course, possible that our State Department has found some legal technicality in the word "find", by which the President may excuse his failure to invoke the law. It has taken six closely typewritten pages from the Legal Division to try to explain that technicality. But, whatever the excuse for its non-application, the law was passed by an overwhelming vote, only twelve voting against it in the House.

### The People of the United States Support Neutrality

In September of this year, only two months ago, a popular vote was taken on this question. The Institute of Public Opinion, which conducted this poll, is the most accurate measure of public opinion in America. That poll, asking whether Congress should call for even "stricter neutrality or discretion for the President", showed the following results:—

69 per cent. for stricter neutrality; 31 per cent. for discretion.

### The Head of a Nation Should Obey the Law

We believe that in a world in which Fascism is rising, in which democratic methods are falling by the wayside, it is imperative for the head of a great democratic country to carry out the law. When the head of a country fails to do this, we believe that it is a most dangerous precedent and should be discouraged by all those who claim to love democratic methods. Even if we did not believe that this law was a good one (and we believe that it was so tampered with by the Administration that it is not a very good one) nevertheless, a very real principle is here involved.

### The United States Section, The League of Nations, and the Nine Power Pact

The United States Section has always stood for the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations provided it remains exempt from military obligations. In our last statement of policies, we say:—

## HEADQUARTERS' ACTION IN SINO-JAPANESE DISPUTE

### Recommendations to National Sections

#### I. GOVERNMENT INTERNATIONAL ACTION.

Send Deputations to your respective Governments urging on them the adoption of an international policy:—

1. Supporting China's appeal to the League of Nations for diplomatic, moral, economic, financial, political and juridical measures based on the application of Articles 16 and 17 of the Covenant.

2. Refusing imports from Japan.

3. Sternly calling the aggressor, Japan, to conform to her obligations arising out of the Nine Powers Treaty and the Kellogg-Briand Pact to both of which she is a co-signatory.

4. Urging the abolition of air warfare and the internationalization of civil aviation.

#### II. GOVERNMENT NATIONAL MEASURES.

Ask your Government:—

1. to place an embargo on war material, arms and munitions to the aggressor, pointing out that it is futile to protest as long as it continues to allow the exports of the necessary supplies for carrying the war, including oil to fuel airplanes;

2. to prevent the extension of official and possibly also private loans and credits to the Japanese Government;

3. to refrain from sending technical assistance to the Japanese Government.

#### III. WORK WITHIN NATIONAL SECTIONS.

Hold mass meetings, conferences and demonstrations for the following purposes:

1. to pass on resolutions in support of the victim of aggression to the press, ministers, Members of Parliament, political parties,

2. and against Japan's aggression in China;

3. to send protests to the Foreign Office, the ministers of the Army and the Navy in Tokio, the Japanese embassies and diplomatic representatives in every country;

4. to telegraph protests to the Japanese Government expressing concern and indignation at the violation of peace by undeclared war and aggression, and at the same time

5. send letters to the Nankin Government assuring it of our sympathy and support.

We believe that, furthermore, none of our members will feel able to buy Japanese goods while the aggression continues and we support this action. Our aim in recommending any such action is not to hurt or punish the Japanese people, but to stop aggression. League of Nations action on these lines would always in a real sense benefit the people concerned by stopping the war.

### Letter sent to President of Nine Power Conference, Brussels

"The Chairmen of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom express the very earnest hope that the Government representatives at present assembled

"We stand for the United States membership in the League of Nations, exempt from military obligations, and for a revision of the League Covenant to conform with the spirit and letter of the Paris Pact."

We, therefore feel completely justified in urging that the Neutrality Act shall be carried out *first* before our Government enters into any conference with other nations.

And further we would point out that while it is true that Japan has signed a treaty to respect the "territorial integrity of China", and has ruthlessly broken that treaty, nevertheless we believe that as a nation our own record is not above reproach. Our Section has long felt that our own "sins of omission" have been leading to the very situation which has come. We believe that the United States, Great Britain and France have all failed "to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the administrative integrity of China," by the continuance of extra-territorial rights, courts, the presence of gun-boats and armed forces in China. Nor can we forget that Article 3 of the Nine Power Pact begins:—

"With a view to applying more effectively the principles of the Open Door or equality of opportunity in China for trade and industry of all nations. . . ."

Four hundred million souls may some day have a valuable purchasing power.

### The Glaring Inconsistencies of Roosevelt's Foreign Policy

Did the President act when Ethiopia was invaded? No moral indignation was voiced from the White House then—no action to co-operate with the League was taken.

And what of Spain? An embargo on arms and money applying to both sides was pressed through the Congress in twenty-four hours by the Administration—an unprecedented action where armed insurrection had taken place against a legitimate government. Did our democratic President speak out—did he voice the moral indignation we all felt. No, he did not. But then there was no real problem affecting dominant American interests either in Ethiopia or Spain. But China is different; and so, of it, Roosevelt speaks with the voice of Wilson.

### Roosevelt's Plan for the Brussels Conference Shrouded in Mystery

Will any real solution for the problems in the Far East be offered by our Government at the Nine Power Conference? So far, the Administration claims that there is nothing it plans to suggest. Will the United States offer to adjust her immigration policy? Will our Government offer to bring back our gun-boats and marines, give up extra-territorial rights in China and make positive concessions in her trade policies with Japan, as a partial contribution to the solution? Is our Government truly interested in the tragic plight of the Chinese or does Article 3 of the Nine Power Pact quoted above still represent the basis of the President's indignation and emotion?

In the meantime in the name of democracy we ask him to carry out the law which was passed by an overwhelming majority of a democratically elected Congress. When he does that we shall be more affected by the truly high moral pleading against the breaking of treaties, and by his call for co-operation which seemed so to affect other countries.

DOROTHY DETZER.

in Brussels will take every possible initiative to expedite the cessation of war in China at the earliest possible moment, if necessary by immediate and systematic application of moral, diplomatic, political, economic and financial measures against the aggressor Government.

"They further urge that any offers of mediation or proposals for measures to end the conflict must in no way result in creating a prime to the aggressor by conceding to Japan territory annexed through an undeclared war of invasion,

"and that the re-establishment of peace in China will be compatible with her sovereignty, the full integrity of her territory and in line with the existing treaties.

"They consider as essential the withdrawal of Japanese troops from the positions occupied since the invasion of July 7th, 1937;

"and urge that any just settlement of the Far Eastern problems must include the restoration of Chinese sovereignty in Manchuria.

"Only by determined restraint of the aggressor can the increasing danger of a world war be prevented, international law be restored and justice done to the victim."

#### Letter sent to President of League of Nations Council

"The Chairmen of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, appalled by the reports on the situation of Refugees in China, address to the Members of the League of Nations Council the urgent appeal

to appoint, as soon as at all possible, a High Commissioner to investigate conditions among the refugees and take, on behalf of the League, immediate measures to improve them.

"They venture to remind the Council of the facts given in the enclosed copy of a letter which the Director of the National Health Administration of China has addressed to the Diplomatic Representatives of Foreign Countries in China, on September 18th, 1937.

"They know that the budget of the League of Nations for 1938 has already been established; but financial means ought to be allocated to assist a State Member of the League of Nations, which is the victim of an invasion by an Aggressor State.

"They urge the Council of the League of Nations to take immediate steps not only to check the aggression, but also to relieve the distress of those who are exposed to the cruel sufferings caused by the war of invasion."

#### Letter to Minister of Justice, Bucharest

"The attention of the Chairmen of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has been drawn to a report in the "News Chronicle" of September 28th, 1937, reading:

"Children tried by Army Court. From our own Correspondent, Bucharest, Monday.

"The Roumanian army has been given the task of suppressing the growth of "Left" doctrines among Roumanian school children. The Fascist movement, it is complained, is not making sufficiently rapid headway among the youth of the nation. A Military Court

at Cernauti has tried 52 secondary school pupils, boys and girls, charged with Communist activities. Thirty-seven were found guilty of having "endangered the security of the State" and sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from six months to five years, with heavy fines. The fifteen others were acquitted. The youngest of these were handed back to their parents on the understanding they would be sent to prison if they resumed their "treasonable activities".

"They strongly protest against the judgment of the Military Court in Cernauti, which has sentenced thirty-seven pupils, boys and girls, to several years of imprisonment for having endangered the security of the State.

"We do not wish to interfere with the internal affairs of your country, but as mothers and educators we feel it our right and our duty to point out that abroad people question whether the security of a State can really be endangered by political activities of school children. Besides, modern pedagogy and penal methods have found new lines of educating the youth of a State for the service of freedom, justice and democracy. We urge that such different methods be applied and that the young people be not exposed to the fatal effects of prison life, which will not only injure the young people, but which may also be a detriment for society as a whole."

#### Spain

The following telegram was sent to Mr. Eden, Foreign Office, London, on November 4th, 1937:

"Women's International League Peace and Freedom urge British protection rescue Asturian miners."

### NEWS FROM SECTIONS

#### Holland

The following resolution was passed at the Annual Meeting.

"This Annual Meeting, deep under the impression of the renewed violations of international law and of solemn international agreements (League of Nations Covenant, Kellogg-Briand Pact and Nine Power Treaty);

indignant at the undeclared war which Japan has brought over China, and which was exclusively dictated by self-interest;

dismayed at the bombardments, both on the civil population and the militarists in China;

of opinion that it is of the greatest importance for the League of Nations to know that it is backed up by public opinion all over the world,

appeals to the Government of the Netherlands to continue its efforts towards bringing to a conclusion the conflict in the Far East in co-operation with the other nations, with all the means at their disposal, such as:—

1. an international embargo on war-material, including oil,
2. an international suppression of official, and wherever possible, private loans and credits to the Japanese Government,
3. international suspension of diplomatic, social and economic relations with Japan (with the exception of an embargo on foodstuffs, medicine and wound dressing requisites).

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Netherlands Section, further urges the sending of an international delegation from the League of Nations to China, for the purpose of investigating the situation on the spot and giving first-hand information to the League of Nations, which thereby should be enabled clearly to see its way towards restoring peace."

#### Great Britain

The following Resolution was passed by the Executive Committee on October 12th.

"The Women's International League warmly supports the universal protests against Japanese aggression in China, and urges that in order to be effective these protests should be accompanied by action, the first object of which should be to cause that aggression to cease.

"With this end in view, and in the earnest desire that our own country shall abstain from participating even indirectly in the crime that is being perpetrated in the Far East, we ask that so long as hostilities continue the British Government should

- (1) place an immediate embargo on the export to Japan of all supplies necessary for carrying on the war, including fuel oil;
- (2) use its influence to prevent the granting of loans and credits or the sending of military technical assistance to Japan;
- (3) co-operate with the U.S.A. and the Netherlands in an agreement to exclude all imports from Japan.

It should be clearly stated that such measures of economic restraint would be temporary, for the sole purpose of stopping the war, and would be followed as soon as possible by the calling of a Conference for the free and equal discussion of world economic needs.

In view of the world-wide detestation of the use of aerial bombardment by the Japanese forces the Women's International League urges the British Government to renounce all use of aircraft for such purposes and to take the initiative in a movement for the total abolition of military and naval aircraft."

#### Letters to President Roosevelt

Norway, Holland, Finland, France and Great Britain have sent letters to President Roosevelt along the lines suggested by the International Chairmen's letter printed in the October issue of *Pax*.

#### France

##### Les Réfugiés Espagnols

Texte adressé au Président du Conseil, au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères et au Ministre de l'Intérieur.

"C'est avec une douleur profonde, mêlée de honte, que les adhérentes de la Section Française de la Ligue Internationale des Femmes pour la Paix et la Liberté ont pris connaissance de la décision inouïe qui vient d'être prise au sujet des réfugiés espagnols, pour la plupart des femmes, des enfants, des vieillards ou des malades. Sachant les conditions affreuses dans lesquelles ils ont dû fuir leur pays, nous nous préoccupons de leur refaire une vie qui puisse, temporairement, les aider à se remettre des terribles secousses qu'ils ont subies.

Tout en songeant avec tristesse à l'insuffisance des remèdes apportés à des maux si démesurés, nous étions

heureuses de penser que la France, fidèle à ses traditions de générosité, faisait beaucoup pour eux. Et voilà que, subitement, l'aide de la France leur est refusée. . . . Ces milliers de malheureux doivent, brusquement, reprendre leur exode et, cette fois, non pas pour échapper à un sort atroce mais pour retourner dans des zones dangereuses; cela, au moment même où les bombardements de la population civile espagnole redoublent de violence.

Nous nous représentons ce que seraient nos sentiments si, demain, nous et les nôtres, nous étions appelés à subir un semblable traitement. Au nom de la Section Française de la Ligue Internationale des Femmes pour la Paix et la Liberté nous demandons instamment au Gouvernement Français de ne pas permettre que ces victimes du combat pour la liberté qui semblaient sauvées, soient, de nouveau, exposées aux plus cruelles privations et à la mort."

#### CONGRESS REPORT

Every delegate to the Ninth Congress of the W.I.L.P.F. held in Luhacovice will welcome the Report which is full of interesting matter. Delegates will find themselves back once again amidst the stimulating, inspiring life of the Congress. They will be reminded of its absorbing sittings, of the new friendships formed, of the old renewed.

To those members who were unable to attend the Convention the Report will be equally interesting, because it gives the important speeches made and the resolutions passed.

Of no less value will it be to all readers of this paper, because its 200 pages show a clear exposition of W.I.L.P.F. policy in connection with the different topics which were dealt with at the Congress.

It is an indispensable book of reference with valuable and up-to-date information, and should, therefore, make a special appeal to all W.I.L.P.F. workers, alike at headquarters and far afield. It includes the addresses of all National Sections, as well as a complete list of the Commissions with the names and addresses of the members thereon.

Another feature of this attractive publication is the photographs of many Congress Members, and of paragraphs reporting the Congress in many languages, which appeared in the daily papers and magazines of many countries. They are significant of the vast support given by the press to the Convention.

This work—informative, educative, illuminating, and coloured throughout with the international tone—is no mean achievement.

It should find a home in every public, state and university library, as well as in people's libraries, and in the bookshelves of organisations. It should be the means of fostering enthusiasm for, and stimulating effort in, the cause of Peace and Freedom.

It is expected that the Report will be received from the printers by the middle of December. Those who are familiar with the work of supervising the printing of publications in three official languages will be acquainted also with its attendant difficulties, which are augmented when statements relative to such much discussed political events as non-intervention and neutrality are included.

The price will be frs. 2.50-3.00 and orders should be sent as soon as possible to the Secretary, W.I.L.P.F. Headquarters, Geneva, 12, rue du Vieux-Collège.

### THE POSITION IN AUSTRIA

At our Congress in Luhacovice we had the opportunity of meeting our comrades from various countries and it will interest our readers to hear something about the position in one of the critical centres of Europe. Austria is now a small country, but it is of greater importance than its size would suggest on account of its geographical position, wedged in between great aggressive military states, and on account of its historic past, having been a great empire with numerous important political and business connections, which could not be wiped away at a minute's notice, when the Peace Treaties decreed a new order. The country is supposed to be politically independent and it is so in fact, but the independence of small states is always a questionable matter when the interests of powerful neighbours intervene. If moral right ruled, these small states could feel safe, but does moral right rule?

Since the advent to power of the Nazis in Germany in 1933, the position has become more critical still. At first it looked very much as if Germany would simply swallow up Austria in a few months and if mere physical power had been decisive, it could certainly have done so, but here comes in a ray of hope, in that other factors had to be considered, even if they were only the mutual jealousies of the great powers and the fear that any change of boundaries might let loose an avalanche of unrest. There was a time when the Nazis tried to frighten Austria into submission. Every day brought news of murders, attacks on railways, of shops that were blown up and other gangster methods that filled every-day life with dangers and against which the police seemed powerless, because the culprits always fled to Germany. That was in the time of Chancellor Dollfuss, who was personally brave and did his best.

His government only represented a minority as the Nazis on the one hand and the Socialists on the other were against him. He made continual efforts to win the support of the workers and one of the Deputy-Mayors of Vienna, Dr. K. E. Winter, was appointed with the special mission of winning over the workers. But after the civil war of 1934 too much bad feeling had accumulated and the workers were not to be won without concessions to Socialism which the Government refused to think of. There would have been a way out of the difficulty if the Government had recognised the fact that the Nazis were the great enemy and had co-operated with the Socialists in combating them. But this did not suit Dr. Dollfuss, partly on principle and partly because he had to please his powerful friend, Mussolini.

His successor, Dr. Schuschnigg is in about the same position, only that the world crisis has become worse still and the fear of great clashes more acute.

The attempts to win over the workers are repeated from time to time, with equal lack of success. But meanwhile the Nazis are busy, using the economic crisis and the unemployment for winning people by lavish promises, being aided by help from foreign parts and quite unhampered by regards for truth and responsibility. It is not possible to say in what measure they have been successful, because under the present circumstances there

are no ways of finding out the real character of public opinion, but it is very much to be feared that their following is large, because so many people are naturally discontented and fly to the party or group which seems to promise most success.

Now the Government has the enormously difficult task of keeping the balance between the different groups of the discontent from within and the dangers from without, and anybody who wishes to be just must say it is a miracle how they have managed so far. The Government is authoritarian, it is true, which is not very different from a dictatorship, yet it is very much milder in Austria, partly on account of the national character which is much more gentle than that of the Germans, partly also by the influence of the Roman Catholic Church which enjoys great power in the country and which, whatever one may think of it from a religious point of view, certainly preaches morality, and encourages decency and good behaviour in a higher sense.

There is no way of expressing disagreement with the actions of the Government, because papers dare not print any article expressing opposition, speakers cannot find a public platform on which to express criticism, nor is there any other way of getting publicity. So many people who might be very useful are excluded from public work and not seeing a way of making themselves heard they gradually become indifferent, which is exactly what the Government wants.

There is the "Fatherland Front" for the only "formation of political opinion" and whoever desires to work may join it, to support the Government and even to give vent to some very mild opposition. There are official councils instead of Parliament with members appointed by the Government who are supposed to give matter-of-fact advice and who also occasionally venture to express diverging opinions. Besides this there is, of course, underground work, partly done by young, romantic people, but only the people concerned know what and how much is done.

The police have great power and can pronounce sentences up to six months, without trial, in their own jurisdiction. Then there are the regular courts of justice and besides the camps of detention where people may also be confined for months for their opinions and the assumption that they are "enemies of the State".

All this may sound bad enough and it clearly means much hardship for everybody whom it concerns. But they are means used by a State fighting for its life and surrounded by dangers on all sides. Whatever may be said about the methods, and clearly much may be said, yet they are infinitely better than those used by the Nazis.

Austria is a victim of hard peace treaties concluded without sufficient understanding for the local and national necessities and, therefore, it would deserve help and support from those countries who have been influential in bringing about the present difficulties—support not only for its own sake but also for the sake of the surrounding countries who might be drawn into the whirlpool of great changes and for the sake of the peace of Europe.

O.M.