

# PAX INTERNATIONAL

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## IS WAR THREATENING ?

This question preoccupies a constantly larger number of the people who come to our offices and write to us.

Is War Coming? The question is asked not only by those who are filled with anxiety, those who are in the grip of the political and economic chaos, those who harried from country to country by their persecutors. Anyone who is habitually meeting people of different countries and classes and hearing their reports of experiences in employment, in personal relations, in private, business and public life, anyone who sees how the armament fever of the big firms is increasing and the stocks are piling up, anyone who follows the exchanges, the statistics of foreign trade, the movement of raw material markets, and the newspaper and periodical press of many countries (both "coordinated" and "uncoordinated" publications) and anyone who has even a little intuitive sense for the psychology of nations with reference to their relations to one another and that of peoples in connection with their class and other divisions, anyone who has any power of interpreting speeches of Ministers, cabinet crises and situations arising in the League of Nations knows that it is at least possible that the next few months will see bloody happenings.

Our object in raising the question here is *not* to add to the sense of fear and to create an atmosphere favorable to the growth of the mischief. We repeat aloud the question which is in the minds of countless people because we feel it our duty to call attention to the fact that the next few weeks may be the last opportunity to do anything to take prophylactic measures to prevent the catastrophe. In *some* countries determined forces are entering into organic cooperation for defence against Fascism and War. In many countries on the other hand the existing peace forces are paralysed by differences and divisions, by self-centred holding apart, by dogmatism and doctrinairism, by timid reversion to the past and by a passive resignation to the inevitability of the approaching disaster. "An endless fear is worse than a fearful end" is the saying that meets us in many conversations on terrorism and the armaments races. No! A thousand times No! The women who during the War and after the war were steeled and trained for the struggle for Peace and Freedom must not give up now. Is it necessary to recall the countless sufferings of the civil populations, of the millions of war refugees on the Eastern fronts, of the millions of victims of famine and disease — to say nothing of the horrors of the battle fields?

Unfortunately the reproach, so often brought against us, is true — that most of those who live at a distance from places where the megalomania of Fascism and National-Socialism are displayed have no conception of their nebulous mystical intoxication with the idea of "self-testing", of the fanatical ambition to be considered as equal in a military sense. We all know that military power alone counts in the capitalist States of today so that it is easy to drive into a war psychosis countries with populations of millions, held, by a continuous terrorist tyranny, within a spiritual and intellectual autarchy. Unfortunately there is also justification for the reproach that statesmen and even political leaders of the Left continually let themselves be dazzled and lulled by the peace assurances of fascist and national-socialist agents although they ought to be aware that these are flatly contradicted by the practical policy and the propaganda of hate and provocation carried on inside the countries in question. This results in that uncertain and confused policy in so-called democratic countries and in the Disarmament Conference which has much facilitated the handiwork of those who are driving toward war.

It is in this situation that we appeal to all our co-workers, at what is perhaps the eleventh hour, "Be up and doing"! Double and treble your efforts in all your countries:

(I) To bring together all who are honestly determined to work against War and Fascism regardless of separate interests. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom stands above all dividing lines of country, race, party or creed. It must hold itself above the mêlée and be a bond of *union within* peoples as well as between peoples.

(II) To make the masses understand what Fascism really is—its terrorism, its will to war and its preparation for war. Carry on agitation from house to house, hire cinema halls in villages and suburbs, carry the agitation to the peasants in the country.

(III) To hasten the unmasking of the munition makers, munition traffickers and all their following. Demand the setting-up of investigation committees like the Nye Commission in the United States. Do not answer that this is technically impossible. Nothing was impossible when it was a question of organising the giant apparatus of war. Everything was "technically possible" when the last penny and the last man was taken from you by force—for the organisation of mass-murder. Can it really be technically impossible to organise the prevention of mass-murder and to bring systematic pressure to bear until the despicable war-mongers are one by one disclosed for what they are and brought to account? Pacifists and Socialists have too long dealt with the symptoms only. This is the cause of their complete failure everywhere. Let us try at last to get at the usurious roots of the evil.

(IV) To be vigilant that Conventions on Equality, Security and Disarmament do not enable co-signatories desiring to arm to increase their war preparation under cover of readiness for peace.

We who abhor Fascism and War could, if we were united, be a power by which even the strongest forces of the greed for profits would be shattered. Let us not cease to work, that we may not have to bear our share of the terrible burden of guilt.

Armistice Day, November eleven, 1934.

The Chairmen.



## THE SECOND ZURICH CONGRESS

The Zurich Congress of 1934 opens a new, and, we trust, an important chapter for our League. Certainly effective work for both Peace and Freedom were never more necessary. More and more we all realise, as was shown by the discussions at Zurich, the impossibility of separating the problems of peace and freedom from one another and especially from those of fundamental change, social and economic, and that we need as never before to work in this field, longing to see social as well as political solutions arrived at by peaceful means and determined to do everything that lies in our power for work to that end.

Everyone agreed that, thanks to G. B. and friends in Zurich, the Congress was beautifully organised. The fact that we met in a hall with good acoustic properties as well as convenient in other ways meant that difficulties of hearing did not increase the inevitable difficulties of understanding one another caused by differences of language and of backgrounds and presuppositions.

In spite of the hard times 15 National Sections were represented, many of them by a long list of delegates and alternates. (The figures are 135 full delegates, 9 alternates and 4 visitors.) As arranged beforehand, the general public was not admitted and there was no publicity until brief accounts were sent to the papers after the last session. This made it easier to give full and frank expression to all one's thoughts.

Also as planned, the Congress was mainly devoted to the consideration of our principles and policy rather than to resolutions and details of work to be undertaken.

It is hoped that the Spring Executive on the contrary will be devoted especially to the question of plans for future activities.

The consideration of principles and policy, at Zurich, took the form of a revision of the Constitution. This was successfully carried out and a complete text (now available) was agreed upon.

The opening address by Clara Ragaz analysed our problems and struck the key-note of the debate that followed. I will not try to give a résumé of what she said as the full text is on pages 3-6.

In going through the minutes of the Congress I have been very much struck by the interest and intrinsic value of the discussion. It is a thought-provoking

and in a sense a dramatic debate and will be a permanent record of the state of mind of people like ourselves, with our points of difference and our many points of agreement, at the present difficult moment.

The newly worded statement of aims reprinted in this issue, page 6, reflects the common mind of our group perhaps as fairly as it can be done, though at one point and another it goes too far for some and not far enough for others. The same is true of the definition of the powers of the Executive Committee in Art. IV. We have always had Sections who wanted close and effective control of League activities by the National Sections and others who felt that one of the peculiar virtues of the organisation was our tradition of being able to act as an international body without too much "redtape" or delay. The relevant passage in the new Constitution reads "Between meetings of the Executive Committee the Officers may act on their own authority in international affairs in cases where it is impossible to consult the National Sections provided that the decision is taken unanimously by the Officers."

"The Executive and the Officers shall regularly consult the National Sections regarding action on affairs within their respective countries, or on the policy of their country. In emergency when communication is impossible or dangerous, action may be taken without consultation, provided the application of the League principles is clear."

A new departure was made in defining the requirements which a national group must meet in order to be acceptable as a National Section. These may also be applied to existing Sections if the Executive Committee thinks best. They are a membership of at least 50, a written Constitution, general meetings held at stated intervals, reports to the international office, annual dues of 50 Swiss francs (which can be excused if necessary) and the appointment of Consultative Members.

A new National Section, for Jugoslavia, was admitted.

These seem to be the most important and interesting changes made by the Congress though I should perhaps include the new provisions as to a "World Section". (See p. 8 for details.)

I profoundly hope that this new Constitution will prove to offer a basis for constructive, valuable and united

work,—work carried on some of it by National Sections side by side, in constant contact and within the frame work of our common purpose, some of it internationally organised like our Frankfurt Congress on Scientific Warfare in 1929, our World Disarmament Petition of 1931 or—of another type—our Geneva office and *Pax*.

This is the second time that we have had to hold a Congress without the stimulus and guidance of Miss Addams and the pleasure of her actual presence. She sent greetings to the Congress, which sent a message of greetings in return and by unanimous vote of the Congress she was asked to continue to serve as Honorary International President.

The new Executive Committee of twelve elected by the Congress is made up as follows: G. B., E. G. Balch, D. Detzer, C. Drevet, G. Duchêne, Y. Hertzka, L. Hanouskova, L. Mohr, E. Pye, C. Ragaz, C. Ramondt, Dr. N. Sahlbom.

Clara Ragaz and G. B. were chosen by the new Executive Committee as International Chairmen.

C. Ramondt-Hirschmann, the President of our Dutch Section, who for so many years has given devoted service in the rather thankless office of Treasurer, has been asking for some time to be released. At Zurich it was decided to have two Treasurers. The first Treasurer should study our budget, both on the side of expenses and the side of income and try to build up a better financing of our work in cooperation with corresponding Treasurers, one appointed by each National Section. The second would have the usual duties of a Treasurer, largely of a routine character. The place of first Treasurer has not yet been filled. Mrs. L. Mohr, the new chairman of our Section in Norway, has generously consented to act as second Treasurer beginning the first of November.

A concise statement of our Financial situation including the expenses of the Zurich Congress will be sent to interested members who care to ask for it.

E. G. Balch is to continue as Honorary Secretary, if desired, for another six months (or till the Spring Meeting of the Executive Committee) Copies of Secretary's reports of C. Drevet and E. G. Balch will be sent free on request.

## Political, Economic and Social Changes in the World since 1918 and the Problems resulting for the Work and Methods of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Address by Clara Ragaz

Opening the Eighth International Congress

Zürich, September third, 1934

No one who took part in the Congress of 1919 can avoid making comparisons between the background of that gathering and of this.

At that the world was drawing breath after the fearful nightmare of the war which had weighed on it for more than four years. The war had developed forms of destruction such as the wildest imagination had not pictured. But it was just the frightful power of destruction and the unhuman and impersonal character of modern warfare which had evoked in the best of the belligerents, in all countries, an inextinguishable hatred of war and caused a war weariness in the great masses of the front-line fighters and of the civil population which made them accessible to all efforts toward peace.

The peace negotiation at Versailles and Trianon caused the most serious uneasiness among all friends of peace since it was perfectly clear that the severity and injustice of the peace terms that the defeated had to accept were new sources of international conflict. On the other hand there was something extraordinarily hopeful in the liberation of oppressed peoples and the formation of new independent states. Also in spite of the fact that the Covenant of the League of Nations was subjected to sharp criticism precisely from the pacifist side, the realisation of the idea of the League of Nations implied the possibility of a solution of the injustices of the peace treaties and established for the first time, in however loose a form, a community of peoples. Moreover the conception of democracy among peoples which found expression in the institution of the League of Nations made it seem less important whether the extent of a given State were larger or smaller. Large or small, it was a member of the community and as such could throw its vote into the scales of the common decisions.

The democratic idea which was pre-

sent in general phrases in the Covenant seemed furthermore to be on the way to victorious realisation in the new constitutions of whole peoples. The end of the war had overturned thrones and rolled not heads but crowns in the dust; and there really seemed also to be passing through the world a sort of spring hope of a new brotherly cooperation among the different classes of the population, within the countries.

Besides this, the economic changes which the war-years had brought had, on the one hand, shaken the secure belief in the rightfulness of the capitalist system, even among the rich, and, on the other hand, communism had already won a secure position in Russia and gained a transient victory in Hungary. So the soul of the world seemed to have been ploughed and loosened and all the conditions fulfilled for a new harvest.

We women, quite specially, had reason to greet the beginning of this new era which seemed to bring the satisfaction of the claims which for decades we had pressed again and again: the recognition of our equal rights in public life.

And we pacifists, members of the Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, had, in particular, good right to see in this first coming together of women after the war a sort of celebration of the victory of our ideas, for a good number of the claims which the brave pioneers at the Hague in 1915 had formulated, in the midst of the raging war, as bases for a permanent peace were on the way to be recognized and carried out: the right of peoples to dispose of themselves, democratic control of foreign policy, disarmament, arbitration, woman suffrage. In fact the Women's Conference at the Hague had also proclaimed as one of the basic conditions of world peace, an annual conference of peoples. All these points of the Hague peace programme were now become points in the

upbuilding and extension of an international organization embracing all the continents.

We were, in so far, free from illusions in that we realized that strenuous efforts lay ahead of us and that we had mighty forces against us, but certain definite points to hold to did seem to be present, certain definite directing principles to be indicated and a strong and earnest will to peace to be awakened.

And since then how have things developed? We must surely admit that the fundamental principles which had brought us together to our common work never stood so low as they do today and that the catastrophic course of events, as they have developed since 1919, did not follow the line that we foresaw.

Reaction followed Revolution. With the seizure of power in Italy by fascism there set in a glorification of violence such as we had expected never to experience again. The authoritarian state, the totalitarian state, is the dominating idea to which everything else must give way. The citizen is degraded to a subject and when this happens to men it happens in still higher degree to women. So women all along the line are forced out of the fields of employment so painfully won and sent back to the activities corresponding to "the natural vocations of women" as housewife and mother. At the same time, however, fascism again takes the child away from the mother, since the subject can never be brought early enough under the training and discipline of the State, to the end that he may become the willing tool as which alone he is valued in the fascist state.

It needs him as the willing instrument for maintaining internal order and quite specially for the realization of its imperialist plans. For fascism means imperialism and imperialism means militarism



and militarism, like fascism, needs the young. Fascism also hates the League of Nations idea, for it is based on other principles and gets its way by other means. It turns back to separate treaties and secret treaties, plays off one power against another and keeps itself always provided with military force as a last resort. It is therefore not at all desirous of disarmament; it works against it both consciously, for its whole system rests on the power of arms, and also unconsciously through its mere existence, by creating the atmosphere of fear and tension which breeds militarism. Nationalism also — in connection with fascism but not solely through fascism — has been intensified. Some peoples perhaps have come to lay new emphasis on their ties of kinship just because of their common need and the wrongs that they have suffered together; others, newly created communities, are tempted by their joy in their newly won independence into an exaggeration of their national bond; and unfortunately all nationalism carries in itself the danger of strengthening national consciousness in the representatives of the other nation. So here, too is a vicious circle of reciprocal influence.

This outcome of fascism finds its crassest and most terrible expression in German National Socialism. While in Italian fascism the totalitarian state is the idea which dominates all else, in German National-Socialism everything centres on the totalitarian people. Race, blood, the soil are the slogans which comprise the whole movement. Spiritual values are thrown entirely into the background by the claims made upon the member of the folk group by these natural ties — which at bottom are often highly fictitious conceptions. And "race", "blood", "soil" supply an excellent battle cry when it is a question of creating feeling against disarmament and of asserting the right to rearm.

The danger to world peace of Austrian fascism lies elsewhere. It is in the shape of the break-down of Austrian Socialism that it is to be set down as a loss in the accounting of History, and its internal division and its dependence make Austrian fascism a breeding place of danger of a quite special type.

Outside Europe, Japanese fascism and imperialism constitute the most terrible menace to world peace. At the moment they are, on the whole, the most immediate danger.

The economic collapse which one country after another experiences I can only refer to. In any case it would be impossible, in a short half hour, to give even an approximately adequate picture of pre-

sent economic conditions and their effect on the whole world situation. It would any way be beyond my power. The material is so overwhelming and the whole complex of questions so bewilderingly great that more intensive studies than I could make would be needful. But I believe it will be enough if we consider what a new situation is created by the fearful growth of unemployment in all countries. This unemployment creates, on the one hand, a host of men and women who have lost the basic conditions of their existence, and on the other hand compels the workers to accept the most unfavorable terms or lose their job. This produces a terrible new enslavement of the proletariat. But not the worker alone, but the middle classes also are included in this whole terrible crisis. The lower middle class, the small office holders, those living on a small income, who till then had enjoyed a more or less assured existence, however modest, were all — either gradually or often from one day to the next — involved in the catastrophe, and the number of those who live from hand to mouth or even have not bread enough to see them through the day, becomes greater and greater. To the economic downfall of the middle class and lower middle class has been added that of the peasants. When the working man earns nothing he can not buy of the peasant; the small peasant who even in so-called normal times found it difficult to keep his head above water has got continually deeper into debt and the only way of escape formerly open to him, flight to the city, the factory, is also closed to him.

Certainly this proletarianisation of the middle class and peasantry is not to be accounted wholly loss since it arouses numerous new circles to the complete failure of the present system. It may thus also help prepare the way for Socialism.

But a part of the great catastrophe of the past fifteen years is precisely that Socialism itself has suffered one defeat after another. First there was the breakdown of Socialism in Italy, then in Germany and Austria and at the same time also the failure of Socialism in England or at any rate that of MacDonald. And we must openly admit that in reality, it was not a defeat by outside force but an inner failure. Socialism has not its old power, its old fire. De Man is right in accusing Socialism of having become middle class. A specially lamentable example of this failure is the uncertain attitude of Socialism as to national defense. That the question should even arise here whether the pro-

letariat of one country should take up arms against the proletariat of another is in itself a betrayal of the best principles of Socialism. Russian Communism is an attempt on a great scale to carry through an economic transformation on the side of consumption, and on the political side we have to thank Litvinoff for the most wide-reaching disarmament proposal presented to the Conference. It would however be hard to prove that Russia's policy is a clear peace policy as a whole. Dictatorship and belief in force will not bring peace to the world even when they are in the service of Communism. It is of course ridiculous when the entrance of Russia into the League of Nations is vehemently attacked because she is unworthy to be received into this society of the righteous. If we stand by the idea of the League of Nations, and for my part I do so unconditionally, then (quite apart from the consideration that Russia would in any case be not a black sheep among white but at most a black sheep among other black sheep) we must keep the League of Nations open for all, as its real value consists just in being a League of all peoples; the only important thing would be for the peoples themselves to permeate the League with another spirit so that it would be drawn out of the confusions of secret negotiations and compacts and would become again a forum for open discussion and agreement between peoples.

We must however openly admit that at present the whole spiritual tendency of our time is not in this direction. Not only in definitely fascist circles, but quite generally, there is a cult of force which reckons only with power and numbers. It is not alone that the field of battle is glorified as if it had still the form of fighting where heroes, making their own decision, sacrificed life in personal combat and were not now merely a blind one sided slaughter and destruction in which war industry is pitted against war industry and technique against technique and where the fighters themselves can never know for whose profit they are selling their lives. In the social and economic sphere too this struggle for power and ruthless trampling upon the competitor is carried to a point where the atmosphere of strife must itself have a brutalizing effect upon the community of human life.

This spirit — or lack of spirit — finds expression also in churches and theologians. Just as in war time priests and ministers of religion blessed the cannon, so today there are to be found priests and pastors ready to justify beforehand the abominations of war and to elaborate a doctrine which has no difficulty

in harmonizing the killing of brothers with brother love. And what militarism approves is satisfactory to fascism. In Austria the Catholic Church said amen to the events of February, the use of heavy artillery against inhabited dwellings, the executions, the torture in prisons. In Germany men are creating for themselves a national religion of their own which provides the needed religious-national basis for the glorification of their own race and stock. In Italy too the Catholic Church has come to an understanding with fascism. This does not hinder men in Western Europe from feeling themselves called to campaign against the godlessness in Soviet Russia although to us it would seem that there is no grosser insult to the divine than this alliance of the Church with the most anti-religious forces of the time.

Now how does this whole political, social and spiritual work affect our work and purpose? It is indeed clear to all of us that in face of all this we need to come together to try to reach a common understanding as to the aims and the methods of our work. But the great question is: Will a way that we can pursue in common reveal itself to us? For just as in the world situation changes of a quite essential sort have taken place, so, in our own ranks, differences in our political outlook have become accentuated and our needs as to certain fundamental principles governing our methods of work are not the same.

These differences show most clearly in our attitude toward the transformation of the present economic system, toward violence and, as regards our methods of work, toward the question whether we lay the most weight on our national or our international work.

As regard our attitude to the world situation we reflect, as is natural, the same problems which are stirring up and redistributing men in the different parties and tendencies, dividing former party comrades and those who have hitherto agreed in opinion, bringing them together in new groups and associations or causing them, even while remaining in their former groups and associations, to feel lonely there.

It is therefore absolutely necessary for us to be quite clear as to which of our former aims are still valid for us all and by what methods we wish to reach them.

In one point we ought to be united, now as earlier, — in our repudiation of war, including so-called defensive war. It has come to be a generally accepted fact that every war can be stamped as a war of defense and will be so stamped, since wars of conquest are so far outlaw-

ed that no government would openly proclaim one. But do some among us, perhaps, make a distinction between the question of defensive war and that of defense of one's country as the question is now raised among Social Democrats in different countries, that is, the question whether citizens, workingmen or others, who are of pacifist or anti-militarist convictions in other connections must and should take up arms for the protection of existing, more or less democratic constitutions. Certainly, for me, this view would signify a disastrous retreat from one of our most precious principles, the assertion of the brotherly interdependence of all peoples.

Clearly the struggle to maintain democratic institutions and rights is very closely bound up with our whole struggle for peace and freedom. This has led many of us to put the struggle against fascism so much in the foreground that the struggle against militarism seems with many to be almost relegated to the second place — although as a matter of fact both are so closely bound together that a campaign against one is equivalent to a fight against the other. Then comes further the recognition which forces itself on us, more and more, of the close connection between fascism, militarism, and capitalism. All the revelations as to the immense sphere of influence of the munitions industry in the narrow sense, and as to the relations of the industry with a great part of industrial enterprise in general, show that real peace in the world is impossible on the present system. But if the overthrow of this system is necessary, why do we not join ourselves to those who are working for this overthrow?

Should not this system first be overthrown and all other efforts of a merely pacifist sort be laid aside? We in our League have a right to recall that since our beginning we have always pointed out, in close connection with our struggle against war, the absolute necessity of a transformation of our social system.

Formerly it was a firm principle of the W.I.L.P.F. that we committed ourselves to no definite political programme, that on the contrary we united women from the different political camps. I personally still hold this to be a sound and proper principle. Let those who regard the struggle against the existing economic systems as at present the most important struggle and who believe that this is the only way to make war impossible, join that political party that they think is carrying on this struggle most effectively. But the justification for the existence of our League is the fact that in the struggle for peace

it emphasizes, besides political, and economic considerations, ethical and purely human considerations and that it has always considered as absolutely necessary for this struggle its own methods in harmony with the spirit of our League. Now those among us who are in agreement with the goal of Communism will not deny that the means which are used for reaching this goal are not different from the usual political methods in use hitherto, indeed that the use of brute force is only repudiated where it serves to protect the status quo but not where it is a question of attacking the present system.

With this we come to the most important point of our discussion and clarification — our attitude toward violence. In regard to war between countries we have always taken the unmistakable position that violence does not establish right. And if a minority of our members have altered their standpoint as regards «a democratic war» I believe it can only be a small minority. But have we the same sure and preponderating majority when it is a question of social struggles within the community or a social revolution extending beyond the frontiers of the separate countries. It is unquestionably much harder to distinguish right and wrong in this sphere since in some way we all are, whether profiting or suffering from it, involved in the present ruling system, based on force (or violence) and it may appear to those who profit by it as hypocritical dogmatism to condemn violent methods where those who are "degraded" and "humiliated" by it are resisting this degradation and humiliation. But we must ask ourselves the question: what is the way of liberation? And on this at least we ought all to be agreed that as we cannot expect armed forces to give the decision to right as against wrong in conflicts between countries, neither can we expect this in a conflict between classes.

But this is a purely negative conclusion. Are we ready with positive solutions?

Yes and No. We can give guiding principles for positive conclusions. In the *political sphere* they are: strengthening the democratic idea, struggle to retain every position that we now hold but also to seek for new forms; this would involve studying and testing what truth is contained in council and corporative systems.

In the *social sphere* it would be to strengthen a Socialism at once radical and inclusive and to found Socialism anew spiritually, ethically and in its conception of the world and above all to free it from the dogma of violence,



since belief in a solution by violence hinders its giving attention to other possible solutions, working them out and making them understood. Socialism needs especially to be developed on the side which would appeal not only to working men but to the middle class and peasants. It needs to be lifted out of its present state of division so as to be again a united powerful movement for freedom. And just as Socialism needs to be renewed, from the depths up, so must we also work for a renewal of Pacifism. From a somewhat weak, flat movement it needs to become again the heroic, fighting movement of its early years.

Everything suggests that the whole political and economic situation is going to force us to make decisions of such a character as would in any case repel the uncertain and half-hearted and that to be called a pacifist will mean to be a hero and martyr. Then we shall not only lose supporters but also win them. But in this struggle it is quite wrong to measure by numbers. It is a question of the strength of conviction and the loyalty to conviction which are shown in it.

But can we claim that we are just the people among whom this powerful, deeply-rooted Pacifism is to be found? Have we not sometimes the feeling that our movement has fallen far away from that clear-blazing enthusiasm which carried us forward at our first Zurich Congress? Is it not symbolic that we then gathered in the spring of the year and that our present meeting takes place when the height of the summer is past? Indeed is not our mood less than that of late summer than of late autumn?

I think we must face this fact but it need not discourage us.

"Il ne faut pas espérer pour oser; il ne faut pas réussir pour persévérer."

"One can dare even if one has no hope, one can persevere if one has not success."

This motto of William of Orange has perhaps never better fitted a time or a movement than ours. Enthusiasm is beautiful and up-lifting, but to-day is a time for quiet, tenacious persistence. Just as there is no longer any "frisch fröhlicher Krieg" (fresh, jolly war) so our struggle against war, and for the new forms of economic life, can not consist in fresh, jolly pushing forward. But, from one thing we must indeed not deviate — from the basic truths of our movement. And we have no reason to do so, for the hopeful thing is that we can hold fast to these. Where they have been realized they have been so in an incomplete and deformed fashion and we ourselves have represented them imperfectly. But we can stand by them as firmly as we

did fifteen years ago. What we must talk of anew is *how* we can achieve their realisation and our discussion will show whether we have still enough common ground for this.

In this matter too we must recognize that we have a great responsibility toward our League, toward the hundreds and thousands of women working with us whom we represent here — and also toward the cause of peace in general. I do not overestimate the value of our League in itself. We have sufficiently seen by experience that our power to make over the world, carries a very little way. And yet a splitting of our League would be a disastrous blow to the peace movement. For we are after all an organisation which has no insignificant history behind it and if we ourselves are more conscious of our powerlessness than of our power, in any case our opponents show by their behaviour that they consider us as by no means wholly negligible factors in the struggle against militarism and it would be a great triumph for them if we should paralyse ourselves by a split. And for ourselves it would be immeasurably painful if we had to give up our comradeship during a struggle of many years and divide ourselves into two separate camps.

As I judge the League, the split would not only be international, driving a line between the national Sections, but would lead to division within the National Sections and very likely within local groups also. There is, besides, the terrible seriousness of the political situation which calls, on the contrary, for a concentration of all the forces of peace. Therefore we all shall be conscious that we must enter upon our discussions with the utmost conscientiousness, with the greatest readiness for an understanding approach, true to the best traditions of our Congresses and mindful especially of our first and best leader, Jane Addams. On the other hand we ought not, out of mere diplomacy, opportunism or a superficial desire for conciliation to slur over real differences and content ourselves with compromises where decisions are necessary. If we cannot, with a full realization of the differences between us, clasp hands nevertheless then it is better for us to separate for the sake of truth rather than "for the sake of peace and quiet" to make a pretence of a community which does not exist in reality.

Fifteen years ago we chose as our aim and as expressing our common work "peace and freedom". War and slavery need lies and breed lies, stir up hate and spread it. True peace and true freedom

thrive only on a basis of truth and brotherliness. May this spirit of truth and brotherliness guide our discussions. Then, in spite of everything, our modest Congress of 1934 will not be inferior to our brilliant Congress of 1919.

## Statement of Aims

as voted by Zurich Congress, 1934

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom aims at bringing together women of different political and philosophical tendencies united in their determination to study, make known, and abolish the political, social, economic and psychological causes of war, and to work for a constructive peace.

The primary objects of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom remain: Total and universal disarmament, the abolition of violent means of coercion for the settlement of all conflicts, the substitution in every case of some form of peaceful settlement, and the development of a world organisation for the political, social and economic cooperation of peoples.

Conscious that these aims cannot be attained and that a real and lasting peace and true freedom cannot exist under the present system of exploitation, privilege and profit they consider that their duty is to facilitate and hasten by non-violent methods the social transformation which would permit the inauguration of a new system under which would be realised social, economic and political equality for all without distinction of sex, race or opinion.

They see as the goal an economic order on a world-wide basis and under world regulation founded on the needs of the community and not on profit.

The work of all the National Sections is based upon the Statements adopted and the Resolutions passed by the International Congresses of the League.

Copies of this address can be had in English, French or German for 30 centimes Swiss each, or 20 each for 20 or more; the Constitution at the same rate. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 12 rue du Vieux-Collège, Geneva, Switzerland.

## MUNITIONS ENQUIRY

While the Zurich Congress was sitting the facts brought out by the Washington investigation began to appear conspicuously in the international press. Although much was already known, and more suspected, of scandals as regards both manufacture and traffic, the revelations of the Nye Commission excited public opinion everywhere. Demands for similar investigations in other countries are being urged by the most various bodies, too many to mention here, but up to date none, so far as I know, has been undertaken.

One obstacle is the fear that an investigation by a Conservative Government would be made in such a way as to protect the munitions makers. Interested circles are also discussing whether an international investigation as well could and should be made, and if so how and with what powers.

The Washington Hearings, interrupted for the period of the National Elections, are to begin again December 3rd. The chemical industry, ship-building and steel have not yet been investigated. The world public is interested to see whether it will be possible to carry a fearless and effective inquiry through to the end and whether the newly elected Congress will appropriate the financial means for doing so.

The purpose of the Washington investigation, as stated in its "terms of reference", is however not merely to learn and make known the existing situation but to plan how to deal with it.

It is the opinion of our Washington office that it is not desirable to divert public attention prematurely to this problem of programme, on which opinions differ widely, but to concentrate for some time still on laying bare all the activities of the munitions interests as far as may be humanly possible.

On the contrary the opinion of representatives of peace organisations in Geneva, as far as I am in touch with them, seems to be convinced that it is extremely important to exert pressure now in favour of courageous action by the special committee of the Disarmament Conference which is charged with preparing a draft Convention for the control of munitions, both manufacture and traffic. E. G. B.

The full report of the first part of the Nye inquiry is not yet out but a summary of some of the interesting points, prepared by the Secretary of the Commission, has been sent to National Sections.

## FROM OUR GENEVA OFFICE

By decision of the Congress, the Executive Committee or the Officers, various letters have been sent to Governments, officials or organisations with communications to the press where this seemed desirable. We have sent these letters to National Sections, asking them to cooperate if they would and numerous replies have been received telling of the action that they have taken. Letters of greeting have been sent to Jane Addams, the Congress of the International Peace Bureau which met in Locarno, Senator Nye and the Third World Jewish Congress at Geneva. In addition to those matters mentioned below, others crowded out for lack of room here, were: Admission of Russia to the League of Nations (telegram to the L. o. N., letter to Litvinoff on admission of Russia and also on total disarmament); Lynching, with special reference to recent case at Marianna, Florida (letter to Roosevelt); Prisoners in Austria (letter to Miklas and delegation to Princess Starhemberg); Concentration camps (appeal to the Council of the League of Nations); Repression in Tunis (telegram to Barthou); Special cases: Germans threatened with extradition from Spain to Germany (Telegram to Lerroux); Condemnation of German Social Democrats by Berlin Volksgerichtshof (telegram to Hitler).

### The Saar Plebiscite.

In view of later developments in the Saar situation it is interesting that as early as October fifteenth letters were sent by the W. I. L. P. F. to members of the Plebiscite Commission, with copies to the other appropriate officials, asking for revision of voting lists, for "paritätisch" electoral committees (that is committees including representatives of the opposing parties) and postponement of the plebiscite date, if necessary for securing accurate lists. A prompt reply from the Plebiscite Commission was received agreeing with these requests.

### Aerial Bombardment.

We are more and more compelled to concern ourselves not only with war between nations but with civil war which is at least as dreadful. In Austria heavy artillery was used against houses inhabited by private families. In Spain we are compelled to believe the repeated reports of the use of bombing from the air against the civil population.

A letter was sent on October 20th to the Prime Minister of Spain, Senor Lerroux, asking him to take note of the revolt of the conscience of the world against such methods and calling his

attention to the danger of adding to the present tendencies toward violence and arbitrary use of power in political conflicts.

The letter added that having consistently opposed air warfare in its international aspects and our members, especially our British members, having been outspoken in condemnation of the proposal of the British Government to reserve the right to use air bombing in situations such as sometimes confront it on the Northwest frontier of India and elsewhere, the W. I. L. P. F. feels that it has a right to make this appeal to the Spanish Government.

### The Union of French Teachers (Syndicat des instituteurs français).

Following a vote of the Zurich Congress a letter was sent to the above organisation expressing the great sympathy of the W. I. L. P. F. for the work they are doing for peace, both in their teaching and in their journal and Congresses where they have always stood for peace and friendly relations between peoples. It is interesting to note that they have opposed their scholars' being subjected to "the lugubrious experiments of alleged defense against air attack". "We do not wish to see these hideous masks on the faces of our pupils, and in their hearts brutalizing hate and horror which is the mother of violence."

### Appeal to Women in Germany.

Mention should be made here, though somewhat late, of an urgent appeal to leading National Socialist women after the events of June 30th and July 25th, reminding them that all women should be united by their common desire to help those who are suffering and begging them to do their utmost to put an end to the inhuman martyrdom of those who hold differing opinions. Some interesting answers were received.

### COMMITTEE FOR THE AID OF PERSECUTED PACIFISTS.

The International Peace Bureau is organising this Committee to do everything it can for the release of imprisoned pacifists and the assistance of pacifist refugees.

The members so far include M. Cartier, Prof. Quidde and M. Golay, officers of the I. P. B., M. Ruyssen of the International Federation of L. O. N. Societies, Mr. Gerig of the Secretariat of the L. o. N. and Miss E. G. Balch of the W. I. L. P. F.

The sum so far raised—and spent—is ridiculously small in view of the need. Contributions may be sent care of our Geneva Office.



## A Request from Miss Addams.

In connection with something that she is writing Miss Addams would like very much to receive any material bearing on the psychological effects of war. Almost all of us must have seen instances of such effects on the character and nervous disposition of individuals. All of us have had opportunities to make observations on the influence of war on the tone of public feeling, on social standards, on political attitudes, on education (especially on physical education) and so on. Important is the effect on children (refugee children, underfed children and those who suffered from air-raids). Please send material to the Geneva office or to Miss Addams, direct.

## Status of Women.

"Whereas four American Republics have recently signed a Treaty to remove from their laws all discrimination based on sex, reading:

"The contracting States agree that upon the ratification of this Treaty, men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the territory subject to their jurisdiction".

"Be it resolved that this Congress gives its approval to the Equal Rights Treaty and asks its Sections to work for it in their respective countries."

The unanimous passage of the above Resolution at the Zurich Congress was followed by strenuous efforts in Geneva, by an able and active Committee headed by Alice Paul, to get the Assembly of the L. O. N. to deal with the question. They succeeded first in securing a vote by the Assembly that the Montevideo Equal Nationality Treaty should be dealt with by the next Assembly. Later in response to a further request to broaden the question to include "the whole critical situation affecting the position of women" a further Assembly vote on Sept. 27 seems to assure this being done.

## The Question of the Treatment of Prisoners before the Assembly.

The W. I. L. P. F. has been cooperating for several years with the British Howard League in trying to get the L. O. N. to be active in this matter.

In view of the fact that no one has dared to bring up the ill-treatment of Jews and political offenders the aim is to secure a special League Committee, such as it has already created for various social questions, to deal with the treatment of prisoners.

At the 1934 Assembly strenuous efforts were made to close the door on the issue but thanks to Miss Hesselgren of Sweden it is still open.

# SECTIONS OF THE W. I. L. P. F.

## World Section of the W. I. L. P. F.

The fact that fascism and other causes are driving many free-minded women to live abroad has revived interest in the idea of a World Section and the Zurich Congress voted the following new rules.

"More than fifty women belonging to at least three different countries, agreeing with the principles and the aims of the League, may unite to form a World Section. Only one such Section can be admitted. A person eligible for membership in the National Section of the country where she is living may not be a member at the same time of that Section and of the World Section."

"The work of this Section shall be directed by a Committee of at least three persons, including a President, Secretary and Treasurer."

"The World Section has the same rights and duties as National Sections."

Anyone interested in the formation of the World Section is asked to write for information care of the Geneva Office.

## Austria

The two Vienna groups have united with Dr. Zycha and Olga Misar as Chairmen. Rosa Mayreder is Hon. President of the Austrian National Section which includes the Vienna, Graz and Salzburg groups. It regards internal appeasement as its most pressing task.

## Czecho-Slovakia

The Section has written to Minister Benes on penal reform, on minorities and on equal rights for women and the nationality of married women.

## Anti-Fascist Meeting in Paris

At a recent meeting presided over by Mme Duchêne, Mme Drevet stressed the following points.

No singling out of one country for attack:

Efforts to discover who is working for international fascism in one's own country:

Opposition to an anti-fascist war as well as to a war from the "Right":

Disarmament of fascist organisations in one's own country.

Mme Drevet was speaking on behalf of the "Comité de Vigilance des Intellectuels Antifascistes", of which she is now Secretary.

## Holland

The Dutch Section, as a result of its Conference last May, is working for

the creation of international understandings among members of professional and scientific groups never again to use their skill and knowledge for war purposes.

It began by applying to Governments to consider collaboration with scientific men, in their own countries, for scientific peace work. It then appealed to medical organisations in the thirty five countries where these have organised "Committees for War Prophylaxis", urging them to get into contact with other scientific bodies. It has had encouraging responses.

## Sweden

Oct. 11. Meeting in Stockholm where the struggle against war was discussed before an audience of about 1100 persons. Mrs. Måta Bjornbom presided. Well reported by press.

Nov. 8 Radio programme arranged by the Joint Committee of all Stockholm Peace Organisations: a speaker in Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland spoke all in their own tongue, (the Finnish speaker in both Swedish and Finnish).

Nov. 11. Meeting in Music Academy arranged by the Joint Committee with Mrs. Osten Uden speaking on *War Industry*.

## Political Campaign in the U. S.

A nation-wide campaign was carried on for months in connection with the elections of Nov. sixth. As far as possible a local committee was formed to canvass each of the 435 candidates for the House of Representatives and the 32 for the Senate. "Caravans" and meetings emphasised the issues raised by the Munitions Inquiry and tried to force to the front the question of Disarmament *versus* Armaments—and armament profits.

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