

23 NOV 1936

OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SCIENCE

PAX INTERNATIONAL

The W. I. L. P. F. aims at uniting women in all countries who are opposed to every kind of war, exploitation and oppression and who work for universal disarmament and for the solution of conflicts by the recognition of human solidarity, by conciliation and arbitration, by world co-operation, and by the establishment of social, political and economic justice for all, without distinction of sex, race, class or creed. The work of all the National Sections is based upon the statements adopted and the Resolutions passed by the International Congresses of the League.

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



International Headquarters:
12, rue du Vieux-Collège, Geneva
Jane Addams, Honorary President

NEXT CONGRESS

After the last Executive Committee the Vice-Presidents sent to the sections the following letter.

Dear Friends,

The Executive Committee, which has just finished its sessions, was much concerned with the complex and difficult present situation, both of the world and of our League.

Next Congress.

We felt that under all the circumstances we ought not to wait till the summer of 1935 to hold our next Congress and decided instead to hold it this autumn.

This change is permissible under paragraph IV of the Constitution.

Our plan is to have a Congress to discuss any reorganization of our League necessitated by financial or other considerations, to which the press will not be admitted. We plan to meet at Zurich the first week of September (3-8)—that is just before the League of Nations Assembly.

We regret very much any inconvenience that this decision may cause to any of our members and especially to those at a distance and hope that never-

theless every effort will be made to send a full delegation. In view of the condition of our funds we are sorry to state that no financial assistance can be given for delegates' expenses.

Proposals from National Sections.

We enclose a preliminary Agenda which is of course open for proposals of change. Please note that the interval before September 1st is just barely enough to permit of meeting the stringent rules adopted to govern preparation of Congresses. The first step is that Sections send in the proposals which they submit for consideration, and, especially, carefully worded statements of proposed constitutional amendments, if any, by June 1st.

Nominations.

The Executive Committee of twelve is to be elected. If there is no change of constitution, these choose the officers—"Bureau". Nominations should be sent in with other proposals to be received by June 1st. A Section may make any number of nominations up to 12, such

nominees may be members of its own or any other Section. If any member is nominated who has not previously served on the Executive Committee, grounds for supporting the nomination should be given. A complete list of nominations received by Headquarters by June 1st will be circulated to the Sections. Our rules permit nominations made during the Congress without previous notice. This method, which many approve in the belief that it is democratic, has led in practice to hasty and ill-considered elections of persons who have made an impression during a Congress through qualities which have little to do with their possible usefulness as Committee members.

Time Schedule.

All proposals must be received at Geneva Headquarters by June 1st to be collected and grouped.

Headquarters must then submit them before July 1st to the National Sections for consideration.

We are quite aware that in view of the interruption of the summer holiday, adequate consultation and discussion may be very difficult. We can only beg you to make the necessary sacrifices to do this work.

Executive Committee Meeting March 1934.

The Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting, which we feel to have been a very good one, will be sent you with the utmost possible promptness, that is, in a few days and will help you to understand the situation and to form your own judgement of what proposals to send in.

(Programme of Congress, page 4)

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INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

GENEVA, MARCH 24th — 28th 1934

OPENING SPEECH

Clara Ragaz

Before opening this meeting, I greatly want to render homage to one of our comrades and co-workers who has died since the last Executive; Frida Perlen. In her death, we lose one of our most valiant and indefatigable collaborators, a woman of firm convictions, of passionate love of international and social justice and with a readiness for sacrifice which few of us possess. We can say without exaggeration that she gave her life for the cause of peace. She sacrificed her health, her personal comfort, her family relations and even friendships which were dear to her. To her we owe valuable initiatives, such as the idea of the Frankfurt Conference and the international petition for disarmament. We think with gratitude and with regret of her, our friend and colleague, who upheld us so often by her courage and inspiration. May the memory of Frida Perlen lead us to work with her zeal, her ardour and her faithfulness. We now need, more than ever, such spiritual and moral force as was hers, to uphold us in our struggle, for at no time, since 1915, have we met in such grave and serious days as at present. It is true that in 1915 the World War was raging while the "pioneers" of the League met at The Hague. Young lives were continually being lost on the battle fields and in the trenches. Today the world war has not yet broken out. But we are all of us living with the impression that one day or another events may arise which will cause the outbreak of war, perhaps even contrary to the desire of those who think war necessary or inevitable but who still believe they can select the right moment. We know very well that this new war will be incomparably more harmful in its dreadfulness and extent than all the distress, cruelty, suffering and diabolical inventions of the years 1914-1918. And what is worse: although the peoples clearly see what awaits them, although the majority of the population does not want war, although the masses want to prevent it, the influence of the peoples' will is decreasing, thanks to the progress of Fascism throughout the world. Since our last Executive a new country has come under open Fascist dictatorship and Fascist attempts in countries which have not been completely conquered are becoming more and more

bold and thus our work for peace must be carried on on two fronts if not three: against militarism itself, against Fascism which is only a disguised militarism, and against the present economic system, that is to say capitalism, which is a prop of Fascism and is also propped by Fascism. It is true that this is not an entirely new situation, for work against social injustice as well as against militarism has always been on our program. We have always wanted peace and freedom. But all these problems are becoming more concrete and as they do so they make it necessary for us to make clearer and more definite decisions where, up to now, we have perhaps contented ourselves with more or less vague theories. Shall we have the strength for these decisions? Will the bond that unites us be strong enough not to break under the tension which will necessarily arise with the divergences in views and methods—divergences which have been seen in the past but which present problems will doubtless emphasize. The greatest danger for our work is the danger of a split within the League.

I am sure that each one of us recognises this danger. We have all come here with the sincere and ardent desire of making every effort to concentrate our strength on essentials and together to find new union in our common work. In this spirit I open the meeting.

RESOLUTIONS

Outbreak of War.

The Executive Committee of the W. I. L. P. F. is always very reluctant to plan anything in case of a war breaking out, trusting that this will not happen.

Nevertheless, without changing its position, it thinks it worth while to call to the attention of National Sections that it still supports the original policy of continuous mediation by non-belligerent governments in case of war and recommends National Sections to be active in this sense if the tragic occasion should ever arise.

General application of Minority Treaties.

The Executive Committee of the W. I. L. P. F. at its meeting on March 27th, 1934, supports the extension of the Minorities Treaties to all States Members of the League of Nations, and considers that the principles of these treaties ought to be applied without exception to all citizens who differ from

the majority of the population through race, language, religion, or in their social, philosophical or political convictions.

Cooperation between the Sections.

The Executive of the W. I. L. P. F. meeting on March 28th, 1934, recommends to the National Sections in all countries where work for peace and freedom in the spirit of the W. I. L. is still possible:

- 1) To support each other in their work by exchanging experiences, speakers and information.
- 2) To work in as wide circles as possible and to be a connecting link between the anti-Fascist organizations, parties and so on and to do everything in their power as a Section, and with others, to put a stop to the progress of Fascism and to the outbreak of war.

Policy of the W. I. L.

1) National Sections, when a crisis occurs, should at once communicate with the Chairmen, through the Geneva office, as to what course the Section thinks should be taken;

2) At the same time, the Sections should also act themselves to the full extent of their power;

3) The Chairmen should get into contact with one another and with Executive Members and, if practicable, consult with the National Sections as to any action to be taken internationally;

4) If there seems to be no possibility of consulting National Sections or no time to do so, and there seems a clear case for action within the accepted principles of the W. I. L., they the Chairmen should act on their own discretion notifying the National Sections as soon as possible that they have done so;

5) In general, in a national situation, they should do nothing without the approval of the Section concerned, but in view of the possibility of abnormal situations, the Chairmen should not feel themselves bound by a general agreement not to act without (or even against) an expression of opinion from the National Section.

6) In urgent cases where the Chairmen disagree they may find it necessary to act according to the decision of the majority and have the right to do so.

Dismissal of Women.

The Executive Committee of the Women's International League for Peace

and Freedom, meeting in Geneva March 1934, is much disturbed by the developments in many countries where more and more, under pretext of the economic crisis, women are dismissed from office or refused employment and are thus robbed, together with their dependents, of all means of livelihood.

Not sex, but ability, knowledge and skill should be decisive in the choice of a person for an office or a job.

Even in times of economic crisis and political disturbance, women have the same right to earn their living as men.

Ad Hoc Committee on Reform of the League of Nations.

The W. I. L. P. F. was a pioneer advocate of the idea of an international organization for the securing of peace through cooperation between peoples. It is with great sorrow that it recognises the inadequacy, the inaction and the faults of the League of Nations for which the governments of the States

members of the League and especially the Great Powers are responsible and which has caused a great lowering of the moral standing of the League in the eyes of the world.

The W. I. L. P. F. continues to support the purposes of the League but study both of the text of the Covenant and of what has been done under it has led it to conclude that more is needed than reform of detail, that the Covenant must be altered if the League of Nations is to be a real society of peoples capable of effective action.

In particular the W. I. L. P. F. demands that the League of Nations should be brought into harmony with the Briand-Kellogg Pact and the various non-aggression pacts concluded since its establishment.

HEADQUARTERS

During the Executive Committee, Miss Balch had kindly offered to help

SECTION NEWS

Australian Section.

The I. C. W. is holding an international conference during the Centenary of the State of Victoria, to which the Australian Section had an invitation sent to Mme. Drevet. It was agreed that finances prevented sending Mme. Drevet and that a statement should be sent to the Section.

British Section

The British Section has started a campaign for abolition of private manufacture of arms and control of state manufacture. It aims to get leading citizens, members of municipal councils, churches, and other influential people, to sign the following petition urging the Government in favour of suppression of private manufacture of arms and munitions and control of state manufacture.

Petition for the Abolition of Private Manufacture of Arms.

A Committee of the Second Assembly of the League of Nations declared that:

1) Armament firms have attempted to bribe Government Officials both at home and abroad;

2) Armament firms have disseminated false reports concerning the military and naval programmes of various countries, in order to stimulate armament expenditure;

3) Armament firms have sought to influence public opinion through the control of newspapers in their own and foreign countries;

4) Armament firms have organised International Armament Rings, through which the armament race has been accentuated by playing off one country against another.

In view of these revelations we, the undersigned, urge His Majesty's Government to take immediate steps to secure the abolition of the Private Manufacture of Armaments, and the establishment of effective international supervision for all manufacture of and trade in arms.

Dutch Section

Study Conference
Causes, Nature, Means of Prevention of War
11, 12 and 13 May 1934, Hotel Wittebrug,
The Hague

Preliminary Programme

I. Causes of War:

1. Political and Psychological
2. Economic and Psychological.
3. Military.

II. Nature of Modern Warfare.

III. Means of Prevention of War.

The Congress will present to the Dutch Government a Resolution.

French Section.

Mme. Duchêne said an appeal had been launched for an international conference on Fascism, to be held in Paris on July 28, 29, 30. Prominent women in England, Austria, France, Greece, U. S. A., Hungary and Sweden had signed the appeal and further signatures are coming in. There is great enthusiasm in France for the conference, especially in educational circles which

out for six months in Geneva. The Executive thanked her heartily and would help her in any way possible.

Miss Balch expressed her pleasure in being associated with the work.

Miss Pye spoke of the many letters from Sections showing their enormous appreciation of Mme. Drevet's work. Miss Pye wished to express gratitude for the work she had done, the way she had drawn the staff into close association with the W. I. L. No distinction was made between different jobs and Miss Pye felt that was in the spirit of the W. I. L. and that Mme. Drevet's running of the office was beyond praise and thanked her for her devotion to the work and the spirit in which she had carried it out. She said very kind things regarding A. Z. Forsythe's work and proposed that Miss Balch act as Honorary Secretary, her service to begin on May first when Mme Drevet leaves.

can reach the peasants. A Fascist congress is being held at Easter and the French Section will make use of this to make propaganda for the anti-Fascist congress. It is hoped to have a great manifestation after the Congress for the 20th anniversary of the war. Mme. Duchêne asked Sections to designate special persons as correspondents who would take an interest in the Conference. Adhesions are accepted from organizations and individuals. Many proletariat organizations are interested but it is desired to keep a balance between them and bourgeois organizations.

It was proposed and agreed that the W. I. L. send a delegation.

Polish Section.

A Polish youth group, affiliated to the Polish W. I. L., is working in Minority questions and wished to know whether there were similar groups in other Sections and to receive news and documents.

U. S. Section.

Government Investigation of the Munitions Industry in America. — The U. S. Section of the W. I. L. has been working for many months to secure a governmental inquiry into the whole munitions question in the widest sense and was delighted on March 12th see its efforts crowned with success by the passage of the Nye-Vandenberg resolution.

A Committee of seven Senators are to investigate (I) the activities of all those engaged in the production, distribution, importation or exportation of arms, munitions, etc.; (II) the adequacy

of existing treaties and laws for national and international control in this field; (III) the possibilities of "decommercializing war". The Committee is given \$ 50,000 for expenses and the power to compel the appearance of witnesses and the production of documents under oath.

These provisions ought to make it possible to reveal the truth about much which has been suspected but which it has been impossible to prove, and if this is the result it is to be hoped that government investigations will be made in other countries also since it is obvious that the whole situation cannot be uncovered in any one country alone. It is certainly a very encouraging symptom that public opinion has been strong enough to force an investigation of so powerful a body of financial interests.

Vienna and Budapest.

Emily Balch, returning from a brief trip to Austria and Hungary, reports finding our friends devoted and full of courage in spite of present conditions. In Vienna she was able to see an official in regard to the Government's refusal to allow the 2,000 children from families suffering from the recent events, who had been invited to Switzerland for refreshment, to leave the country—apparently from fear of their being subjected to political propaganda. She was able to present some reassuring facts and as the interest in this question is widespread she hopes the Austrian authorities will revise their decision on humanitarian grounds. By vote of the Executive Committee a letter has been sent to the Austrian government from the Geneva office urging this.

AUSTRIAN PRISONERS

By vote of the three Joint Chairmen the following letter has been sent to Vienna:

Geneva, April 14th 1934.

To his Excellency
The Chancellor of Austria,
Vienna.

Your Excellency,

As representing a large number of women in many countries we desire to express the distress that we feel over reported cases of prisoners needing hospital and medical care, who are detained under prison conditions which exclude such care.

We are not in a position to verify the prevalence of these conditions but it seems to us clear that both Christianity and the honour of a State of high culture, like Austria, absolutely require the acceptance of the principle that the health of prisoners must always be considered whatever their juridical status and whatever the crime with which they are charged.

We beg you to have investigated, among others, the situation of Frau Paula Wallisch who, we understand, is held in the Kreisgericht of Leoben, and of certain political prisoners in Graz, one of whom is said to be suffering with an amputated leg without medical attention.

Faithfully Yours.

(Signed): *Camille Drevet*,
International Secretary.

PROGRAMME OF THE EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

Zurich, (Switzerland), September 3-8. 1934.

Preliminary Agenda

Work and Methods made necessary by Political, Social and Economic Changes.

- 1) Survey of the Situation. Discussion.
- 2) Reorganisation of work :
 - a) Constitution;
 - b) Headquarters and Secretariat;
 - c) Pax International;
 - d) Finances;
 - e) Committee.
- 3) Admission of New Sections.
- 4) Report of Committees.
- 5) Elections.
6. Plan of work.

- 1) The Congress is to be exclusively for work without publicity or outside speakers.
- 2) Political conditions permitting, a public meeting may be arranged.
- 3) Sections are asked to send to the Geneva Office only proposals relating to the constitution and methods of the W. I. L. P. F.

Invitation to International Members.

By our Constitution International Members are entitled to attend free all our Congresses, with the status of visitors. They are hereby most cordially invited to come to Zurich in September.

BOOKS

Mother India's Daughters, The Significance of the Women's Movement. Published by the Women's International League, 55 Gower Street, London W. C. 1., Price 1½ d. each, and 8/9 per 100, post free.

Frankenstein and his Monster : Aviation for World Service: by Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, published by the Women's International League, price 4d.

War in the Air? The attitude of the Governments, by P. J. Noel Baker, published by the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London S. W. 1. Post free : 1/6 per 100; 12/6 per 1,000 copies.

The Art of Conference, by Frank Walser. Published by Harper and Brothers, New York, price \$ 3.—.

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BULLETIN OF THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

Published in 8 issues by the Headquarters Office of the
W. I. L. P. F., 12, rue du Vieux-Collège, Geneva.
International Honorary Secretary : E. G. Balch.

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