

PAX INTERNATIONAL

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INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, PRAGUE April 29th - May 3rd, 1936

The representation was very good. Of the twelve elected members, all except Dorothy Detzer were able to come. Consultative Members, who had the right to vote, were present from 14 countries. In all 36 attended.

Political Problems. The session was an important and interesting one, on account both of the decisions which had to be arrived at and of the circumstances under which it came together. Especially at first there was a sense of possible imminent disaster especially among those who felt that their own countries might any day be invaded. This dread became less poignant as time went on and the international situation seemed again to be entering a phase of postponement and waiting. Nevertheless, since none of the questions are solved, the situation is substantially unchanged. A large part of the time of the meeting was spent in very interesting debates on these questions following general surveys by C. E. Marshall and G. Duchêne.

Sanctions was one of the most interesting of these questions and the discussion issued in a statement, to be submitted to National Sections, laying down W.I.L.P.F. policy in this much debated field. The text appears below.

Another important resolution deals with *Financial Loans to Germany* and is an urgent appeal for effective action by our membership, wherever occasion offers, to educate public opinion and exert influence against support and strengthening of the existing German régime by financial assistance.

A third resolution opposes giving over any population as Colony to a Government based on the principle of racial discrimination.

A letter was addressed to Hitler asking the release of Carl von Ossietzky, and another to the Nobel Peace Prize Committee supporting Ossietzky's candidacy for the 1936 reward, as already presented to the Committee, in due form and season.

Other resolutions dealt with the Wuppertal Trial and the situation in Tunis where it is hoped that Mme. Pichet, who was present in Prague might make our action of practical use.

The Campaign for a Peoples' Mandate was fully discussed and its very considerable success, up to date, described. A generally acceptable plan for the coming months was worked out.

Working Committees. Two important tasks are entrusted to working committees. One of these, numerous and with power to co-opt, is planning a comprehensive study of what a *new peace settlement* ought, according to our principles, to include—economically, politically and socially. The other deals with what is really a special part of the same problem, the *reform of the League of Nations*, a question that has suddenly become of immediate practical urgency. Groups or members interested are invited to send in their ideas to the Chairman, Thora Daugaard, directly or through the Geneva Office. The Austrian Section which is undertaking an interesting campaign to get *peace education* into the study programme of schools for girls and women presented a proposal on this subject which is referred to National Sections for study preparatory to its presentation to the International Bureau of Education in Geneva.

Internal Questions. Pressing questions of internal adjustment were discussed and a solution found, at least until the next Congress, in the appointment of Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann to serve with Clara Ragaz and Gertrud Baer as a third chairman. As action can be taken only when all three agree, in this way the possibility of prompt action in the name of the International Body is combined with protection of minority opinion.

New Offices at once more central, more convenient and less expensive have been found and it is proposed to move

into them in October. To many of us the Maison Internationale where we have been since 1920 and which Jane Addams loved so much, causes a real pang, however fully we may agree that the decision to do so is a wise one.

Future Meetings. It is proposed to hold the next Meeting of the Executive Committee in Geneva, probably beginning September 7th. At that time the question of date and place of the next Congress will doubtless come up. Various Peace Conferences in prospect for the coming the September Meeting of the Executive be asked to act also as delegates to the Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix which is expected to meet in Geneva, September 4, 5 and 6.

Our Czech members were most kind and hospitable and Prague was looking very lovely. Big public peace meetings addressed by speakers from many countries and some of them attended by two or three thousand people, were held in Reichenberg, Gablonz, Karlsbad, Brünn and Prague itself.

E. G. Balch.

Text of the Resolution on Sanctions.

Sanctions.—The Executive Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, in Session in Prague, April 29—May 3, 1936, accepts the following points of policy in the matter of Sanctions:—

1. We reiterate the claim first made at the Hague Congress in May, 1915, that all international disputes should automatically

UNE JOURNEE DE LA PAIX A ARRAS

Le dimanche 24 Mai 1936 eut lieu dans la ville d'Arras la Manifestation pacifiste organisée par le Comité Français du Mandat des Peuples à leurs Gouvernements.

Dès 9 heures arrivaient des pacifistes de la région, des délégués d'organisations. A 10h. une longue caravane de voitures et de cars se dirigea tout d'abord vers le grand cimetière allemand—immense champ de croix noires—43.000 morts alignés dont un ancien combattant français évoqua le martyr.

Puis, La Targette avec ses 7500 croix blanches et tout le long de la route de Bethune, cimetières et monuments se succèdent. Chaque fois qu'on s'arrête un ancien combattant ou une femme rappelle en quelques paroles émouvantes les combats qui se déroulèrent dans l'immense plaine pendant l'interminables années.*

A Notre Dame de Lorette, devant les 150.000 morts Marcelle Capy traduisit avec force l'émotion de tous.

Après midi, le cortège des pacifistes, précédé d'une large banderole portant ces mots "Nous sommes résolus à mettre fin à

la Guerre", se rendit à la Salle des Beaux Arts. Là plus d'un millier de personnes approuvèrent, par leurs applaudissements, les déclarations des orateurs.

Après que le Maire de la Ville d'Arras eut remercié les femmes d'avoir entrepris "une grande oeuvre, une oeuvre noble, une oeuvre généreuse", on entendit les délégués de grandes organisations flétrir la guerre et affirmer leur foi en la paix.

Madame Eidenschenk-Patin, présidente de la Ligue des Mères et des Educatrices, une de ces "Mères Orphelines" dont parle le poète, Mme Cassou, veuve de guerre représentant l'Union Fédérale des Anciens Combattants, Paul Brochard de la Fédération Ouvrière et Paysanne, délégué de la C.I.A.M.A.C., tous, par leurs souffrances passées et encore vivantes, qualifiés pour haïr la guerre, affirmèrent leur résolution de mettre fin à cette barbarie.

Andrée Jouve pour la Section française de la Ligue Internationale des Femmes pour la Paix et la Liberté, Mme Clavinic pour la Section Yougoslave, Mme Thiel pour la Section hollandaise de cette Ligue, exprimèrent la volonté de paix des

come before a judicial tribunal or a court of arbitration. In the event of a Treaty-breaking Government refusing to accept a priori the decision of such a tribunal or court moral, diplomatic, financial and economic sanctions should be applied.

2. We are opposed in all cases to military sanctions.
3. We are opposed to the use of hunger as a means of political pressure, i.e. to famine blockade or the refusal of food needed by the people.
4. When there are grounds for serious apprehension that the Government of any country intends to take action which "threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations on which peace depends" we should urge that measures should be taken to prevent the export of war materials to that country and to refuse transport facilities for war materials, there should be no increase of exports to that country, and markets should be closed to her exports.

Methods cannot be prescribed beforehand. The Sanctions mentioned above could include the breaking-off of communications, the closing of railways, post, telegraph, etc., and quite particularly the application of the Mineral Sanction.

We urge the L.O.N. to work out practicable plans, prepared beforehand, for automatic and effective application of sanctions in appropriate cases.

We realise that certain sanctions mentioned can be made effective only by the active support of Trade Unions and workers' organisations.

We urge that in any Agreement as to restriction of armaments a provision should be included for sanctions in case of violation. Sanctions in the shape of a refusal of war materials should be applied immediately.

Colonies.—The Executive Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom meeting in Prague from April 29 to May 3, 1936, demands that no population shall be handed over as a colony to any government which bases itself on racial discrimination as being on that account unfitted to prepare a native population for self-government.

femmes. Andrée Jouve et C. Drevet rappelèrent la collaboration étroite des Sections d'Allemagne et de France de leur Ligue et le geste généreux des femmes allemandes qui, en 1926, firent à la ville d'Arras un don destiné à la plantation d'arbres de la Paix sur les routes dénudées et ravagées.

Après le meeting d'Arras le Maire de la ville invita les pacifistes à visiter l'Hôtel de Ville reconstruite.

Les citoyens d'Arras ont rebâti la Cathédrale, le Beffroi et la célèbre Grande Place aux maisons de style flamand, et toute la ville.

Dans ces plaines que la guerre avait creusées de cratères chaotiques les paysans ont reconquis leurs champs. La vie a repris ses droits, mais on trouve encore, chaque jour, 7 ou 8 squelettes humains et tout récemment encore on a découvert, dans un trou, les restes de 150 soldats.

"Nous sommes résolus à mettre fin à la guerre" ont affirmé les délégués réunis à Arras. Cette affirmation était répétée dans les nombreux messages venus de tous les points du monde et qui furent lus au meeting.

Camille Drevet.

IF

[Editor's Note—Mrs. Swanwick, known and honoured by all W.I.L.P.F. Members for her work for peace, is here writing in her own name and not as representing the views of any section.]

It is not sufficiently realised by pacifists who put their trust in sanctions that they are, in fact, putting their trust in the Balance of Power. True, they disguise this fact from themselves by asserting (as Sir Norman Angell does) that they are putting pooled forces "behind the law, not behind the litigant." But if the Balance of Power is not substantially on the side of the League, the "pooled forces" may not be stronger than any other alliance and resort to sanctions may merely enlarge the area of confusion and of conflict. The League, estimating its chances of success, would have to reckon not merely upon having a majority of states and a preponderance of military and economic resources on its side, but also the firm will on the part of the constituent states to persist through all disasters and difficulties until the League's decision had been enforced. It is in the highest degree improbable that any but those states whose national interests were closely and obviously concerned would be able to hold out in an international quarrel with as much determination as a powerful aggressor-state with all to lose—or win. And it is quite certain that, in a prolonged conflict, a host of new issues would arise and old ambitions would raise their heads. Moreover, it is clear that the aggressor alone is likely to be prepared, and that the League would be compelled to start with a very heavy handicap. There has been, in nearly all the propaganda for the League, a very dangerous simplification of what is in reality very complex.

Consider, for instance, the Italian aggression against Ethiopia, than which one cannot imagine a more perfect case in which sanctions must, according to the Covenant, be invoked. The States-Members of the League had then to face the fact that the League contained only part of the states composing the world. The United States and Japan were not members, nor were all the states of South America. Even in Europe, Germany was outside and very critical; Spain was useless for internal reasons; Italy was the aggressor and her immediate neighbours were too nervous to cooperate against her. The Powers defeated in the world-war were markedly indifferent.

Added to these difficulties was the fact that, after years of bickering, France had at last come to an understanding with Italy and did not want to see that understanding imperilled just at the moment when she most desired a "united front" against Germany. Great Britain and France were the only great Powers in the running against Italy.

It seemed as if the really effective sanctions—the complete stoppage of all oil to Italy, or the closing of the Suez canal, or both — could be attempted only if the Powers concerned were prepared for actual war; a desperate Mussolini would have been compelled by the situation he had himself created to resist to the utmost. The Power chiefly concerned was Great Britain and her government had to consider the whole situation in the Mediterranean: a disturbed Malta, an unreconciled Egypt, Palestine, with its harrassing Jew-Arab problem and the quite possible joining of Arab forces from Saudi-Arabia, Transjordan, Palestine and Syria. War, once let loose, would not stay where it started. All the dissatisfactions would be galvanized into life and, with Russia engaged in them, who can doubt that Japan would use her advantage? The ensuing war would have been not one of a world-League or even of a European League against Italy. It would have become, what the last world-war was, a scramble of selfish interests, inspired by fear, armed on all sides with weapons to destroy all civilisation.

Faced with these considerations, some enthusiastic sanctionists have replied: "Not so. The refusal to buy and sell is not war and need not lead to war. Great Britain recently refused to trade with Soviet Russia until British engineers were liberated and this did not result in war; on the contrary, Russia speedily gave up the engineers and became a Member of the League." The cases are not, however, comparable. The Soviet government was not desperate and driven by desperation to the extremest measures; also, British trade was not essential to Russia, nor was the rest of the world being organised into abandoning trade with Russia. That Mussolini would have cut his own throat by making war on the League does not in the least show that he would not make war. It is the desperate Samsons who pull down the temple upon themselves and others.

"Is the saner part of the world, then, to be at the mercy of any adventurous bully, as in the past? If last year, when Mussolini was openly preparing war, the League had warned him that it would not

tolerate the invasion of Ethiopia; if the League powers had met immediately and (under Article XI) discussed the measures they would undertake if Mussolini defied them; if these measures had been prompt and effective to prevent Italy from transporting men and munitions, or obtaining oil and iron; why then—then—there would have been no invasion." Quite so. If! But none of the conditions posited by these "ifs" existed and I have given but a few of the considerations which weighed more heavily with the Powers than did the fulfilment of the League Covenant.

It is immensely regrettable that the Ethiopian government which trusted in the Covenant, should have been deceived, and it is urgently necessary that the League should do nothing, now, to worsen the condition of Ethiopia. Would persistence in sanctions be of service to her? One hears men say: "Ethiopia does not matter. It is necessary to uphold the authority of the League." But material authority is based on the hazard of the Balance of Power and may crash with it; in its fall, it would gravely injure the moral authority of the League. If that moral authority remained unimpaired and the League consistently offered impartial tribunals, as the nations grew more civilised, they would more and more use these tribunals. War, if it occurred, would be the moral failure of the warring nations, not, as now, the failure of the League. Christ imposed no sanctions and the crimes and errors of men, their Crusades and Holy Wars, are those of Christendom, not of Christianity. This may yet be tried.

The organisation of a world-community is essential for world-peace. It is urgent that the League should not be allowed merely to crumble away. It is therefore of the first importance not to retain any Articles which the States-Members have not both the power and the honest purpose to maintain. Some pacifists maintain that "these considerations are none of our business; we exist to hold up the banner of the Ideal." The Ideal is co-operation in peace, not War to end War, but if one is going to be actively political in one's methods one must select those methods according to the situation actually existing and not attempt a policy based upon innumerable ifs.

"Then you are afraid of War?" Yes. I am afraid of War as the greatest folly and crime of which man is capable.

H. M. Swanwick.

NEWS FROM SECTIONS

Great Britain

In order to obtain further information on the subject of Financial Loans to Germany, the Executive Committee invited Francis Williams, Financial Editor of the *Daily Herald* to address a small meeting at the London Headquarters. Great interest is being shown in the subject and a further meeting is to be called at which Mrs. Barbara Wootton is to be asked to speak.

At the last meeting of the Executive Committee the following resolution on the League and Abyssinia was passed and sent immediately to the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Press.

The Executive Committee of the Women's International League expresses its consternation at the implications of Mr. Neville Chamberlain's recent speech, which it believes indicate the abandonment by our Government of the League system in definite breach of Mr. Baldwin's election pledges. The Committee considers that it is entirely untrue that Sanctions have failed. What has been lacking is the energetic and united application by States Members of the League of those economic measures, the effective application of which could prevent and end war.

It sees great danger in any implication, through the raising of Sanctions, that the aggression is condoned, and it urges that unless the Italian Government agrees to a settlement as regards Ethiopia which the League can accept, Italy should not remain a member.

Positive measures of reconstruction are more than ever urgently necessary if the League system, and indeed the future of civilisation, are to be saved; and we ask that the Government will at once take up energetically the proposals for an economic world conference hinted at by Sir Samuel Hoare in his speech at Geneva last September and made more explicit by the Locarno Powers in their Statement of last March.

A strikingly successful meeting was organised at very short notice by the Women's Peace Crusade at which the Princess Tsahai of Ethiopia spoke and other speakers included Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., Miss K. D. Courtney, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mrs. Ayrton Gould and Miss Margery Perham. A strong resolution urging the Government to uphold the maintenance of economic sanctions at Geneva was passed. The Women's International League as being one of the co-operating societies in the Women's Peace Crusade played an active part in making the meeting known.

New Zealand

Report of the Annual Meeting

The Annual Meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was held on Tuesday, April 14th, at the Fabian Club, Queen Street. Mrs. Pickett in the Chair. Apologies were received from a number of members on account of the holidays. A large amount of correspondence was received from overseas, one of the members now touring in England sending news of the splendid campaign for peace in progress in England and Wales, led by such well-known people as the Rev. Mr. Norwood, Dr. Maude Royden and others. From Geneva comes news of the Mandate campaign which is being vigorously prosecuted in Europe and America. The date of closing has been extended to June. The Australian Section is also making an energetic canvass of organisations throughout the Commonwealth. In New Zealand the response has been most encouraging, very few refusals being met with—the main difficulty being to get in touch with all those willing to co-operate. The No More War Movement, the Anti-War Council and many other societies are assisting splendidly. Two Branches of the W.C.F.U. are now affiliated with the League, and as the necessity of working for peace seems to be spreading everywhere it is hoped others will soon come in.

An enlarged framed photograph of the founders and first executive of the N.Z. Section of the League taken on the occasion of Miss Adela Pankhurst's visit to Auckland in 1916 (that lady being included in the group), was presented to the Section by Mrs. D'Arcy Hamilton and Mrs. Marcus Jones, two of the founders and President and Secretary respectively at the time. The gift was gratefully received, the donors being warmly thanked, also for some of the original correspondence connected with the foundation of the League. The following motion was carried unanimously: "That this meeting of women congratulates the Prime Minister upon his recent announcement to inquire into the grievances complained of by the natives of Western Samoa with a view to bringing peace and contentment to the people there. Also on his intention to end the term of exile imposed upon Mr. Nelson and allow him to return to his native land unconditionally". It was recalled that the W.I.L.P.F. had taken an active part four or five years ago in acquainting the Mandates Commission of the

League of Nations with the alleged grievances of the Samoans, especially of the women, each of the Commissioners being supplied with a copy of the Women's own statement. Unfortunately they preferred to take the High Commissioner's story, which denied all the charges, to listening to the voice of the people concerned, or the petitions, signed by many responsible men and women in New Zealand.

Switzerland

The Swiss Section of the W.I.L.P.F. has informed the members of the Federal Council and Federal Assembly of its views in regard to the action of the Federal Council on April 3rd, relating to penalties in the so-called passive air defence. It takes the position (1) that the provisions should have been submitted to a popular vote; (2) that they involve the possibility of a universal military requirement applied also to women; (3) that they amount to abolition of freedom of the press and of opinion; and finally, that they exceed the constitutional and traditional competence of the Federal Council.

Aside from any question as to value of such anti-air raid defence the Swiss W.I.L.P.F. deplors in the name of law and of liberty this violation of the Constitution and open disregard of the old Swiss democratic spirit.

U.S.A.

The U.S. Section of the W.I.L.P.F. at its recent Annual Meeting passed a number of interesting resolutions, including some of special interest to International readers.

One dealt with the Federation of Nations and voted the government to call an international conference of experts to draw up the constitution for an all inclusive democratic non-military Federation of Nations.

A second urged the calling of a conference to study problems of the allocation of raw materials and natural resources to fulfill the needs of peoples now deprived of their just share.

A third urged on the President the non-recognition of countries obtained by aggression.

A fourth called upon the President to use all his efforts to secure such neutrality legislation as would extend embargoes to include basic raw materials.

Many other resolutions were passed, but space does not permit of their inclusion.