

# 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-Colège, Geneva  
Jane Addams, Honorary President

## EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF W. I. L. P. F.

ZÜRICH, VOLKSHAUS, HELVETIAPLATZ — SEPTEMBER 3rd - 8th, 1934

### MESSAGE FROM THE SWISS SECTION

The Swiss Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was much pleased to learn that the Executive had decided to hold the Eighth Congress of the W. I. L. in Zurich in September. It at once constituted a local Congress Committee which took up the work of preparation and which will do its best to make our guests enjoy their stay in Zurich as much as possible.

The Swiss members have a strong sense of the seriousness of the time at which the Congress is meeting and of the very difficult problems which it presents to those taking part in the Congress. They are however convinced that it is just this common struggle to find solutions which will have a fertilising effect on our common work,—indeed, that without talking things out thoroughly together internationally and understanding one another as to our work as a whole, our national work would lose its significance. They are therefore especially thankful that the Meeting at Zurich will give them the opportunity to come into closer contact with our international work and they take this opportunity to express to all those who come to the Congress their hearty welcome.

In the Name of the Swiss Branch:  
*Clara Ragaz.*

### ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CONGRESS

We are glad to be able to report to our Sections that the arrangements for our eighth International Congress are well advanced.

All of us remember Zurich as one of the loveliest towns of Europe, beautifully situated on the Lake and framed by high mountains. We should like to see again among us all our friends who made our 1919 Congress in the same town such a fine and uplifting experience to everybody present. But they ought to include in the delegations of their respective Sections many able young women. More than ever we need their initiative, *élan* and vision to lay the foundations for a New World, their World.

The discussion on the main Congress topic "*Political, Social and Economic Changes in the World since 1918*" will give an opportunity to every Congress Member to make her contribution and express her view on the *Problems resulting for the Work and Methods of the W. I. L.* We need to reorganize our work and methods if we wish to keep pace with rapid changes in the world and if we want to remain an elastic body able, in spite of a considerable shortage of funds, to adapt itself to its manifold new tasks.

There will be a two-day Meeting of the *Executive Committee* preceding the Congress, that is on *August 31st* and *September 1st*. We hope to have all Consultative Members present. The Agenda will be sent in time to all concerned.

September 2nd, Sunday, is kept free except that in the evening at 8 p.m. Congress members will have an opportunity of meeting old and new friends at an Informal Reception generously offered by our Zurich group in the Belvoir Park Restaurant. They have also kindly undertaken to provide rooms for those of our co-workers who would like to enjoy this hospitality. Will all these write to *Frau Trautvetter, Zürich-Höngg, Pfarrhaus*. A *list of hotels* with prices was sent out to all Sections on June 15th and we repeat our reminder that hotel rooms must be reserved by writing direct to the Hotel. Zurich Hotels are crowded and early application is essential.

The *Congress Agenda* will be in the hands of delegates in good season.

No press is to be admitted and no visitors except W. I. L. members, the object of this Congress being to give members an opportunity of exchanging their views on the situation and on the internal affairs of our Organisation.

The draft proposals so far submitted have already been sent round. As you will have seen they show a great deal of agreement but also some points of sharp divergence. The Agenda is planned to allow full time for the consideration and discussion of all points; the decisions arrived at will determine the future of the W. I. L. and the work which members think it ought to do for the causes of Peace and Freedom.

G.

## THE WOMEN OF THE WORLD AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

Congress in Paris, August 4, 5, 6.

This Conference, in which our French Section is taking an important part, aims to bring together into active work the innumerable mass of women who are not yet organised in political parties or in trade unions, and especially peasants and those occupied in their own homes. These women may be ready material for fascist and pre-fascist propaganda if they are not first won for another point of view.

The work of sub-committees in the different countries is reported to be very enthusiastic. There is much interest in colonial and semi-colonial countries. In one little village in Dordogne every woman has signed.

The programme of the Congress will include the following topics: (1) the situation of women in time of war and under fascism; their action against war and fascism; (2) The situation of women in countries where their liberation is an accomplished fact, as in the U. S. S. R.; (3) a charter of women's demands.

Gabrielle Duchêne appeals to members of the W. I. L. P. F. for active cooperation and sympathy and hopes that National Sections will send delegates. Especially she would welcome documentation on the situation of women in countries on the edge of fascism or under fascism; on the situation of women in time of war and on militarisation of the young.

Address: Secrétariat du Comité Mondial d'Initiative, 1, Cité Paradis, Paris X, France.

## ATTITUDE OF THE W. I. L. P. F. IN REGARD TO REVOLUTIONARY EVENTS

### Is Capitalism compatible with lasting Peace?

At the March meeting of the Executive Committee Gabrielle Duchêne made an important statement on this subject in the name of the French Section. (See Minutes, Paragraph 1034). The French original has already been circulated to the National Sections, unfortunately with an erroneous heading intimating that it had been adopted by (and not merely presented to) the Executive Committee. An English translation is now supplied for those who may prefer it to the French version.

In face of the complex problems of the present time, confusion is increasing and constantly spreading to new circles.

It infects pacifists and even those whose attitude in the past caused them to be regarded as intellectual leaders. This makes the confusion the more dangerous.

We therefore need to define the attitude that those who are responsible for the W. I. L. P. F. should approve and adopt.

This attitude may be summarized as follows:

To lay aside all dogmas, even pacifist dogmas, and face the reality and, freeing ourselves from the intoxication of formulas which too easily satisfy the mind, take up positive action.

Now, when the threat of war is greater every day, in the regions where it is not already raging, and when fascist regimes are leading people supposed to be civilized into a barbarism which equals, when it does not surpass, that of the darkest epochs of history, the passive cult of peace and liberty is no longer enough; *an active, positive, unceasing struggle must be waged against war and fascism.*

If our desire for peace is sincere we must work indefatigably to create the conditions necessary for peace and if we wish to avoid fascism we must work day by day to maintain, or restore, the liberties and the standards of living previously won.

An objective examination of the facts, quite apart from any special theory, forces us to recognize

(1) that the capitalist system is incompatible with true and permanent peace;

(2) that fascism is simply one manifestation of the self-defense of capitalism in the face of the present threats to its existence.

We know that capitalism will disappear, as the systems which preceded it have disappeared, but we also know that it will not abdicate, that it will defend itself to the last, without hesitating to resort to the worst sort of means in order to prolong its existence.

The resistance and still more the provocations of supporters of the capitalist system are evoking, throughout the world, popular movements of defense. In numerous countries what was a pre-revolutionary situation has become revolutionary.

The future of Peace and Liberty in the world is at stake. An organisation like ours, whose aim is to defend Peace and Liberty, cannot keep out of struggle and remain neutral in the internal as well as external conflicts which are constantly on the increase.

The moment calls for clear-cut positions.

The two opposed groups cannot be considered as on an equal footing. We owe it to ourselves to take sides and choose with which to place ourselves.

Could any of us take the side of the privileged, of those who, in the hope of maintaining their privileges, are ready to lend their support to the powers of conservatism, which are preparing fascist dictatorships?

Could we be content to make part of the amorphous crowd of those who from ignorance or weakness refuse to make a choice and (sometimes in spite of vague aspirations towards peace and liberty) lack courage to take a definite position, above all courage to act, and thus serve the cause of the reactionaries and the militarists?

Is not our place, rather, at the side of those who have decided beforehand to make every sacrifice for the prevention of fascism and war and for the preparation of the social transformation which the present world-wide social, economic and political anarchy, to which we have been brought by the capitalist system, shows to be the only way to obtain the permanent peace for the sake of which our League was formed, the only way to realize the era of justice between individuals as well as between peoples which we have made our ideal?

Recognizing the necessity of this social transformation, is it not our duty to facilitate it by preparing people's minds to accept the idea that it is inevitable, and thus to lessen resistance to it? And to do this both by supporting those who are in the struggle and by struggling ourselves against the obsolete and pernicious institutions which are opposed to progress, so that this transformation may be accomplished with a minimum of suffering?

Avoiding excitement, disregarding personal preferences and the "beautiful dreams" in which we have allowed ourselves to be wrapped hitherto, it is for us to act as realists, to examine together without prejudice the grave situation of the world, to weigh our responsibilities, to search our consciences and decide, in full consciousness of what it means, the attitude that we ought to adopt in our organisation as well as individually.

## PACIFIST REFUGEES AND PRISONERS

The International Peace Bureau is organising a Committee to aid Pacifists and has invited the W. I. L. P. F. to cooperate.

## ENGLISH OPINION ON AN INTERNATIONAL POLICE FORCE

English peace opinion is very much exercised over the question of whether the League of Nations should possess military force for the prevention of aggression and maintenance of order.

The recent Council Meeting of our British Section held an extremely interesting debate on the subject which is fully reported in a special number of their News Sheet. Attention centred on the problems of aviation.

The Council agreed to work for: *Abolition of national air forces (military and naval); internationalisation of civil aviation.*

The British Section has always been opposed to the wish of the British Government to retain air-bombing for police purposes in outlying areas. E. G. B.

## "SANCTIONS"

The U. S. Section has spent much time and thought on this problem of Sanctions, especially in connection with proposed private boycotts—first of Japan, and then of Germany under Hitler. There is considerable difference of opinion among the members but at the Annual Meeting in Milwaukee in May the vote was once again against such a boycott.

Other aspects of the problem of Sanctions were interestingly discussed in the June Council Meeting of the British Section. The conclusion reached was that when armed force is used or threatened there ought to be some non-violent means of preventing or stopping it. If the world were disarmed—as it ought to be—the use of such means would not involve danger of precipitating war as it might do now. As to economic pressure, it would be less likely to produce war if it took the form of refusal to accept imports from or permit exports to the aggressor, than if it meant something in the nature of a blockade. Specific suggestions were refusal of arms, of loans and of such materials as oil, nickel and other metals.

The interesting proposal was made that each of our National Sections should study what form of non-violent pressure would be most effective in the case of its own country. For the U. S., which is so largely self-supporting, I think at once of rubber and semi-luxuries like tea and coffee. But most effective would be, not the actual pressure, but the moral impact, on a sensitive and powerful public opinion, of deliberate international condemnation.

E. G. B.

## NEW OPENINGS FOR DISARMAMENT

The Disarmament Conference has handed over four concrete problems to four special committees. That on Security has adopted a report recommending regional pacts. That on Munitions has produced a surprisingly promising text for submission to the Conference. That on means of insuring the observation of a disarmament treaty, if one is concluded, has not completed its work. *That on air-war has not yet come together.*

It is essential that the peace forces should show their vitality at this juncture. Fine work is being done on Munitions and now that there is a definite draft to be accepted, and later ratified at home, there must be no slackening of effort.

This does not lessen the necessity of also working hard on the air issue, which also has become immediately "actual".

This is the aspect of disarmament on which there is the largest measure of agreement among the Powers and the one on which their views are the most advanced yet this is the moment which the Governments, in their madness, are choosing for the increase of air forces!

Opposition to this policy has three solid and easily explainable bases—the cost to the tax-payer, the fact that the enlargement of air armament does not protect the populations from the terror that flies by night and may even provoke it, and the fact that this policy is a sabotaging of disarmament at a crucial point and at a crucial moment.

If we were Christian people, if we were civilised people, if we were even people with a decent measure of ordinary human feeling, unperverted by the habit of war, the fourth, and all-sufficient, basis for opposition would be a horrified refusal to be made co-responsible for any of these preparations for raining death upon other human beings.

Would it not be possible in each country to hold at least one hundred outdoor meetings this summer—under those blue heavens across which our own death machines now manoeuvre—to give forcible expression to our determination that henceforth "airways must be peaceways"? This determination should be made known both to each National Government and to the Geneva Air Committee.

It is fortunate that this Committee contains such delegates as Christian Lange and Madariaga. They and their coadjutors are like men who have pushed a heavy cart almost to the top of the hill—"one more push and over she goes". Let us put our shoulder to the wheel!

Obviously even total air disarmament would be only a partial achievement but it ought to make succeeding ones easier till preparation for war has ceased.

E. G. B.

## PRIVATE ARMIES

The menace of private armies and other drilled and armed partisan bodies has been strongly urged upon us by one of our members who does not wish to be named. If in your country there is any occasion to do so will you not take this matter up seriously? It is much easier to prevent such developments ahead of time than after a situation has grown urgent. The bloody happenings in Austria and the course of events in Germany would seem proof enough of the importance of the question.

I note with interest that in a "Plea for Liberty and Democratic Leadership", appearing in the English press on May 17th over a list of most distinguished signatures, it is said. "We demand that the Government shall at once take power to prohibit private armies, and the wearing of uniforms or other distinctive articles of dress that are used to indicate political opinions."

Let us work to get included in the text of any proposed Disarmament Convention the strictest possible measures as to such "para-military forces" (to use the technical term), and for international agreements not to permit such "formations".

In all this, the press and other means of educating public opinion must be our main reliance. E. G. B.

## THE AMERICAN SECTION AND THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

There is much difference of opinion in our membership as to what should be our attitude toward cooperation with those who do not, like us, stand against violence in political and social struggles but who are as eager as we are to prevent another war and to oppose Fascism in all its manifestations.

This divergence of opinion is due in part at least to the fact that what is sometimes called the Amsterdam movement has developed very differently in different countries.

In the United States Section, after much discussion, it was decided by the Annual Meeting in May to continue for the present the cooperation previously entered upon. It is felt that so far it has been possible to work with this

mixed anti-war group without at all compromising our own no-violence position and, indeed, with the advantage of being able to present the arguments for peaceful methods to those who generally hear only the other side. E. G. B.

## WORLD PRESS

*Submitted by the Czecho-Slovak Section to the other National Sections.*

The frequent reference in the world press to an inevitable coming war is in itself a continual source of danger because involuntarily it influences popular opinion and creates a suggestion of war-phobia. It would be an important and worth-while piece of work and one that would certainly create a great impression, if the W. I. L. P. F. would try to bring it about that the world press should at least for a time confine itself to giving facts and if in reporting so-called peace efforts, conferences, parliamentary discussion, speeches of politicians, etc., it would simply report them without any commentary, more or less provocative.

Perhaps a great petition signed by all the officers of all the National Sections of our League and sent to press organizations and associations of journalists in the different countries might bring the desired result. Or perhaps the best way would be for the Sections in each country to write direct to the Governments or the Statesmen who are really interested in peace asking their help and also perhaps asking them to send statements to the papers to reassure popular feeling and give the tranquillity needed for their work to those who are really of good-will and desirous of preserving peace.

## ANTI-SEMITISM

*Submitted by the Czecho-Slovak Section to the other National Sections. Translated and abbreviated.*

At the last Executive Meeting attention was drawn to the critical state of the Jewish question throughout the world and the pressing need of reviving the W. I. L. P. F. committee on Anti-Semitism. Unfortunately our recent inquiry brought out only five answers but these showed that there is a strong demand for active work. We therefore ask each National Section immediately to nominate a member to serve as a correspondent of the Committee and to send her address at once to us so that we can correspond directly with her. Her functions will be

(1) to send in regularly information as to any important Anti-Semitic move-

ment, governmental or in the press, as to what political parties are officially anti-Semitic or carrying on secret anti-Semitic propaganda and as to how strong and influential they are; information as to the situation of Jewish refugees; and as to the direction in which young people are being influenced on the Jewish question.

(2) to ascertain whether National Sections favor the introduction at Zurich of a resolution demanding the rights of a minority for the Jews of all countries regardless of whether or not Jews are asking for this themselves.

In Czecho-Slovakia the anti-Semitic movement is not yet strong but it is being worked up by some "right" papers which are exciting ill-feeling against refugees by false news and statistics. The Czecho-Slovak Committee on Anti-Semitism has appointed a member to follow these press stories and as far as possible to verify the facts and get the truth into the press. The same thing is being done in Austria by a weekly paper, *Die Gerechtigkeit*, which is devoted to the important work of preventing suggestions of false grounds of animosity against Jews.

## STUDY CONFERENCE ON THE CAUSES, NATURE AND MEANS OF PREVENTION OF WAR:

Held at the Hague, May 11, 12 and 13, 1934

I want first to draw the attention of our Sections to the great opportunity for propaganda offered by the months of preparation before, as well as by the winding-up period after, a successful conference like that which we have just held. The fourteen speakers representing all shades of pacifist opinion, the unexpectedly large attendance, the debates on the burning problems of the day (which were quite free in spite of the request of the authorities not to discuss them from the purely political side), the attention given by the press—all were highly encouraging. One result is that we have been asked to take part in establishing a Peace School, the formation of which is being seriously considered.

It became clear during the Conference that whatever subject was tackled the psychological factors always played an important part. The conclusion to which we came on this particular subject is expressed in a Resolution sent in by our Dutch Section for the Zurich Congress. The fact that the effective activity of the war-profiters is mainly based on the psychological atmosphere that they are able to create in all countries has con-

vinced us that our attempts ought to go more than ever in that direction. War is a contagious disease, the world is thoroughly ill, and only when we learn how to create a healthy organism can its workings become normal. For this we must have the collaboration of the scientific world, and we have therefore sent our appeal to the medical organizations in 35 countries, and asked them to take up the study of this world disease, together with psychologists and sociologists. I hope to be able to report on their answer at Zurich.

We are printing a full Report of the Conference. C. R.-H.

## OUR INTERNATIONAL FINANCES

Not only do we need a certain income on which we can depend for our routine expenses but the whole scope and character of our international activities are very largely conditioned by the money we command.

Our funds are derived from (1) the Annual Dues of National Sections (about one thousand Swiss francs), (2) The annual dues of Associate Members— what we often call International Members— (about 20,000 francs), (3) The interest of Jane Addams' gift from her Nobel Prize money which rather more than pays all our rent, (4) gifts and contributions of Sections and of individuals, and (5) the interest and principal of bequests.

The latter have played a great part in enlarging our work. I think the donors would be happy if they could know how much so. Some people who cannot afford to give money while they live can leave a legacy; we beg our friends at least not to allow an intention to leave a bequest to be balked either to by procrastination or lack of the legal advice needed to make a will valid. We once lost many thousands of dollars through a badly drawn will and shall be most glad to be consulted as to how such a catastrophe is to be avoided.

Of great promise is a new policy inaugurated by a recent vote of the Executive Committee of the U. S. Section to appropriate ten per cent of its national income to the international budget. Word has not yet come as to whether this policy has been confirmed by the Annual Meeting but it is to be hoped that it has been.

If the representatives of all, or even a few, of our National Sections could come to Zurich prepared to offer to do the same and contribute for international work ten per cent of their national income, large or small, how this would vivify and consolidate our joint work! E. G. B.