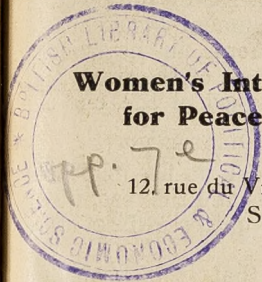


PAX INTERNATIONAL



Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

12, rue du Vieux-Collège, Geneva
Switzerland



"The world needs no conference of military and naval experts, bent on balancing one resource against another, but rather a conference of farsighted and constructive statesmen and men of affairs, who firmly intend to see that this broken world is rebuilt, and that quickly, before it is overcome by a new and perhaps fatal disaster."

Nicholas Murray Butler.

Vol. 6: No. 9.

Published monthly (except July)

SEPTEMBER 1931

CONTENTS

Current Events.
W. I. L.'s Part In World Peace,
Helen Taft Manning.
The World Peace Congress.
Albert Einstein's Declaration.
Problem Of The Stateless.
"France Against The World",
Camille Drevet.
Youth And The World Crisis,
Roger N. Baldwin.
W. I. L. Peace Caravan.
Work Of National Sections For
Disarmament.
W. I. L. Summer School.

Editor **Madeleine Z. Dorr.**
Office, 12, rue du Vieux-Collège,
Geneva, Switzerland.
Subscriptions to "Pax International":
One year fifty cents or 2 shillings.
International Dues \$5 or £1.

World Events

So much has happened in the last month that it is impossible to give a summary of world events. On top of the serious financial crisis in Germany has come a similar one in England. The British Labour Government has fallen and a Coalition Government set up. It is disquieting to think what may be the attitude of this Government towards India and the effect of sending conservative representatives to the Disarmament Conference. The world seems to be in the clutches of both financial and physical disasters. There have been big floods in China and 10 millions people are homeless and many millions are starving.

It is as though, from every point of view, the world was breaking up. There is no doubt that in the political and economic life the old order is passing and a new civilization is emerging. But, where are the leaders to see this and to point the way? In no country do we hear of any statesman of importance who is dealing with national crises from the world point of view. For what is needed is world organization. There must be world distribution of bread. Out of the

present disorder must come not a League of Nations but a Commonwealth of Free Peoples. *Editor.*

Peace Patriots

This is an organization with offices in New York City whose motto is: "Love of country; opposition to war".

On the 27th of August, the third anniversary of the signing of the Kellogg-Pact, the Peace-Patriots celebrated it by sending a resolution to the State Department at Washington:

"As 59 nations have pledged themselves never to resort to war for the solution of international controversies but to settle all disputes by pacific means, Peace-Patriots express loyalty to that principle by opposing all preparation for war and demanding total disarmament from the Disarmament Conference to be held in Geneva, February 1931."

Recently the Peace-Patriots petitioned President Hoover for exemption of all members of pacifist organizations from war-service.

The sponsors for the Peace-Patriots comprise some of the leading professors, social workers, doctors, lecturers and clergymen in the U. S.

Drastic Remedies Needed

On August 25th appeared in Geneva the first edition of the "Journal des Nations". This paper is to be issued daily and its purpose is to furnish full and accurate information concerning all international work and particularly the work of the League of Nations. There is an interesting editorial in the first issue by Jules Sauerwein, which we quote briefly below.

"The task of the moment is the work of liberation. War must be made not only against the passion of revenge, which prevents all peace initiatives, but also against those little prejudices, which prevent nations from realizing that an exclusive national policy, no matter how populous, powerful or rich the nation may be, is to-day no longer in accord with events. Let us remember the evolu-

tion of the last 12 years. With all respect due great personalities one must declare to-day that, of the three men who created the treaties of peace, only one of them had an idea of the future evolution of the human race. That was Woodrow Wilson... There were two essential truths which Wilson perceived, not perhaps with logical clarity, but with powerful intuition.

The first is, that as regards their physical geographical aspect nations must be limited; second, that in the economic domain on the other hand there must be no barriers but solidarity among the people of the world. To say the same thing more philosophically, in judicial, political and legislative capacities Governments have their fixed limits, but there are activities where power should not be used except with great discretion that is, in the spiritual domain, in, all that concerns religion, language, art and culture. Such activities should be as far as possible free, not only in the case of a group but in relation to the individual. The state is created to maintain order and not to restrict thought... Along side this national freedom in spiritual matters, Wilson tried by various statutes of the League of Nations and by the creation of the I. L. O. to internationalize the economic life."

Mr. Sauerwein concludes by saying that Wilson has shown the way and Briand formulated the methods to use. What is needed is a liberation of both the spiritual and economic life so that new sufferings and great disasters may be prevented.

"The thinkers of all times, from Pythagoras to Rudolf Steiner understood this truth. There are conditions and acts which need to be controlled. The state is there for that. There are others which should be free and in which the state should not interfere."

Mr. Sauerwein ends with: "It is Geneva that should find and apply these remedies, for, if it is not Geneva, then it will be Moscow,"

THE W. I. L.'S PART IN WORLD PEACE

Helen Taft Manning, Dean of Bryn Mawr College and a board member of the Pennsylvania branch of the W. I. L., the daughter of the late William Howard Taft, a former President of the U. S., in a news-paper interview (Washington Star, July 5th.) expresses her point of view as to the part women and the W. I. L. can take in world peace.

"I believe that in America we have carried the organization of women's clubs to such a remarkable degree, that if world peace became as much an object of desire on the part of the women of the country as, for example, women's suffrage was, there is no question that such pressure could be put on Congress and the Federal Government as would change the whole course of legislation and treaty-making...

"I am proud to have a small part in the achievements of the W.I.L. I think the importance of the League lies in its international character since in its work it actually reaches groups of women in all nations all over the world; and second in its records, which show that it has pinned its faith from the beginning of its organization to the belief that war can be avoided and should be avoided at all costs at this time in the world's history. Such an organization gains power through its complete concentration on one subject which gives it a drive that other organizations lack. Ever since its foundation just after the World War by Jane Addams, it has stood for idealism and has at the same time worked all over the world in the most practical fashion for tolerance and friendliness and understanding among the nations. Its appeal to the thinking, intelligent women should be very great, especially since it is the only international women's organization working for peace. From my childhood up I have heard much of treaties and arbitration and of various methods of settling disputes. My father, as President of the U. S., framed peace treaties with many lands which attempted to extend the scope of arbitration to fields which it had never reached before. Unfortunately, these were rejected by the U. S. Senate. Perhaps, if they had not been, America would be more of a leader for peace in the world than she is.

"I think another World War would mean the end of Western civilization... The problem of preventing another World War seems to be of such an infinitely greater importance than any other problem that faces us, that the only question needing discussion is as to the best means to be adopted by us women, to bring about that end.

"That is why the W. I. L. and the various other peace organizations are doing such valuable work. They are educating people to think, and to

think not in terms of a selfish nationalism but in the broader field of all humanity. To-day, every man is his brother's keeper. What concerns one nation ultimately affects all the others. That one may be safe, all must unite. And women, the conservative group, must be helped to see this and unite to make common cause for peace."

WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

The 28th World Peace Congress was held at Brussels from the 5th to the 10th of July under the chairmanship of Mr. H. la Fontaine, Vice-President of the Belgian Senate. Delegates from about 40 pacifist organizations, representing 16 countries, were present. The two chief questions dealt with were that of Disarmament and the European Union. We give below some of the resolutions passed by this Congress in regard to disarmament.

MILITARY DISARMAMENT

"The World Peace Congress urges the coming Disarmament Conference solemnly to declare that its ultimate object is total universal simultaneous disarmament, rigorously controlled.

"As total disarmament cannot be brought about immediately we, therefore, suggest that until it can the immediate task of the Disarmament Conference should be as follows:

- (1) "To reduce military forces and war material including trained reserves and stocks of war material, together with military budgets, account being taken of the fall in the cost of material and upkeep of the men, to a level lower than that in 1914..."
- (2) "To affirm the principle of equality in disarmament not by increasing the armaments of the Powers disarmed by the Peace Treaties, but by a progressive reduction of the other Powers;
- (3) "To effect the limitation of armaments of all the Powers both by direct and indirect, or budgetary means;
- (4) "To prohibit for all nations those means of war already forbidden by the Peace Treaties and to effect the internationalisation of all aviation which to-day is national or private, as aeroplanes constitute in time of war the most dangerous instruments for diffusion of gas;
- (5) "To abolish immediately private manufacture and trade in war material and to nationalise its manufacture until the time when, in as near a future as possible, the monopoly of the manufacture of means of coercion still allowed shall be solely in the hands of the League of Nations;
- (6) "To create an international commission, already contemplated in the draft Convention, which shall be given special powers to control the carrying out of the obligations which have been undertaken and to adjudicate upon all differences arising from interpretations of the Treaty. For the members of this Commission, guarantees of

independence and impartiality are indispensable."

MORAL DISARMAMENT.

The Congress then took up the matter of moral disarmament and resolutions were passed on this subject advocating progressive, intellectual and moral disarmament by means of education in the home, in the schools, through the medium of the press and by action on the part of the church.

ECONOMIC DISARMAMENT

The Congress took up the matter of the economic crisis and the resolutions in regard to this matter in brief were as follows:

"Recognizing that the economic crisis, represented by unemployment and distress, is spreading with increasing gravity throughout the world, particularly in Europe, and is a menace to international and social peace; "In view of the fact that even if the great war is to be held primarily responsible for the situation, a large part of it is due to the lack of equilibrium between production and consumption as well as to financial and industrial conceptions now out of date;

"In view of the fact that before the war Europe had 26 customs systems and now has 37, and that militarist nationalism is increased by economic nationalism, tariff barriers and tariff wars...

"In view of the fact that the research carried out by the Economic Committee of the League of Nations and the regional discussions and economic agreements, have obtained but limited results, the Congress:

- (1) Resolves that the establishment of a normal economic order requires equilibrium between consumption which is the end, and production which constitutes the means, and that in the economic spheres, as in the political, democratic authority represented, when necessary, by the State, must take the place of autonomous dictatorship of finance;
- (2) Calls for the realization of a European Tariff Union (pending the establishment of world freedom of trade) on the basis of a common tariff fixed as near as possible at the lowest existing national tariff, the reduction of customs barriers, the stabilization of tariffs, in particular the free circulation of raw material;
- (3) Draws attention to the great contribution which can be made by regional agreements within the framework of the League of Nations, when these agreements aim at assisting nations whose financial and economic situation is menaced;
- (4) Emphasizes in particular that the real remedy for the economic difficulties in Europe lies in a European Federation as envisaged and outlined by Mr. Briand,—a federation the scheme of which aims at two matters of common interest: union and peace.

Albert Einstein's Declaration

The War Resisters held their third triennial Congress at Lyons from the 1st to the 4th of August. There were delegates present from 20 countries with an average attendance at the meetings of about a hundred people. Mr. A. Fenner Brockway presided. The first two days of the Congress were devoted to the reading of reports of the different sections. In 22 countries 43 groups are doing active work. There are young men in 12 countries who are refusing to do military service.

The most important event of this Congress was a letter from Prof. Albert Einstein with a definite programme of action. This letter was unanimously adopted by the Congress.

EINSTEIN'S LETTER

I address myself to you, the delegates of the War Resister's International, meeting in Conference at Lyons, because you represent the movement most certain to end war... Those you represent in fifty-six countries have a potential power far mightier than the sword.

All the nations of the world are talking about disarmament. You must lead them to do more than talk. The people must take this matter out of the hands of statesmen and diplomats. They must grip it in their own hands...

You must call upon the workers of

all countries unitedly to refuse to become the tool of death-dealing interests. There are young men in twelve countries who are resisting conscription by refusal to do military service. They are the pioneers of a warless world. Every sincere friend of Peace must support them and help to arouse the moral conviction of the world against conscription.

I appeal especially to the intellectuals of the world. I appeal to my fellow-scientists to refuse to co-operate in research for war purposes. I appeal to the preachers to seek truth and renounce national prejudice. I appeal to the men of letters to declare themselves unequivocally.

I ask every newspaper which prides itself on supporting peace to encourage the peoples to refuse war service. I ask editors to challenge men of eminence and of influence by asking them bluntly: "Where do you stand? Must you wait for everyone else to disarm before you put down your weapons and hold out the hand of friendship?"

This is no time for temporizing. You are either for war or against war. If you are for war, you must encourage science, finance, industry, religion and labour to exert their power to make your national armaments as efficient and deadly as they can be made. If you are against war,

you must encourage them to resist it to the uttermost. I ask everyone who reads these words to make this great and definite decision.

Let this generation take the greatest step forward ever made in the life of man. Let it contribute to those who follow, the inestimable gift of a world in which the barbarity of war has been for ever renounced. We can do it if we will. It requires only that all who hate war shall have the courage to say that they will not have war.

I appeal to all men and women, whether they be eminent or humble, to declare before the World Disarmament Conference meets at Geneva in February, that they will refuse to give any further assistance to war or the preparation for war. I ask them to tell their governments this in writing, and to register their decision by informing me they have done so.

I shall expect to have thousands of responses to this appeal. To enable this great effort to be carried through effectively, I have authorized the establishment of the "Einstein War Resisters' International Fund". Contributions to this fund and answers to this appeal should be sent to me, care Treasurer of the W. R. I., 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England.

The Problem Of The Stateless

The 15th Congress of the International Federation of the League of Nations' Union, which met in Budapest in May 1931 and included delegates from the W. I. L., urged the Council of the League of Nations to call a conference of all the nations interested in this matter in order to draw up a convention to settle the question of stateless persons.

To this request was added a statement, by the Congress, of the situation in regard to the stateless. In this report it was pointed out that in the former Austro-Hungarian Empire there lived people of many different nationalities, speaking different languages and that those people were often interspersed along the boundaries.

When the peace settlement was made it was the intention to secure to all these people the nationality of some state. But, instead of framing one set of laws which should be applicable to all succession states alike, the Powers provided a separate set for each State. It was intended, however, to give to every individual the right of choice as to which nation he should belong, and if he failed to exercise this right within a specified period, to confer the nationality of the state where the person lived. Unfortunately such a system was not carried out and there was great confusion, as

illustrated by the fact for instance, that in the German Treaty the test is habitual residence or "domicile", while in the Austrian and Hungarian Treaties the test is the possession of rights of citizenship in some commune.

When the peace settlement came into effect owing to the confusion as to which laws did apply, many people did not realize in time what they ought to do and failed to get the necessary papers to establish their domicile or their right to citizenship. The governments on the other hand were not eager to incur the financial responsibility of recognizing as their own citizens persons of a different race from the majority or who were considered politically undesirable. The result has been that there exists in Central and Eastern Europe a large number of persons, mostly poor and illiterate, whom no State will recognize. It is impossible to get definite statistics but it is estimated that there are over 100,000 in the following countries: Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy, Yugoslavia, Poland and Roumania.

A pamphlet "The Problem of Statelessness", published by the W. I. L. in September 1930 gives details from individual cases of the hardships arising from statelessness.

The tragic suffering endured by

many people through the loss of their nationality is illustrated by the following disabilities:

- (1) Denial of passports, which is a serious drawback where families have been divided by the new frontiers.
- (2) Liability to arbitrary deportation. Accounts are given of people being sent across one boundary after another by the police until they are reduced to desperation.
- (3) Denial of the right of employment or any out-of-work benefits, which in some cases means actual starvation.
- (4) Denial of pensions and poor relief and other state aids, resulting in complete destitution for many people.
- (5) Obligation to pay for education because of a special foreigners' tax which amounts in reality to a denial of education.

On July 7th Emily Balch and Eugenie Meller, for the W. I. L. Stateless Committee, took the resolution passed last September by the International Conference on the Stateless and the resolution passed by the meeting at Budapest, which is given above in this article, to M. Buero, director of the Legal Section of the League of Nations, and to Mr. Manley Hudson, advisor in this department. They were listened to by both these men, with much interest and a marked sympathy for the cause they represented.

"France Against The World"

Camille Drevet

"France Against The World" is the title of an article by Oswald Garrison Villard, published in "The Nation" of the 12th of August, which the French people, anxious about the future of France and the world, should meditate upon.

Mr. Villard in his article says official France does not wish to modify any of her political plans. She refuses any revision of the famous treaties though these have already partly been nullified by reality.

He maintains there is no French public opinion, that the French press is the worst that can be imagined, that it is often corrupt and always controlled, and therefore impossible to discover a real French opinion.

He says that every move made to rescue Europe and the world encounters French opposition, that all the hopes for disarmament and peace are compromised by France, who has a strong navy and airfleet, big French and colonial armies, large military reserves, much gold, hardly any unemployment, and who therefore does not realize the gravity of the economic crisis so hard for other countries.

What is to be done, asks Mr. Villard, in the face of such a situation?

First, we must organize public opinion in both England and the United States so as to prevent the failure of the approaching Disarmament Conference.

Next, it is necessary, however difficult it may be, to bring public pressure to bear on French public opinion.

Third, there should be pursued, if necessary, a policy leading to the isolation of France in the matter of disarmament.

England and America should establish a common programme of disarmament as radical as possible. This programme, accepted by a dozen nations, should be presented to France who will be obliged to accept it, for she cannot defy the rest of the world without facing world wide excoriation and isolation.

For the French Government, lacking an appealing programme cannot defend herself to her own parsimonious citizens if she refuses to lift some of the tax burdens.

If then, in spite of the pressure exercised on France, she alone persists in keeping her armies, the other nations should go ahead and disarm without her.

This is the indictment of France as presented by "The Nation" on the 12th of August. The French people who do not read the foreign papers are without doubt ignorant of this accusation. But it should be brought to their attention.

Personally I cannot praise the policy of the other governments

concerning which one might say much, and I am surprised that Mr. Villard accuses France alone of not being faithful to her engagements and treaties and the Kellogg Pact. I do not see that either the U. S. or England is demanding universal disarmament. But I will leave it to others to pass judgment on their own governments and address myself only to the French people, who are too often unaware of the effect produced by certain declarations and speeches of their French officials. These declarations become especially serious when the peoples of the world are bowed down by military budgets, tremble at the threat of war, and the vanquished nations, oppressed minorities and exploited classes long for liberation.

"There is no question of disarmament, only a question of limitation of armaments", said one of the French ministers in the face of an agonized world. Such words, at such a time, take on an exceptional importance.

Disarmament is desired by millions of people in all countries. Our W.I.L. which, since 1915, has not ceased to work against war, has already succeeded in securing 2 million signatures to its disarmament petition. Our League has organized a real crusade for this petition in the United States, Canada, Germany, England, France, and forty other countries.

In France, for instance, many pacifist organizations besides the W. I. L. are joining forces: the "Combattants pour la Paix", the "Volontaires de la Paix", the "Jeune République", the "Combattants Pacifistes", the "Ligue des Mères Educatrices", the "Syndicats d'Instituteurs", the "Droit Humain", the "Ligue des Droits de l'Homme", the "Bureau Universel de la Paix", and some of the socialist organizations.

The masses of workers in the cities are mainly in favour of disarmament: My French friends of the W. I. L. Gabrielle Duchêne, Léo Wanner, Marcelle Capy, all those who have heard the great voice of the people raised in public meetings will corroborate this... Quite recently, at Montreuil-sur-Mer, I saw a whole town respond to my appeal, especially the women.

This year at Lille we saw expression given to the people's desire for peace. In this city which had suffered the horrors of foreign occupation and French bombardment, one reads the inscription on the war memorial "Died for Peace".

But how is this to be known by the people of the United States?...

At the moment, the sane members of the French population are, in large majority, sentimentally pacifist. These aspirations of the public must be crystallised. Public opinion must be instructed, given detailed arguments

against economic war, which is the cause of military war. It must be given confidence in its own strength and driven to clear expression...

We must firmly oppose nationalist claims and the financial machinations of governments which lead to war. We must demand disarmament all along the line. We want to see the life of the working people of all countries organized on a basis of true solidarity. We can no longer endure the sight of millions of men dying of hunger. We will no longer accept a budget ninety per cent of which is used for military expenditures. We no longer wish to see France occupying the 34th place among the nations in the matter of education, for she only devotes 6.8% of her budget to instruction. A scandal which must cease.

No, the pacifist veterans of the war, women, teachers and thousands of other French people will not tolerate the position of being against the whole world.

Our pacifist friends in America must read "Volonté", "Œuvre", "Europe", "Paix Mondiale", "Evolution", "Jeune République", "Monde", and other papers and reviews which have a real public and try to see in the words of a few the desire of many.

The elections are approaching. Although women are excluded they will fight with men for the emancipation of the French conscience. The politicians who carry on cynical bargains must give way to new forces. Young people especially must rise up and give voice to their opinions, as did those young people at Lyon, during a demonstration of our League, crying "We want to live!"

And we French women of the W.I.L. and other pacifist organizations, we too cry: "We want the world to live!"

Pacifist friends in the United States and all other countries help us. Do not try to "isolate French public opinion". But propagate your views so widely that the French public will hear of them. Take such a determined stand with your governments that those governments will be obliged to adopt a clear programme of total and universal disarmament. And we French pacifists will endeavour to make your programmes known.

When the French come to realize that a new conscience has awakened, they will no longer have reason to be suspicious and fearful.

Be severe with our policies. Be severe with our people, too, if you really think that yours is more enlightened. But remember that there are people in France who have twice known invasion and war. Help to create universal confidence. We shall fight at your sides and vanquish fear and ignorance in our country.

Youth And The World Crisis.

Roger N. Baldwin.

On August 28, an evening party was given at the Maison Internationale for young people, at which Mr. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, spoke. He spoke personally, not as representing the views of any organization, but his outlook, with which there is of course sharp disagreement, presents a case at least of interest to all pacifists.

A French politician once remarked that any man was a fool who had not embraced Socialism when young and repudiated it when mature. By that dictum the world is full of fools, for youth is not radical and age conservative. Whatever truth lies in the tendency of youth to oppose the bonds of established institutions is quickly offset by adult responsibility. Marriage and a job make compromisers of all but a few.

Class interests, not age, determine outlook. Working-class youth in a hard-pressed country like Germany, are radical like their elders. Upper-class youth, like their elders, conservative. I reject, as you see, the prevalent notion that youth as such has any peculiar contribution to make. It has only a longer chance. I know as many or more middle-aged, even elderly radicals and pacifists as I do youthful—many converted long after early youth. So I speak to you, not as one passing on the proverbial torch, but as to an ageless group of fellow-workers for a world without violence, privilege, exploitation and oppression.

My own outlook is that of a revolutionary pacifist. I am not merely against war; I am opposed to the economic system which, by its inherent militarism and imperialism, breeds it. Regarding the State as the chief instrument of organized violence, I am against it on principle. My efforts go to developing those voluntary associations of the peoples which may ultimately replace the State, and to keeping off the backs of these rising movements, the oppression of governments and capitalists.

I find most pacifists only half-awake to the implications of their own professions. They amiably accept the present economic system based on private property maintained by the violence of the State, while deprecating the far smaller violence of strikers or revolutionists seeking to change it. They persist in a comfortable belief that peace is possible under capitalism, despite the contrary evidence. They look hopefully to peace pacts, the League of Nations, promises to arbitrate, ignoring the basic economic conflicts which make the pledges of statesmen mere scraps of paper. A logical opposition to all violence would lead them into a revolutionary position from which they shrink in fear.

But there is a minority realistic enough to see that a conscious choice of sides is inevitable. They see, too, the service that can be rendered by those outside the arena of struggle

in minimizing the violence of the upper class, and so making easier and less violent the advance of the lower. The world crisis to-day draws the line so clearly that choice is inescapable. The split in the Labour Party in England is one evidence. In Germany as the lines draw tighter, the choice becomes simpler: Fascism or Communism. There is no third way.

This crisis is not new. It is only sharper as it nears its culmination. It is only a question of time as to how long the old system of industry for private gain will last. The war was the inevitable expression of its rivalries. There has since been no peace; merely an armistice. The acute distress of Germany is part of the war. The crisis in England is a reflex of Germany's break-down. The financial power of the United States was born of the war, as was the arrogance of France. More significant, the war made possible the Russian Revolution, to-day threatening the foundations of the capitalist world by opposing to it the only working alternative.

What we see before us is the greatest historical class conflict ever waged, and on a world scale. Nothing is unrelated. It all hangs together: the millions out of work, the growth of trusts and monopolies, the decline of parliaments and the rise of dictatorships, the colonial revolts, the insurgence of labour, Fascism as the last strong-hold of capitalism, and Communism as the vanguard of opposition.

The crisis arises out of the structure of the capitalist financial system: international credits and loans. When expenses exceed income and further credit or loans are denied, bankruptcy follows. A bankrupt nation collapses. Its economic system must undergo revolutionary change. That is what is happening in Germany and in England, and to less degree in other countries. Wall Street and France, controlling the world's credit, refuse to lend to bankrupt or tottering nations. In their blind obedience to the laws of profit they become against their wills the chief agents of revolution. Even in America, safe against national bankruptcy, Wall Street prepares the road to revolution by its bitter hostility to the dole. The dole in England is admittedly revolution insurance; but American bankers see it as only an unnecessarily exhausting drain on wealth.

In this crisis the forces that must replace the present ruling class are rapidly growing. I am amazed to

find wherever I go so many people quite outside the radical movements convinced that "Communism is inevitable". They dislike the prospect; they hate its fanatic passion for dictatorship; but they see no alternative. A responsible member of the staff of the League of Nations recently told me that the general opinion among the secretariat holds that Germany will soon go Communist, that Russia will support her, that Italy will throw her influence to them, and that England must rapidly follow with a thoroughgoing upheaval led by the left-wing of labour. Whether war will come out of it will depend largely, it appears, on whether the working classes of France and the United States will support the capitalist régime. Such a colossal overturn without bloodshed on a large scale is almost unthinkable, but nobody knows how far the governments' armed forces could be trusted where class issues are so clear.

With this prospect confronting us what are our choices, we of the middle class outside the immediate conflict? Shall we support capitalism; shall we struggle to reform its evils,—if it is not too late for any reform at all; shall we throw our influence to revolutionary change? Those are the only choices, save to hold aloof. Those who support capitalism must eventually line up with the Fascists, dictatorship, terrorism. Those who support reform may line up with liberals or with Socialists, timidly trying to work outworn parliamentary institutions in the name of a democracy that serves only a bourgeois civilization. Those who support revolutionary change may join or aid the left-wing of labour or of Socialism, or go the whole road to Communism.

But into whatever forward camp we go, or if we stand outside as sympathizers, practical tasks confront us where political choices are incidental. We can help break down the nationalism of the western world while aiding the new nationalism of the suppressed peoples of the empires. We can work to join them all in an internationalism of peoples freed from alien and domestic masters. We can help build the power of labour on land and in shops, and of its sympathizers, in order to minimize the violence of conflict. By our words in speech and print, by aid with money, by our protests and our sympathy, we can make clear that the new world we seek can be born only in the creative force of those who produce by hand and brain the world's wealth,

The Women's International League Peace Caravan

In last month's *Pax*, under the news of the U. S. Section, we told of the start off of the Peace Caravan to gather signatures for the petition for total and universal disarmament. We give below a further account of this splendid work.

On July 29th the W. I. L. Peace Caravan which started from Hollywood, California, on June 21st, on its 4,000 miles transcontinental trip to Washington, had passed through nine states and had reached Minnesota. Last month we described the send-off given the Caravan in the Greek Theatre, Griffith Park, Hollywood, which was attended by 5,000 people. A report was also given of the splendid receptions at Santa Barbara, Carmel, Santa Maria, Palo Alto, San Mateo and San Francisco.

At Monterey, California, boy scout trumpeters heralded the arrival of the Caravan, and the long line of cars, which joined at this point, testified to the great enthusiasm which had been aroused. In Berkeley, California, the "North Berkeley Herald" said: "Like refreshing rain to a parched dry earth comes the Women's Peace Caravan. Berkeley was honored by their arrival and they were sincerely welcomed by Mayor Thomas E. Caldecott."

UTAH

From California, the Caravan moved across the desert to Utah. A big mass meeting was held in Salt Lake City. Senator King of Utah spoke on disarmament. He appealed to the American people to demand the enforcement of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which renounces war as an instrument of national policy and solemnly agrees to settle all international controversies by pacific means. Referring to the League of Nations' Disarmament Conference to take place in February 1932, Senator King declared:

"If it fails, there may be more war and the military burdens will be multiplied until bankruptcy will come to the peoples of the earth.

"If it succeeds, then naval and military armaments will be reduced to a minimum. It is important that the people in the United States and throughout the world organize for peace and demand that heavy tax burdens shall cease."

WYOMING

Acting Governor Clark of Wyoming greeted the Caravan at the State House in Cheyenne in the absence of the Governor, and said:

"War is an evidence of barbarism as well as of misunderstanding, and no civilized nation can favor within its borders anything but a peaceful attitude among its own people and toward the people of all other nations. It has been a pleasure to me to greet all these ladies in their very creditable work, and I wish for them a successful and purposeful journey."

The description of the Caravan's progress from here on is best described

in a little article sent us by Katherine Devereux Blake. One marvels at the splendid results that already have been accomplished under considerable difficulties, for, to travel across the U. S. A. in the middle of a hot summer is not an easy matter. In her letter, Miss Blake says: "The heat has been beyond anything I ever felt. Across the Red Desert of Wyoming not only did the sun roast us from above, but the radiator of the car continuously boiled, so we were also cooked from below. However, we all have a sense of humor, so we managed to laugh at our trials." She then continues:

"Thus far we have crossed seven states, stopping in 26 cities. Everywhere we have met the same enthusiasm for disarmament. Decorated cars have met us at the city limits, luncheons, teas or dinners have been arranged, the Mayor has greeted us on the steps of the City Hall and at the Capital the Governor, or the Lieutenant Governor, has welcomed us. In most instances these officials have signed the petition and warmly wished us success. Even in Ogden, Utah where the D. A. R. instigated by a "patriotic" society in Los Angeles, tried to make trouble, we had one of our largest open air meetings in the City Hall Park."

COLORADO

"Denver gave us the most gorgeous reception of all, organized by Dr. Mary M. McDonald. Preceded by Boy Scouts carrying the United States flag, a band of twenty-five musicians, a long train of cars beautifully decorated with flowers and slogans, we wound slowly through the city to the Capitol. There Lieutenant Governor Johnson, Mr. Milliken, representing the Mayor, the Bishop, and the leading women of the city awaited us. Every big Woman's Club was represented, and the greetings by both men and women were among the finest I have ever heard. Then there was a big reception at the Women's Club, Mrs. Kramer, the president, greeting us delightfully, a second time, and giving each member of the little Caravan an opportunity to be heard."

KANSAS

In Topeka Senator Capper welcomed us, voicing his desire for disarmament and saying: "The Capitol of Kansas is honored by the presence of a group of fine American women who come to our state as supporters of the movement for world peace and international disarmament. I am glad to support their programme... The sentiment of this country is overwhelmingly in favor of world peace. The

people of Kansas are committed to this great ideal. We want the United States to assume the leadership in the great disarmament conference at Geneva, so that the people may be relieved of a large part of the staggering burden of taxation which they are now carrying."

Then Senator Capper presented us to Governor Woodring, who said: "Kansas is strong for world peace. I also am in hearty sympathy with the object you are seeking, and am greatly pleased to meet you and convey to you the best wishes of the people of Kansas."

NEBRASKA

"In Lincoln, Governor Bryan, in welcoming us, made a strong speech for world disarmament, recalling the work of his distinguished brother. "Our nation is in the throes of the most serious economic depression in its history," he declared, "mainly because of a vicious war which was forced upon us. It is encouraging to know that the good women of the country are so industriously and intelligently organizing to make a recurrence of such a conflict impossible."

OMAHA

"Mayor Metcalfe of Omaha came to the luncheon in our honour and gave a vivid description of his trip with the mayors of America to the battlefields of France. He said that no one who saw these thousands of white marble crosses marking the graves of the boys we have lost could ever want to see another war."

CONCLUSION

Miss Blake concluded her letter saying: "It is a wonderful experience to meet people everywhere and to find as we imagined that they are strong for disarmament, only waiting for an opportunity to express themselves. Wherever we stop, petitions are signed and left for further signatures, and resolutions asking for universal disarmament and the appointment of peace-minded delegates to the International Disarmament Conference are adopted and telegraphed to President Hoover. And everywhere the peace people are so fine."

Summary

At present the total number of signatures in all countries to the disarmament petition amounts to about two million. The petition has now been translated into 20 different languages or dialects. It has been published in Esperanto and thanks to the Esperantist Society it has been published in the "Esperanto Review" which is sent into 60 countries.

WORK OF THE W. I. L. NATIONAL SECTIONS

Dutch Section

This section reports that about 10,000 petitions are circulated at the moment but, as the time for sending them in has been fixed for the 1st of November they do not know what the number will be. On July 2nd they estimated that about 15,000 signatures had been collected. There have been several good meetings on disarmament and on May 20th Selma Meyer gave a talk over the radio which brought in several hundred requests for petitions. The newspapers are taking the matter up and have even printed the petition.

Among the most recent signatures in Holland is that of Krishnamurti, the young Hindu leader of a new spiritual movement, who has broken away from Theosophy and the order of "The Star" and refuses to be identified with any organization. The disarmament petition was circulated at the camp meeting in Ommen, Holland, where Krishnamurti was lecturing and he among others signed it.

One of the large newspapers in Holland, "The New Rotterdam Journal", has printed for one week a petition asking for international disarmament. Other Dutch papers also took this matter up and reprinted the petition. The text is very simple.

"We respectfully urge the February Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations in the name of humanity to take steps which will lead to the disarmament of all nations." The Dutch newspapers at the end of July secured over 2 1/2 million signatures to this petition.

Austrian Section

Twenty-two peace organizations in Austria, including the W. I. L., have formed a Disarmament Committee of which Olga Misar is the chairman. The Committee is particularly enthusiastic and comprises quite a number of men as well as women. A large meeting was held in Vienna at which Dr. Karl Renner, the President of the National Council, and Dr. Karl Drexel, one of the leaders of the Christian Socialist Party spoke.

This meeting was particularly important because there were on the same platform representatives of parties which are opposed to each other politically, which proves that in the cause of disarmament the greatest differences can be overcome. At this meeting a resolution was passed which, summarized briefly, makes an appeal to the Austrian Government to do everything they can to make the Disarmament Conference in February a success and demands that the delegates of Austria to the Disarmament Conference should be pacifists and not military experts.

They further demanded that the deliberations should be held in public and that the aim of the Conference should be disarmament and not merely limitation and equality in armaments, etc.. This resolution will be presented by a deputation of the Austrian Peace Society to the leaders of all the political parties. This meeting was used as an occasion for securing signatures to the disarmament petition as well as a meeting of Industrial Employees in Pressburg and other meetings in Graz and in Vienna. At these various meetings anywhere from 200 to 700 signatures were collected.

The Freethinkers' Association have circulated a thousand disarmament petitions and the War-Wounded 10,000 cards and 3,000 petitions. At a recent "No-More-War" meeting in Vienna, where there were about 600 people, the petitions were circulated. Before this meeting there was a street parade with music, which proved very valuable. This section had, early in June, about 7,000 signatures.

French Section

In France, through the aid of the W. I. L., a Committee for Action for Peace was organized which now comprises 17 organizations. With the collaboration of these groups conferences and meetings are being held in different villages continually and signatures of many important people have been collected. Among well known political men is that of Edouard Herriot. The total number of signatures for this section is now 40,000.

Danish Section

The disarmament campaign is being carried on actively in Denmark, where they had already secured at the end of July 50,000 signatures to the disarmament petition.

Hungarian Section

In spite of the difficulties in carrying on the propaganda for disarmament, at a recent socialist reunion in Budapest Mme. Eugenie Meller secured 1,150 signatures. The Archbishop Jozan of the Unitarian Church said recently in a sermon that the most important work for Christians was to sign and to get others to sign the petition of the W. I. L. for disarmament. This declaration of the Archbishop has had great effect, for it is the first time, although he is a convinced pacifist, that he has taken part in the action in favour of peace. The total number of signatures in Hungary now amounts to 4,720.

Belgian Section

This section organized an international pacifist camp for young girls at Morlanwelz from the 1st to the 7th of August. This section, with the help of these young girls is gathering signatures for the petition and is preparing for a big general meeting in October.

Polish Section

This section has only just begun its work, as the whole W. I. L. group in Poland was going through a process of reorganization. The Polish Section now has Ukrainian members in its midst. Dr. Budinska-Tylick is the chairman of the Disarmament Committee. She has secured the support of many peace societies and the Theosophical society, which is giving its entire support to the cause and has contributed an office for the Commission on Disarmament. The Syndicalist organizations have taken 500 petitions and the Polish Socialist Party has now also become interested. Dr. Budinska reports that it is the mass of the workers who are particularly interested in the petition. In June she reported 1,500 signatures but hopes by November 1st to have 30,000.

Palestine Group

The group of Jewish W. I. L. women at Tel-Aviv have been working hard for the disarmament petition. This group was formed in a very difficult period, but the aim of the W. I. L. to educate for peace and brotherhood found sincere sympathy among the Jewish women of Palestine. It was only possible during the last month to attempt to organize groups in some of the larger districts. Recently Frau Asaryahu has been able to lecture at big women's meetings on the activity and aim of the league. Now and then articles are printed in the Jewish press about the efforts of the League and the disarmament campaign. At present the members of the group at Tel-Aviv have secured about 2,000 signatures. The disarmament petition is circulated there in both Hebrew and English.

Iceland

At the Star Camp in Ommen, Holland, there were two women who had come from Iceland. They showed great interest in the W. I. L. petition for total and universal disarmament and not only signed the petition but took back a copy and agreed to have it printed in the Icelandic language and secure as many signatures as possible. They say they ought to get the entire population to sign because Iceland has no arms of any kind, neither guns nor cannons and they do not believe that arms are necessary.

Argentine and Brazil

Mme. E. Hamann, of the Union of Feminist Organizations in Argentine, is gathering signatures for the disarmament petition.

Mme. Giolitti-Chiaraviglio, of Brazil, is actively interested in the campaign for disarmament. Through her initiative the National Council of Women in Argentine have created a Commission of Disarmament to carry on the work.

The W.I.L. Summer School

The W. I. L. summer school is in session at Breslau as this article goes to press. It began on August 22nd and ends on September 5th. It was organized by the W.I.L. group in Breslau. It opened with an official reception. The authorities of Breslau, the representative of the Silesian government and the delegates of the municipality received the members of the summer school in the old castle of Frederic the Great. This castle, which has been turned into a museum, is not often opened for such receptions. At the dinner, which was served in the great hall of Frederic the Great, lighted only by candles in the great chandeliers, the president made an address of welcome and expressed his sympathy with the work of the W. I. L.. There were numerous other speakers and some delightful music.

Sunday was taken up with visiting the city and on Monday the members of the School left in an autocar for Löwenberg. Courses were held in the Boberhaus, a charming old home, a student centre for a group of young people. The quiet of this house and the shady garden made a splendid atmosphere in which to do work.

At the opening session short talks were given by the President of the municipality, the Polish Consul, Mme Marck, Mme Kamm, organizers of the school and Mme Illova, Mme. Lypaciewicz, Miss Balch and Camille Drevet. On the following day the work began in earnest and Camille Drevet presented a report on the work for disarmament, insisting that disarmament was very closely allied with the problems of Eastern Europe and showing that, in order to find economic and social solutions for the German-Polish problem as in the case of all other problems, it is necessary to disarm. Mme. Kirchhoff then gave a report on the German-Polish situation and the discussion was opened by M.

Birnbaum, German journalist of Warsaw, and Mme. Lypaciewicz.

The second subject taken up was the question of frontiers. Concerning this matter reports were made by both the Poles and the Germans. A young student at the Boberhaus presented the situation of the workers on these frontier regions.

Camille Drevet suggested that purely political agitation for or against the revision of the German-Polish treaties be put aside and the economic and social conditions be dealt with. Because of the critical nature of the question, Mme. Illova endorsed Camille Drevet's point of view and was upheld in this by Emily Balch.

Later the question of minorities was taken up and after the statistical report of Mme. Kodis a discussion followed.

Saturday the lectures were suspended in order that the members of the summer school might make an excursion, into the near by mountains.

Among the members of the W.I.L. present at the school were: Miss Trotter and Mr. Roger of England, Mme. Illova of Czecho-Slovakia, Emily Balch from the U. S., and members from the German and Polish section.

One evening there was a session on anti-semitism and a lively discussion followed the presentation of this subject by Mme. Kirchhoff.

During the school sometimes Miss Balch presided and sometimes she acted as translator, bringing to the discussion her usual spirit of tolerance and understanding. Thanks to the Breslau group the arrangements for the summer school were perfect and the hospitality of the Boberhaus created an atmosphere that was both, fraternal and homelike. We will give a fuller report on the school in next month's "Pax".

The Palestine Problem

The Holy Land Under Mandate, by Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews (Houghton

Mifflin, 1931; 2 vol. \$10.00) is a very careful and impartial account of the situation in Palestine and its evolution, valuable alike to those who are already students of the subject and to those who come to it fresh. E. G. B.

Bonne Etoile

Home for Students

15, Av. de Grammont, Ouchy-Lausanne

Mme DELOCHE VAN MUYPDEN and her daughter receive in their attractive villa a limited number of girls.

Rapid study of French.

Excellent references available.

The Downs School

BRIGHTON ENGLAND

An English Boarding School
For Girls

With An International Outlook

The Downs School welcomes students from all over Europe and already has representatives from Austria, Germany, France, Holland, Hungary, Italy and Poland.

Personal references from parents of students furnished. Special prospectus for foreign students.

MISS WOODHEAD - MISS CLEARE
PRINCIPALS

LE COULTRE TRAVEL AGENCY

24, GRAND QUAI, GENEVA

TICKETS IN ALL CLASSES FOR ALL COUNTRIES AT OFFICIAL RATES

OCEAN PASSAGE

BAGAGES EXPRESSED

FURNITURE MOVED

INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORTATION

ADVERTISEMENTS

Pax now takes advertisements. The paper has a circulation of 15,000 copies a month and is printed in three languages, English, French and German and goes to 40 Countries. For terms write the editor:

MADELEINE Z. DOTY

Rue du Vieux-Collège, 12 - Geneva

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Jane Addams, Honorary President

International Headquarters, 12, rue du Vieux-Collège, Geneva
Secretary: CAMILLE DREVET.

WHAT THE W. I. L. P. F. STANDS FOR:

It 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.

International Dues — \$5.00 or £1 a year.

Cable Willif.



L o n d o n N . W . X I .

6 Erskine Hill/Golders Green
Mrs. C. R. Buxton