

# PAX INTERNATIONAL

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## CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

What appears a final stage in this disaster has taken place after this issue was in the press. The conclusions of Frau Ragaz's article on The Spanish Tragedy apply with equal force here.

## THE SPANISH TRAGEDY

We are used to disillusionment. In the course of the last year we have experienced many triumphs of force and brazen impudence. Yet the outcome of the Spanish fight for freedom is one of the most shattering catastrophes: so much heroism, self-sacrifice, endurance, in spite of suffering, want and death everywhere, and the end—defeat, confusion, dissolution! The end—a new flood of homeless people, obliged to seek refuge in a foreign land, because their native soil has passed into the possession of those who tread under foot the hardly-won liberties of the people.

Is it still possible to believe in moral strength, in the victory over brute force?

Or shall we, in self-justification, point out that a spiritual possession, like freedom, cannot be protected or won by arms? That if the Spaniards had carried out passive resistance they would have helped the cause of freedom perhaps not to an immediate but to a final victory?

No, we will not take refuge in such a consolation. The Spaniards were not pacifists, and had no inclination to act according to the principles of our League, and these principles, too, are only surely founded if we believe they will lead to the final triumph of right, or to the defence of right with however inadequate means.

But this shattering end to the heroic struggle should hammer certain things into our consciousness:

First, it is clear that the most heroic struggle between such unequal forces, cannot end victoriously—on one side the fictitious "non-intervention" of the Fascist Powers, on the other the "non-intervention" which would not recognise an open state of war as such because there was no declaration of war, and which, therefore, did not carry out the clear Treaty obligations of the members of the League of Nations towards a member that was attacked.

Secondly:—and this follows from the first point—we, who would carry on the fight for freedom and right by other than violent means, have worked out these other methods too little, and have not understood how to set

them in motion, either in support of the Spanish fight for freedom, or of other peoples whose independence is threatened. Therefore, in a degree, their defeat is our defeat; yes, even the defeat of democracy, for the democratic peoples, as a whole, were in sympathy and in conviction of right on the side of the Republicans. This was shown in the inexhaustible readiness of simple people to help the sufferers; but neither they nor we found the way to bring the democratic governments to the position which would have ended the fratricidal Spanish war.

In my opinion, the lesson we must draw from this collapse is that our endeavours must be much more directed to turning the brotherly sympathy which exists for suffering peoples in other lands, into channels of conscious help in the struggle for justice and freedom instead of action only for relief of suffering. And this leads to the further question, which must occupy us above all—the question of how we can help to remedy injustice in Spain and other occupied countries? To that end, we must intensify and remould our whole struggle, without for a moment renouncing one of our basic principles: Peace, Freedom, Justice, Solidarity, and the safeguarding of human worth in the life of the peoples and in the life of individuals.

CLARA RAGAZ.

## "AMERICANS ALL IMMIGRANTS ALL"

An interesting illustration of the deliberate American attitude toward differences of race and nationality and religion in its population is a series of twenty-six "dramatic" radio broadcasts, designed to show the contributions to the social, economic and political development of the United States of various cultural groups. It is presented by the Federal Department of the Interior jointly with the Service Bureau for Intercultural Education and the W.P.A. (The latter letters stand for the federal relief employment organisation which undertakes, among other things, "projects" to be carried on by writers, artists, actors and research workers.)

Some of the broadcasts deal with historical developments such as the opening up of the West, others with the contributions to American life made by one or another group—Irish, German, British, Jewish, Slavic, Oriental, Negro. Others deal with contributions in specific fields—science, arts and crafts, industry—or in different milieus such as a New England town or an industrial city.



"Nothing," comments the official programme, "was ever done in our country by one group alone." "Each group, as it came, was helped by the work of the group that had come before it and each earlier group was helped by the arrival of later groups."

All of this reminds us of Miss Addam's feeling that in America people have the opportunity to learn and practise internationalism and to understand the point of view of "foreign" countries because of the fortunate fact that we have representatives of almost every people and race living here as constituent parts of our normal population.

EMILY E. BALCH.

### THE LIMA CONFERENCE

December 5, 1938—January 10, 1939

(Some notes from a Report by Miss Heloise Brainerd.)

During the 18 days that the Pan American Conference was in session, all eyes were directed there.

The Conference suffered the handicap of having had too great expectations aroused in advance, and Nazi and Fascist influence was skilfully used to prevent harmony and to discount results, so that press reports tended to be discouraging. The efforts of Mr. Hull to secure a strong solidarity declaration were opposed by Argentina because of her strong commercial and cultural ties with Europe, dominance by British capital, ambition for leadership in South America and consequent rivalry with the United States; and by Brazil for obscure reasons, perhaps fear that it might be used as a pretext to interfere in Brazil in case of another Nazi uprising. Other countries felt the United States was overplaying the menace of European aggression. On the other hand, the majority supported the United States in seeking a strong statement, and some were even displeased that Mr. Hull did not press his demands more, but he preferred to conciliate everyone and carry all with him as far as they could go.

We may feel, therefore, that the Conference made very definite gains, though not spectacular ones. Briefly listing the gains, we have evidence of a growing unity of interests and the determination to maintain harmony and peace in this Hemisphere; a more definite committal of the United States to the "Good Neighbour" policy and non-aggressive attitude at the Conferences; a definite procedure provided for consultation among the Governments; better working of the system for codifying international law; strong recommendations on such points as the removal of trade barriers, non-recognition of conquests of territory made by force, condemnation of aerial bombardments, racial and religious intolerance and the collective political activity of groups of aliens, recommendation of the teaching of democratic principles and the growth of pacifist sentiment and peace machinery; economic and cultural co-operation, better communications of all kinds, etc.

Political and civil rights for women was a matter of great interest. Owing to the influence of Latin American members of the Inter-American Commission of Women, the equal rights treaty was not proposed, but a modified request for the right "to elect and be elected to office." In an effort to put this work on a solid and permanent basis, two resolutions were adopted, one continuing the Inter-American Commission under the direction of the

Pan American Unions, with the members appointed by the respective Governments. The other resolution known as "The Declaration of Lima on the Rights of Women," declares that women have the right to equal political and civil treatment and opportunities for work, and to protection for motherhood, and urges the governments to embody these principles in their legislation. The Conference also adopted a resolution urging special help for rural women, including the extension of social welfare services, and one suggesting an Inter-American Congress of Women "to co-ordinate their efforts in favour of peace and democracy." Though this would be government-controlled, it may be important and should be followed up.

The People's Mandate Committee was represented at the Conference by Miss Vernon, Mrs. Musser, Miss Weir, Dr. Crooks, Mrs. Jackson. The only women delegates were two from the U.S., one each from Brazil, Mexico and Peru. Mrs. Josefe, of Mexico, however, a fine type of social worker, did splendid work and made an excellent impression.

The political atmosphere in Peru is stifling, the prisons full of political prisoners, mostly "Apristas" (members of a social reform party). Charges of terrorism are made on both sides and the Government rules with an iron hand.

These groups do not mix at all and there seems to be no way of bringing them together. Mrs. Josefe, the Mexican Delegate, attempted to get up a series of women's meetings in which all might participate along with the foreign women in Lima. Because of too crowded schedules the meetings were few and did not amount to much. Some women are doing good work in a social hygiene association and there are really quite a number of "intellectuals" who have worked for suffrage, peace, etc., writers and artists, who occupy a somewhat middle ground. Protestants are generally classed as "Apristas" because of their sympathy with the working people. Three organisations have peace committees which seem to function chiefly when foreign visitors are to be received, yet I have the names of a good many people who want to receive peace material, and I shall keep in touch with all such.

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During the Conference, I presented personally to a few delegates the necessity of considering, as a question affecting the future peace of America, Bolivia's need for a port, and although the response was not very encouraging, I shall continue to plant the seed wherever possible.

With regard to Bolivian-Paraguayan relations, it is a pleasure to report that two Paraguayan women have responded enthusiastically to my letter, and one offered to try to organise a peace society to be in touch with the W.I.L. and with the Bolivian Peace League.

### OIL

A reader of our previous article has sent us the following interesting comments: "Like cotton, petroleum is one of the most valuable raw materials, and what 60 years ago was only used as a remedy for rheumatism and cancer now plays such a very important and tragic part in world politics.

"However, the importance of petroleum for politics and of politics for petroleum developed later than in the case of cotton. . . . For oil one depends on natural sources, so

that one cannot say as with cotton: here is our country, where can we cultivate our cotton, but one can say: here is oil, how can we bring that country under our flag.

"Therefore petroleum-politics have something more melodramatic: one works with spies, secret messengers, stock-jobbing, the influence of the press, bought concessions, corrupt ministers and by more or less uncontrollable rumours, even with fire-raising, falsifications, and even with physical disappearances of unfaithful or too-knowing servants and opponents.

"Petrol became the most important element of economic life. This development made Clemenceau exclaim: 'Une goutte de pétrole nous est aussi précieuse qu'une goutte de sang.' This was already realised in 1904 by Lord Fisher of the English Admiralty (who was called the petroleum-maniac and from whom the well-known dictum 'oil-power is world-power' originates. He also realised that Deterding, of the then still modest Royal Dutch, was the man who could provide England with oil and it was in that year that the Royal Shell was founded, for which the Banking house of Rothschild in Paris provided one-third of the capital. By May, 1914, the English Admiralty possessed immense oilfields.

"The influence of oil on the Great War was tremendous—why otherwise the advance of the English in Mesopotamia, the advance of the Turks to Baku, the campaigns of the Germans in Galicia and Rumania?

"The Caucasus, richest oilfield of the world, with the famous oilport of Baku, was the great purpose of all military campaigns. The Turkish offensives in the direction of the Caucasus caused Turkey more losses than all other military activities. In order to get this territory in its possession, Germany enfeebled to a fatal degree the strength of its army on other fronts.

The consumption of 476,000 tons in 1914 was increased to 610,000 tons in 1917. In 1918 the consumption increased to 1,000,000 tons of which more than 85% came from U.S.A.

"The pre-War secret 'battle' between U.S.A. and England (Rockefeller contra Deterding/Marcus Samuel—later, Lord Bearsted) was officially forgotten during the Great War. . . .

"Afterwards the rush for new oilfields begins again, for the exhaustion of oil-stocks has become a nightmare for mankind and especially for America. However, other means, too, are tried to solve the terrors of the oil crisis, viz.:—

"(1) By 'cracking' (the purification of oil under a pressure of 150 atm. and a heat of 450 degrees so that a profit of 80% is gained).

"(2) In Germany important quantities of benzine 'leune' are made directly out of coals by the process of Dr. Bergius.

"(3) In France alcohol, made out of potatoes and wood-waste is generally added to benzine.

"However, the development of chemistry does not keep pace with that in the technical field, and therefore strife goes on in Asia, in Mexico, in Central and South America, in Manchuria and in Rumania."

### THE RURAL CO-OPERATIVES IN SERBIA

(Summary of an article by Mme Zetchevic)

Among the Serbian Co-operative Societies, the oldest and the most active and fully developed is the Rural Co-

operative Society. Its history is really the history of co-operative agricultural development.

Of the total population of Yugo-Slavia 73.9 per cent. are agriculturalists (i.e., 12,150,000 out of 15,400,000). Before the War, they were peasant proprietors, organised in families. After the War, economic changes brought into view the problem of the peasant-labourer, which was solved by the Rural Co-operatives, and their organisation of the peasants, not in family groups as before, but in economic groups.

The Co-operatives became the economic centre of the village, guiding the peasants in ways imposed by the fresh economic circumstances. The Co-operatives brought to the villages the implements of modern agriculture, and set up a standard for the produce.

Co-operatives for provision of credit saved the peasant from the usurer. The Rural Co-operative Society, Limited, laid down standards, and sold produce (corn, poultry, milk, fish, etc.).

The War interrupted a development which had already begun, but after the War it went rapidly forward, and besides Co-operatives for credit, for sale of peasant produce, and for provisions, there developed a Union of Co-operatives for public health, aiming at improving village hygiene. To-day, this Union comprises 120 Co-operatives with 60,000 members (families) and about 120 ambulances and doctors.

All the organisations are united in the Union of Rural Co-operatives in Belgrade.

The work of the General Union is diverse. For propaganda and education of members, it owns two printing works and two papers, and it arranges classes, conferences and courses of lectures.

There is a General Union for Credit which supplies, on moderate terms, 1,100 rural co-operatives; a Union for provisions, supplying about 2,000 rural centres; a very successful Union for cattle and stock breeding; while the General Union for Produce is busy with improving quality and standard of more than a hundred types of products.

### The Role of Women in the Rural Co-operatives

Though women have not the vote in Serbia, they have, since the beginning, had equal rights with men in the rural co-operatives, and there are more than 3,000 women members. Many are on the Committees, or hold office, and they are specially active in the Co-operative for Public Hygiene.

Courses have been held for women in the villages since 1932. Five were organised in 1933, and to-day there are 46 "Schools" with 1,306 members. Women take part freely at the Annual Meeting. Subjects dealt with include: nutrition, the young mother, sickness, household management. . . .

Very interesting is the increase of the growth and use of vegetables formerly almost unknown in the villages, particular attention being paid to the nutrition of infants and families.

Noticeable improvements have taken place in the homes of members.

### RECOMMENDED BOOKS

#### The Revolution of Nihilism

This is the title of a book by Hermann Rauschnig. Publisher: Europe—Verlag. Zurich—New York.



The Revolution of Nihilism? Truly, there could not be a better explanation of the present situation of the Third Reich, and for all that will arise in future for the whole world from the short-sighted international politics prevailing since 1933, and threatening to dominate the public life of all the nations.

Whoever earnestly wishes to understand the aims of the struggle against National Socialism, ought to read this book. It is one of the most objective and best informed that has been written since the Third Reich was set up. Space in *Pax* does not allow of a detailed review of this important work. But two things should suffice to ensure its being read by those seriously interested in politics. They are, a quite short summary of the contents and a sketch of the personality of the author.

*Summary:* There are three principal divisions:—

1. The victory of the revolutionary new order of the political motives and tendencies in the Third Reich.
2. Absolutism in Dictatorship, the political rôle of the military in the Third Reich.
3. The new distribution of the world, motives and methods of German foreign politics.

*Personality of the Author:* Emigrant? Yes and no! At all events not in the usual sense of the term; nobody can pretend that he is infected with "refugee-psychosis."

Hermann Rauschning is a descendant of National-German—or rather Prussian ancestors. He is conservative and does not renounce his political views. Altogether, judging from his book, he is a man of reputable opinion, who stands for liberty—that is strictly regulated liberty—as the basis of a fruitful building up of the nations. He was educated in the Prussian military college, studied history till 1911 in Berlin and Munich, went through the war, was wounded, turned to agriculture and got an estate near Danzig. In 1931 he became a member of the National Socialist Labour Party, who nominated him in 1933 "Senatspräsident" of the Free State of Danzig. In October, 1933, he was in Geneva as member of the German delegation to the League of Nations. He belonged to those circles of men who were in continual, personal contact with Hitler and who had to advise and shape international politics. Honestly and frankly he stood firm in his opposition, supporting the leaving of the League of Nations over the question of Danzig, and over East and West European problems.

In 1934 he resigned as President of the Free State of Danzig because he could not agree with the absolute "Gleichschaltung" of Danzig. He retired into private life, managed his estate, but soon became aware that this was no longer possible, because the whole district boycotted him, so he sold his estate and went abroad in 1936.

Personal acquaintances of Rauschning declare him to be a quiet, clever, objective personality, who does not disavow his conservative Prussian military origin, who stands up courageously for his convictions and speaking without hate and bitterness about his dreadful disappointment over the Government of the Third Reich—a disappointment which is shared by many people.

Do you think it necessary to give more details to prove that the book of an expert with such special knowledge

at his disposal is reliable, and ought not only to be read, but to be studied intensively—and at once, before it is too late—by all those who criticise and combat National-Socialism? I believe it ought!

L. G. H.

*N.B.*—This book is to appear shortly in English (Publ. Heinemann and Co. Ltd.) and later in French (Gallimand, Paris) and Polish (Roy, Warsaw).

**Robert Ingram: "Der Griff nach Oesterreich." Europa Verlag, Zurich, 1938.**

Es giebt zur Zeit wohl kaum ein Buch, welches besser über Oesterreich, seit dem Weltkriege bis zum Raub durch Hitler-Deutschland, orientiert, als das von Ingram. Nach kurzem Rückblick auf das Kaiserreich, werden angestrebte Möglichkeiten der Regierungen, der verschiedenen Parteien nach 1919, unvorhergesehene Ereignisse scharf und klar hingestellt. Aufklärung wird gegeben über das Verhalten des Völkerbundes, wie der Grossmächte: Italien, England, Frankreich und Hitler-Deutschland. Der Verfasser schreibt lebendig, ist sehr objektiv, belegt aufgestellte Behauptungen durch Dokumente. L. G. H.

**BULLETIN OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS TEACHING**

**The Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation. No. 5—December, 1938**

The Secretariat of the League of Nations has recently published No. 5 of the *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching. The Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation.*

The object of this Bulletin is to bring to notice those activities of the League which are of particular interest to persons engaged in education. Among these activities the work of Intellectual Co-operation occupies an important place. A part of the present number is therefore devoted on the one hand to the principles underlying this work, and on the other to the work of the Advisory Committee for the Teaching of the Principles and Facts of International Co-operation. . . .

The question of modern means of spreading information in the cause of peace, which was considered by the League Assembly, is the subject of an article which describes the League's efforts in this field.

The technical work of the League is still not widely known to the general public. . . . The present number of the *Bulletin* therefore contains articles on the new work of the Economic Committee, the European Conference on Rural Life, the League and Epidemics, the rôle of exhibitions in international education.

With regard to the International Labour Office, two chapters are given to this subject, containing a study of the evolution of social progress and a study of the protection of young workers.

In addition, a number of official documents relating to the work of the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation have been collected at the end of the volume.

The 5th number of the *Bulletin of League of Nations Teaching* is likely to be of interest not only to those concerned with questions of intellectual co-operation; in responding to the wishes of educational circles, it will also meet the needs of a wider public which desires more complete information on the League's principal activities.