

PAX INTERNATIONAL

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EDITORIAL NOTE

By the time this issue reaches many of our readers, the Ninth International Congress will be taking place in Luhacovice, Czecho-Slovakia. We hope that the meeting together of our members from all over the world will give us fresh inspiration to work out methods to combat the ever increasing dangers of the international situation.

The present issue of *Pax* is given over almost entirely to reports and articles on the work that has been done to assist in relaxing the tension that exists between the countries bordering on one another in Central Europe.

The next issue of *Pax* will be an enlarged Congress number.

WORK FOR BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN NATIONS

The Problem of Minorities

[This introduction will be followed by further articles showing the practical endeavours of National Sections of the W.I.L.P.F. since 1919 to develop the co-operation between minorities and the majority in the respective states.]

The Peace-Treaties of Versailles, Trianon, St. Germain, etc., which were concluded after the Great War, 1914-18, changed the frontiers of many countries which had or had not taken part in the war. Men and women were dealt with like merchandise, being transferred under the sovereignty of the one or other State without regard to their own nationality and without being consulted about it. For example:

Germans and Ukrainians came under Polish, Austrians under Italian, Hungarians, Poles and Austrians under Czech, Poles and Danes under German sovereignty and vice-versa.

It has to be admitted that some Governments endeavoured to respond to the legitimate claims of minorities in their country, e.g., those of Denmark, Czechoslovakia and of the German Republic.

However, in spite of this, discontent and resistance among minorities was growing in many parts. This fact has largely to be attributed to misinterpretation of the respective laws and misunderstanding on the part of minor state officials. But the largest responsibility lies with chauvinistic agitators who preached the predominance

over all other conditions of life of hypernational and racial feeling. The problem of the rights of minorities grew more urgent every day; sometimes it was the central point of political controversies. The League of Nations took it up, but, as with all other political questions, its deliberations remained undecided and without importance.

The National Sections of the W.I.L.P.F. realized that the way in which the Minority Problem was handled and developed might provoke new wars, therefore they tried, basing themselves on the circumstances given, through practical proposals and active work, to promote understanding, rapprochement and agreement between national minorities and the majority of the respective countries.

The German Section stood for the principle of full political, economic, juridical and social equality for the minorities and held that the minorities in their turn should—without renouncing their own nationality—give their best as citizens of the State to which they belonged.

Co-operation between German and Polish Women

The German Section sought and found the co-operation of Polish women and in spite of serious difficulties due to the century-long enmity between the two peoples and to differences of character and outlook, they succeeded in discussing together all the grave problems, starting with those of the status of minorities and coming finally to the question of peace and disarmament of the State. Even the most delicate problem, that of the Polish Corridor, was gradually approached. It was proposed to settle it by neutralizing the railway traffic in the Corridor and by declaring exemption from duty the commercial exchange of both States.

In 1921 the industrial area of Upper Silesia, where Germans and Poles lived quite close to each other, was a centre of trouble.

Anita Augspurg made the following proposal for settling the question of assuring to Central Europe supply of coal and the industrial products of Upper Silesia:

1. Upper Silesia—remaining undivided, is to be isolated and to be granted autonomy and neutrality.
2. The principle of free trade is to be applied to coal and industrial products, they must not be made dearer by export and import duties to both countries (Poland and Germany), exemption from duty must be made a condition.

3. The protection of neutrality and of the internal and external security of the country is to be guaranteed by international measures in which no State shall have predominance.

Catherine Marshall from England realized at once the importance of these proposals and undertook to submit them to the special Conference set up by the League of Nations to settle the problem of Upper Silesia. The proposals were received with interest, but once more men had not the courage to settle a question by simple and logical measures. The egoistic interests of Big Industry were, as always, considered more important than the welfare of the peoples.

At the same time the German Section appealed to the population of Upper Silesia. In the introduction of the appeal it was pointed out that the utter failure of a policy of violence had been proved and that German and Polish women had to teach the men of both nations to understand afresh the slogan which is not destructive but constructive work. Further it pointed out that it does not matter to which state the raw materials belong, provided that free access to them is granted to all and that these materials are used as a means of exchange against other goods.

Frontier Conference

In May, 1926, a German-Polish frontier conference was held on German and Polish territory in Beuthen and Kattowitz. On both sides the participation was very strong. 20,000 leaflets in German and Polish had been distributed and had found their way also to German and Polish chauvinists. They came and tried to wreck the conference. But here the consequence of the common work was successfully shown: with psychological insight the German and Polish leaders of the conference combated unanimously the chauvinistic attacks, thus the success of the conference was secured. Its practical result was the constitution of a frontier commission, composed of German and Polish women, who had the task of putting right false reports and exaggerations of the press, and of arbitrating quarrels by non-violent means. Individual cases were thoroughly examined and much practical and moral help was given to those who were in distress. Thus, with the common work, mutual understanding was growing and at various times common manifestations were made.

In 1931, at the International Summer School at Löwenburg in Silesia, German and Polish women declared that all German-Polish questions should be settled by arbitration, they urged the abolition of war and of arms and came to greater agreement in questions of minorities and of economics.

German-Danish Frontier

At the German-Danish frontier the situation was different. The frontier regulations in that part were, as every objective observer had to admit, the most legitimate of all that had been made by the Treaty of Versailles. With good will on both sides these newly shaped frontiers should not have given rise to any troubles for the population. Germans and Danes would certainly have lived in agreement had there not been on both sides unscrupu-

lous agitators such as Schmid Wodder and Chriestensen who by continuous incitement kept the quarrel over the frontier alive. They were supported by an irresponsible press of very low standing.

In both countries German and Danish women worked together. They tried to influence the press towards mutual understanding, and to settle quarrels by arbitration. Together they distributed pamphlets in which it was made clear that men of different stock can live in agreement on the same territory, in mutual respect, every race maintaining its own particular character.

In 1926 a successful German-Danish Conference was organised partly on German territory in Flensburg, partly on Danish in Sonderburg, where the questions of minorities were discussed.

Thus, Danish, German and Polish women endeavoured to fight chauvinism and to further international toleration and understanding by mutual practical work.

Although with the beginning of the Third Reich a sudden end was put to these efforts, they have not been in vain. No tree can be cut with a single stroke, but the first stroke leaves its trace—this is true also of the work for better understanding between men and women of different nationalities. We must wait patiently until the time comes when the interrupted work may be taken up anew and, let us hope, with greater success.

L.G.H.

MEMORANDUM

über die Zusammenarbeit unter Nachbar-Staaten

In der gegenwärtigen Atmosphäre der Kriegsbedrohung wo jedes menschliche und insbesondere jedes mütterliche Herz unter dem Alldruck der Kriegsmöglichkeit zittert, fühlt jeder Einzelne die Pflicht mit seinen, wenn auch schwächsten Kräften irgendwie beizutragen zu der Entspannung, deren die Welt so dringend bedarf und irgendwie mitzuhelfen an der aufbauenden Arbeit, die die Atmosphäre des Hasses in eine Atmosphäre des gegenseitigen Verständnisses und der Menschenliebe wandeln soll.

Die ins Ungemessene sich steigernden Rüstungen sollen die Gewähr des Friedens sein,—demnach würde nur die Angst vor der Übermacht des Feindes die Möglichkeit eines Angriffes hintanhaltend. Wir Frauen möchten gerne in einem bis zur völligen und allgemeinen Abrüstung führenden Abbau der Rüstungen die sichere Gewähr des Friedens finden und möchten eine Atmosphäre schaffen helfen, die einen Kriegsausbruch seelisch unmöglich macht.

Was die grossen Zielsetzungen der Politik anbelangt, die in ihren Auswirkungen Krieg und Frieden schaffen, da hat der Volkswille leider noch immer nicht überall den massgebenden Einfluss: was aber die Schaffung der Atmosphäre betrifft aus der der Willen zum Frieden sich entfalten muss, hier mitzutun liegt in unserem Bereich und hier müssen wir alle das unsrige tun.

Wir Frauen die wir in der Internationalen Frauenliga für Frieden und Freiheit im gemeinsamen Dienst der Friedensidee vereint sind, wir waren von Anfang an vom dem Geist durchdrungen in der nationalen Idee nicht ein die Völker trennendes Prinzip zu sehen, sondern die

hingebener Empfindungen für das eigene Vaterland vereinbar zu finden mit den Idealen der Menschenliebe und den internationalen Gedanken nicht als Gegensatz, sondern als Höherentwicklung des nationalen Gedanken zu empfinden—und wir sind es gewohnt alles Geschehen von dieser höheren Warte aus zu betrachten. Wir empfinden es als unsere Pflicht die Möglichkeit eines Zusammenwirkens auch zwischen jenen Gruppen zu versuchen, die ihrer Nationalität nach als politische Gegner betrachtet werden. Wir empfinden dies als Pflicht nicht nur im Dienste des Friedens, sondern auch im Dienste des Vaterlandes, dem keiner seine Söhne und keine seiner Töchter besser dienen kann, als wenn sie ihm Freunde schaffen, wenn zwischen den räumlich benachbarten Völkern, die tausend Fäden aneinander knüpfen, der Geist gegenseitiges Verstehens an Stelle des Nichtverstehens tritt. Auch die führenden Politiker haben es bereits eingesehen, dass man die Pflege der guten Beziehungen zwischen den Nachbarstaaten nicht ausser Acht lassen kann, aber es sind zumeist nur die guten wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen deren gegenseitig fördernde Auswirkung sie eingesehen haben: oder es sind Nichtangriffspakte, die sie bilden, wo aber immer ein drohender Seitenblick auf diejenigen fällt, die in diesem Pakt nicht mit inbegriffen sind. Wir möchten die gegenseitigen Beziehungen nicht nur auf die wichtigen wirtschaftlichen Vereinigungen, wichtig insbesondere wenn sie dem Interesse der Volksmassen dienen, sondern auch auf den Austausch der kulturellen Güter konzentrieren, von diesen erwarten wir die grösste wechselseitige Förderung; wir möchten soweit es irgend in unserer Kraft ist, darauf achten, dass die *Menschenrechte* eines jeden Staatsangehörigen gewahrt werden, daraus erblüht dann, jeder Rechtsschutz, der dem Menschen gebührt; der Schutz der Minderheiten, die volle Gleichheit der Konfessionen vor dem Gesetz und in dem Leben wären die natürliche Folge dieser Bestrebungen.

Als wir, die hier unterzeichneten zwei Sektionen, auf Anregung unseres internationalen Präsidiums versucht haben auf gemeinsamer Plattform im Dienste des Friedens zu arbeiten, haben wir gefunden, dass viel mehr vereinende Ideen, als hemmende Gegensätze zwischen uns sind und dass wir auch mit unseren schwachen Kräften einen kleinen Baustein beitragen können zu dem grossen Dome der wirklichen Völkervereinigung.

Wir können unserem eigenen Vaterlande dienen und ebenso dem gemeinsamen Vaterlande der Menschheit, wenn wir den Geist der Gerechtigkeit und des Verstehens zwischen uns pflegen und so die Möglichkeit vorbereiten, alle obwaltenden Probleme zwischen den einzelnen Staaten einst im Geiste des Friedens zu lösen.

Wir versuchten uns darüber klar zu werden, welches die Kleinarbeit sein könne, die wir in den Dienst der grossen Idee stellen können und sind darin übereingekommen, dass wir

1. darüber wachen wollen, dass keine, das gegenseitige Wohlwollen untergraben, verhetzenden Kundgebungen in der Presse unserer Länder erscheinen; wenn dennoch Mitteilungen dieser Art erschienen sind, wollen wir uns gegenseitig darüber verständigen und wollen in unserem Lande soweit es irgendmöglich, der Sache nachgehen. Wenn zu der Mitteilung ein Grund vorlag, diesen nach Kräften beheben wenn die Mitteilung jedoch auf irriger

Information beruhte, soll dies in der Presse aufklärend zur Kenntnis gebracht werden.

2. Wo es sich nicht um publizierte Berichte handelt, sondern in einzelnen Fällen um Missgriffe der Verwaltungsorgane, um ungleiche Behandlung der einzelnen Staatsangehörigen je nach ihrer Nationalität oder Konfession, um eine Ausserachtlassung der gesetzlich zugesicherten Minoritätenrechte, da wollen wir all unsere Kräfte aufdieten, um den Betreffenden in aller Stille zu seinem gesetzlichen Rechte zu verhelfen und so den Urquell der gegenseitigen Verhetzung möglichst aus der Welt zu schaffen.

3. Wir wollen den Austausch der Kulturwerte fördern mit all unseren Kräften, allen Darbietungen der Kunst, der Literatur, der Wissenschaft, gegenseitig die weitestgehende Förderung angedeihen lassen.

4. Wir wollen der geschichtlichen Entwicklung unserer Staaten nach keiner Weise vorgreifen, wir wollen nur der Ausgestaltung einer neuen Ordnung die friedlichen Wege ebnen helfen und dem Menschheitsideal der friedlichen Völkervereinigung zustreben.

Der Hoffnung wollen wir noch Ausdruck geben, dass auch andere Sektionen in nachbarlichen Staaten in diesem Geiste eine gegenseitig sich fördernde Zusammenarbeit betätigen werden und möchten in diesem Sinne unserer Executive die folgende Resolution zur Annahme empfehlen:

Die Sektion der Internationalen Frauenliga für Frieden und Freiheit machen es sich zu Aufgabe den Geist des Friedens und des gegenseitigen Verständnisses,—in welchem Geiste die Liga vor 22 Jahren ins Leben gerufen wurde—insbesondere in den Beziehungen der miteinander benachbarten Staaten zu pflegen, den gegenseitigen Austausch der Kulturwerte eines jeden Staatsangehörigen beider Geschlechter, aller Rassen, Nationalitäten und Konfessionen zu stellen, die Quelle der gegenseitigen Verhetzung möglichst einzudämmen und beizutragen zur Schaffung einer Atmosphäre des gegenseitigen Verständnisses und der Menschenliebe: und derart allen gerechten nationalen Bestrebungen um die Entwicklung der höchsten Menschheitsgüter freie Bahn schaffend, das friedliche Zusammenwirken aller Völker in die Wege leitend, *mitzuhelfen den dauernden Frieden zu schaffen.*

EUGENIE MELLER.

MISCOLCZY.

MELANIE VAMBERY.

LOLA HANOUSKOVA.

ELSA KALMUS.

Tschechische Section der I.F.F.F.

Summary of foregoing Memorandum

In the present state of the world everybody is apprehensive of an outbreak of war and everyone wishes to co-operate in constructive work, so that the atmosphere of hatred may be changed into one of peace and love.

It is maintained that increases in armaments preserve peace. If this is so it is only fear of the enemy's superiority in arms that prevents an attack. We women would prefer to insure peace by universal and progressive disarmament, culminating in total disarmament.

We women, united in the W.I.L.P.F., have always believed that Nationalism need not separate people from one another and that love of one's country is consistent with love for all human beings. We are therefore trying to co-operate with those sections which, on account of their nationality, are considered our political opponents.

We do not want merely to concentrate on important economic agreements, important as they may be if they serve the interests of the masses, but we desire also to exchange cultural values, from which we expect the greatest mutual advantage.

When we, the undersigned Sections, following the suggestions of the International Executive, tried to work on a common platform in the cause of peace we found that between us there existed many more ideas that united us than those that divided us.

We have tried to work out ways in which we can help on the great idea and have agreed on the following points :

1. To watch the press in our countries to see that nothing is published that might undermine the mutual understanding and excite anger or hatred. In the event of such publications appearing we shall inform one another and as far as possible carry out investigations in our own country. If the publication is confirmed, we shall try to remedy the cause and should the publication be founded on faulty information try and point out the error in the press.
2. In cases of mistakes on the part of the administration in their dealing with certain citizens, in which discrimination is made on account of nationality, religion or infringement of legally constituted rights, we shall do everything in our power quietly to help the person concerned to acquire his or her rights and in this way we shall try to remove the source of mutual irritation.
3. We are resolved to exchange products of our cultural development—art, literature, science, etc.
4. We do not wish to interfere with the historic development of our states, we only desire to smooth out the way towards the peaceful formation of a new order.

We wish to express the hope that other Sections in the neighbouring countries of Central Europe will try and co-operate in the spirit of mutual assistance and to this end we wish to recommend that our Executive should pass the following resolution :

"The Sections of the W.I.L.P.F. are trying to foster the spirit of peace and concord between the peoples, especially in the relationships between neighbouring states. To this end they wish to promote the mutual exchange of cultural development; to devote their services to the protection of the human rights of all persons, without regard to sex, race, nationality or creed : to dam up the sources of mutual irritation and to co-operate in the creation of an atmosphere of concord and love for humanity; hoping by these means to pave the way for peaceful co-operation between peoples and to *create a lasting peace.*

Points from the ANNUAL REPORT OF THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMITTEE

Submitted by Miss Brainerd

During the past year many vital contacts have been made with peace workers in Latin America and we have come to understand better their problems and difficulties.

As regards actual representation of the W.I.L., we now have members of the Inter-American Committee in thirteen Latin American countries—Mexico, the Central American republics of El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, Panama, Cuba, Haiti, and in South America, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Paraguay. Some have been quiescent owing to the attitude of their governments, while others have done excellent work in securing signatures for the Peoples' Mandate, utilising the press and the radio to arouse public interest in the Pan-American Peace Conference and calling on their foreign offices to urge the ratification of earlier peace treaties or the appointment of women delegates to the Conference. The group in Merida, Mexico, has started a children's peace organisation, "The little Stars of Peace". The members promise not to go to war, to work for peace, and to respect women, old people and children, and are encouraged in constructive activities by having to bring to each monthly meeting something they themselves have made or written.

We are especially glad to report that a new branch of the League is being formed in Buenos Aires, principally by a group of foreign women. It is hoped that this branch will draw in Argentine women and become nationally representative.

We also carry on an extensive individual correspondence about specific problems and have sent out considerable literature in response to requests.

The present moment is a most challenging one for our Inter-American work, and if we are faithful to the task given us by the Geneva office, we must not fail to meet it. It is the task of Latin American peace workers to cement the bonds of friendship made at the Pan-American Conference and assure the ratification of the peace treaties, so that the Western Hemisphere may be both a safeguard and an object lesson to the rest of the world.

What is the future of Inter-American relations? It is largely what the United States makes it. Secretary Hull is dreaming of a sisterhood of twenty-one nations strongly united in sympathy, and mutual helpfulness. I believe that the Women's International League should take up this task of building constructive relationships, for this is just as necessary as the corollary task of fighting against imperialism.