

Signatures To Disarmament Petition Now Total, 2¼ Million.

# PAX INTERNATIONAL

## Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

12, rue du Vieux-Collège, Geneva  
Switzerland



"The essentials for the revival of confidence and the restoration of European credit, depend on lower reparations, lower interallied tariffs and a Franco-German rapprochement."

Albert WIGGIN.

Chairman Chase National, Bank U. S. A.

Vol. 6. No. 10.

Published monthly (except July)

OCTOBER 1931

### CONTENTS

Currents Events.  
Au revoir. Madeleine Z. Doty.  
W. I. L. Summer School. E. Trotter.  
Japanese-Chinese Crisis.  
W. I. L. International Executive.  
Executive Committee Resolutions.  
12th Assembly Of The League.  
The World's Burdens.

Yella Hertzka.  
Disarmament In Germany.  
Frida Perlen.  
Disarmament in France.  
Gabrielle Duchêne.  
Work In Denmark. Thora Daugard.

Editor . . . . . Madeleine Z. Doty.  
Office, 12, rue du Vieux-Collège,  
Geneva, Switzerland.

Subscriptions to «Pax International»:  
One year fifty cents or 2 shillings.  
International Dues . . . . . \$5 or £1.

### An Interview With Gandhi

ROGER N. BALDWIN

I rode from Paris to Boulogne on the train with Gandhi and the Indian party—the only person who managed to get aboard anywhere *en route*...

I spent the morning as I had intended in conference with the delegation as to what the people in the United States could do for Indian independence in case the conference failed and the struggle is renewed. Most of the party were of the opinion that only a miracle could bring success. They were, they said, obligated to put India's case before the world at the time and place it was being discussed. That the position of India has changed over-night from a political problem to an economic, with Wall Street now in virtual control of Britain was recognized. British concern will be expressed chiefly now, they felt, for a favourable trade agreement and security for British investments in India, not for forms of political control. If the substance of independence is not conceded, no such agreement will be made... The role of the rich Indians in the Congress is insignificant. Gandhi overshadows them all with a power drawn from the common people.

Even in the party on the train everybody deferred to him, not in subservience, but as to one who had the last word as the sole delegate of the Congress, though bound in the frame of a specific mandate...

I had an hour's talk with Gandhi alone in his compartment where we ate a considerable breakfast together.... Gandhi is easy to talk with, for he has no sense of importance, does not weigh his words, is easy and informal, and full of laughter and humor..."

I got the impression for the first time in a long experience among revolutionists of a quite simple and very determined assertion of their positive political goals, not that bitter opposition, negative and uncreative, that marks most who suffer tyranny.

My net view of the Indian group, publicized as mystics with a holy man at their head, is that they are as hard headed a lot and as smart a lot as western politics can produce, and a sight more honest.

### English Financial Crisis

F. W. PETHICK-LAWRENCE, M. P.

We give below extracts of a speech made by Mr. Lawrence in Parliament, September 10th, when he, took his stand with the Labor Party at the time of the Cabinet crisis.

"It has been represented to us to-day by the Chancellor of the Exchequer... that the crisis through which the nation has been and is still passing owes its existence to an unbalanced budget. I entirely dissent from that view. If it were true that an unbalanced budget brought about this crisis why is it that other countries whose deficits have been going on for a far longer time and to a far greater amount are not in the same position... Compare our position with that of the United States, which in the last completed year had a deficit round about \$300,000,000..."

The Prime Minister, in his speech on Tuesday, referred to the collapse which took place some few years back in Central Europe and actually told

us that signs were not lacking of a similar thing taking place in this country. That statement is definitely untrue... The reason for the collapse of the States of Central Europe in years gone by was not, of course, their unbalanced budgets. It was that their external liabilities far exceeded their external assets...

The real answer to this is: "We have, owned by our nationals, ample holdings and investments outside this country to meet the situation..." It is by the mobilisation of our foreign securities and by that alone that this crisis will be overcome... Of course, if those securities were actually sold, we should have to pay the persons who held them with British debt in its place. The Home Secretary says: "What difference does it make if you give one debt for another?" It makes all the difference for the purpose of protecting the pound, because it substitutes an internal debt for an external debt... Whether we balance our budget or not and whether we balance it meticulously in every year of exceptional difficulty, that is a matter for ourselves, for the people of this nation and for this nation alone...

What is the reason why this Government has been formed? It has been formed in order to balance our budget, not for our own sake, not in the way in which we believe in this country but in order to balance it in the way that some persons in foreign countries think we ought to do it... I say that this Government has been formed for the express purpose of placing the neck of this country underneath the foot of foreign finance. I believe this to be wholly unnecessary and infinitely degrading. This Government calls itself a National Government but to me as an Englishman the position seems pitifully unpatriotic, and it is my firm conviction that when the annals of this time come to be written, this Government will be known as one that failed the country in its hour of need.



## AU REVOIR

Madeleine Z. Doty

Dear friends and readers: this is the last "Pax" I shall be editing. The doctor has ordered a six months holiday. This month completes my six years of editorship. I have grown so attached to you and the little paper it is difficult to tear myself away. First I want to thank you all for your generous support. Often it was your fine letters that gave me courage to go on. And never have you failed to appeal for financial aid.

The paper from now on until the W.I.L. Congress in May is to be edited by Camille Drevet. She is taking this on in addition to all her secretarial work. It will not be an easy task and she will need your help.

The next issue of the paper will be six pages instead of eight, but I hope not one subscription will drop off but instead that the subscriptions will greatly increase. Camille Drevet will have no time for raising money and therefore needs your financial support even more than I did.

It is a brave little paper we have started and you must keep its banner flying. I know of nowhere else that a similar attempt is being made. To deal with political events from a world point of view and send the same news to all countries is an act of faith and temerity. In form the paper may have had an American tinge because an American edited it and it may now have a French atmosphere because Camille Drevet is French. But this is only a matter of form. The important thing is that the same statement of facts has gone round the world, has gone to England and India, France and Germany, Poland and the Ukraine. We have been developing a world attitude towards political events which is binding us together. That is the big task of W.I.L. members, to rise above national prejudice. To see your country's faults from a detached and impersonal point of view. To demand world welfare rather than national. The mother, who in a school wrangle, can see her child's faults, and demand what is best for the welfare of the school even if it brings suffering on her child, will be a great internationalist.

This is the message I want to leave with you. Let us recognise that a new day has come and be the fore-runners of the future. Everywhere about us we see the old order breaking. Let there be no mistake about this. If England has met a financial crisis to-day and the gold standard has fallen, to-morrow it will be the turn of the U.S.A. and France. None of us can escape for we have not leaders in the strong nations with courage enough to sacrifice national welfare for the sake of a new world. There are a few men raising the cry but they are not understood or listened to yet.

Gandhi says he is fighting not only India's cause but the world's cause, that he would rather have India lose than win independence by violence. He puts the welfare of mankind above his race. Salvador de Madariaga, at the Assembly of the League of Nations, does not talk about Spain, but says cheerfully let the National Governments fall, it does not matter much as long as we hold on to the League of Nations and create out of it a permanent world organisation which expresses the international will.

At present these are voices crying in the wilderness. The leaders of the old order will not see yet, not until they have all been dragged down into the economic and financial crisis and swept into the dust heap. But then will dawn a new day. A day when each nation will realize its dependence on all the others, a day when there will be world planning.

It is not only war we are out to abolish but the whole competitive system, of one nation against another which leads to violence and war. No longer must one man benefit at the expense of another. We need, world economics, world distribution of food, every man fed, world banking, world currencies, the money of one country the same value as that of another, a world language and a world press; the statement of facts on political events the same for one country as for another. These are large orders but it presents to the youth of to-day glorious adventures.

And we, in the W.I.L., can rejoice and need not be sad if we keep the sail of the little boat straight to the wind and head for the open sea. Economic crashes may come and nations totter but this only means that the old capitalistic system, of self interest and each man for himself is passing and in its place is coming a new era of co-operation, selflessness, and friendship.

### The W.I.L. Summer School E. Trotter

It was not an easy task to organize a Summer School in a time like this, and it is a tribute to those, who did so, that so much success attended the School which met at Löwenberg in Silesia from August 22 to September 5, to discuss German-Polish problems...

The difficulties of the relationship between Germany and Poland were presented and discussed with frankness and in detail, and it is surely a great step towards the solution of differences to meet and talk them over. Even those, who already knew a great deal about the problems, learned at Löwenberg how people *feel*, which is the most important factor....

The school had also tangible as well as intangible results. Two committees were formed; one for the fostering of cultural relations between the two countries—the German women

in particular felt, that the literature and language of Poland were very little known to them or to their country-men, and the other a "Boundary Committee", originally formed in 1927, but now revived and appointed on a different basis. It was also agreed to institute an essay competition among the young people on both sides of the border, asking them to give their views as to the best means of adjusting the frontier difficulties.

Those who attended the School cannot fail to have brought away with them not only a greater understanding of German-Polish problems, and increased hope of their ultimate solution, but also many delightful memories of days spent together and of the generous hospitality of our hostesses. In Breslau, two enjoyable days were spent exploring the town and being entertained by civic authorities. Some of us have, in addition, the wonderful recollection of a weekend spent in the mountains. Most interesting, too, were the visits of young people from a school in the neighbourhood. Alert, intelligent and earnest, they joined naturally and eagerly in the discussions. To those, who search the present for signs of a more hopeful future, these young people with their independent thoughtfulness were a great encouragement.

### Japanese-Chinese Crisis

One of the most serious events which occurred during September was the crisis which has arisen over the sending of Japanese of troupes into Manchuria. It looked for a moment as though there might be war between China and Japan until the Council of the League of Nations took the matter up. Through the efforts of the Council the Japanese have now agreed to withdraw all troupes from Manchuria. The Chinese have demanded not only the reestablishment of the *status quo* in Manchuria, but also the fixing of responsibilities and reparations. The Council adjourned without agreeing to this demand but has agreed to meet October 14th if the Japanese troupes have not been completely withdrawn from Manchuria.

### W.I.L. Action on Japan

On receipt of a telegram from one of the Chinese women urging W.I.L. support in the crisis which has arisen between China and Japan, the chairmen of the W.I.L. sent the following telegram to our Japanese Section: "Deeply concerned over situation, beg you use active influence in spirit of Jane Addams." A telegram was also sent to the Chinese women saying that we had telegraphed the Japanese women. Further a letter written by the W.I.L. secretary, Camille Drevet, to the women delegates of the Assembly of the League of Nations urged that they would unite in action to aid the Chinese women.

## Meeting Of The W.I.L. International Executive

THE W.I.L. Executive met in Geneva from September 4th to September 9th. The following members were present: Honorary Vice-President: Lida Gustava Heymann; Chairmen: Emily Greene Balch, Gertrud Baer, Clara Ragaz; Executive members: Camille Drevet, Gabrielle Duchêne, Yella Hertzka, Edith Pye, Cor. Ramondt-Hirschmann, Dr. Naima Sahlbom, Dr. Anna Schustlerova. Consultative members: Czechoslovakia: Lola Hanauskova, Marie Schmolka; Denmark: Thora Daugaard; England: Hilda Clark, Kathleen Courtney; France: Leo Wanner; Germany: Anita Augspurg, Magda Hoppstock-Huth; Holland: Selma Meyer; Hungary: Eugenie Meller; Switzerland: Gertrud Woker; Ukraine: Milena Rudnycka; U.S.A.: Janette Rankin. Members of Commissions: Mosa Anderson, Frida Perlen. Visitors: Mme. Kellerson, France; Mme. Chiostergi, Italy; Mme. Fichet, Tunis; Mme. Hjadilika, Yugoslavia.

### W.I.L. CONGRESS.

After much discussion it was decided to change the Congress plans and to separate the W.I.L. Disarmament Manifestation from the Congress, making the Congress a somewhat smaller affair than usual and having the Manifestation earlier in Geneva. It was decided to hold the Congress in Grenoble from May 13th to 17th, the Executive to meet from May 9th to 12th. The title for the Congress is to be: "World Disarmament or World Disaster"; the topics under this heading are to be as follows:

(a) Internationalisation of Civil Aviation; (b) Security; (c) International Police; (d) War Industry (private manufacture, control, etc.); (e) To what extent does the economic crisis endanger peace? (f) Other matters arising from the Disarmament Conference.

### W.I.L. DISARMAMENT MANIFESTATION.

It was felt that it was important that the W.I.L. Disarmament Manifestation be held in Geneva during the time of the League of Nations Disarmament Conference. The exact date was left to the Committee on Arrangements but will probably occur some time during February. It will consist of a Conference of one or two days, with specially qualified speakers. The title will be "Scientific Methods of Warfare". The subjects proposed for discussion are as follows: (a) Internationalisation of Civil Aviation; (b) How it is possible to give people the feeling of security without armies and navies; (c) The use of civil airplanes for war; (d) What preparations have been made for bacteriological warfare; (e) Means of warfare derived from Physics; (f) Conclusions to be drawn from the manoeuvres in different countries; (g) What can be

expected from active defence? (target practice, attacking air force, counter attacks); (h) What can be expected from passive defence? (collective protection: shelters, evacuation of towns, smoke screens; individual protection: masks, protective clothing, oxygen tanks, neutralising agents); (i) Can prohibition of certain methods of warfare be considered effective?

### W.I.L. DISARMAMENT PROGRAMME.

The plans already made were reaffirmed. In the matter of the disarmament petitions the decision taken at Lille that the International and English texts of the petitions should be the only ones officially circulated, was reaffirmed. It was agreed, however, that all disarmament petitions which are in the spirit of the W.I.L. and which ask for "Universal Disarmament" meaning by this "World" or "International Disarmament" should be regarded as part of the W.I.L. work, but that the texts of all petitions which differ from the original W.I.L. petition must be submitted to the W.I.L. Scientific Warfare Commission in French, German or English and this Commission will judge whether they are in the spirit of the W.I.L.

It was agreed to accept Mrs. Edith Zangwill's very generous offer to go to Russia to speak and work there for the petition on disarmament. She is to be given a mandate from the W.I.L. It was further agreed to accept Mme. Duchêne's generous offer to go to Spain and work for disarmament there in a few of the cities.

It was agreed to send speakers on disarmament to the different countries which have requested them.

It was agreed that the W.I.L. should co-operate with the "Ad Hoc Committee for Disarmament" which is being set up in Geneva. This Ad Hoc Committee comprises representatives from each of the international organizations which have Headquarters in Geneva. Mme. Ramondt-Hirschmann is to be the representative of the W.I.L. with Camille Drevet as alternate. This Ad Hoc Committee recognises four different disarmament petitions, the two texts of the W.I.L. one text prepared by the "Cause and Cure of War" committee and one by the "International Suffrage Alliance". It was agreed that the W.I.L. should co-operate with the Ad Hoc Committee in the presentation of the disarmament petitions to the League of Nations. The Ad Hoc Committee, which is now known as the "Disarmament Committee of the Women's International Organisations", is being supported by contributions from the various organizations. It has been given a room in the Y.W.C.A. Headquarters in Geneva, which it will use as its centre.

### PAX INTERNATIONAL.

Madeleine Z. Doty gave her report on the "Pax" situation and at the same time handed in her resignation. She said she had been ordered to take a six months' holiday and wished to have this take effect after the completion of the October "Pax". She stated that she hoped to be able to balance the "Pax" accounts through October. She pointed out, however, that the receipts from the subscriptions were not enough to cover the cost of the paper. Since her trip to America in January, Miss Doty has taken in \$1,600 in 50 cents subscriptions. She said she felt it would take two or three years to secure enough subscriptions to cover the total cost of the paper and that it could only be published in its present form if there was some special contributions.

It was agreed that, in view of Miss Doty's inability to continue her work: (a) That the W.I.L. try the experiment of editing the paper in the office under the direction of the secretary, Camille Drevet, and dealing less with the general news and more with the special news of the W.I.L.; (b) That every effort be made to make the "Pax" budget balance namely have the subscriptions cover the cost of the paper; (c) That if necessary the size of the paper be cut down to four pages; (d) That the "Pax" accounts be kept separate from the others.

It was further agreed that this arrangement should be experimental and that at the May Congress of the W.I.L. in Grenoble the whole matter of "Pax" should again be discussed and voted upon and further arrangements made for the paper.

### COMMISSION REPORTS.

Reports were given on "Opium" by Lida Gustava Heymann; on the "Traffic in Arms" by Mrs. Waernbugge; on the "Women's Consultative Committee on Nationality" by Eugenie Meller; on the "Internationalisation of Aviation" by Emily Balch; on the "Project for the Creation of an International Police Force" by Gabrielle Duchêne; on "Anti-Semitism" by Augusta Kirchoff; on the "East-European Situation" Camille Drevet, Colonization, Madeleine Rolland; the Economic Commission, Yella Hertzka; and "Minorities" Hilda Clark. The national sections are asked to study these reports carefully and take such action as is suggested in them. Reports were also given on the following meetings: "The Anti-Militarist Congress" in the Hague, by Selma Meyer; the 12th Congress of International Democratic Action for Peace" at Constance by Edith Pye; on the meeting of the "Peace Committee of the International Suffrage Alliance" in Belgrade, by Mrs. Ramondt-Hirschmann.



# Resolutions Of The W.I.L. International Executive

## Disarmament Conference

At the time of the meeting of the W.I.L. Executive in early September there was some indication that the Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations, scheduled for February 1932, might be postponed. The W. I. L. therefore passed this resolution:

"The W.I.L. urges upon the statesmen of the 12th Assembly of the League of Nations to hold firmly to the date of February 1932, fixed for the Disarmament Conference. They believe that any postponement would bring the peoples of the world, already disheartened by endless delays to a state of hopelessness and would irretrievably discredit the League of Nations."

## The Economic Crisis

A resolution on the "Economic Crisis" was brought forward by Gertrud Baer as a matter of urgency. It was adopted and it was decided to present this resolution to the League of Nations and give it the widest possible publicity. It is hoped to arrange an evening meeting with speakers on the proposals set forth in this resolution:

"The W.I.L. Executive meeting together in Geneva, at a time of unprecedented general economic crisis,

"Shocked by the thought that while millions are dying of hunger in many countries, foodstuffs and other necessary products (such as wheat, vegetables, fruit, cotton, etc.) are systematically destroyed in some countries, because of the fear of unduly lowering prices and difficulties of transport,

"Reminds those in power that a heavy responsibility rests upon them,

"Believes that only concerted international action providing for international distribution of products and of foodstuffs of primal necessity, can mitigate the effects of a state of things which is revolting to the conscience of humanity and productive amongst the victims of the present economic anarchy, of outbreaks of despair and violence, the consequences of which no one can foretell.

"Although fully realising that any such measures will fail to eradicate the evil, they believe it to be their duty to demand from the statesmen gathered together for the 12th Assembly of the League of Nations that immediate steps be taken towards international distribution."

## Revision Of Peace Treaties

Madame Duchêne drafted a resolution inspired by Louie Bennett's proposals for the revision of the Peace Treaties and the cancellation of the debts. As the resolution was in accordance with previous W.I.L. decisions it was accepted and it was agreed it should be presented to the W.I.L. Congress as a resolution proposed by the Executive:

"In accord with previous decisions of the W.I.L., which from 1919 onward have protested against those provisions of the Treaties which were not in accord with promises made at the time of the Armistice, and with the decision at the

Hague Conference of December 1922, which called for revision of the Treaties, "And considering that the Covenant of the League of Nations stipulates that treaties, recognised as being inapplicable in practice, can be submitted to revision, "The Executive Committee of the W.I.L. meeting in Geneva, protests against the attitude of those governments who are beneficiaries of the Treaties and who declare that no changes in them are permissible; by so-doing they give pretexts to the vanquished countries and allow them to create an atmosphere dangerous to world peace."

## Dictatorships

The Executive Committee felt that it was extremely difficult to carry on W. I. L. work and propaganda in countries where there are dictatorships and passed this resolution:

"(a) The W.I.L. is of the opinion that in countries in which political conditions are such as to prevent truly independent work in political questions affecting peace, it is not possible to recognise a national section of the W.I.L. as an active section with a right to representation and vote in the councils of the W. I. L.

"Nevertheless we encourage all those groups or individuals who are willing to work according to W.I.L. principles to continue their work for peace and reconciliation in close contact with International Headquarters in the hope that in time to come the reconstitution of such a section may be possible."

## Work Among Young People

It was urged that work be carried on among the young people, of the East-European countries and the following resolution was passed:

"(b) In view of the difficulty in certain countries of Eastern Europe of finding any real understanding of internationalism the Executive of the W.I.L.

"(1) urges upon national sections in countries where there are large numbers of students from such countries to encourage the formation of discussion circles where students can meet each other and come into contact with international thought;

"(2) supports Mme. Drevet's proposal to invite young women from such countries to spend a time for educational purposes at the Maison Internationale."

## Situation In The Ukraine

The following resolution was passed in regard to the situation in the Ukraine and it was agreed that members of the East-European Commission and the Minorities Commission of the W. I. L. be authorized to present this resolution to the Committee of Three of the League:

"Understanding that no redress has been given by the Polish Government to the Ukrainians who suffered in the measures of so-called "pacification" last year and believing that for a solution of the difficulty, and to prevent reprisals and counter-reprisals, and that guarantees to minority rights be upheld, it is necessary for the Council of the League to take further steps, urges:

"(1) That the Committee of Three appointed to consider the Ukrainian petitions submit these to the Council in its present session and that (a) the complaints should be examined and settled under the control of the League of Nations, (b) the Council should not cease such control until it is satisfied that adequate measures have been taken and assurances given to protect the Ukrainian population from a repetition of the events complained of;

"(2) That the Governments of France, the British Empire, Italy and Japan as States represented on the Ambassador's Conference in March 1923 when Poland was allowed to annex Eastern Galicia, should bring to the attention of the Council of the League the non-fulfilment by Poland of her undertaking at that time to grant to Eastern Galicia a regime of autonomy."

## Political Prisoners

Mme Chiostergi, an Italian representative of the W. I. L., living in France gave a report on the conditions of the prisoners in the Lipari Islands. The following resolution was passed:

"The W.I.L. having taken note of the documents concerning the conditions imposed on political exiles in the Italian Islands of deportation;

"Having ascertained that, apart from the bad treatment imposed, the money granted to the deportees had been recently reduced from 10 lire to 5 lire per day, the deportees and their families thus being laid open to undernourishment and left a prey to sickness and death;

"Having learnt moreover that it is impossible to send any direct or indirect help to the deportees and their families;

"While confirming the principles and the wishes expressed in the course of its earlier sessions with regard to the regime of political prisoners in different countries;

"While hoping that an international charter shall be speedily adopted which will bring this regime to an end;

"Decides to publish, through the press, an appeal to public opinion with the object of obtaining an increase of the daily allowance to the prisoners, since this grant must provide the means of existence to the prisoners and their families."

## Equal Rights' Treaty

At the Executive Committee, Gertrud Baer, presented the request of the "Equal Rights" organisation that the W. I. L. support the Equal Rights' Treaty which calls for equal rights between men and women. Gertrud Baer made it clear that the Equal Rights' Treaty did not mean taking a position on protective legislation for women in industry. The Treaty was accepted. Miss Balch voting with the following reservation which she believed represented the standpoint of a large number of W.I.L. members, i.e. that she did not accept the interpretation which makes equal rights imply identity of laws as regards men and women.

# The 12th Assembly Of The League Of Nations

We give below extracts of some of the important speeches made before the 12th. Assembly.

## SIGNOR GRANDI (Italy)

The Italian Foreign Minister opened the debate in the Assembly stressing the fact that peace could only be based on the security of the States and that security could only follow the pacific settlements of disputes and a general reduction of armaments. He proposed that there should be an armament's truce from now until the Disarmament Conference in order to create an atmosphere of mutual confidence. The proposal for an armament's truce was passed in spite of French reluctance and is now to be sent to the various Governments for ratification.

## ARISTIDE BRIAND (France)

Mr. Briand, centered his speech on the idea of security. He insisted that had it been possible to organise mutual assistance against the risk of war the problem of disarmament would be very much simplified. He declared that if the Governments would remove the existing defects in the Covenant so that security might be assured, the nations could then greatly reduce armaments.

DR. JULIUS CURTIUS (Germany)  
Dr. Curtius' speech was divided into two parts, one dealing with the economic crisis and the other with the preparations of the Disarmament Conference. He pointed out that since the last Assembly production has broken down, markets cannot be found and that, in many countries there is a financial crisis. He said that on one hand there was enormous stocks of raw material and foodstuff and on the other want and famine. That there was a concentration of capital and an accumulation of gold in a few countries and a lack of gold and crushing rates of interests in other countries and that the most dreadful evidence of all of the economic disturbance, was the unemployment in industrial countries. He said there was an army of discouraged and despairing people who are only too easily exposed to extremists and revolutionary influence. "The very ground on which we stand is shaking under our feet".

He reported on the proposals of the "Committee of Inquiry on Economic Union" which recommends economic rapprochement and union as the only means of achieving the fundamental reconstruction of European economy. He added: "Something more is required than these findings, the Governments must act quickly on the lines laid down." He pointed out that extra-European countries feel the League is concentrating on the reconstruction of European economy and that the only effective

remedy was *international* co-operation. He concluded saying that economic depression was an event which has occurred outside the League but that disarmament was a matter for which the League was responsible, and the failure of the Disarmament Conference would rob the League of its moral authority.

## LORD ROBERT CECIL (Great Britain)

The speech of Viscount Cecil, which was made before the fall of the British pound, stressed the need of international confidence. He said:

"The dominant need of the moment is to revive international investment. This is needed in order to bridge the gap in the balance of payments between creditor and debtor countries, to stop the drain on gold, which if it continues, will threaten a number of currencies, which have been painfully restored this last decade, and to provide capital for the economic enterprises without which the recovery and employment of those now involuntarily idle will be impossible. If this is not done, and done quickly, it is clear from the evidence before us that one country after another, both in Europe and over seas, will be forced into some form or another of the extended moratoria which may endanger the whole system on which the economic life of the world is based, and will be driven again into the chaos which results from demoralised currency... There is in the world an atmosphere of international suspicion which it ought to be the special function of the League of Nations to allay..."

"Quite recently, there have been held what are called "Air Manœuvres" in my own country, in France, in Italy and in America, and I dare say in many others... Here is the description in part of the manœuvres... "The first wave of the raiders flying low from the east appeared in a cloudless sky at 3 a.m. and afforded an impressive spectacle as they roared over the town and dropped hundreds of "bombs" in the shape of fire-works which exploded loudly a few hundred feet above the house-tops..."

"A similar attack was made yesterday on another town and resulted, according to the official communiqué, in the destruction of the railway station, the paralysing of the factories and the military establishments and in huge casualties amongst the civil population..."

"I spoke just now of the necessity for encouraging the investing public, but what kind of encouragement is it when we say to the investing public, 'We are threatening the destruction of the material wealth of these

countries and these countries to which we anxiously implore you to lend money are preparing means to destroy the security on which your loans rest."

## SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA (Spain)

Perhaps the most significant speech was that of Salvador de Madariaga, formerly head of the Disarmament Section of the League now Spanish Ambassador to the U. S. A. He spoke not from the national but from the world standpoint. He advocated a new orientation of international law which would completely abandon the rights of neutrality, saying:

"Neutrality is a thing of the past. Why consider it or try to define the rights of neutrals? War has been outlawed so why waste time considering war or neutrality. You may say there are states that are not members of the League. I realise that is a serious difficulty... and as long as the United States and Russia are not included in this system which banishes neutrality then integrally disarmament is an unattainable ideal."

Mr. de Madariaga, was optimistic about the future. He acknowledged difficulties but saw through them. He said it is true the acts of a War Minister and a Minister of Foreign Affairs in a given nation are often in direct opposition to one another, as though the nation had adopted the principle of not letting the right hand know what the left hand did. But, in spite of this, he felt there was a future for the League of Nations for National Governments change but the League remains and will grow and improve in proportion as the National Governments develop a wider and more international view point. He said: "We perhaps at the present time represent a *via media*; we have our feet in the mechanic idea and our heart in the organic idea. We shall go to the Disarmament Conference with a mixed voice, prompted to a certain extent by national selfishness and at the same time guided by international idealism." He concluded saying that the greatest value of the Disarmament Convention is that it creates a permanent institution of disarmament and the greatest service the League of Nations can render is the creation of permanent institutions which shall always express the international spirit. He pointed out that if each country had given the League in 1930, 5% of what they had expended during that year on national defence and the League had invested that 5%, the whole organisation of the League of Nations, including its branches could have continued through the whole of history without asking another penny.



# The World's Burdens

Yella Hertzka

THE great Indian revolutionist of the 20th century Mahatma Gandhi is fighting in London at the Round Table Conference for the freedom and independence of 300 million people and doing so without an army, without a fleet, but with the fearless obedience of millions of followers who believe in the triumph of justice.

At the same time the National Governments of the world which make up the League of Nations, haggle over the reduction of armaments. The people wait in longing expectation for the results of the 1932 Disarmament Conference. Will the world finally be freed from the burden of a future war? Will belief in the League of Nations be confirmed? Or will future generations be condemned anew to the horrors of war, to the resulting economic chaos and the decline of civilisation and culture?

In an epoch when the international complexities of trade, of transport, of the credit system and of art, science and technique are known to everyone: at a time when, the cotton planter in Texas is forced to reduce his production to a third of the amount because East European peasants can no longer purchase anything, when cereals in Australia and Canada are decaying and farmers failing simply because other countries which urgently need these things have not the buying power; briefly, when practically every country is economically dependent on another, still serious statesmen are not yet willing to adopt total disarmament.

To-day, all the leading economists are agreed that the principal cause of the world economic crisis is to be found in the lack of confidence which exists between the different countries. Fear of war leads every country to try to live independently. It builds up artificial industries which cannot always compete with foreign industries. The result is protective tariffs to give the home industry power to exist. In this way tariff barriers grow up and these barriers in turn bring about reprisals from countries who are no longer able to import as formerly. Overproduction, falling prices, unemployment are the result of this economic policy. Tariff wars effect a stranglehold on merchandise trade and give rise to national enmities.

Nothing is more sensitive to such a situation than invested foreign capital. Either it withdraws from such countries, or if this is no longer possible, it insists on protection from its own government and that often means political pressure.

This has been the situation in most of the Central and Eastern European

countries since the world war. They have entirely ruined themselves by tariff barriers and have brought insecurity on their industries by short term commercial treaties.

The result of this lack of stability has been that capital has demanded unusually high rates of interest, 12-18%. With such a burden on credit, industry cannot make profits. Capital cannot be built up and when the credits are withdrawn the industries crash and workers and employees are without work.

Such a procedure destroys the buying power of the impoverished population which ceases to purchase foreign goods and this causes the crash of industries and banks in other countries and results in unemployment which in turn brings about an economic decline, shrinkage of capital and social unrest; all factors which prevent capital, necessary in building up the economic situation, passing from one country to another.

On the contrary, gold is collected in the victorious countries, France and America and in the neutral states, Holland and Switzerland. But even these places of stable economy and secure capital are being drawn, because of lack of purchasing power, in greater or lesser degrees into the world crisis, as their bank failures show. Indebtedness and stock exchange crises are international. At the time of the annual meeting of Swiss bankers in Lausanne, Dr. R. G. Bindschedler spoke of a revision of international debts and reparations as essential to the creation of economic and financial relations based on confidence. How easy it would be for America, for instance, to cancel the Allied debts is shown from the fact that they only amount to 5.7% of the national income of the United States, while that State pays out four times that amount, 223 million dollars, for army and navy. This sum of 223 million dollars is more than the half of Germany's reparations payments to the Allies. Altogether reparations make up 15.7% of Germany's budget. Reparations make up, for the Allies, the following percentage of their budgets: France 5.1%, Belgium 5.2%, Italy, 1.1%, England 2.3%.

The French Finance Minister Rollin, at the meeting of the 2nd Commission of the League of Nations in September, brought up Loucheur's proposal of 1927 for the creation of international cartels to stimulate production.

Such a measure would be in the line of a planned economic system of production and would prevent prices responding to chaotic conditions, but it would not increase purchasing

power. Another proposal the sending of French industrialists and financiers to East Europe to study projects for public works and thus give work to the unemployed, seems a measure directed more against political unrest and danger than a means of settling the unemployment problems. Nevertheless this step supported by Albert Thomas may be considered as a real beginning in world planning.

But the kernel of the matter is lack of confidence among the peoples in the structure of economic life, which alone can bring about stable relations and without which our complex international economic system and trade can no longer exist.

Such confidence can only be brought about through the acceptance of arbitration in conflicts between peoples, through a real desire permanently to abolish war. This real desire can only be believed in, if total international disarmament is achieved. The people must force the governments, by the power of their will to achieve disarmament and a non-violent peace.

It is for this reason that the W.I.L. calls anew on its sections to work vigorously to collect signatures for the disarmament petition.

At the time of the Disarmament Conference in February 1932, a great manifestation of all peace organizations will take place in Geneva and a conference will be held on the newly perfected methods of scientific warfare. The question then asked will be:

"How can the people protect themselves against the horrors of a new war?" To which the answer is: "Only by outlasting war and giving expression to the people's will for peace at the Disarmament Conference."

## Disarmament Committee of Women's International Organisations

Eight of the largest of the women's organizations have combined in this Committee, including the W.I.L. One of their first joint acts was to send the following resolution signed by all the organisations to all the delegates at the 12th Assembly of the League of Nations:

"The great international organisations of women, assembled at a meeting of their special Committee for united action in support of Disarmament, beg to express their whole-hearted support of the forthcoming Disarmament Conference and their earnest desire for its success. Further, they pledge themselves, by every means in their power, to help in organising the vast and growing public opinion in favour of the Conference and the realisation of the world-wide cry for disarmament and security."

## Disarmament In Germany Frida Perlen

At last we have a hundred thousand signatures. Truly that is not much! But it must be remembered that these signatures have been collected with the *international* petition, which demands universal and total disarmament! And this in a country torn by great economic needs!

Fifty deputies in the Prussian Parliament have signed! The Catholic clergy support the petition! Bishop Sproll-Rottenburg in Stuttgart and Bishop Schreiber in Berlin have given their signatures. The Abbot of Neresheim, nuns and monks of Benedictine, Franciscan and other orders have sent in their names. Dr. Metzger, the head of the "Society of Christ" expressed in warm words his admiration for the work of the W.I.L.

In Frankfurt a/Main, on the initiative of a woman, the signatures of the recognised leaders of three great religions were secured.

It is clear, that wherever someone works with energy and deep conviction, the campaign goes well.

Two examples: In *Ebingen*, a small town of Württemberg, where there is no group of the League, a woman replied in answer to an article in the "Stuttgart Tagblatt" and offered to cooperate. The result has been several thousand signatures. The Mayor, clergy, municipal authorities, trade unions, women, in brief people in all spheres of society, took part in the campaign and the press printed articles continually.

In a village in Westerwald, in response to the appeal of a woman and her husband who is a teacher, all the adult members of the population signed! The teacher had formed youth groups of boys and girls with whom, for weeks, he had been talking about reconciliation and understanding between the peoples! He and his wife have worked for years, distributing pamphlets, lending enlightening books against war and for peace. As a consequence in this village, unlike others, the Stahlhelm and Hitler movement has not been able to get a footing.

From a little place in Westhaveland, Brandenburg Province, we are told that 12% of the population have signed the petition.

Here is the text of a touching card from a little place in Württemberg: "The undersigned, father and five children, are all for disarmament."

Another card reads: "As former active officer, who was four years at the front and knows the madness of war, I offer the W.I.L. my active help in writing and speaking."

The "Catholic Volksblatt", which appears in Stuttgart, has on it an exceptionally intelligent worker who has written explaining our action.

In reply to an article which I published recently in the "Kölnische

Zeitung", an academic society, in a university town, offers to co-operate!

Many teachers in all parts of Germany are working for the disarmament petition. Special work was carried on by numerous groups when the film "All quiet on the Western Front" was playing; it was done in different ways and sometimes under great difficulties, for disturbances were caused by the National Socialists. Mainz, at the time of the film collected 6,000 signatures, Düsseldorf 6,000, Stuttgart, where work was made particularly difficult, 3,000, Elberfeld 1,000.

In Berlin Marta Röhn has been doing excellent work from the beginning. Some hundred thousand disarmament cards have been sent by her to the different papers and periodicals. The well known paper "Berliner Volkszeitung", in response to Mrs. Röhn's request, published the declaration in its special number "For Peace". The declaration has also appeared in the "Dortmundergeneralanzeiger".

Let us hope that the World Disarmament month in November will bring specially good results!

## Disarmament In France Gabrielle Duchêne

The French Section is carrying on an active campaign for Disarmament. At present more than 40,000 signatures have been secured to our petition. Among the political people who have signed are M. Herriot, former Prime-minister and M. Justin Godart, a former minister as well as many senators and deputies.

The Committee of Action on Disarmament now comprises 20 organizations having various points of view, and many other organizations without joining the Committee are aiding the distribution of the petitions. In all the country districts where it has been possible to go, the response given to this propaganda is most encouraging. An illustrated leaflet and a post card petition have recently been printed and are being widely circulated.

The contest for a Disarmament stamp not having produced anything that was completely satisfactory, one of the members of the jury, M. Paul Colin, a well known artist, has offered to design a stamp which will be sold for the benefit of the action for disarmament during the "Disarmament month".

A big tour has been arranged in France during the coming month, consisting of Franco-German Conferences for disarmament and the rapprochement of the two people. A speaker of German nationality and one of French nationality will appear on the same platform at every meeting.

The action for Disarmament has already drawn to the French section a large number of new members and this section now has 24 groups. Beside its own activities this section

has participated in many manifestations for which its support was asked. On its initiative a strong documented article on "Forced Labour" has been prepared by a young professor of philosophy which is of great value. The French section is seeking to publish this just now when the Colonial Exposition in Paris is glorifying colonisation.

## German Section

This section, on the 10th of August, asked the following question of the German Government:

"Mr. Chancellor! The German Section of the W.I.L. takes the liberty of asking you whether the manoeuvres for our defence in the lower Elbe district took place with the permission of the government and if the government in accordance with its prohibition of such manoeuvres will prevent such exercises in the future.

"According to a press note in the Hamburger Fremdenblatt of July the 24th, 1931, these air-maneuvres are regarded as the preliminary of a set of similar undertakings, which have been planned for the defence of the people and to show the co-operation between civil and military authorities.

"The presence of Government representatives at the manoeuvres gives an official aspect to them and makes them appear to people, both in and outside the country, to be official demonstrations. Such a thing is in direct contradiction with your radio-announcements in Paris, London, etc., in which an acknowledgement of your desire for peaceful negotiations is so clearly stated, that there can be no misunderstanding possible.

"This contradictory behaviour must, because of economic and political consequence, awaken mistrust and unrest in and outside the country at the present moment."

This section has also written to the Chancellor concerning the delegation to be sent to the Disarmament Conference. In the letter it says that convinced that the success of the Disarmament Conference depends largely on each country sending responsible persons who have been working for disarmament and against war and who see the necessity for understanding and spiritual and economic co-operation between the nations. It urges the Chancellor to appoint as delegates Frau Gertrud Baer, Executive member of the W.I.L. and general-secretary of the German Section of the W.I.L., and also Dr. h. c. General a.D. von Schœnaich. The letter declares that both these persons are qualified to be delegates through their work, their journeys in foreign countries, their knowledge of the international political, economic and social complexities and because they are thoroughly conversant with foreign languages.



