

PAX INTERNATIONAL

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom aims at uniting women in all countries who are opposed to every kind of war, exploitation and oppression, and who work for universal disarmament and for the solution of conflicts by the recognition of human solidarity, by conciliation and arbitration, by world co-operation, and by the establishment of social, political and economic justice for all, without distinction of sex, race, class or creed. — The work of all the National Sections is based upon the statements adopted and the Resolutions passed by the International Congresses of the League.

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Jane Addams, Honorary President

GENEVA LETTER

As the economic situation grows worse and conflicts become more embittered, opponents of war feel the need of grouping themselves together, of organising together in spite of divergencies of opinion.

Those who, in good faith, believed in the policy at Geneva and today are deeply disappointed; those who, though seeing the weaknesses of Geneva official organisations, want at any price to make the voice of the people heard; and those who believe solely in mass action, — today feel the necessity of drawing nearer together to carry on work against war.

Wherever we come from, we seek out other people and join with them. But in doing this we take our own stand. We carry on discussions between organisations and within organisations. Each of us wishes to see more clearly, speak more firmly, act more quickly.

Among the thousands of delegates who came to Amsterdam in response to the

appeal of Romain Rolland and Barbusse, many of them, though not accepting the program of certain speakers: "turn imperialist war into civil war", accepted nevertheless to collaborate in work against imperialist war. Since then, national and local committees have been founded. At a meeting in Geneva the other day, we saw for the first time anti-militarists, conscientious objectors, socialists, communists and anarchists, grouped together in the common struggle. Faced as we are with danger, this union is necessary; but it should not prevent each person's working according to his own principles and methods.

Along with those who consider civil war the only means of destroying imperialist war, there are those, like us, who wish to work desperately against war, *before there is War*, and at the same time to work against the spirit of violence in each one of us.

Every day comrades and friends write me saying: "We do not want to prevent a violent struggle against capitalist violence". Though we respect those who have sincere belief and who take action, we have a right to try to arouse the masses against war, so that they may impose disarmament on the nations by stating their will to refuse all war service. We have a right to work for that cause against all other currents.

We are revolted at the sight of collective poverty, injustice and suffering, and we are thus in danger of being carried away by the wave of violence which is sweeping the world. It is difficult to resist this wave and difficult also, in present-day chaos, to talk of peace and fraternity. We know that

profound changes should take place, but we wish to do everything humanly possible so that these changes may take effect without violence or with the minimum of violence, as Andrée Jouve said at Grenoble.

The question before us can be summarised thus: In Order to kill imperialist violence, must we believe in the fatality of another form of violence or should we, from now on, work for material disarmament and develop faith in non-violence in ourselves and round about us? Our League took its stand long ago and wishes to work to organise the immense force represented by non-violence so that it may be effective during the grave times of great upheavals. We do not want to help to spread slogans of violence, but we do want to march with the masses towards great world liberation. For us the first step is the disappearance of militarism and war. We stand sincerely with all those who are really working against war and we turn to them, as Lida Gustava Heymann said at Amsterdam, with hands open and outstretched.

The League's actual task is to find how methods of non-violence may be adapted to present conditions and the necessities of the day. Let each one of us take up this work.

September 17, 1932.

Camille Drevet.

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Dr. ANITA AUGSPURG

In honour of Dr. Anita Augspurg's 75th birth day the German Section has had a bronze plaque made of her head by Paula v. d. Hude, a well known German artist. These plaques are on sale for Mk

12. Postal cards, reproducing the plaque, can be had for 20 pfennigs each, or Mk. 15 for 100. Order through Constance Hallgarten, von der Tannstrasse 4/1, Munich.

TOWARDS A PEACE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Extract from a letter from Olga Misar.)

"We women ought to do what we can towards this end. (Editor's note: for peace work.) What we need is to get all the serious people together. We also need to know exactly what we are going to do when we have got them. Up to now we do not know this clearly enough. There is no more time to go to the League of Nations petitioning and begging for peace. We must think of means for enforcing peace. General Strike, Sabotage are all only parts of what lies before us. There must also be something like a Peace Executive. Let us all think about how we can form such a peace Executive and about the methods of work that could be employed. Perhaps other women will continue to think out these suggestions."

SECTION NEWS

THE GERMAN SECTION AND THE ELECTIONS FOR THE REICHSTAG

The Reichstag elections of July 31, 1932, stood, even more than previous Parliamentary elections, under the sign of force. Fists and weapons, wordy courage and unexhausted financial reservoirs were decisive factors. Real conviction, qualities of the mind and spirit, and reflection were more and more crowded out.

Many groups of the German Section, and individual members in cities and in the country where there are no groups, tried to get a hearing for the principles of the League. The fight was carried on alone, or together with other organisations. Thousands of leaflets were distributed at election meetings and in houses; they condemned brute force, pointing out that force is an attribute of cowardice and that he who knows the persuasive power of non-violence does not lay hold of weapons.

In Munich, Stuttgart and other cities, posters with similar contents appeared on billboards. In Bremen, unemployed members distributed 10,000 handbills, warning women of the threatening danger in growing reaction and appealing to

them to elect progressive parties. Work was also done in the press. In Weimar, the W. I. L., together with the Social-Democratic party, held the first big election meeting at which Toni Pfulf, Member of the Reichstag and of the W. I. L., spoke. Hamburg drew up a radical-pacifist platform with fourteen demands which was distributed in all big election meetings of the Centre and Left Wing parties. Energetic representations were made to the Oberbürgermeister of Altona saying that he had not prevented the bloodshed of July 19th. The letters exchanged were published in the Hamburg press.

Along with work at the elections, the branches are concentrating on action against war industries and the danger of impending war, as for instance in Wuppertal and Berlin. There were often difficulties with the police when it came to distributing the leaflet on poison gas. The Congress at Grenoble was reported on in Breslau, Karlsruhe, Frankfurt a-M., Stuttgart, Munich, Berlin and other cities. Berlin gave a reception to the American delegates who stopped there on their journey from Grenoble through the Balkans, Turkey, Russia and Finland.

Various letters were sent to the German Government, taking a stand against private military organisations, civil war, terrorism and force. In several places new peace cartels were founded to consolidate the peace movement.

Extraordinary efforts will be necessary to keep our forces together and draw others to us. No one knows what the winter will bring. The result of the first part of the Disarmament Conference was an immense disappointment for progressive elements in Germany. The campaign for armaments and a militarist policy is being fed by the attitude of delegates from different countries in Geneva. Pacifist elements in Germany will be more and more crippled. Neomilitarism is triumphing. Is Geneva war or peace? Gertrud Baer.

HELP FIND NEW INTERNATIONAL MEMBERS AND PAX SUBSCRIBERS

In the midst of the economic crisis, our friends in the United States are making a very great effort to help our international work by financial aid. We wish to express our thanks to them and also to request our friends in all Sections to do everything possible to find subscribers for Pax and international members.

THE W. I. L. P. F. AT RECENT CONGRESSES

THE INTERNATIONAL ANTI-WAR CONGRESS 1932

The appeal of Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland to make "war against war", sent out to the world a few months ago, found response among the masses. That was shown in the meeting of the Anti-War Congress held from August 27th to 29th in Amsterdam. As always, where strength arises, there is opposition and petty hairsplitting. Right Wing Pacifists and Social Democrats felt themselves obliged — partly by conviction or party discipline — to discredit the Congress, to suppress propaganda and impair its success. Afterwards, people were indignant because the Congress had too communist a tendency. Whose is the blame? Those people, who by standing on the sidelines and keeping at a distance, first made such an effect possible. Counter propaganda could not, however, prevent this Congress from being the greatest manifestation against war that has ever taken place in Europe. It was a mighty demonstration against imperialist war. It showed acutely that the conscience and will of the masses are awake and are rising against the folly of war. That alone created feeling against war, bondage and fascism...

2244 Delegates came from 57 countries. About 2500 Delegates were unable to come because they could not raise the railway fare. Of the 2244, 1856 were workers, 249 intellectuals, 72 peasants and 67 women. Membership in parties was as follows: 291 Social Democrats, 830 Communists, 412 Trade Unions, 683 red Trade Unionists; the rest were independents. ...

Delegates from countries whose inhabitants still need a visum for Holland, were refused entrance; the Dutch Government believed thus to preserve outward loyalty and keep out undesirable elements: in this way attendance at the Congress was made impossible for the Russian representative, such a man as Maxim Gorki.

The organisation of the Congress as well as of the Women's Conference and the working Commissions was entirely objective (as far as one person, visiting them, could judge). 50 or 60 speakers were not able to speak for lack of time but an effort was constantly made to permit representatives of all opinions to speak. Right at the beginning the representative of the Dutch organising committee, Dr. Kolkman, declared that he belonged to no party and that he had worked for the Congress solely as a convinced opponent of war. Then Henri Barbusse spoke, and Gabrielle Duchêne read the address of Romain Rolland, who was prevented by illness from coming. Afterwards representatives of various countries, of large organisations, individuals, men and women of all classes and professions, old, young, famous people and unknown people spoke. ... Camille Drevet, Gabrielle Duchêne and Lida Gustava Heymann were present from the W. I. L. P. F. Executive and the latter two women had repeated opportunity to set forth their standpoint of non-violence both at the Congress and at the Women's Conference. ...

No one can contest that the Congress and the other meetings had a strong communist tendency. People repeatedly supported the principle of violence. Certainly it is not easy for pacifists to be witnesses to speeches that stir up violence; but if we keep away we have no possibility of representing our standpoint of non-violence, which, when presented with conviction and emphasis, never fails to make an impression on logical and objective minds. As long as the organisation is as objective as in Amsterdam, there is no reason for pacifists to keep at a distance. On the contrary, it was their duty energetically to support the Congress. Let us not forget that it is impossible to combat imperialist war without the mass of the workers. But this Congress, which was a huge demonstration against imperialist war, is not the thing of prime importance. The important thing is the immense propaganda which took place beforehand and the work which is now to follow in all countries and which was discussed during the Congress in different Commissions. There were meetings of Commissions of International Transport Workers on Sea and on Land, of Railway Workers, Steel, Munition and Textile Workers (workers were there from Krupp, Schneider-Creusot and Skoda), of Peasants, Miners, Teachers, Free Thinkers, Young people, Women, War victims, etc., etc.

It is also of great importance for the future that a Commission to combat imperialist war was set up, composed of 100 persons with its headquarters in Paris. All countries which took part in the Congress are represented on it; Communists do not have the majority in this Commission. Its task is to be a standing office for distribution of information on war preparations and, in case of danger of war, to arrange for immediate convocation of an Anti-War Congress.

There was great enthusiasm among all participants and it was stated that all were ready (the Social Democrats were the first to make this statement) on their return home to work in all countries with renewed energy against war.

Both at the Congress and at the Women's Conference, long many sided manifestos were adopted. Everything in them is not satisfactory to radical pacifists, but emphasis should be placed, not on what separates us, but on what unites us. The important thing is that the delegates have a serious will to combat imperialist war and to create an international force of men and women in opposition to the International of War Industrialists; a force which would be able to drain the water away from the springs poisoned by secret diplomacy; pacifists alone have not succeeded in doing this. The Congress extraordinarily widened the basis for this. Now we must build on, work, work, until the mass of men and women in all countries courageously refuses to take part in the folly of a new war, and is ready to erect a community of the peoples, where each individual is able to lead a life worthy of human beings; not till then shall we have reached our goal. The slogan of all radical pacifists is not only war against war, but war against hunger, misery and spiritual want, so that peace and freedom may at last reign on earth.

Lida Gustava Heymann.

WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

Extracts of the report by Olga Ulrichova.

The 29th World Peace Congress of the International Peace Bureau was opened on September 4th in Vienna. ... 240 delegates took part. The W. I. L. P. F. was represented by a delegate. ...

The following resolutions were passed (the text is here abbreviated):

I. Commission on Military Disarmament. The Congress demanded:

1. Abolition of poison gas, bacteriological and incendiary bomb warfare;
2. internationalisation of aviation;
3. qualitative disarmament;
4. abolition of private manufacture of arms;
5. reduction of arms not abolished;
6. general and permanent control.

The Congress protested against the inadequate work of the Disarmament Conference and its resolution of July 23, 1932. Our goal is general disarmament; the first step should at least be the Hoover Plan. The Congress demands: 1. recognition of two principles: general equality and security; 2. abolition of military service; military education to be taken into immediate consideration; 3. the creation of demilitarised zones and international frontier protection. The Congress demands abolition of military education of youth, introduced in various countries, and demands the severest possible suppression of military organisations, or organisations of a military character.

II. The Commission on Moral Disarmament appealed to all the organisations to aid in creating amity among the peoples. ...

III. The Commission on the World Economic Crisis... suggested the following as solutions: shortening of the working day, retention of present wages, old age insurance carried out internationally, organisation of European industry, cancellation of war debts, lowering of tariffs, financial support for agrarian states by means of mortgage banks, etc.

IV. The Commission on revision of the treaties: It demanded that the Congress urge the League of Nations to investigate ways and means of bringing about, through an amendment to art. 19, a peaceful solution of this question which cannot be achieved by negotiations between the countries concerned.

V. The Commission on current questions took up the Sino-Japanese conflict and demanded that the League of Nations use all sanctions provided by art. 16 of the Treaty. It was recognised with regret that members of the League of Nations were supplying munitions to China and Japan. There was discussion of the two Balkan Conferences, of the Greco-Turk and Polono-Russian pacts, of the Bolivian-Paraguay conflict and the Ossietzky case. It was considered urgently necessary that the obligation to disarmament be carried out.

The Congress decided to constitute a commission which in the course of the next three months should submit to the Peace Bureau in Geneva concrete proposals for the calling of a world conference. It should be the task of this world conference to increase the strength of the peace movement and to unite all peace organisations, political parties and religious bodies.

ESPERANTO CONGRESS PARIS 1932

The Esperanto Congress, which met at Paris from July 30th to August 6th, brought together thousands of delegates from all parts of the world.

They understood each other easily and proof was again given, that Esperanto can become an instrument for understanding between the peoples — if, that is, the pacifists will use it.

In this field, as in many others, it seems, alas, that the defenders of peace have been outdistanced by businessmen. A language created for understanding between men will, like many other marvelous discoveries, become the vehicle of capitalist interests instead of serving the enlightened conscience of the world!

The group of Esperantist women, having always collaborated in our work against war, expressed its discontent with the attitude of the Grenoble Congress towards it. It unanimously voted adherence to the Amsterdam Congress.

Leo Wanner.

THE W. I. L. P. F. AT RIGA

In July a conference of the Y. W. C. A. of Latvia and Estonia took place in a little town at the sea-side—Dubulti—in Latvia. About 100 persons, chiefly young people, attended this conference; the president was Mrs. Alknis, chairman of the Latvia Y. W. C. A.

The chief subject of the conference was: Woman and her attitude towards the question: war or peace?

Mme Camille Drevet, our most esteemed and dear guest, gave two effective lectures on disarmament, and the difficulties arising in this work, mentioning the distrust of nations towards each other and the war-profiteers, giving many facts about the «commerce de mort» of industrialists! Mme Drevet also spoke about the aims and the work of the League for Peace and Freedom. Mme Drevet showed very distinctly how important it is to study the peace problem seriously and to organise effective peace-work; everybody listened with great attention to her words, which reflected her personal love for the work in which she is engaged with great energy and enthusiasm.

The conference decided that the Y. W. C. A. in Estonia and Latvia should try to promote peace work as much as possible. E. Erma.

DISARMAMENT AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Dr. Sahlbom has made a study of the attitude of political parties in the question of disarmament. This work is very important and will be sent to the Sections and some extracts will be published in the next Pax.

INDIA

International opinion in support of India's demand to control her own political destiny is being focussed in Geneva on October 6th at the Salle Centrale. Taking advantage of the numbers of international delegates and visitors present in Geneva for the Assembly of the League of Nations, a Provisional Committee for India has organised a one-day Conference for invited delegates and representatives of societies already active in support of Indian freedom through non-violent means.

Informative talks on specific problems of the Indian situation will enlighten the general public and a large public meeting will broadcast the result of the deliberations of the Conference.

Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence will preside at the public meeting. Over forty of the best known workers for India have to date joined the Committee.

Margaret E. Cousins.

* * *

We have all been following events in India with the greatest anxiety and our British friends have worked untiringly for a just solution of the difficulties in India.

Today, September 26th, Gandhi who is prisoner and who has been fasting for 149 hours in protest against the decision of the British Government concerning communal representation, has been able to break his fast. The agreement be-

tween the representatives of the castes and the untouchables was made in the presence of Gandhi and communicated to London.

After reading the British reply, Gandhi meditated deeply and declared: "My vow is fulfilled; passive resistance has triumphed."

This triumph of passive resistance is not only a victory for Gandhi and for India but it gives reason for hope for all those who believe in non-violence as an effective force. *Editor.*

LATEST NEWS

Appeal on behalf of Prisoners

The Howard League, on the occasion of the 13th Assembly of the League of Nations, has launched a manifesto which contains an urgent appeal in favour of political prisoners and their children.

After the Visit of a Group of French Teachers to the Maison Internationale.

Miss Paule Marguet, who led the caravan of French teachers which was received at the Maison Internationale last August, has sent us a report on the caravan's journey which we unfortunately cannot publish here, due to lack of space.

The Annual Reception for Women Delegates to the Assembly of the League of Nations was given by the W. I. L. P. F. at the Maison Internationale on September 29th.

The November PAX will contain a report of the **Summer School organised by the Austrian Section at Grundsee, Salzkammergut** from August 29th to September 12th.

BOOKS

Wege zum Frieden, by Eugen Relgis, with preface by Romain Rolland, published by Paul Richert, Heide I. Holstein. Mr. Relgis has brought together answers to a questionnaire which he sent to many people in all parts of the world as to whether a Pacifist International, as a non-political organisation, is necessary to the peace movement; what its form should be, and its relations to other social organisations. The book contains replies from many eminent international figures, such as Lord Ponsonby, Gandhi, Tagore, H. G. Wells, Selma Lagerlof as well as letters from Jane Addams and Gertrud Baer.

Der kommende Gift- und Brandkrieg, by Dr. Gertrud Woker, 6th edition, published by Ernst Oldenburg, Leipzig. On sale at Geneva headquarters. Dr. Woker deals with science and war, the effects of poison gas in the last war, the «humanity» of gas warfare, recent developments in chemical warfare, protection of the civil population, war industries, waste of raw material in the manufacture of materials of warfare, propaganda for gas warfare, and progress in prohibition and control of aero-chemical arms. Mention is made of the W. I. L. P. F.

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FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

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