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The worst Challenges Peace (Franklin D. Roosevelt)

"America looks seaward afraid. She sees on each side of her across expanse of protecting oceans, nations in bloody vicious strife, scornning every code of civilized warfare, if there is such a thing, breaking every treaty, and resorting to brutal barbaric slaughter, that makes us cringe to know that men can be such beasts, in our day of boasted civilization.

And so America is afraid, or pretends to be, and our national leaders are trying to make us all afraid. She thinks she must prepare to defend our two long coasts with the biggest navy in the world, and to prepare with conscription of men and wealth. The many-headed monster of war, seems to be rising from the ashes where we thought we had buried him on Armistice Day. The war spirit is challenging America to enter the terrible international chaos. We are back under a black cloud that threatens Peace with a deluge.

The Peace movement since the worst war has been gaining great strength, but is challenged as before. The peace workers are asking Mr. Kirby Page - Must we go to war? Can we face the situation with courage and conviction born of a new knowledge of the causes of war. Will we dare to be pacifists when a flood of propaganda from the press, movies, radios, distorts the truth. If so, we must prepare now.

I've been reading the letters of a young fire, Winifred Holtby, who was a young woman

Nurse in France to her war-time friends. The letters were written in 1920. While she was again back in College and living with Vera Brittain. She writes in one letter "The day of imperialism has passed. I heard its curfew startled the pigeons in our station orchard on Armistice Day. Imperialism (she adds) is nothing more than dynamic, aggressive nationalism. Nationalism, patriotism, these were good things and noble things. I'm not sure that they weren't two of the finest things in the world. But like other good things, they were only a stage in the development of man's social consciousness." This was a very keen observation for this young English student to make, but we all felt the same in 1920 - that some great re-birth had taken place. But nationalism (we talked about 100% Americanism) didn't die so easy. This young woman continues, with the deep insight born of her painful war observations and her native optimism, "What we want now is the translation (of nationalism) to a still wider sphere of international co-operation where empires don't matter, and patriotism becomes parochial, and the service of mankind at large the only consideration."

It seems to me that it is only by keeping such a goal in mind that we can meet today's challenge and put up a firmer struggle for peace than ever before. This is the great goal that Madariaga preached to us this winter. It is the great goal of every great spiritual leader throughout the world, Gandhi and Kagawa of Japan, while Jesus Christ says "Resist not evil (don't go to war) but overcome evil with good" (Keep to compromise differences with friendly assistance)

India

For Peace is a spiritual Conception. and must ultimately be approached that way. Nothing less than the world peace and international co-operation is a worthy goal for the peace movement of the world, of which each of us is a part. While we are considering our own problems in America, we must not forget that the peace movement is challenged by the world situation, and not only by the war promotion of America. Here ^{in America} where we work, ~~with~~ ^{always} ~~but~~ ^{with} the thought in mind, that what keeps America at peace, will mightily contribute to the peace of the world.

But Peace movements have always been challenged. The world war was our first challenge (before which most of us fell). The present dangerous situation isn't ~~the~~ probably the last. The whole story of peace workers, has been an heroic story, full of humiliation, defeat, sacrifice and brain devotion time after time. It might bolster our own falterings, to glance back along the path of our pioneer peace lovers. There has been published within two years a very useful book to peace workers by Merce Curt, professor of History at Smith College. It is called Peace or War, the American Struggle for peace 1636-1936. Three hundred years of struggle and we are still seemingly on the brink. It began with Roger Williams, who earnestly protested against the treatment of the Indians, believing that friendship with them was the best possible security. Then William Penn, a conscientious objector, put his principles to the test and won peace treaties with the Indians.

During the revolution, there was a strong sentiment for peace, instead of war. Thomas Paine wrote, "that it might be well to fight for liberty, in order that

Perpetuate freedom from war might be enjoyed" sounds like our slogan of "a war to end war", always a most misleading sophistry. Paine also had a vision of an "Alliance of Nations" quite foreshadowing the "League of Nations". As early as 1793, there was a proposal for the establishment of a peace office in the federal government. and just after the war ~~it~~ came a suggestion for a Secretary of Peace to direct an educational campaign against war.

~~American war~~ But the next challenge came in the War of 1812, which was a most unpopular war among the people and immediately after there was a burst of enthusiasm for peace, just as there was after the World War. Organizations of Peace workers were formed, many of them, of substantial citizens, merchants, lawyers, preachers and public men. It is interesting to notice how many modern movements were then proposed, so organized efforts to end war and yet they never once considered the competition for markets for raw material, the labor conditions for vested interests. They relied on persuasion and appeals to reason. They tucked peace tracts in their boxes of merchandise, ~~they gave time and~~ ~~and~~ men as William Ellery Channing gave time and energy almost to the point of impoverishment to help alive the Mass. Peace Society. They developed a body of literature, a program and tactics which anticipated much that followed. They were the pioneers who broke the ground for us.

The first International Peace Conference met in London in 1843. Elihu Burritt, one of the

Wrote is really nothing more than dynamic aggression nationalism. Nationality, patriotism, these were good things and noble things, I'm not sure that they weren't two of the finest things in the world, (or thought so too when we talked 100% Americanism, and really meant what matters the rest of the world)

But like other good things they were only a stage in the development of man's social consciousness. This was really a keen observation for this young woman, but she continues with deep insight, born of her painful war experience and her nation's optimism, "What we want now is the transition to a still wider sphere of international co-operation where empires don't matter and patriotism becomes parochial and the service of mankind at large the only consideration."

This is the grand goal that Madamrija preached to us this winter. This is the great goal of Gandhi of Kagawa of Japan and every great spiritual leader throughout the world. Nothing less than world peace and prosperity is a worthy goal for the peace movement of the world of which we are a part. We must not forget that the peace movement is challenged by the world and not ^{only} by our own American situation.

Staunchest peace workers America has ever had
organized the first Peace Congress meeting in
Brussels in 1848. There and then they
carried resolutions for the very same things that
we still want. They declared in that distant
date, for reduction of armaments, permanent
arbitration committees, boycotts on war materials,
and on the lending of money to belligerents and
the organization of public opinion for peace.
They called for a Congress of Nations. Before
1840, those early peace societies had a scheme
for world organization, and a Court of Nations.
They even discussed sanctions, and the whole
plan was such as was later realized in the
Hague Conference of 1899 which later
materialized into the World Court.
It was really a remarkable vision of peace
foundations, when the whole project was
again challenged by the Civil War - our
third great war. These early persons then
suffered persecution and a sense of utter defeat.
They had fought for compensated emancipation
of the slaves, they had believed that ~~every~~ every
thing could be accomplished by peaceful means.
~~Peace lovers were swept into this war for~~
~~liberty, but it is to be a regret. But peace~~
~~lovers' reluctance to the belief that it was a~~
~~righteous war and lifted up their voices against~~
~~this. Again as before every~~

Again as has happened after each war, there was a deep revulsion against. Famous names were enrolled in the Peace Cause, and we find now women coming forward to add their voices. Lucretia Mott, Julia Ward Howe, Belton Rockwood, and Mary Wright Sewall.

Leading names are transient, the great achievement of their long years lay in building up a movement, which in spite of defeat, has "guaranteed that the cry for peace should never cease".

We should like to linger on the story of this brave struggle of our pioneers; and the birth of the peace movement which is ~~now~~ passed on to hands. They were challenged too, and the women defeated them for the moment, but it is soon to look at the noble company to which we belong and whose torch it is our privilege to carry. For peace is not the work of an hour, but perhaps of ages. We must not shrink from the possibility of defeat, even tho we intend to fight to the limit against the aggression of war promoters.

We thought in 1920, with Winifred Holtby that imperialism was dead, that the world had finally learned its lesson.

But the peace movement has always
 been challenged. The whole story of
 peace comes has been an heroic story
 full of sacrifice and devotion. There
 has been published within 2 years a
 very useful book to peace workers. It is
 the story of Canada the Peace or War, the
 American struggle from 1636. It began
 with Roger Williams who protested against
 the treatment of the Indians and William Penn
 who put his Quaker principles into practice with
 the Indians. During the Revolution there
 was much sentiment for peace. Thomas
 Paine said that "it might be well to fight
 for liberty in order that perpetual freedom
 from war might be enjoyed"; Paine also like
 our "war to end war". He too had a vision
 of an "Alliance of Nations", quite foreshadowing
 the League of Nations. After the war of 1812
 which was more unpopular, there was the
 beginning of organized efforts to end war.
 In the rise of Peace Societies. They had
 the first <sup>Inter-
denominational</sup> Peace Conference was in London 1843
 and one of our great peace workers, Elihu
 Burritt organized the first Peace Congress
 in 1848 in Brussels in 1848. They carried
 resolutions for the very same things that

Again there was the deepest revulsion against the horrors of war, and the forces that fomented them. We had made great strides. We had the League of Nations. ~~The Hague Declaration~~ The World Court, dreamed of by our pioneers, ~~was~~ ~~called~~ The Washington Conference ~~and~~ had limited the building of battleships. The Treaty of Versailles called for disarmament and finally the Kellogg-Briand Pact, outlawing war, was signed by most of the nations. Peace would now be followed by arbitration treaties and hatred and revenge would be overcome by national cooperation with each other.

The Peace movement ~~which~~ almost collapsed during the war, when only such brave souls as Jane Addams suffered in loneliness and anguish as she stood by her conviction. It was now guided into a new peace movement which gained a wider hearing than ever before. During the twenties and thirties it enlisted millions of adherents, it became more positive and assured. It used many forms of education and propaganda, it was colorful and dramatic. Many large and influential groups were formed. The National Council for the Prevention of War was born in 1921. Composed of representatives from 17 National Organizations. Women have just received the suffrage, and women's interest in public affairs was much enlarged. This was reflected in the new Committee on the

Cause and Cure of War formed in 1925. It was led by Carrie Chapman Catt, representing at that time 9 women's organizations. The affiliation ~~was~~ members included nearly 1/5 of the adult woman population. Responses to these and other peace groups came from every quarter, and there is no doubt of the great Anti-war feeling that has arisen not only in our Country, but in almost all Countries of the world. There is a peace-consciousness among peoples, even among those now at war.

Yet in spite of all this activity and the mighty response to the peace appeals, in spite of the deep revulsion against another war, and the widespread opposition in this to it. We are again challenged by the wars going on, by the warlike attitude of nations and by the unheeded expenditure for our own navy and war equipment.

Has the peace movement again failed, why has it failed, Has it understood the causes of war, Has it fought where fighting would come most. These are matters which peace workers will have to study most earnestly. In the May number of Fellowship Kirby Page has illuminated the subject. He has pointed out some of the necessary steps to be followed. He believes that Pacifism can stop aggression. He says

down a platform for us to study.
 May I quote from the book mentioned above
 America's struggle against war, "Unless
 Pacific means are found for securing a
 greater degree of justice in all the categories
 of human relationships... unless new and more
 effective ways are found for curbing
 the forces that make war seem of value or
 of profit to powerful groups, unless there are
 done the struggle against war probably will not end.
 The problem of the true peacemakers is to
 determine how this can be achieved peacefully.
 The challenge is a greater challenge than
 the peace movement is its long history has ever
 faced". It is a big order isn't it, is it?

Makes us pull in our belts and think
 hard. For of course we will take it.
 Now in this background, with this rapid
 rise of navalism and imperialism ~~with~~
~~since the~~ the with the economic strain
 upon nations, the struggle for power and the
 greed for raw material and for industrial
 supremacy, how are we going to help.

I have been told that the thing
 Congressmen most dread is organized
 women. ~~Yes~~ and I alone ~~are~~ have much
 strength. Strength lies in organization. So
 one of the first things you and I need to do
 is to strengthen our organization and work
 through a national office with our National Strength.
 We have an honorable history in our League.

10

It began in an International Congress of Women to protest against the war. It convened at the Hague in 1915. Jane Addams had just organized the Women's Peace Party in America, and was asked to preside at this International Congress, with delegates from twelve countries. They organized the Women's International Committee for Permanent Peace. The resolutions which they passed attracted President Wilson and can be recognized in his famous "fourteen points". This organization became in 1919, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. It is the first body to immediately protest the iniquitous terms of the Versailles Treaty in no uncertain terms. It has ever since been a valiant force in the peace war peace work. It has fought with vigor and with open eyes, the political and economic forces that engender war.

If you are interested to know how our U.S. Action of the W.I.L. is considered by students of the movement, I would like to quote again from the book before mentioned. Here are some points, and I have been interested to notice how many times our executive Secretary, Miss Detzer has been approved.

1. "The Nye Vandenberg resolution was carefully prepared by various organizations, particularly by Women's Peace ways and the W.I.L. Dorothy

Detzer, executive Secretary of the latter, was acclaimed for her work for this resolution establishing the Nye Committee of investigation of the Munition Industry.

- 2 No one can measure the influence of the consistent and vigorous opposition of the Women's International League to our imperialism in the Caribbean. In and out of session the clear and tireless representations of this organization pressed the government to withdraw our troops and marines from Latin-American countries.
- 3- The W. I. L. has long fought government intervention for the protection of private loans to backward countries, believing that such policies provide fertile soil for war. The League insisted that there could be no peace without human solidarity, and forthrightly declared that the existing economic order was inimical to this conception.
- 4- Of the organizations formed during the war, two showed the greatest vigor, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the W. I. L. One of the Women's Peace Party had grown from the latter, an organization ably led, and exerting an influence out of all proportion to its numbers and its budget.

5

I stand with you in this bare struggle
for peace which is passed on to our
hands. I commend it to your reading that
you may know the noble company to which
you belong and whose torch it is your
privilege to carry. For peace is not the work
of an hour, but perhaps of ages.

Mr. Thompson in 1920, with ~~Vera Butler~~
Minister Holtby that imperialism was over, that the
workers had learned its lesson. Mr. has made
great strides. Mr. has the League of Nations, the
Hague International Court, dreamed of by our
pioneer peace workers. Mr. has the Washington
Conference, limiting the building of battleships
Mr. were on our way to disarmament to
provided for in the Versailles Treaty. and the
Kellogg-Briand Pact outlawing war was
signed.

The Peace Movement which almost
collapsed during the last war, was guided
into a new peace movement, which gained a
new hearing than ever before. This peace
movement of the twenties and thirties became more
position and colorful. and attracted new
leadership. It used many forms of propaganda
literature, lectures, radio, movie.
The National Council for the Prevention of War
was born in 1921, composed of representatives
from 17 National Organizations. Women

The Council feels ~~just~~ much more than has been said. I was proud of its record and reputation and accomplishments. It is a militant, vigorous liberal peace group, unafraid of standing by its pacifist principles. It has become convinced that peace cannot thrive with injustice in the same atmosphere with greed, injustice and economic oppression. It cannot thrive with low living standards with the crushing of youth's ambitions, ~~and~~ with dishonesty in public office. It accepts the challenge against war, for the challenge to peace is fiercer and far more than evils which cause war.

Do we believe in peace as the W.I.C. fervently believes in it. Do we believe that it is the only normal state of society. Do we sincerely believe that it begins in the heart of man, in the goodwill he cultivates toward his neighbor toward his foreign born acquaintance and toward his fellow laborer.

Do we really draw peace, you and I? Are we willing to accept the thought and work to ~~bring~~ labor for it. Are we really enthusiastic for peace. Nothing is so dynamic, so energizing as enthusiasm, and the cause of peace needs dynamic energy, devoted workers. Do you believe that peace in any form is the greatest necessity in the world today.

6
Suffrage was established, and women's interest
in public affairs was much enlarged, and this
was reflected in the Committee on the Cause and
Cure of War, led by Carrie Chapman Catt
representing 9 women's organizations, ^{affiliating} ~~with~~ about
1/5 of the adult woman population. The
responses came from millions of our people
and there is no doubt of the great anti-
war feeling not only in our country, but in
across all countries. For in the peace
Consciousness of the whole nation.

~~This Organized work of women in the
peace ⁱⁿ~~
~~for the year 1936 and on~~

Yet in spite of this deep revulsion against
war, in spite of all the organized ~~and~~ labor
~~in~~ in belief of peace which has contributed
to a genuine and independent opposition to war,
we are challenged by the warlike attitude of nations
and by the unheard of expenditure for our own navy
and war equipment.

Has the peace movement failed? How has it
failed? and why does the abolition of war seem
even more remote. These are matters which
peace workers will have to study most earnestly.
May I quote from the book I mentioned above.

"Unless pacific means are found for securing
a greater degree of justice in all the categories
of human relationships, racial, national and economic

(13)

But don't let us feel that the frictions and
the importance of the purpose, spurns
the most humble efforts on our part.

President Grant ^{has} ~~been~~ ^{seen} some peace workers
that "altho the day of universal peace was far
away, you need not be discouraged, you
must work and work for it, you must
agitate and agitate and talk for it."

That is what we are all going to do for it
this year. Minnesota must be known for
~~a peace loving state~~ its whole-hearted work
for peace. Our organization is wholly given
over to peace, not as one of its objects, but as
its chief object.

I have been looking over the budget
and program for next year with some astonishment.
If you are doing large things, you must
expect and work for large results. I am
not used to thinking of great purposes,
expressed in such small figures. I
noticed that the program calls for 1000
members. Do you mean that it will be
difficult to enlist no more than 1000
women in the greatest problem of our day?
~~I cannot believe that~~ over this whole state,
I cannot believe that. There should be
a branch in every town of the state thinking
and working for the peace of the U.S. You
can go into your neighboring town and write
them to your own meetings, and stir them
into a consciousness for peace, if you really

and more effective.
Unless new ways are found for curbing the forces
that make war seem of value or of profit in one
way or another way to powerful groups, unless these
things are done the struggle against war in America,
in the world probably will not end.... In the light
of the long sweep of history it seems probable that the
present economic and social order with its many
incentives to war will be modified. The problem of
true pacifism is to determine how that can be
achieved peacefully. The challenge is a greater
challenge than the peace movement in its long history
has ever faced. This is the challenge which organized
peace must accept, and begin to face with this
determination - supported by numbers.

But with this back ground, this rapid rise
of nationalism and imperialism, the economic strain
upon nations, the struggle for power and the
greed for raw materials and for industrial supremacy
where do we function and how.

President Grant once responded to some
peace workers: "The day of universal peace
may be far away, you need not be discouraged
you must work and you must agitate and agitate."
We may take the advice.

~~But~~ The history of our own organization
began in an International Congress of Women
to protest against war meeting at the Hague
in 1915. Jane Addams had just organized
the Women's Peace Party in America, and was
asked to preside over this International Congress
with delegates from twenty countries. This was

Some
we need
Clerics
Officers to
that surely
we can achieve
of ~~the~~ meeting

We need edu-
prizes for peace
peace in ~~the~~ all
can feel a deep bro-
therhood by beginning
brotherly attitudes in our

Let us think peace this year, in spite
of all the war like preparations. Let
us believe that universal peace, tho long
delayed is to be the final outcome

boycott
of money
- of fabric
a Congress of
early peace

for world
of Nations, and
a discussion of
the time such as were
the Hague Conference
was worked out.

But then early peace finding up from
hopes for preservation and humilitations and
defeat. After each war there was again
a revolution of feeling against war, and
each time some noted names were
added to the leaders among whom
were some great women, like Lucretia
Mott, Julia Ward Howe, Belva Lockwood
May Wright Sewall.

In a Leaders are transients, the
great achievements of these years lay in
building up a movement, which in spite
of defeat should guarantee that the cry
for peace should never cease.