

The last two essays in the volume deal with the issue of peace, and are of special interest. Ekaterina Alexandrova, in "We Need Peace and We Need the World," points out that Soviet militarism is justified by the government by the perpetuation of the idea that the Soviet Union is surrounded by hostile enemies ready to invade. Such propaganda is effective in a population that vividly remembers the horrors of the last war. Alexandrova claims that most Soviet people have no idea what a third world war would be like, and the terrifying prospect of one is dangled over their heads in an effort to make them satisfied with what they have now. This, she writes, has become a vicious circle in recent years, as anti-imperialist propaganda has been stepped up while the standard of living has declined. The hold that these ideas have over the people is exacerbated by the observation that in Russia militarism and xenophobia have always been linked with patriotism. Echoing the sentiments of the nineteenth-century Russian Westernizers, Tatyana Mamonova concludes that Soviets can learn from the encouraging example of the Western feminist and peace movements, and from education.

Women and Russia, Mamonova writes, was the expression of a group of women who wanted freedom, who wanted peace, and who wanted to love. The result is one of the most sweeping and human indictments of Soviet life written to date. These writings do not need to resort to tirades or hyperbole; the book is plainly written, with a clear sense of rationality and sensitivity, and gives one a strong impression of what it is like to live an everyday life as a Soviet woman. It portrays the sad irony of life in a state where women show so much strength and yet are delegated so little power or esteem.

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Pioneers for Peace: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom 1915-1965. Gertrude Bussey and Margaret Tims. *Oxford England: Alden Press, 1980 Paperback pp. 255.* (Reissue of 1965 edition entitled **Women's International League for Peace and Freedom 1915-1965: A Record of Fifty Years' Work**)

Scholars of twentieth century peace movements, particularly those who recognize the crucial role of women in peace work since the World War I era, will welcome the 1980 reissue of Gertrude Bussey and Margaret Tims' monograph, *Pioneers for Peace*. Bussey and Tims represent the best of the tradition of activist-scholars. Life-long active members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

(WILPF) themselves, their study is carefully researched, well written, and imbued with insights gained from first-hand knowledge of events and people.

The WILPF was born in the midst of war. On April 28, 1915, 1,136 women from 12 countries representing 150 organizations met at The Hague, Holland, to consider how to end the current world conflict and prevent future wars. They were not to meet as an association again until 1919, but at this first meeting the participants adopted 20 resolutions under six categories: Women and War; Action towards Peace; Principles of a Permanent Peace; International Cooperation; Education of Children; and Action to be Taken. They constituted themselves as the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace with Jane Addams (USA) as President and Aletta Jacobs (Holland) and Rosika Schwimmer (Hungary/USA) as Vice-Presidents. Consistent with the goal of early termination of the war, this first International Congress of Women proposed that neutral countries meet immediately to offer their services as mediators amongst the warring nations. This suggestion for "continuous mediation," developed by a Canadian-born professor at the University of Wisconsin, Julia Grace Wales, was carried personally to the heads of fourteen different countries by a delegation of Congress members during May and June 1915. The women at The Hague Conference had wasted no time in implementing concrete proposals for peace.

At the end of World War I, the women of the 1915 International Committee, many of whom had been actively working in their national committees (or sections) during the war, met again in Zurich, Switzerland, in May 1919. At this assemblage women from 16 countries approved a constitution for what was now the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Here members reiterated the main goal of the 1915 Congress, identification of the causes of war in order to prevent war. Because of limited resources, WILPF, which was pacifist in orientation without being of the "absolutist" pacifist persuasion, chose to work to abolish war through special tasks identified by Bussey and Tims as "the study of political and economic issues; objective fact-finding; personal reconciliation; and the formulation of just and humane policies." (p. 35)

While never a mass movement, WILPF, in the interwar years, established itself as an innovative, creative force in the international peace movement. It organized additional national sections in Europe, Latin America, and the Near and Far East, and helped to set up the Liaison Committee of International Women's Organizations. (In 1947, through WILPF leadership, the Inter-American Federation of Women

was founded.) A regular activity of WILPF was the organization of biennial conferences. The themes varied from meeting to meeting, addressing in some fashion WILPF's commitment to discover the reasons behind war and to offer constructive alternatives for resolving national and international conflicts. Already in 1926, for example, WILPF demonstrated its concern for new (chemical) weapons of mass destruction when it devoted its conference to "Modern Methods of Warfare." Shortly after its inception, WILPF established a *Maison internationale* at its headquarters in Geneva which soon became an important meeting for peace leaders from around the world. It also published a journal, *Pax internationale* (later called *Pax et Libertas*) in English, German, and French editions. Members of WILPF undertook fact-finding missions, some of which proved very influential among government leaders. One such mission was WILPF's visit to Haiti in 1926, at the request of the WILPF Haitian section, to investigate the occupation of Haiti by the U.S. Marines (there since 1915). Out of this mission came a book, *Occupied Haiti*, written by Emily Balch (USA), which had some effect on the U.S. Department of State. The U.S. did remove its troops from Haiti (and Nicaragua) shortly after Balch's book appeared. WILPF initiated several mass actions in the 1920s and 1930s as well, notably the disarmament-related Peace Pilgrimage in Britain and Scotland (1926) and the World Disarmament Petition and the People's Mandate to Governments (1930s). WILPF summer schools on specific topics were held annually (Appendix 5 of *Pioneers for Peace* offers a list of the topics, 1921-1963, pp. 232-234). Significantly, too, WILPF, which constituted itself as a watchdog over the League of Nations, saw one of its members, Canadian Agnes MacPhail, M.P., appointed to the League's Disarmament Commission in 1929. This appointment marked the first time a woman had been asked to serve on a League commission which did not deal with welfare issues related to women and children.

The period leading up to World War II was a difficult one for WILPF, especially for those national sections immediately threatened by Nazism. During the war the international headquarters were moved temporarily to New York City where the U.S. section, along with some expatriates from Europe, did what they could to influence governments, particularly the U.S., towards developing constructive peace aims. Bussey and Tims recount how some of the European sections during the war, notably Denmark and Norway, engaged in activities of heroic proportions. WILPF members, along with many other citizens of these countries, revealed the power of resistance solely by nonviolent means. Strong protests were made in both countries against Nazi persecution of the Jews and, in Denmark, WILPF (with a total membership

of 25,000 which did *not* decrease during the war) smuggled food into the Theresienstadt concentration camp, thus saving many lives. Their members cared for 300 Jewish children who arrived in Denmark bound for Palestine on the day the war broke out. In Norway, WILPF members helped to organize escape routes for Jews and young people and, members continued to meet secretly as an association throughout the war.

By the 1930s WILPF had developed an understanding that the abolition of war would not result in the end of violence and social injustice. In 1933 WILPF, which had always been committed to the ideals of democracy, changed its Statement of Aims to include as a goal "an economic order on a worldwide basis and under world regulation founded on the needs of the community and not on profit." (p. 123) By this time Bussey and Tims find that WILPF had both politically liberal and socially radical aims: "Politically the principles of the WILPF implied the strengthening of democracy; socially, the strengthening of a radical socialism freed from the dogma of class-warfare." (p. 120) From the World War II era this awareness that a warless world might, in the words of Emily Balch and Gertrude Baer, "still be a very bad and cruel world" (p. 175), was uppermost in the minds of many WILPF members. Increasingly after the war, WILPF concerned itself with studying the connections between peace, fundamental human rights, and economic development. It lobbied successfully in 1948 to obtain special consultative status in the United Nations and, members quickly became involved on committees dealing with human rights and status of women concerns. It is noteworthy in this context that WILPF first identified the need for an International Declaration of Human Rights in 1939; it was not until 1948 that the United Nations unanimously adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Given WILPF's appreciation in the postwar years of the complexity and interconnectedness of issues bearing upon its ultimate goal of a world without war, new strategies came to the fore in the 1950s. To quote Bussey and Tims:

technical and political developments...were taking place throughout the whole world on an unprecedented scale and at an unprecedented speed. The mass protests, manifestoes and petitions of the 1930s were no longer adequate although they were still being used by some organizations. The need now was not so much to protest when an international crime had been committed, as to anticipate the crisis and offer an alternative, practicable policy. It was inevitable, therefore, that the International Congresses of the WILPF should decline in importance as

the focus and stimulus of its work, and a greater value be given to the role of the Executive Committee with its constant attention to policy; the UN Consultants with their constant attendance at history-making Commissions and Assemblies; and the national sections as never-sleeping watchdogs of governmental policies which might make or break the world. (p. 203)

In the years following this shift of strategy down to 1965, Bussey and Tims demonstrate the active participation of WILPF members on United Nations and national governmental commissions dealing with such key issues as disarmament, the danger of low-level radiation to human health, human rights, status of women issues, and economic development. Although conferences became triennial instead of biennial after World War II, WILPF continued to use these meetings as educational opportunities to aid members develop policies consistent with the League's aims.

Tims, who actually wrote the second half of *Pioneers for Peace* following Bussey's untimely death, ends on a note which considers WILPF's future role in the peace movement particularly in light of the existence of more popular women's peace groups like the Canadian Voice of Women and the American Women's International Strike for Peace. She stresses that WILPF officers, like their counterparts before them, were still in the early 1960s not seeking to become a "mass, popular movement on the same lines as its younger sisters." (pp. 244-245) While working to establish closer cooperation with the new associations, WILPF leaders in the sixties continued to see their organization's goals and methods as necessary components of a diverse but ultimately united peace movement. In 1965 WILPF remained committed to "the well-trying tools of education, investigation, personal confrontation of issues, and action always from the basis of reasoned argument and conviction." (p. 245)

It is germane to note here that a short but useful forward to the 1980 edition of *Pioneers for Peace* is provided by the then international president of WILPF, Kay Camp. In a few pages Camp summarizes and highlights the activities of WILPF from 1965 to 1980, placing special faith "in the knowledge that with increasing equality and liberation women can and will make a decisive contribution to a more humane world." (p. 7)

Bussey and Tims' book is an important, indeed a crucial book, for anyone interested in the history of the women's peace movement. The saga of WILPF has been but briefly summarized here. Readers will be gratified to discover in more detail the impressive accomplishments of the remark-

able women of WILPF. As stated at the outset of this review, this study was written by two scholars who were also WILPF members. Their commitment to the aims of their organization is always clear and their work is scholarly. Unfortunately the authors provide no footnotes and the index is rudimentary.

Pioneers for Peace is still the only major published treatment we have of WILPF's history. For those interested in reading further on WILPF, Carrie A. Foster-Hays' unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (1984, University of Denver) entitled "The Women and the Warriors: Dorothy Detzer and the WILPF," is available for purchase with University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan. The archives of the international office of WILPF, previously in Geneva, are now located at the University of Colorado in Boulder. They represent a rich source for further study. Note should be made here, too, that archives of WILPF's Canadian section do not exist as a body of material (though much documentation will doubtless be discovered in the international archives at the University of Colorado). The archives of WILPF's U.S. section have been microfilmed and may be ordered several reels at a time from the Swarthmore College Peace Collection which houses the collection (a checklist is available on request as well as a catalog of the peace collection's entire holdings).

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Greenham Common: Women at the Wire. B. Harford and S. Hopkins, editors. London: Women's Press, 1984.

Greenham Women Everywhere. A. Cook and G. Kirk. London: Pluto Press, 1983.

I told him if the thought of women making love with one another was more threatening than the idea of men making war with each other, then I found that frightening (Greenham Woman).

On December 12, 1982, 30,000 women linked hands to encircle the U.S. military base located at Greenham Common, England. Since that day, "Greenham Common" has become a household word to tens of thousands of peace activists and to hundreds of thousands of others around the world. But this action was much more than just a routine protest against the arrival of U.S. cruise missiles. It heralded the bringing together of the two most profound social move-