

"From the murmur and the subtlety of suspicion  
With which we vex one another,  
Give us rest.  
Make a new beginning.



And mingle again the Kindred of the nations  
In the alchemy of Love,  
And with some finer essence of forbearance  
Temper our minds." Aristophanes.

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## CONTENTS

News and Comments.  
Danger Spots to Watch.  
Glad Tidings for Pacifists.  
Geneva Headquarters.  
A Session at the Summer School.  
Flora Surlless.  
Next Steps Towards Peace.  
Generous Impulses in Politics.  
Jane Addams.  
League Machinery Needed.  
Hilda Clark.  
Germany Must Enter the League.  
Lucie Dejardin.  
Relation of Majorities and Minorities.  
Dr. Hilda Clark.  
Mrs. H. M. Swanwick.  
Commission on Minorities.  
Resolutions of Minorities Commission.  
Declaration of Hungarian Section.

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## DANGER SPOTS TO WATCH Fascist Maxims.

A remarkable book has recently appeared in Italy, filling the windows of bookshops there. It is entitled the "Perfect Fascist". It has 87 maxims and 10 axioms, some of which are as follows:

- Maxim 15: Civilization is non-existent for you; Italianism is existent.  
Maxim 20: If foreigners praise Goethe, you think of Dante.  
Maxim 84: For the Fascist the recent war was not the last but the first great war.  
Axiom 2: Your bayonet and rifle are given you not to lie and rust but with a view to the next war.  
Axiom 10: War is bread to a Fascist combatant.

### The Pacific a Storm Centre.

New Zealand is waxing dangerously patriotic. A very strong feeling is growing up there with regard to a white New Zealand and a white Australia. This means the exclusion of all Asiatics. The next war is openly referred to in the Press as in the Pacific and the whole tendency seems to be to make the Pacific a storm centre. With this idea in mind a chain of naval bases is proposed, beginning at Singapore and ending at Auckland. Compulsory Military

Training is the order of the day in New Zealand and Australia.

## GLAD TIDINGS FOR PACIFISTS Germany Making Good.

During the first nine months of the second year of the Dawes plan, Germany has paid a total of £ 41,000,000 out of the £ 61,000,000 required by the Dawes plan. The money has been paid promptly and in some cases Germany has taken advantage of a six per cent discount by payment in advance.

Since the spring, conditions in Germany have been more normal than at any time since the stabilization of the currency.

### No More "Forced" Labour.

The International Labour Office of the League of Nations is to take up the whole question of native labour, especially forced labour and a resolution was passed at the Conference in June by 78 to 3 approving the decision of the Governing Body to make such an inquiry. The British Government urges that the League should put slavery on the same footing as piracy, as an International crime.

### A Soldier-Pacifist.

A quarter of a century ago, when Colonel Charles A. Williams of the United States Army was Governor in the Philippines, a crazy Moro, swearing to attain Heaven by killing Christians, one Sunday afternoon slipped inside the walls of the city of Jolo. He pulled his barong (dagger) from his girdle and before he stopped had wounded a dozen soldiers while six American bullets had entered his body. In the Moro village outside the shots were heard and the rumour started that the Americans were beginning a Holy War. In a few minutes a thousand mad Moros, knives in hand, were yelling at the gates.

Colonel Williams did not order the machine guns to open fire. Instead he bade his family good-bye and, disregarding the assurance of his staff that Moros understood only force, he opened the barred gate and stepped out, unarmed, and accompanied only by an interpreter. He told the Moro mob the cause of the shots and invited the chiefs to come inside and see for themselves and he turned over the body of the crazy Moro for honourable burial.

Life, thereafter, in Jolo, continued peaceful.

Today while it is unsafe for an American to travel outside the walled city, in Colonel Williams' time he and others traveled freely among the people.

New York Nation, July 28th.

## GENEVA HEADQUARTERS

Miss Addams has been in Geneva since the fifteenth of August. That was the day we have waited for at Headquarters.

It is good to have her climb up the forty-one steps to the top of the Roman Wall and enter our garden, only for her sake we have discovered we could do with a Roman Wall a little less high.

She has liked the house as much as the day when she and Emily Balch first went to inspect it six years ago and decided on it as a home for the W.I.L. Our garden was a mass of flowers to greet her and the garden benches and flower pots had had a fresh coat of green paint. The halls of the house also smiled a welcome for they had all been done over in a grey and white Japanese paper and white paint.

And Geneva itself was equally radiant in its greeting for we have had one day of sunshine after another.

At the Summer School at Gland there was great rejoicing when Miss Addams arrived. It had been in session three weeks and there were still three weeks to run. The reception to her at Gland was a sort of opening of the second term. Dr. and Mrs. Nitobé came to greet Miss Addams and assist at the reception. Dr. Nitobé, who is Under-Secretary General of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, presided at the meeting that followed the reception and declared it an honour and a privilege to be associated with Miss Addams. It was a very happy occasion, the mountains and the lake were at their best, and there was a peace and beauty of spirit about the Summer School which only Emma Thomas is able to create. For the success of the Summer School is due to Emma Thomas, the director of the Fellowship School for children, into whose hands we have thrust it.

We have had some extraordinarily interesting lectures, not only from our own members, including Jane Addams, but from men like Monsieur William Rappard, Rector of the University of Geneva, and member of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, and from Mr. W. S. Sanders, Deputy Chief of Cabinet of the International Labour Office of the League. Through these men we have understood the problems of Minorities, and the task of the Mandates Commission as never before, and have been given a real insight into the work of the Labour Office.

Besides the lectures at Gland we have had two large public meetings in Geneva.

(continued next page)

arranged by Headquarters in conjunction with the Summer School.

The first on July 29th was on Intellectual Cooperation and the speakers were Professor Gilbert Murray of Oxford University, Professor Manly Hudson of Harvard University and Professor Robert Barany of Upsala University Sweden. Monsieur Guillaume Fatio of Geneva very graciously presided, and made translations into French.

Gilbert Murray, in opening his speech, said that the work done by the W.I.L. and the great mission for peace which it expressed, formed one of the foundations on which the efforts of the League of Nations to maintain peace in the world were based. And when Manly Hudson's turn came to speak, he expressed his full accord with what he conceived to be the aims of the W.I.L. He said if we had not a patent formula—some device that was going to usher in a new world for the human spirit, we had a common conception of what peace and freedom meant as a way of living together under which humanity would be relieved of the menace of modern war and in which every man and woman would have some chance of the world's finer methods of living.

This meeting had a great success. The second big meeting, which occurred August 31st was equally successful and crowded. It had for its subject "The Next Steps Toward World Peace". An account of it is given on the opposite page.

There is not space to tell of the other events at headquarters, but Miss Addams is to remain with us until September 10th and attend a few sessions of the Assembly of the League. These we will record in our October issue, meantime, as the novels say: continued in our next.

## A SESSION AT THE SUMMER SCHOOL

Flora Surlis, U.S.A.

Some three weeks ago the Summer School for Peace Workers (the tenth of the Women's International League) opened with very informal formalities. Those of us who had arrived were welcomed by Emma Thomas, director of the Fellowship School, by Madame Duchêne of the International Executive Committee for the Women's International League, while Madeleine Doty brought some echoes from the recent Congress in Dublin. This was on July 26th and the following morning we settled down seriously to the matter of school.

Our speakers so far have represented thirteen nationalities: American, Austrian, Bulgarian, Czecho-Slovakian, Dutch, English, French, German, Indian, Italian, Japanese, Swedish and Swiss. Practically all these nationalities have been represented among the students, with larger numbers coming from America, England, Czecho-Slovakia and Germany. The subjects discussed, I would classify under three main heads:

- 1) Subjects relating to the field of education,
- 2) Subjects of political nature,
- 3) Subjects of a generally informative nature.

Under the Education Grouping: Professor Barany, Sweden, contended for an International University. Madame Duchêne, France, spoke on pacifism in Education. Lilian Watson, and Mrs. Rogers, both of England, showed the possibilities of increasing peace sentiment through the drama. Marguerite Gobat, Switzerland, emphasized the value of music in the creation of a peace

spirit, Katherine Blake, U.S., and Alice Descoudres, Switzerland, the importance of the teacher.

In the discussion of a political nature there was Mr. Nehru, India, a friend of Gandhi, who gave a most interesting and authentic account of the Indian National Movement. Professor Salvadori, Italy, gave two lectures on "Fascism". Mme Illova, Czecho-Slovakia, pointed out some practical problems facing European Minorities. Baron von Oertzen, Germany, gave an able insight into Colonial problems in Africa. Dr. Schubert, Austria, of the League of Nations told us of the work of the Disarmament Commission. Tano Jodai, Japan, gave us more Japanese history (destructive and constructive) than most of us had ever had before.

Further we had several lectures of a general informative nature. Dorothy Detzer, U.S., told of the practical things which the United States Section of the W.I.L. is doing for Peace. Charles Simpson, of the Woolman Settlement, London, gave a most sane and helpful description of the present industrial crisis in England. Helene Monastier, Switzerland, told of the Voluntary Civil Service Organization. Emma Thomas, England, exploded the myth of the "economic man". She pointed out that the greatest need of mankind is to serve. Lastly, and among the most interesting were two lectures of Mr. Sanders, England, of the International Labour Office. This brings us to Mme Ramondt-Hirschmann and her talk on our "Area of Loyalties" and how we can extend that "Area" provided we have some "loyalties" to begin with.

At a public meeting in Geneva we heard Gilbert Murray and Manly Hudson. As I listened to Gilbert Murray. I thought all that is needed to bring America into the League of Nations is for a sufficient number of American tourists to come over to Geneva and have the inspiration of contact with such a man as himself. One wondered, too, as one listened to Manly Hudson, if he with his honesty and clarity of thought, his splendid, intelligent international zeal, could not almost single-handedly convert a nation to peace and true internationalism. But he pointed out the absolute necessity for every one of us to get behind this job and offered two practical ways in which we might help:

- 1) by setting a fashion in thinking constructively and intelligently about present day problems, saying that fashions in politics are just as important as fashions in women's clothes;
- 2) by knowing some one subject with which international cooperation must deal, and knowing that subject thoroughly.

You may not believe it but this crowded program, extending over three weeks, left us some time for play. We have enjoyed a number of delightful motor, boat and train excursions. These have given an opportunity to form some idea of the variety of natural beauty of Switzerland and Southern France, from the green, well-kept carpets of clover in the valleys to the sea of ice at the mountain top — including some historically interesting castles and quaint villages. We have had some organized play, too. Here we have forgotten the serious discussions of war and peace and so-called racial differences and have actually lived in a spirit of international love and friendliness — dancing and playing games together,

singing songs and making merry generally.

In summing up we come to the test of it all. Emma Thomas, or "Moto" as she is called, has asked me to tell you just in a word what I think may have been the result of these three weeks. To my mind, that is the delightful, the helpful, the hopeful part. Those who have so generously loaned themselves to us have provoked some constructive thinking. To my mind, however, this is never necessarily the greatest result of a school such as this for peace workers. Miss Addams has said "Justice between men and between nations can only be achieved through understanding and good will." After all, justice is not a thing which can be manufactured arbitrarily by a group of internationally minded statesmen or speakers, or even an international machinery. Justice is a *spirit* which is achieved between men and between nations, *by men and by nations*. Living together as we have here in Gland for three weeks, studying together, working together, playing together, — not as Americans, or Englishmen, or Germans, or what-not, but as human beings, with the same hopes, the same aspirations, the same virtues and the same defects: this, I maintain, as much or more than anything else has contributed toward that understanding and good-will through which alone justice can be achieved.

Who can remember the gentle, helpful manner of Hans or Olaf, or the manifold kindly services of Ruth, and still believe Germany to be just a hating, war-like nation? Who can remember the song and laughter of the Czecho-Slovakian group, and tolerate the thought of Czecho-Slovakia being just a complaining, ungrateful nation whose burdens America at least, must be careful to take no share of responsibility for? Who can enjoy, as we all have, the jolly, inspiring association with Madame Karavleff and her companion (whose name I dare not try to pronounce) from Bulgaria, and not be drawn into sympathy and interest in the sufferings of that little nation? Who can listen, as we did, to Tano Jodai, enjoy with her in her room intimate and delightful discussions on Oriental philosophy and spirit, or share a pleasure excursion with her to Nyon, the neighboring town, and go on thinking of Japan as a "menace"?

And there is one rich contribution this summer school enjoys which it might not have had, had it convened elsewhere than at the Fellowship School, and that is the spirit of service through real labor. "He who would be greatest among you, let him serve", said the Great Teacher. Here one finds a true evaluation of work — hard work, if you please, done in the spirit of service which makes one truly great. I challenge any thinking person to come here and live, and watch "Moto" (Emma Thomas) herself stand smilingly over a hot kitchen stove, preparing meals for summer school students to eat, or doing hundreds of little chores needed for the comfort of her guests (as she and all her staff members do), and not go away with a greater sense of the real dignity and value of service. Just as one talks now of the operation in the world of a "Spirit of Locarno", those of us who have lived here three weeks know there is also a "Spirit of Gland", and that spirit, planted in the hearts and minds of the representatives of fifteen nationalities, must live and bear real fruits of true Internationalism.

## Next Steps Towards World Peace

On Monday evening, August 30th, the W.I.L. held a big public meeting in Geneva in a hall holding over a thousand people. This meeting was held on the eve of the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations that we might emphasize what we felt to be the Next Steps Toward World Peace and also express our hope that at this meeting of the Assembly Germany would be admitted to the League of Nations. Monsieur William Rappard, the Rector of the University of Geneva, very generously agreed to act as Chairman and to translate Miss Addams speech into French. We feel we owe Monsieur Rappard a profound debt of gratitude, he has done so many gracious and generous things for the W.I.L. The following are extracts from notes made on the speeches which were not written.

### Introduction

William Rappard.

I feel it an honour and a pleasure to be Chairman of this meeting though I do not quite understand how it happens that I was offered the privilege of presiding.

The members of the Women's International League have shown that they are fully capable of getting along without the help of our sex and have demonstrated an ability for filling Geneva halls to overflowing which we do not possess.

In introducing Miss Addams I want to recall several things that the United States has given Europe which we often overlook. We are prone to forget that we owe America anything except money.

But we owe her among other things, we in Switzerland, our existence itself. During the war it was the U.S. who sent us food. We also owe her President Wilson and the League of Nations. And to the U.S. we owe besides — Miss Jane Addams.

### Generous Impulses in Politics

Jane Addams.

I am speaking this evening not primarily as an American but as President of a League which has its headquarters in Geneva and under the auspices of which this meeting is being held.

During the Congress which the League recently held in Ireland one of our French members quoted an old saying of her mother's that "Man made the roads but women taught the children how to walk." There is perhaps something in that saying which is pertinent to the present situation. We are meeting in the city which is the seat of that tremendous effort which mankind is making to come together in a new and better way — the League of Nations — and we hope that the women's organizations, so many of whom have their headquarters in Geneva, will be able, — it not to make the road, or rather the new machinery which is being devised to enable the people of the world to live in harmony together — nevertheless to teach people how to walk in these new ways.

It seems sometimes in the United States as though science has been applied to commercial and industrial forces to such an extent that the moral energy we possess has not been sufficient to control these forces. This is perhaps true of the world as a whole. There are also great reserves of political wisdom and knowledge which have not been translated into human needs, which do not nourish and feed life, and which have gone so much "on their own" that they threaten to crush the life they are meant to support. I believe it is for the women's organizations to bring generous impulses into both science and politics...

Now we have the right to ask ourselves how far the interests of women are going to be modified by international relations on which the world hangs such high hopes, and that, I think, is raising important questions in many countries. In one country after

another women are making a determined and intelligent effort to understand what this new duty requires of them and what the task is which they are expected to perform. And I predict — though it is rash to predict — that we shall see before the next five decades are over a distinct modification in the whole international situation because women have been able to register this interest.

Some 40 years ago I came to Switzerland for the first time and then and always in visiting the country since I experienced in seeing a Swiss landscape a sense of what Plato described as "Gleams of the eternal pattern" — of something which suddenly stood out as representing the eternal. From time to time this comes to all of us — a sense of something basic in the processes of nature. I do not believe it is without significance that the seat of the League of Nations has been placed in Switzerland. The League will have to get over difficulties of race and language and religion and get down to basic things. I imagine that it will be easier to do this in Switzerland than in any other place. The effort being put forward here is so complicated and full of problems that it is as though mankind was trying a new thing for which nature had formed him but which he is attempting for the first time. I am sure it is for all of us to look on the effort with great admiration and with something of the tolerance and sympathy and understanding with which one learns as one gets older always to look on people who are trying to do new things and to beat out new ways...

I believe that in the addition of Germany to the League of Nations there will be another step forward — one of those landmarks which come from time to time in the growth of the individual when he makes an effort which is not only within the range of his goodwill but which, translated into action, by the very fact of his having taken action, increases his reason and enormously enlarges his goodwill. That is why the present meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations seems of great significance and why we feel called upon to hold this meeting and rejoice over the next step forward which this wonderful League of Nations is about to take.

### League Machinery Needed

Hilda Clark.

It is often said that people are better than the governments and that it is the governments and not the peoples who want wars. But most countries have representative governments and it is up to the people to get the governments to represent what the best part of the people want. It is no use asking for peace in the abstract. Peace will not come by praising it or longing for it... The only way to lessen the causes of war is to make use of the machinery of international justice and international law. I am convinced that the next step is to get our governments

to agree to the full jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice — to permit a country which feels itself wronged to call the other country concerned before the Court and have the matter out. I do not pretend that that would necessarily bring peace. There is no Super-state to enforce the findings of the Court. The Court must be backed up by a public opinion which believes in international justice, so that gradually — not in a year or a generation, but gradually — international injustices will be overcome...

By the Peacemakers' Pilgrimage which we recently inaugurated in England under the auspices of the W.I.L., we showed the Government of Great Britain the tremendous support there is for international justice and arbitration. It is necessary thus to arouse the imagination and impress the governments with the need of signing the optional clause of the Statutes of the Court.

But public opinion takes time to work. Reference has been made to the entrance of Germany into the League. In England, and in many other countries, there is a strong opinion in favour of the admission of Germany to the League, and though there was not time for it to have full effect, I believe it has affected the action of the British delegation in some degree, and I am confident that before long public opinion will press the governments to go forward on the lines of arbitration.

### Germany must enter the League

Lucie Dejardin.

It is true that, during the war, I was a patriot and helped Belgian men escape deportation into Germany.

But I did not do this without atoning for it. I was captured by the Germans and condemned to death. My sentence was reduced to hard labour for life. I was ecstatic to have escaped death. I saw the awful suffering of the prison camps. I saw the terribly impressive columns of prisoners going to be executed.

I, knew what hunger was. I dreamed of the first slice of bread and butter. I would eat! Do you know who in the end brought it to me. It was some Swiss women who came to visit the prisons and I am especially glad to be able to speak in Geneva and to thank the Swiss people for their help during the war.

Yes, I saw and endured all the horrors of war. And yet I can say to you, that I never felt hate for any one.

The war has ruined and impoverished Europe. We must all work together now to build up and reconstruct. The Allies and the Central Powers must unite and Germany must be made a member of the League of Nations.

Gertrud Baer Germany stated that her name was printed on the programs and posters through an unfortunate technical error and without her consent. She gave a short statement in which she presented in a powerful way and in a clear, pregnant form, the position of the German Section of the W.I.L. towards the League of Nations.

# Relations Between Majorities and Minorities

At the Dublin Congress the Commission on Minorities did splendid work. The following are extracts from notes made on speeches delivered by Dr. Hilda Clark and Helena M. Swanwick on this subject. These speeches were not written and the extracts are given without correction by the authors owing to lack of time. A detailed statement on Minorities by Dr. Clark is to be found in a pamphlet prepared by the British Section of the W.I.L.L. Mrs. Swanwick is the editor of the English paper, "Foreign Affairs" and we strongly recommend her paper to all our readers.

## Minority Treaties

Hilda Clark.

Forty millions of minority citizens are not an easy problem either for Governments or for the League of Nations....

Let us consider the Minority problem in the countries with Minority Treaties. These include all countries between the Baltic on the North, the Mediterranean on the South, France on the West and Russia on the East. They have all entered into obligations which are guaranteed by the League....

The rights of the Minorities protected by the Treaties summarized are the recognition of the rights of man, the protection of life and liberty, the right to the free exercise of religion, the free use of the mother tongue in private and in courts of law.

Then there are the rights specially granted to individuals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities. They have the privilege of establishing at their own expense schools where their own religion, language and culture can be taught....

These rights of the Minorities are international obligations placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations and the attention of the Council of the League may be brought by any member of the Council to any infraction or danger of infraction of these rights and the Council may take any action it deems proper. If a difference of opinion arises within the Council the matter may be referred to the Permanent Court of Justice....

The minorities may also bring the attention of the Council to any infraction by a petition. There are five conditions laid down in the Third Assembly which must be followed in a petition. The petition is submitted to a Committee of Three, the President of the Council and two other members. None of these may be interested persons, a member of a bordering state, for instance.

The petition of the Minority is sent to the Government of the country under which it lives, then the petition, together with the remarks of the Government, is circulated to Members of the Council. Judgment is then given as to whether the Council need consider the question and in case of dispute reference may be made to the Permanent Court. The decision of the Court is final.

This briefly is the procedure. Now as to the ideals which the W.I.L.L. might work for.

(1) Some people suggest the alteration of the Treaties. This is as difficult as altering the frontiers and perhaps even less likely to be helpful. It must never be forgotten that Treaties can only be altered by one of two ways. Agreement or force. Force most certainly means war and the W.I.L.L. clearly cannot work for a settlement by war. An alteration of Minority Treaties by agreement would mean that the country was ready to give better treatment without alteration.

(2) Another suggestion is absorption or separation. The Treaties were not designed to help minorities to amalgamate but on the other hand a Minority is not justified in going to war in order to secede. Separation by agreement, how-

ever, can be regarded as a legitimate ultimate possibility.

(3) A third possibility is the development of a Federal Government in States where Minorities form compact geographical units.

(4) The Minorities might be given direct access to the Permanent Court of International Justice. But this would mean complete change in the constitution of the Permanent Court.

To sum up as regards the Treaties. I think alteration is unwise at present nor do I feel sure that the appointment of a Minority Commission would be helpful as the countries concerned are very much opposed to it.

I think it would be wiser to help forward the present procedure. Such a body as the W.I.L.L. could do a great deal, in personal work between the Minorities and their Governments. We could work along lines of reconciliation and publicity and help the Minorities to make use of the existing provisions for their protection.

If the Minorities had such assistance and knew that their case was being given full consideration at the Secretariat it would do much to appease their feelings and make reconciliation easier. Such work we have reason to believe would be welcomed by the Secretariat of the League.

## Educate the Majority

Helena M. Swanwick.

In listening to the Reports that we have been hearing at the Dublin Congress both from Majorities and Minorities, I think we cannot fail to be struck by their resemblance. The same follies, the same cruelties and tyrannies lead to the same results and the conclusion we must reach is that what the world is suffering from at present is Diseased Nationalism — diseased both in the oppressing Majorities and the oppressed Minorities....

Now, it is one of the aims of our Women's International League — since we reject force — to persuade the Majorities, who possess the Government, willingly to improve their relations with the Minorities....

It may be possible to get even a tyrannical Majority to consent to an extension of its duties by agreement instead of force if this extension can be presented as a general principle, universally accepted. Even a Mussolini might be led to a humaner treatment of Minorities if he saw other "Great Powers" bowing to the same wise and civilized ideal....

I believe a permanent Minorities Commission, under the League of Nations, to receive and to investigate complaints, is in the highest degree desirable. The League of Nations is and must be a League of Governments and the Council of the League is obviously an unsuitable body into whose bosom to pour the griefs and grievances of people who feel themselves injured. There should be established a body of impartial persons, not professional politicians, whose sole duty it should be to listen, to enquire and to mediate; to help the majorities and minorities to live together and only in the last resort to bring the matter before the League Council or Assembly.

We must remember, that the people who govern are not all wicked people, they are people who are tempted to do wrong by the possession of means to do wrong. They are generally more afflicted with stupidity than with wickedness.

Let us, then, in addressing ourselves to the conversion of Majorities, note a few points of special importance.

(1) Governments, especially in areas of recent disturbance, are nervous about Unsettlement.

(2) Governments have all the worries and complexities of governing, whereas the Minority is a comparatively free Opposition.

(3) All the severities, stupidities, muddles and cruelties natural to Governments are attributed to them as atrocities peculiarly directed against the Minority.

We make a special appeal to our W.I.L.L. members who happen to belong to the Majority in a State, to use all their influence and ingenuity to interpret the Minority's needs and to influence the Majority:

(1) To trust in the good faith of the Minority. (I am speaking here, of course, of countries where the Minority is not bent upon overthrowing the Government by force, but is anxious to cooperate with the Majority under just conditions.)

(2) To believe in the beauty and fertility of variety. And here it is certain that not only Governments but the great mass of the people everywhere, are sinners and stupid. The herd has a rooted fear and dislike of oddity, originality, genius! Yet variety is necessary for fertility.

(3) To believe that Persecution makes for Separatism. And creates an antagonistic class....

It is the most natural thing for Minorities to hanker after force. Many of the States now existing in Europe were set up or modified by war. Minorities naturally turn to the idea of another war to redress wrong by force. We have the prodigiously difficult task of trying, for the first time, to redress wrong by right.

In conclusion let me say that in pursuing these problems we have to do some hard thinking. What are the rights of Minorities? What is the function of Government? What are the limits of sovereignty?

When I was young I hailed with enthusiasm the theory of the Utilitarians: that we should pursue "the greatest good of the greatest number". The longer I live the less I think we can rely on this formula. What prohibitions, what inhibitions are possible under this formula! What forcible approximations to an arbitrary perfection! What subjection to a constricting average! We women have suffered so much from theories of True Woman, Average Woman, that we should beware of these formulas.

If you give women the "average" shoe to wear, it will pinch the big women and drop off the little women. Let us remember the lesson and apply it in our efforts to liberalize men's dealings with minorities.

## THE COMMISSION ON MINORITIES

Perhaps the most successful Commission of the Dublin Congress was that on Minorities. It met for three successive mornings during the Congress and tried to thrash out some of the intricate problems involved in the relations between Majorities and Minorities. It faced the facts that by the peace treaties of 1919 large numbers of people were transferred without their desire or consent from one sovereignty to another. This transfer has caused suffering and discord. Many of the different national sections of the W.I.L.L. have members who represent both the Majority and the Minority in a given country and have suffered jointly under the Minority Treaty. Therefore this Commission took up their problems with keenest interest for it was not merely an abstract issue but a living and vital one to our members. For example the Polish, the Czecho-Slovakian and the Hungarian Sections of the W.I.L.L. all have difficult Minority problems. Practically we had to work out what we expected the Polish members of the W.I.L.L. to do in regard to the Ukrainian and German Minorities in their land; what relationship the Czech W.I.L.L. group should establish with their large German Minority; what the Hungarians were to do about their Roumanian people.

It was in trying to meet these concrete, everyday problems that much fruitful discussion arose and a set of resolutions was proposed which were later presented to the Congress as a whole and passed by that body.

The Chairman of this Commission was Catherine Marshall, (England). Her knowledge of this subject made her extremely valuable and emphasized the fact that the Chairman, as well as the Rapporteur, of any given Commission needs to be well posted on the subject treated.

The Rapporteur for the Commission was Dr. Hilda Clark, England. She began the work by presenting a general survey of the Minority problem. Extracts from her speech are given on the opposite page, as also the speech of Mrs. H. M. Swanwick who outlined the necessity of trying to create understanding between the Majority and the Minority. At the end of these speeches, Yella Hertzka, Austria said:

"As you all know, it has been considered a point of honour for people in the past to go to war to win independence for their nationality. But the fact is, that before the war there were about 28 million Minorities, while since the war the number under foreign rule has increased to 35 million....

"As regards the new Eastern States, Czecho-Slovakia contains seven Minorities Jugo-Slavia three, Poland seven, Roumania five. Even Italy, which never had a Minority before, now has five or more....

"The problem of Minorities differs greatly according to whether they are spread out over a whole country or are living in compact groups. There are even problems within the minorities themselves due to political differences. One portion of the Ukraine prefers autonomy in Poland to Sovietism and to belonging to the Ukrainian Soviets. Then there is great difference between the countries that have Minority Treaties and those that have not. In some countries the Minorities are given cultural autonomy while in others, like Italy, there is a determination to nationalise

minorities and the language of the Minority is not permitted even in private schools. Where there are compact groups of minorities forming geographical units, I think a Federal Government, as in Switzerland, granting to each nationality full right of cultural government would be the best solution.

"I also think we in the W.I.L.L. might do much to influence public opinion in countries which have Minority problems. The Majorities need to know the facts about the Minorities. We might collect those facts and publish them in little pamphlets and in this way create a real public opinion."

Delegates from Germany, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Ireland and other countries discussed their Minority problems. Dr. Knischewsky, Germany, thought all conflicts might be resolved by founding a Pan-Europa with one language for administrative purposes, say Esperanto, and using the languages of the Minorities as the language of culture for schools.

## Irish Minority Problem

Mr. Bolton C. Waller, an Irishman, discussed the situation in Ireland. He said:

"I speak as one of a Minority, not a political Minority but a religious Minority — a Protestant in the Free State. But we Protestants are not an oppressed Minority. Even those of us opposed to the new regime recognize that since it came into existence, we have had fair play and just treatment. So far as the Protestants in the South of Ireland are concerned, there is no political Minority problem in the proper sense of that term. But if this Minority problem in the South has been well dealt with the large Protestant Minority problem in the North of Ireland has been dealt with badly. As a result, we have been driven by degrees to a complete division of our country. That was due to people, on the one hand, who wouldn't recognize that a Minority problem existed, and on the other, to those who could see in Ireland nothing but that Minority and thought its interests should override the claims of all the rest of the country. Through this uncompromising attitude we have at length been brought to partition with all its waste, overlapping and injury to the interests of both parts of the country.

"Let us now consider the various methods of settling the Minority problem. The simplest way, is to kill or deport the Minorities but that will not commend itself to any of us. The next is to allow the Minority to separate politically. This may, in some cases, be the best course but it is not really satisfactory as we so frequently meet with mixed populations. You cannot, as a rule, separate minority from majority in water-tight compartments. That difficulty was forcibly brought home to us in Ireland in the attempt to draw a boundary line between the Free State and Northern Ireland. The Majority in one area was found to be a Minority in part of another area and so on *ad infinitum*.

"A much better course is that Majority and Minority should learn to live together. There is this to be said in that connection. Minorities have duties as well as rights.

"Let me point out in conclusion that what we need is the building of one, harmonious society, embracing the whole, human family. We need this on a small scale and on a large scale. Here in Ireland, we need a united Ireland. In Europe, we need a European federation."

## The German Minority Denmark.

Mrs. Benny Cederfeld, of Denmark, said:

"Our Minority problem does not present great difficulties. The German Minority (between 30,000 and 35,000) are of the same race as the other inhabitants of the peninsula of Jutland. The Danish Minority laws are all in the spirit of liberty natural to Danish mentality. This does not mean that there is no difficulty, but that the basis is all right and it is for movements like ours to see that things run smoothly and that the relations between Danish Majority and German Minority develop in the right spirit. The Danish and German sections of the W.I.L.L. have been doing much to establish friendly relations between Danes and Germans living on the frontier. One big help in carrying on this frontier work is the new German law dealing with the Danish Minority within the German border."

These, briefly, were some of the things said at the meeting of the Minority Commission. The following resolutions were then drawn up and presented to the Congress which adopted them as a whole.

## Resolutions of the Minorities Commission

(1) This Congress recommends Sections in countries where the Minorities form compact geographical units, to study the possibility of the development of a Federal Government as the best ultimate solution to their problem.

(2) This Congress, believing that variety of race, language, religion or culture amongst citizens of a State is not inconsistent with loyalty to the State, or detrimental to its solidarity, declares its conviction that racial, religious and cultural minorities form a permanent and valuable element in the population of a State, and that in acceding to their desire for special treatment in regard to language, religion and other cultural peculiarities, the majority will best serve both the ends of justice and the interest of the State.

(3) This Congress believes that the Council of the League of Nations would be in a better position to carry out the responsibility it has assumed with regard to the protection of Minorities if it would appoint a Commission to which Petitions forwarded to it in proper form could be referred for investigation.

(4) This Congress expresses the hope that the question will be raised at the next Assembly of the League of Nations as to whether countries which have Minority Problems, but have not concluded Minority Treaties, have acted in accordance with the resolution passed unanimously at the Third Assembly with reference to the treatment of Minorities.

(5) This Congress requests its Permanent Minorities Commission to discuss with the Sections in the countries concerned the following ways in which it believes that the Sections in different countries can help forward the solution of their own problems:—

(a) Reconciliation between the Minorities and their Governments with particular effort to form Branches of the Women's International League of both Majority and Minority Parties who would work and consult together;

(b) Publication of the facts in the country concerned after the facts have been agreed on by members of the Women's International League Section in both Majority and Minority Parties in consultation with the W.I.L.L. Minorities Commission;

### Minority Resolutions continued

(c) In those countries where the Minorities do not feel that they have been able to put their grievances before the League of Nations, the Women's International League Section and the Minorities Commission might help them to put their complaints in proper form as required by the regulations of the Council of the League of Nations.

#### Resolutions Referred to the Standing Commission on Minorities.

(1) Whereas the terms of *cultural autonomy* for nationalistic reasons have been bent away from their original meaning and whereas a series of national minorities for social and financial reasons have declared it unbearable:

The Women's International League recommends that the principle of *cultural autonomy* may be the basis of a minority law only if it can be put into practice by the minority concerned.

(2) This Congress believes that equal justice, between States and justice towards the Minorities in States not yet bound by Treaties protecting their Minorities demand that the international protection of Minorities be made general. Therefore, it appeals to the Governments of States Members of the League to press for the preparation of a Convention, establishing minimum rights of Minorities on the lines laid down in the present Minority Treaties which the Assembly of the League of Nations could recommend to all its Members for signature.

The Commission to have power to take action on the general principle.

#### Resolution Not Voted on by Commission.

This Congress believes that it would be to the interest of peaceful settlement of relations between Majorities and Minorities that Minorities should be given the opportunity of presenting their case to the Council of the League of Nations,

and that any disagreement of a nature suitable for the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice should be referred for final settlement to that Court, whose decision would be binding.

### Conference

A Danish-German Conference will take place in Flensburg (Schleswig-Holstein) at the Bahnhof Hotel from the 24th to the 26th of September. This Conference has been arranged by the Danish and German Sections of the W.I.L.L. The German speakers are Gertrud Baer, and Magda Hoppstoch-Huth. The Danish speakers are Thora Daugaard and Benny von Cederfeld.

### Lost Property

A Fountain pen, an American one, marked "Omo" was found in the National University after the close of the Dublin Congress. Will the owner please claim it.

### Communication

#### Published at the request of the Hungarian Section.

We protest with the deepest indignation against all insinuations concerning Rosika Schwimmer which are spread even among our fellow workers for Suffrage and Peace, accusing her of having been a German spy during the war and of having mishandled funds of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Having been the closest fellow workers of Rosika Schwimmer during many years, we have had plenty of opportunity to watch and to admire her absolute disinterestedness and the devotedness to the cause of Suffrage and Peace which made her ready to sacrifice all her life to the service of these ideas.

We are proud to be her fellow workers; we feel that the women's movement never can adequately express the gratitude we all must feel towards Rosika Schwimmer. It is appalling that an un-

daunted hero of pacifism whose life and liberty have been endangered because she wanted to save other people's lives should have to stand such contemptible attacks.

Out of deepest conviction we state that all her activity has been directed by the principle of justice and by her love for mankind; she never has been faithless for a moment either to her principles or to the interests of Suffrage and Peace, for any kind of selfish motives. We are absolutely sure of her honest intentions and of the perfect exactitude of her accounts. We fervently hope that the gratitude and the appreciation of her faithful followers will help her to forget this undeserved insult.

We sign this declaration on behalf of the Feminist Society in Hungary (Hungarian Section of the W.I.L.L.F.P. and Auxiliary of the I.W.S.A.) the foundation of which is due to Rosika Schwimmer. We feel sure that all those fellow workers abroad who know the unselfish activity of Rosika Schwimmer will desire to join in signing it for publication in *Jus Suffragii* and in *Pax International*.

(Signed): Vilma Glücklich, President;  
Irma Szirmai, Vice-President;  
Melanie Vambéry, Secretary;

Eugenie Meller-Miskolczy,  
Chairman of the Political Committee of the Feminist Society,  
Budapest.

We are glad hereby to testify our great appreciation of Rosika Schwimmer's activity and our full confidence in her unflinching honesty.

Yella Hertzka, Chairman of the Political Group of the Austrian Section of the W.I.L.L.,  
Olga Misar, Vice-Chairman.  
Rudolf Goldscheid, President of the Austrian Peace Society.

## Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Jane Addams, International President

International Headquarters 12, rue du Vieux-Colège, Geneva  
Secretary: Madeleine Z. Doty

### WHAT THE W. I. L. L. F. STANDS FOR:

It 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.

International Dues \$ 5.00 or £ 1.00 a year  
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