

"Why do highly civilized Christian people continue to plunder one another and call it exchange, to murder one another and call it patriotism, to oppress one another and call it statesmanship?"

Ellen KEY.



"I own that that I have an immovable faith in God and His goodness and an unconsumable passion for truth and love. But is that not what every person has latent in him? ... Must man always be brute first and man after, if at all?"

M. K. GANDHI.

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## GLAD TIDINGS FOR PACIFISTS

### Are women superior?

Mr. Benjamin Kidd in the "Science of Power" draws the conclusion that the "mind of woman is destined to take the lead in the future of civilization", since the great destructive vices, lust, war, greed, drink, slavery — have been eminently masculine; while the constructive virtues — patience, long suffering, purity, sacrifice, love — have been eminently feminine.

### Move your war.

Miss Emma D. Cushman of Boston, Head of a Near East training school at Corinth for 1,500 orphans, objected strenuously to having a Greek battle ship ready for action in the troubled zone in which the school is located.

Five airplanes belonging to rebel forces had been parked in the school yard. Miss Cushman ordered them removed. The Commander of the fleet refused to obey, and Miss Cushman with one her biggest boys, rolled the airplanes off the school property.

When shells began to drop uncomfortably near, Miss Cushman sent peremptory letters to the Commanders of both opposing forces, demanding that they should move their war away from her orphanage — and they obeyed.

(Taken from Advocate of Peace.)

## THE DUBLIN CONGRESS

### New Executive Committee.

Jane Addams, U.S.A., President.  
 Gabrielle Duchêne, France, Vice President.  
 Catherine Marshall, Great Britain, Vice President.  
 C. Ramondt-Hirschmann, Holland, Recording and Financial Secretary.

### Members

Gertrud Baer, Germany.  
 Emily Balch, U.S.A.  
 Louie Bennett, Ireland.  
 Vilma Glücklich, Hungary.  
 Martha Larsen-Jahn, Norway.  
 Clara Ragaz, Switzerland.

Lida Gustava Heymann, Germany,  
 Honorary Vice President.

### Greetings From Romain Rolland.

"I am very much touched by your invitation to the 5th Biennial Congress at Dublin. It would have given me great joy if I had been able to come....

"Will you express to the Executive Committee and to the Congress the great regret of my sister and myself that we cannot be with you."

Romain Rolland.

There were many other greetings from well known people which will be printed in the Congress report.

## STORY OF THE CONGRESS

### Madeleine Z. Doty

The great thing about the Dublin Congress was that it brought folks together. It brought the Irish folks together. Ireland, torn by war with Britain and then by civil strife, turned for the moment pacifist.

At the opening reception of the Congress President Cosgrave of the Free State and Eamon De Valera, famed Republican leader, for the first time since the signing of the Treaty of 1921 came together under the same roof to bid us welcome. The generous and hospitable spirit of Ireland rose above differences for the sake of its guests.

That was the shining thing throughout the Congress: the warmth and generosity of the Irish folks. Never was a Congress better entertained or better housed.

The Congress itself was held in the National University, a long, low building, occupying a large piece of ground.

As one entered the University there were two long corridors stretching away

on either side. All the rooms down the length of one of these were devoted to us. There was the Information Bureau, the Travel Bureau, the Post Office, the Congress Office, with its mimeographing machine, typewriters, and staff of stenographers, the room where French and German translations were done, and its Reading and Rest Room. Upstairs were three great rooms opening into each other, Council Chambers of the University, where the opening reception and some of the evening meetings were held.

Down stairs was the Hall of Physics, a little amphitheatre with its graded seats rising toward the ceiling, where the plenary sessions were held. Into these surroundings we swarmed, eager, interested, talking many different tongues.

There were representatives from 20 countries: Australia 1, Austria 2, Belgium 1, Bulgaria 3, Czecho-Slovakia 6, Denmark 4, France 5, Germany 13, Great Britain's full quota of 30 with two consultative members and some general members beside, Hungary 2, Holland 6, Ireland's full 30 with all Dublin as friends, Japan 1, Norway 5, Poland 3, Sweden 5, Switzerland 2, United States 25 with ten to fifteen visitors, Finland 1, Latvia 1.

Unfortunately our delegates from the Ukraine and Italy who expected to come were unable to get passports from their governments. And Agnes Macphail, our Canadian Representative, the only woman M. P. in Canada, was recalled by a telegram as she was about to board the steamer for Ireland, in order that she might add her vote to a particularly critical situation in the Canadian Parliament.

The total number of delegates including the Executive Committee, the President and Consultative Members was 150. Besides there were 9 Fraternal Delegates, Honoured Guests and the Dublin public.

Over this motley throng presided our beloved President, Jane Addams. As usual her fine, tolerant spirit, so understanding and generous towards all, brought out the best in us. We felt her selfless love for each one of us. Our differences diminished in her presence. With a generous rush, the different groups with different points of view made concessions. Perhaps we were inspired by the ability of the Irish to bring their left and right wings together. Anyway, the statement of our aims, to be used on all International literature, which was carefully talked over and considered, was finally accepted by all.

(over).



## STORY OF THE CONGRESS

(Continued)

### Statement of Aims

"The W.I.L. 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 the National Sections is based upon the statements adopted and the Resolutions passed by the International Congresses of the League."

### Work of Congress

The chief work of the Congress was done by the three Commissions which met for three mornings. A report of the work of the Commissions appears in another part of this issue.

The afternoons were chiefly given over to social entertainments, while the evening meetings were a combination of plenary session and public meetings open to the public.

The first of these meetings, held Saturday evening July 10th reached a very high level. The subject was *Imperialism*. Madame Duchêne presided. The speakers were Mary Sheepshanks, England, who gave us a masterly outline of the growth of Imperialism, Dorothy Detzer of the United States, who emphasized the Imperialism of the U. S. and its treatment of Haiti, and Marcelle Cappy, France, who, laid bare the greed of Imperialism and showed us what this struggle for possessions regardless of human life means. She ended her speech with this plea:

"Humanity stretches out its hands. Will the women understand their duty and will they cast into these outstretched hands the whole weight of their love and of their dream?"

So deeply did she stir us that I think there was not one of us who at that moment would not have given our lives to make a better world.

On the next evening, Sunday, we had an equally interesting meeting on *Women and World Peace* with Madame Ramondt-Hirschmann, Holland, in the chair. Mrs. Larsen-Jahn of Norway spoke of the little, homely, every day acts of kindness which make for understanding and so for the peace of the world. Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence of England told of the great Peace Pilgrimage in England and of the resolution offered and carried at hundred of towns and villages urging the British Government "to submit all disputes to conciliation or arbitration" and of the final big meeting in Hyde Park, London and then of the deputation to the Prime Minister, when the resolution was presented to him.

Tano Jodai of Japan spoke of the rise of militarism in Japan and the determined effort of the women to combat it.

Katherine Blake of the U. S. urged women to ridicule the military and the whole foolish business of war as the best way to combat that evil.

Ruth Fry, England, spoke of the relief work in Russia and the fine things that had been revealed there.

Lida Gustava Heymann, Germany, ended up with a passionate plea to feminists, maintaining it was the women and not the men who were destined to save the world.

On Monday evening, July 13th, came the big public mass meeting in the

Mansion House, Dublin. This is the largest hall Dublin possesses, and it was packed to capacity, fully two thousand people were present. The hall was gaily decorated with flags. On the platform sat many of our delegates in national costume. This gave the platform a very international character much appreciated by the audience. A full account of this meeting is given on the next page.

On Tuesday evening the subject of the meeting was *Relations of Majorities and Minorities*. Dr. Hilda Clarke was Chairman and the speakers were: Milena Illova, Czecho-Slovakia, M. Hoppstock-Huth, Germany, Mr. Bolton C. Waller, Ireland, Benny Cederfeld, Denmark, Yella Hertzka, Austria. Unfortunately we haven't a digest of these speeches nor of those of the following evening but we are hoping to get them later and print them in full in the Congress Report.

On Wednesday evening the subject was *Conciliation, Arbitration and Disarmament*. Katherine Marshall was in the chair and the speakers were: K. D. Courtney, England, Dr. Wiechowski, Czecho-Slovakia, Camille Drevet, France, Martha Steinetz, Germany, Thora Daugaard, Denmark.

Thora Daugaard's remarks at the close of the meeting particularly appealed to Ireland. She said:

"We have heard much this evening about disarmament. I quite agree to every word that has been said, but I want to tell you that the Irish people have their own way of disarming. They do it by smiling. I was sent into the hall the other day to find an Irish lady and was told she was the smiling lady. Well, when I came into the hall they were all smiling. In my hotel when I didn't like my hot room, the maid answered with a smile that seemed to say 'I've done my best, Madam', and I was disarmed at once.

"If Ireland will always be, witty Ireland, smiling Ireland, freedom loving Ireland, I shall even forgive you that you are not a redhaired Ireland as I thought."

This meeting ended the evening sessions, but the next and last evening, Thursday, we all dined together at the University and afterward the Irish Section arranged a series of Irish dances and songs or Ceilidh as it was called, in the big reception rooms. Here we frolicked and danced to our heart's content and learned some fascinating group dances which quite surpass the Virginia Reel or the Lancers.

### Irish Hospitality

But an account of this Congress must not close without the story of the Irish hospitality extended to us.

In the first place it was lovely summer weather. The sun shone upon us. Every one was eager to accept the long drives into the country and the afternoon teas served. And every group in Ireland, whether standing for civic reform, labour or a political party, opened its doors to us. The first day we went almost en masse to the Garden Party of the Countess of Fingall at Killeen Castle.

On Friday, July 9th, the Irish Women's Citizens Association arranged a delightful informal evening reception called a *Conversazione* at which there were short addresses on "Women in Parliament" by women of the different countries who have women members in Parliament.

On Saturday afternoon there was afternoon tea given by Senator and Mrs. Douglas at their country home, Brenanstown House. We revelled in the

lovely grounds, the great trees and beautiful flowers and the kindly hospitality of our host and hostess.

On Sunday there was a luncheon arranged by the Irish Women Workers' Union at the St. Brigid Club, Killiney, a most delectable bit of Irish country with its views of mountains and sea. And on the return from the luncheon the delightful afternoon ended with a *Lecture-Recital* on the National Music of Ireland by Mr. Arthur Darley at the National University.

On Tuesday afternoon there was an elaborate Garden Party at the Vice-Regal Lodge by invitation of His Excellency, the Governor General. This was one of the social events in Ireland, fully a thousand people attending, but our women delegates in the National Costumes again were the centre of attention.

Wednesday afternoon brought a very interesting excursion to Boyne Valley. This trip was arranged by the Republican Women's Entertainment Committee. We were given the opportunity of seeing the most ancient and famous of Ireland's prehistoric monuments, the tumuli at Newgrange and Dowth, underground temples of a forgotten religion dating back many centuries before the Christian era.

These were the large entertainments arranged by the Irish Section but in addition there were small teas, open air meetings on street corners and luncheons.

The Irish Section of the W.I.L. cannot be praised enough for the tact they showed in getting all parties together, for the warmth of their hospitality and for the efficient way in which they managed that hospitality. Louie Bennett, the President of the Irish Section, like Jane Addams, possesses a poise, a tolerance and a quiet strength that won us all. And Mrs. Le Brocquy, the Vice-President, was always a joy to behold with her beauty, her charm and her quiet graciousness. One could go right through that valiant Irish Committee of fourteen with words of praise for each.

### Conclusion

In summing up the value of the Congress, one comes back to the opening sentence. Its chief value was the way it got folks together, all sorts of folks, young and old, radical and conservative, speaking different tongues, believing different creeds, still somehow we managed to like each other and to want to stick together. Sometimes it was hard to give up one's pet project, but we recognized that as Internationalists there must be give and take, a meeting of each other half way. Some of us may have been disappointed that there was not a more concrete International program evolved, that one section wanted to work for one thing and one for another, but after all we are bound together in one, great, determined effort to end war. Perhaps Internationally we can do what the valiant woman at the head of the orphanage did, whose story is told on the preceding page. When the war and bomb dropping began to threaten the lives of the orphans in her care, she said to both opposing forces: "I won't have these children hurt. You've got to move your war away!"

Perhaps we, too, Internationally whenever there is a war anywhere, however little or big, can spring to the defence of the men, women and children whose lives are threatened, and say to all the men commanders: "You've got to move your war off this earth. We won't have men, women and children killed!"

## Next Steps Towards World Peace

Only one large mass meeting was held during the Congress, that of Monday evening July 12th. This was held in the Mansion House which has the largest hall in Dublin so that the general Irish public might have a chance of hearing some of the members of the W.I.L. Louie Bennett, Ireland, presided at this meeting and introduced the speakers. At the close a vote of thanks was offered and seconded by some of the prominent Irish folk. Below we give extracts from the speeches of Jane Addams, U.S.A., H. M. Swanwick, Great Britain, Gertrud Baer, Germany and Marcelle Cappy, France. We have no notes on the speech of Lucie Dejardin, Belgium, who also spoke and will have to print her speech later when we have secured the material. Arnold Forster of England was another speaker but for lack of space, we have been unable to print what he said. It is to be noted that these speeches were not written and the following are merely extracts of notes made during the speeches.

### New methods of procedure

Jane Addams

I should like to begin my speech this evening with a quotation from a paper published in Dublin more than ten years ago. I want to quote the words of a great Irish pacifist known to pacifists all the world over. His name is Sheehy Skeffington. Mr. Skeffington wrote on the 22nd of May, when the great war was in full swing:

"I advocate no mere slavish acceptance of injustice. I am, and always will be, a fighter, but I want to see the age-long fight against injustice clothe itself in new forms suited to a new age. I want to see the world no longer hypnotised, no longer blind to the horrors of organised murder."

The Women's International League believes with Mr. Skeffington that people are not obliged to choose between violence and passive acceptance of unjust conditions for themselves or for others, but that moral courage and active good will, will achieve more than violence. We believe that new methods, free from physical violence, must be worked out for ending struggle.

I should like to draw your attention to the different groups of people in the various parts of the world who are working out this new method.

I went around the world a few years ago and one of the places that stands out in my memory is India. A great effort is being made there to obtain self-determination. But the two groups who are working for it have absolutely put aside the use of arms and violence. One group calls itself the Constitutionals. They are doing what they can to secure legislative privileges in the way of office holding and to gradually fit themselves for the technique of government.

I was given a party by the Social Workers' Club. I expected to see the usual people associated with Social Work. But instead I found a room full of fifteen hundred young men. They were preparing themselves for the type of government they believed India ought to have. They wanted to know about Child Welfare Stations, about Unemployment Doles and all the governmental experiments to aid mankind which we are trying in America and elsewhere.

Then there is another great movement in India, the one led by Gandhi. His advice to India is to raise its own simple clothing as well as its own simple food. He stands for an independent life outside the western civilization. His teaching may be right or it may be wrong but it is not a mere sentimental thing with him....

But this is only one aspect of Gandhi's preaching. His great doctrine is that of passive resistance. To resist with soul force instead of brute force. He maintains that only by passive resistance has India any chance of competing with the Western civilization....

I also recall vividly my visit to China. We had a meeting of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the young Chinaman who presided in Peking was a native preacher. He had been converted to Christianity. This young man said: "After all Christianity is an Eastern religion; produced in the East, taken over to the West, and now it has been brought back to the East." And he said: "The East asks this question of you. We have accepted the West's doctrines, but we have no technique as to what to do in time of strife. We have thirty-two provinces and in each there is a military governor hoping eventually to make himself the ruler of China. These governors are fighting each other and they are living on the people. What technique have you worked out for circumstances such as these?"

What could I say, I who represented for the moment the civilization of the West? I could only say we had no technique as we ourselves resorted to arms. But now I can say to you in the West that there are small groups in China trying to work out a technique of non-violence, so that the doctrine of good will, the melting influence of human love, may be brought to bear on vexed situations....

This theory of running the world without violence is being tried out; it is no dream, it is an actual living concern for many thousands of people in many parts of the world. I believe the East is going to get there first. The most intellectual attempts are being made in India and China and if we are not careful, the Western civilization will pass away from us to the new countries in the East who are working out this new technique....

I wish to say in closing we have never had a more cordial welcome than here in Ireland. We have never felt that people were more alive to our interests and though we do not expect you to agree with all we say, we do know you have given us a most delightful hearing and that we will go away from Dublin feeling we have left behind us very warm friends who will follow on in the work for some of the great ideas of world peace which were first enunciated by your own people.

### Conciliation and Arbitration.

H. M. Swanwick

I have felt for a great many years that woman's great function intellectually was to be interpreters. Men have not succeeded in understanding each other and I think the work that we women very often do in our private lives at home, is very largely the work of interpreting people to each other. It is not a small task or one requiring small qualities to make people understand each other not only with their intellect but their emotions. It is on the emotional plane the difficulty enters and it is here that women have a great task to perform....

Now we can only work by evoking what is already there, what is buried, deep in the hearts of men. The good and the reasonable is almost always there at least in germ and it is for us to appeal to the good and reasonable. In my opinion *denunciation or righteous indignation* is not a very useful procedure. If it was so, would not all the preachers of Hell and Damnation have converted us long ago?....

There is a tendency, as soon as a new organization does not bring salvation, to say we must scrap it and have a new one. We hardly established a League of Nations before people were saying "The League of Nations is no good, we must have something new." I feel very strongly that this tendency to create new organizations comes from the fact that we do not care to work with or sympathise with those we have.

We have been talking in the different sessions of this Congress of the three great breeders of war. We have called the causes of war: Economic Imperialism, the Oppression of Minorities and Militarism. And when you think of the passions that have led to these breeders of war, they boil down to very familiar vices common to all humanity. What is at the back of Economic Imperialism but Greed? What is the Oppression of Minorities but Love of Domination? What is it which leads men to arm themselves except Fear?....

I want to draw your attention to one of the worst and commonest vices of thought, namely the tendency to Personify.... The other night we had two speeches from Marcelle Cappy (France) and Mary Sheepshanks (England) on Economic Imperialism. They were both perfectly sound generalizations on the subject of Economic Imperialism. They were generalizing on the tendencies of the modern world to make the whole world the victim of Imperial Greed. But it often happens that generalization leads to Personification. We turn a class or an evil into a person. Whether it be Capitalism, Imperialism or Authority you now have a person, "the Enemy", to be fought and to be hated. We no longer see the Capitalist, the Imperialist, the Minister as common men moved by the commonest of human motives, Greed, Domination, Fear, but "bogies", "phantoms" which we have personified.

And instead of thinking how to prevent the evils, we waste our energy on something like hatred. We devote ourselves to fighting a phantom instead of devoting ourselves to thinking how we can make things better. How is it that over and over again the Oppressed when they got power became the Oppressors? The reason of course is that there is no distinct class of Oppressors. There is Oppression; hate it, work against it, but do not create the phantasm of a class of Oppressors because everyone of us has in us the possibility of erring in the same direction. When the Peace Treaties were signed, we were told that a great many oppressed people were going



## Next Steps Towards World Peace — (Continued)

to have their liberty. But all over Europe we have heard the cry raised that the newly established nations are now in their turn oppressing the others....

Now the morality of all I have been saying is this, that these terrible evils which are tormenting the world are created by common, ordinary human creatures and that you can persuade these oppressors when you are in a calm mood to renounce their foolishness. If you reject war, as the worst of all solutions, then we have only reason to appeal to. We can submit to arbitration. That is a practical step. In the middle of a quarrel you cannot take to arbitration, but when you stop quarreling you may perhaps become reasonable enough to agree that you are not fit to be judge in your own case and when you have made that great decision you have taken the first step towards a really constructive policy for peace. If once the nations enter that half open door and go into that room they will leave their armaments outside. What I feel more than anything else is that we need to realize the common humanity between us and our oppressors and to realize that a moment may come when they, will be willing to accept the great principle of conciliation and arbitration.

### Non-Violence

Gertrud Baer

The Chairman has said that I am going to bring you a message from our young people on the Continent. I am only too glad to do that especially since I have had the joy of meeting several of your fine Woodcraft boys and girls here in Dublin. I think you can do nothing more effective for world peace than to get hold of these young people and trying to hand over to them our ideals. They really represent the new future and as I told them yesterday evening, they have the right to tell the grown-up people, even their Government, if something happens that seems to them wrong, that they stand for a new future, a future in which wars will be impossible and where difficulties amongst people will be settled in some friendly way and by means of understanding and negotiation.

I come from a country where we have had throughout these last years many kinds of so-called revolutions and upheavals and what we women and young people have been trying to do was to be the mediators between those of the old past who thought the only way to settle difficulties between people, even between neighbors in your own street or house, was by taking up arms. I hope we are now through with that.

Armaments belong to the old dead past. They have nothing to do with us. Let us follow the new leader, Gandhi, to whom we all look with reverence and let us educate the young generation to be followers of this man who does not care in the least for popularity and who is the most unpopular man in the world with all the big governments. Let us be unpopular, too, if it means following this great principle of non-violence both in our national and international life.

### Creative power of labour and women.

Marcelle Capy

At the University the other evening, I had the honour of showing to you that the causes of war are due to financial

and industrial imperialism which divides the world up for individual profit. Well, face to face with these imperialistic causes of war born of money, new forces are being born which are destined to counterbalance the evil forces and which have greatly increased since the war. There has been a revolution in material conditions and the material unity of the world is an accomplished fact. Today we all need each other materially and that is the first new force that leads towards peace.

The second force is the birth of a new spirit, a spirit of peace common to all countries. Spiritual progress has grafted itself on to material progress. Indeed nothing is evolved in a material way that is not reflected in the spiritual sphere and vice versa.

This new spirit is found everywhere among the youth. It is a synthetic intelligence which sees life as a whole.

There is a new comprehension of world unity which the idea of peace kindles as it sweeps across Europe. The lofty and magnificent thoughts of the Orient which have nourished the greatest minds of the world for centuries are becoming familiar to the West. The alliance of Eastern philosophy with Western intelligence and the material progress of the new world form a sort of Holy Trinity: spirit, reason, progress.

Then there is a third force the most important of all. Since the war we have seen what is called the resurrection of creative values; that which produces the necessities of life and that which produces life itself: work and women. The power of work is growing. In my country, for instance, by a trick of the exchange, money has become something almost illusory. Work alone counts. Everybody will soon be obliged to produce something useful. Work which has always been something despicable and execrable, will alone count. That is the great new thing which is arising.

The other creative force arising is that of women. Twenty years ago you would not have seen women busying themselves with international affairs. But the time has passed when women can close themselves up in their little houses and consecrate their time and their work to one little family. Our grandmothers were Saints of the Home. But that day is past. Homes today are dependent one upon the other. Women must tell the truth and tell it publicly. They don't realize their strength. My mother said to me before her death: "Men built the roads, but it was always a woman who taught man to walk." We must see to it that the men we teach to walk, walk straight. We must point out to men the ways of justice. Women will know what their duty is the moment they are content no longer to occupy one little house but live in a large house whose floor is the earth, and whose roof the sky, where all men must be brothers and where justice must be made to reign for ever.

### A vote of Thanks

At the conclusion of the speeches, Senator James Douglas, representative of the Irish Free State, moved a vote of thanks. He said:

"I consider it an honour that a mere man should be given the privilege of proposing this vote of thanks because I know what many of the leaders of the Women's International League did for

Ireland both in England and America during our troubled period. I am also glad to propose this vote of thanks because I am a convinced believer in International Congresses. I believe they are essential if people of different nations are to understand each other and be brought together.

"I would like to express the thanks of this country to the Congress for having come here. I believe they have done us much good....

If the friends who have come amongst us can even in a small way make us believe that Ireland will never be truly free until she gives up the violence of the gun and arms, then they will have done us a real service, a service for which no single speech can in any way voice a vote of thanks."

Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington, representing the Republican group in Ireland, then seconded the vote of thanks:

"I am very glad and proud to be associated tonight on this platform with so many friends of Peace and Freedom. I thank my dear friend, Jane Addams, for the very charming tribute she paid to my husband and I feel that the spirit of Frank Sheehy Skeffington is certainly here tonight....

"I also wish to say in seconding this vote of thanks to you women from the great and small nations of the world, that my heart is with the small nations. I wish to say that Dublin has fallen in love with you and I hope the passion is mutual and that you will go away with as pleasant memories as we have of you.

"The W.I.L. can do a great deal by stressing Peace and Freedom because as Patrick Pierce has said 'Ireland unfree can never be at peace'."

The vote of thanks was also seconded by Mr. R. J. P. Mortished, assistant secretary of the Irish Labour Party.

"I hardly know what more to say in support of this vote of thanks. We have given our guests samples of every kind of weather, samples of every kind of hospitality and samples of every kind of propaganda. If I may judge their feelings by my own, after other international Congresses, I am afraid they will go away with very many confused and conflicting impressions. There is one impression I should like them to have had which they cannot have. We cannot claim a broad international outlook as a nation. We cannot claim that as a nation we are thoroughly pacifist.... The Women's International League has come to us with a magnificent defiance of the destructive power of hate and a magnificent faith in the power of love informed by intelligence. They have come with that incredible but triumphant declaration that the ideal must become real, that what ought to be, will be.... I know that I am voicing your heartfelt feelings when I say that we are grateful, that we shall remember and strive to follow in their footsteps, strive once again to make Ireland known as a little nation that loves liberty for itself and for every other nation; a nation that has learned the difficult lesson that liberty and hatred, liberty and force — by whomsoever used — are incompatible."

The meeting was then adjourned with great applause after Jane Addams had again expressed her appreciation of all that had been done for us.

## WORK OF THE CONGRESS COMMISSIONS

The Congress this year carried on a good part of its work by Commissions. For three successive mornings these three Commissions met in separate class rooms in the National University, discussed their problems and put forward a set of resolutions which were presented to the Congress as a whole. We give here briefly the work of the Commission which dealt primarily with

### The Causes of War

This was the Commission on Colonial and Economic Imperialism.

The Chairman of the Commission was Bessie Kind of the United States. The Rapporteur on Colonial Imperialism, was Madame Duchêne (France), and the Rapporteur on Economic Imperialism, Dr. Budzinska-Tylika (Poland), Miss Mary Sheepshanks of England, who had prepared an excellent paper on the latter subject, took active part in these discussions.

It was brought out by Madame Duchêne, who read a paper which had been prepared by Andrée Jouve, that:

"The peace of a country is threatened by two sorts of dangers, external and internal. Relations with other nations and relations with colonies and protectorates. The relations between imperialist powers and their colonies and protectorates are becoming daily more tense and full of menace to the peace of the world and the French Section is convinced that if a new policy is not adopted towards the countries colonized or put under tutelage, that uprisings will break out which may provoke a war of continent against continent. It believes that colonial imperialism is a result of economic imperialism and economic imperialism a result of our whole existing social system. Therefore colonial imperialism cannot be treated nationally but must be treated internationally, as well as the whole existing social order.

Concluding Madame Duchêne said: "We note such interdependence of nations the world over, that we realize that no member of the great whole can be reformed as long as the others are not. All problems should be studied and solved internationally."

Mary Sheepshanks spoke on Economic Imperialism. Brief extracts are as follows; her full paper will be given in next month's issue of "Pax":

"Economic Imperialism has led to many wars. It has broken up tribal life in vast areas of Africa and has deprived great populations of their natural liberty and resources.

"Until the middle of the last century, traders, explorers and missionaries carried on their activities at their own risk. Later the growth of nationalism led Governments to intervene and support these groups with the whole machinery of the State.

"This policy, which has involved States in immense cost, and caused incalculable suffering to natives and hostility between people, is of doubtful economic advantage. If nations continue to pursue it, it is partly due to the wirepulling of financial and commercial companies....

"Briefly the remedies for the evils of economic imperialism are economic internationalism, free trade, and the absolute prohibition of native forced labour or military service for European masters."

After three mornings of speeches and discussions, the following resolutions were presented to the Congress.

## Resolution on Colonial and Economic Imperialism

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, whose goal is the pacification of the World, is convinced that peaceful intercourse of the Nations necessitates not only military, but above all economic disarmament.

We hold that economic competition and rivalry between States is the chief cause of war. We hold, that Colonial and Economic Imperialism, under the consequences of which all nations, great and small, are now suffering, also inflict serious injuries on native races. We hold that raw materials are needed by all nations, and that therefore all have a direct responsibility for the way in which they are produced. We hold that a lasting peace is only possible under an order of Society which excludes every kind of Imperialism, Colonial and Economic. The W.I.L. is opposed in principle to the possession of colonies and holding of mandates; but, in view of the fact that colonies do exist, proposes the following safeguards:—

### With regard to Colonial Imperialism

I. That the Mandatory system should be revised so as to protect the natives from oppression, its declared objects sincerely applied and that the standard set up in the League Covenant for Mandatory States should be extended to all Colonies. In particular:

II. All territories should be administered in the interests of the native inhabitants. Therefore:

- Military conscription of natives should be forbidden.
- The revenue derived from the native population should be expended in their own interests, so that the Mandates be not camouflage for the exploitation of the natives.
- Enough good class land should be preserved for the present and future needs of the native population.
- All commerce in alcohol and drugs with the native peoples should be forbidden.
- Forced labour of the native population should be forbidden.
- The hygienic conditions and needs of the natives should be carefully attended to.
- Regulation of prostitution and traffic in women should be forbidden.
- That liberal provision should be made for the education of natives without injury to their own culture.
- That full liberty shall be given to the native press.

III. Conflicts with natives should not be classed as rebellions but should be submitted to conciliation and arbitration.

IV. Loans made to undeveloped States by private Corporations should be at their own risk and should not be supported by Governments.

### Regarding the abolition of Economic Imperialism

I. That preferential tariffs, custom barriers and all measures tending to impede the free exchange of goods and free intercourse between countries should be abolished. The temporary establishment of a European Custom Union would be the first step towards the attainment of Free Trade in all countries and Continents.

II. That there should be established through the League of Nations international control of the distribution of essential raw materials and food, ac-

ording to the needs of the peoples and not for the profit of the entrepreneurs. To this end an International Economic Council should be established, including a large representation of workers and consumers of both sexes.

III. That there should be established through the League of Nations an International Economic Council in order to promote the development of the productive powers of each country in the common interest of all, and in order to avoid the economic rivalry and subjugation of any country.

IV. That the League of Nations should consent when requested to guarantee loans for the development of production for non-military purposes in such countries as suffer from lack of capital.

### The Cure of War

The Commission which dealt with the "Next Steps Towards World Peace" what we must do to end war, was the Commission on Arbitration and Disarmament versus Militarism. The Chairman of this Commission was Thora Dagaard of Denmark, the Rapporteur for Arbitration Dr. Ethel Williams (Great Britain), the Rapporteur on Militarism Dr. Wierzchowski (Czecho-Slovakia), and the Rapporteur on Disarmament Mrs. Despard (Ireland).

Dr. Wierzchowski said that Militarism in Czecho-Slovakia and in the Secession states has greatly increased since the war, the size of the army and the budget for military expenses largely exceeding that of pre-war days. Amidst the general complaints against militarism, Thora Dagaard of Denmark was able to point out that militarism has decreased in her country.

Miss Kathleen Courtney for the British Section in an able paper on Arbitration said:

"We use the word Arbitration in its wider and popular sense as meaning the judgment of reason in place of decision by force in all international disputes... A pledge by all nations to accept Arbitration will create a sense of security. We believe that in practice, before nations will disarm, they must feel more secure than they do at present and that they can only feel more secure if they know beforehand that other countries have undertaken not to go to war without submitting their quarrel to some sort of impartial settlement.

"We realize that every fresh pledge to arbitrate makes it easier for other countries to pledge themselves. Britain for one, by not pledging itself is definitely putting a bar to general security.... At Locarno we guaranteed an "All-in-Arbitration Treaty" between Germany, France and Belgium; other countries are making such treaties; yet we not only rejected the Geneva Protocol but refused to make an All-in-Arbitration Treaty with Switzerland.... The question of Arbitration is thus forced upon us with peculiar urgency....

"Arbitration is a step in the right direction which entails no danger of blocking the path to further progress.

"As shown by the history of its growth and by its final embodiment in the Geneva Protocol the principle of Arbitration is now within the sphere of practical politics."

Dr. Ethel William in reporting the work of this Commission and in presenting the Resolutions to the Congress said the Resolutions were self-explanatory, that the Commission had taken all the Resolutions presented to them, and condensed them into a series of one on each particular subject.



## Resolutions on Arbitration and Disarmament

### I. Conciliation and arbitration.

This Congress, realising that so long as war is regarded as under any circumstances a legal or admissible method of settling international disputes, it will be impossible to establish that sense of security under which alone nations will be ready to disarm.

Urges National Sections to press upon their respective governments the necessity of the following steps:

1. To undertake to submit all disputes which are incapable of settlement by direct negotiations, to conciliation or arbitration by a third party.
2. To offer an all-in-arbitration treaty to any nation ready to sign it.
3. To sign the optional clause of the statute setting up the Permanent Court of International Justice

and the Congress further recommends that National Sections shall everywhere undertake a campaign of education and propaganda for arbitration and shall unite in urging that immediate steps be taken to hasten the development of a system of International Law.

### II. To abolish military training.

Considering that an impulse towards violence in human nature has been fostered by centuries of wrong thinking, we wish to press the importance of educating the new generation on constructive and not on destructive lines, particularly with regard to the training of children under school age. And considering that in many of the States of the World an official or unofficial military training is introduced in schools and colleges, which training is a vestige of barbarism, inconsistent with the growing desire for disarmament, we are of the opinion that the time has come to strive for the eradication of this system and we ask that it be an instruction to the National Sections to oppose in every way possible the attempt, if any, made in their country to give military training in schools and colleges, or in the voluntary organisations of young people, or to induce young lads to take their technical or professional training under the aegis of the military authorities.

### III. For world disarmament.

Believing that the question of arbitration is closely linked up with the

problem of militarism, and that Europe since the recent treaties is divided into two camps:

- (1) The nations with the big armed force who may be tempted to use it,
- (2) And the disarmed nations who are seeking to regain their armaments,

And believing that outside Europe the nations continue to arm, this Congress believes that this situation is seriously endangering world peace and making arbitration very difficult.

This Congress therefore proclaims itself in favour of universal disarmament and declares as first steps toward this end:

- (a) the abolition of military and all other forms of conscription on the ground that it is contrary to freedom of conscience,
- (b) the international control and supervision of manufacture and traffic of arms, poison gas, and munitions.

### IV. Against chemical warfare.

Considering that the prohibition of poison gas and similar products for war purposes is a step towards disarmament,

This Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom recommends to all sections to urge their governments to ratify the Convention which was passed by the Conference for the Control of Arms and Munitions in Geneva, June 1925, and which is already ratified by at least 27 states.

### V. Appeal to the Disarmament Conference

Considering that the rapid development of war machinery and the increasing intensity of modern armaments, especially chemical munitions, lead to inevitable competition in destructive inventions and expose humanity to overwhelming danger,

And considering that armament inflation leads to the financial ruin of all nations,

This Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, including delegates from 18 countries, assembled at Dublin, calls upon you, the representatives of the International Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations to use all possible energy and goodwill in preparing for real, complete and universal disarmament as soon as possible.

## Commission on Minorities.

There is not space in this issue to print the proceedings of the Commission on the Relation of Majorities with Minorities. The work done by this Commission was exceptionally fine and we hope to devote a large amount of space to it in the September issue.

### General Resolution.

It is impossible to print in full all the general resolutions. Summarized there were resolutions on Amnesty for Political Prisoners, for the removal of restrictions on migration as well as the following.

#### I. Antisemitism.

This Congress convinced that the Antisemitic Movement is a constant menace, expresses the need of contending against the Antisemitic Movement and above all against Antisemitism amongst the youth in the schools and universities.

#### II. Passports.

In the interest of free intercourse among the peoples of the world we protest against the continuation of passport requirements between nations; and particularly against the secrecy of the archives collected by the secret service departments of all governments and used by them as a basis for the refusal of passports and visas and the circulation of unproved charges against innocent citizens, who are thus condemned without a hearing.

#### III. Industrial equality of women.

Whereas Women of the world are today denied full equality although it is of vital importance that they have power to direct with authority their own lives and equally with men to direct the affairs of the world:—

Be is Resolved: That this Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom affirms its belief in the political, social and economic equality of the sexes, in the right of women to equal opportunity and recognition in the industrial field.

#### IV. Haiti and the Philippines.

Resolved that the W.I.L.P.F. is opposed in principle to the forcible control of one people by another,

It therefore supports the intention of the United States Section to work for the evacuation of Haiti and the independence of the Philippines.

## Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Jane Addams, International President

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

### WHAT THE W. I. L. P. 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.

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