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# A NEW PEACE

## Report of the International Conference of Women

at

The Hague, 7 to 9 December, 1922

Organized by

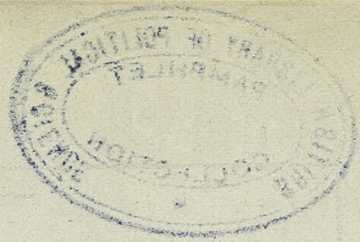
The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.  
Maison Internationale, 6 Rue du Vieux Collège, Geneva, Switzerland.



CATHERINE MARSHALL. JANE ADDAMS. JEANNE MÉLIN.

THE PEACE MESSENGERS.





A NEW PAGE

International Women's Association

The Year 1915

## Report of the Conference.

The Conference, summoned by the International Executive on the initiative of the Dutch Section, was held at the Hotel Wittebrug and was attended by delegates from 111 International and National Organizations from 20 different countries, representing over 20,000,000 members. Among those present were: Miss Jane Addams, Dr. Anita Augspurg, Fräulein Gertrud Baer, Miss Margaret Bondfield, M. Ferdinand Buisson, Mlle Marcelle Capy, Fr. Thora Daugaard, Mlle Dejardin, Sir Willoughby Dickinson, Mme Donzova, Mme Duchène, Miss Honora Enfield, Dr. Fabian, Miss I. O. Ford, Miss Marion Fox, Dr. Franklin, Miss Ruth Fry, Prelat Giesswein, Fr. Vilma Glücklich, Mlle Gobat, Mevr. Kuyper van Harpen, Frau Heller, Mrs. Rose Henderson, Frau Hertzka, Mevr. Ramondt-Hirschmann, Miss Emily Hobhouse, Dr. Aletta Jacobs, Mme Jouve, Graf Harry Kessler, Dr. Mme Kodis, Mrs. Larssen, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Biddle Lewis, Dr. Marie Lueders, Miss Catherine Marshall, Mlle Jeanne Mélin, M. Paul Otlet, Sir George Paish, Mevr. Palthe, Lord and Lady Parmoor, Mme Plaminkova, Mlle Rihouet, Dr. Elisabeth Rotten, M. Ruysen, Dr. Naima Sahlbom, Mrs. John Scott, Miss Mary Sheepshanks, Dr. Helene Stoecker, Dr. Naida Surovzowa, Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, Dr. Mme Budzinska Tylicka, Mrs. Raymond Unwin, M. René Valfort, Mme Vambéry, Mme Vankova, Mme Madeleine Vernet, Mevr. Dr. de Vries-Bruins, Dr. Wegner, Dr. Ethel Williams, Prof. Dr. Gertrud Woker, Mr. Charles Zueblin.

The Secretary of the Dutch Organizing Committee was Mme Ramondt-Hirschmann, and the arrangements were in the hands of a local Dutch Committee.

The Conference was presided over throughout by Jane Addams, President of the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom. On December 7th, the Political aspects of the Peace Treaties



were discussed; on December 8th, the Economic; on December 9th, the Military and Psychological aspects. On the morning of Sunday, 10th, the general discussion was continued and on that afternoon there was held a Special Session of the Women's International League only, to discuss its own particular business. At this session it was decided to send Messengers to various Governments to take the report of the Conference and to press for action.

#### THE MESSENGERS.

The Messengers of Peace who were appointed were the President, Jane Addams (U.S.A.); Jeanne Mélin, from the Ardennes (France); and Catherine Marshall, Vice-President of the League (Great Britain). They undertook to endeavour to interview members of the Governments in Holland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, England, and France. Mrs. Biddle Lewis (U.S.A.), on her return to America, was to present the message there in conjunction with Miss Maude Royden. If later on Messengers could be found to go to other countries, this would also be done.

What the chief resolution does is to demand a World Congress, in the conviction that all the Powers—late belligerents on both sides as well as neutrals—would be able to make a far more just and therefore more durable peace than was made by the Victors alone in 1919. The Messengers would remind the Neutrals that, under the constitution of the League of Nations, they may, "advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of Treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the Peace of the World." They would tell the Entente Governments of the misery and wrong of which they had heard reports at the Hague from unimpeachable witnesses; they would remind them of the wretchedness of Europe and appeal for a great act of statesmanship in the making of a New Peace based truly on the principles enunciated in the Preamble to the Covenant. They would urge the Governments of the Central Powers to be willing to meet halfway any proposals for a better settlement and any invitation to join in international co-operation.

#### THE SPEECHES.

Miss Addams struck the key-note of the Conference in her opening sentences, saying that unless Treaties were based upon

consent they were always liable to be upset by force. We must do away with the illusion that progress could be obtained by military force. The only sure foundations were justice, goodwill, and mutual understanding.

Mrs. Swanwick, in opening the discussion on the evil political effects of the Peace Treaties, maintained that their worst result was that they had "retarded the establishment of a League of Nations, universal, democratic, and fully effective." The Preamble of the Covenant laid down the principle of international co-operation, but it was impossible to found co-operation on a penal settlement. A false start had been made by excluding the Central Powers from membership of the League of Nations at its inception, and since then the handing about of populations against their will and the discreditable partitioning of the German colonies had weakened belief in the impartial justice of the League, while armies of occupation and the economic disasters caused by the Reparation clauses had so embittered feeling that it had become a serious problem how to get Germany, Russia, and America into the League. The only way was for the States Members of the League to conduct Foreign Affairs in such a way as to assure the States outside the League of the truly international spirit of the League. New Treaties were essential for this.

It has already become a tradition in the Women's International League that, if a wrong has been done, it should be the section belonging to the country which does the wrong that should appeal for right. So here, in all the indictments brought against the Treaty of Versailles, it was the French who were most insistent on the wrong, and they were supported by the British and Americans. The delegates from the German section were silent on this point (although several distinguished German guests gave evidence of facts from their own knowledge) and the special reports which have been asked for from the occupied areas were presented by an English Friend, Miss Marion Fox, and a Swedish lady, Mrs. Wägner Landquist. They agreed that the situation was very much worse than in August and that bitterness of feeling was greatly intensified in the Rhineland, partly owing to the distressing contrast between the poverty of the people and the wealth of the soldiers of the Armies of Occupation (one American soldier gets daily pocket money equal to the total weekly wage of a German workman); partly to the terrible exasperation of the housing need, owing to the exorbitant claims of the victors; partly



to the compulsory establishment of brothels for foreign soldiers, with consequent heavy charges on the inhabitants and the countless other insults and restrictions which must accompany the occupation of a land by a hostile army. Political intrigue to separate the Rhineland was also mentioned as a source of much ill-feeling and the growing anxiety of the medical profession with regard to the health of the people.

Mlle Jeanne Mélin warned the Conference that the presence of an army of occupation was a menace not only for the present but for the future. Men said, "Nous ne marcherons pas." But the young men were there in the Rhineland, and, if the order were given for the old men to march in, they would follow the young ones.

Sir George Paish gave an address at the opening of the discussion on the economic aspects. This was received with much interest, and it is hoped to publish his paper as a pamphlet. He outlined a plan by which the necessary credits to get industry and trade going again in Europe could be raised. These were to be guaranteed by countries all over the world on condition that Germany promised to pay when her trade and currency had revived. It was an absolutely essential condition for the raising of these credits that there should be security that this money should not be used for armies and navies, and Sir George suggested that a universal League of Nations was the organization required to ensure this. He warned the meeting that disaster was imminent and action must be speedy.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence pointed out that the armies of occupation had spent 54 millions, whereas reparations had brought in 50 millions only. The attempt to reduce Germany to a slave nation was reducing workers of other countries to a slave class. We used to protest against prison labour competing in the labour market, but German labour now was prison labour. He agreed with Sir George that disaster was imminent, but he would have liked to see the cancelling of all war debts.

Dr. Alice Salomon, taking up a phrase of Sir George's, contemplating the revival of a great industrial Germany, said that the idealistic Youth Movement in Germany has no such ambition, but is willing to live a hard life. Insult and oppression are injurious to a people, not hardship. It was good to see the French delegates pluckily facing the possibility of being called to account for their international attitude, and declaring that they should not evade

responsibility, but go home "*le front haut*"; and the Germans eagerly accepting from Sir George Paish the suggestion that what was wanted now from Germany was "a willing promise to pay."

Miss Bondfield made the solidarity of Labour her theme, and pressed home the fact that by lowering the standard of living of German workers, England and France were lowering the standard of their own. Again and again, in speeches from Mme Duchène, Mlle Dejardin, Mrs. Robinson, Dr. Tylicka, Mlle Mélin, and others, it became clear that a very large section of the Conference accepted the resolution only as a minimum demand, and had a well considered constructive economic policy which they could have put forward under other circumstances.

Mlle Pottecher Arnould believed that disarmament would come when soldiers refused to fight; there must be a general strike against war. Miss Honora Enfield believed that the existence of vast armaments made the establishment of a real peace impossible; the physical expression of an emotion tends to produce that emotion. She did not want the establishment of an international army with all the power and prestige it would acquire.

In opening the discussion on the psychical effects of the treaties, Mme Jouve said that in 1918 it was not only the Germans who were more peaceably minded, but the French also. Since then the war propaganda of the French Government had been successful and even educated people in France believed in Germany's sole guilt. They were having it always dinned into their ears also that Germany refused to pay. A Chinese wall of ignorance and antagonism to other countries was being raised in France, and only the masses, with a few choice spirits, were sick of the whole business. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence spoke eloquently of the vitiation of the intellectual life of Europe by the lie of the Treaty of Versailles. By breaking the pledge contained in the Armistice terms, the Allies had debased the moral coinage of the world. Sir Willoughby Dickinson, in speaking of the position of minorities under the treaties, suggested that the Women's International League might do a great work of reconciliation among national groups in the various states.

The fact that so much was excluded from discussion did, of course, make for unanimity on the one subject of demonstration, but it tended to a certain monotony, which was quite agreeably broken by M. Ruysen's lively attack, the only one delivered at the object of the Conference. He complained that the resolution was



negative, and roused some good-tempered laughter by the suggestion that women were on their trial, and would be called "hysterical" if they condemned without qualification all that had been done by diplomats. Besides, were we not proposing to go to those very same diplomats to ask them to change the Treaties? He wanted an explanation of the assertion that the Treaties had infringed President Wilson's Fourteen Points. (This was not given for want of time, but we may say that, with the exception of Points 7 and 8, every one of the "points" was infringed in the letter and the spirit, and the fact that President Wilson himself allowed the massacre of his own principles offers no excuse for others to do the same.) It was evident, however, that M. Ruysen was quite cordial in the good wishes he brought from the International Council of the League of Nations Unions. M. Otlet, another Belgian friend, rose to support the Conference very warmly against M. Ruysen's criticisms, and explained that the appeal we should make would not by any means be to the "same diplomats."

One of the dramatic moments of the Conference occurred when Mme Donzova arrived on the last day, having walked over the Polish frontier because of passport difficulties. Another, when Miss Marshall, having invited us to "Coué" about the possibility of establishing peace, expressed the wordless aspiration by singing a lovely sentence from Mozart. The Co-operative women and the War-Resisters received warm welcome.

#### RESOLUTIONS FOR ACTION.

This Conference was a focusing of opinion held among very widely differing sections of interest and thought. For this reason it was considered well to set aside the long and reasoned series of resolutions which had been prepared and circulated, and to draft one short main resolution, which should be a sort of greatest common measure for the various demands. It was decided not to lay down any principles for a just peace (because one could not debate or even state these in three days), except the one great principle that it should be arrived at internationally, not sectionally, and the hard rule was made that no amendments would be allowed. This really did convert the gathering into a Demonstration, and as such it was taken. No vote was recorded against it and the few who abstained from voting were not hostile, but only held some reservation.

It must be understood, however, that the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has, from time to time, laid down its principles in the matter of industrial and international peace, and will act upon them as well as, from time to time, amend and add to them.

Besides the important decision to send Messengers to the Governments, the W.I.L.P.F. at its special session on Sunday afternoon received with approval the report of united action to be taken by the national sections in the Entente Countries in the matter of Reparations and Armies of Occupation. It then passed the resolution to be sent to the Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions (to which the W.I.L.P.F. had sent a large delegation), agreed on a message to be sent to the next Reparation Conference, and recommended various ways of making propaganda for a New Peace effective.

### Delegates from the Women's International League.

There were delegations from the Women's International League Sections in the following twenty countries:—Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, Irish Free State, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Roumania, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, United States of America.

### Other Organizations represented.

#### Austria.

International Roman Catholic League.  
Oesterreichischer Versöhnungsbund.

#### Belgium.

Maison du Peuple.

#### Bulgaria.

American Board of Foreign Missions.



**Canada.**

Calgary's Peace Society.  
 Calgary's Peoples' Homes.  
 W.I.L. Canadian Women's Labour League.  
 Women of Manitoba Labour Churches.

**Czecho-Slovakia.**

National Council of Women.  
 Deutsche Völkerbundliga.  
 Verband deutscher Frauenvereinigungen.  
 Le Cœur Maternel.

**France.**

Association Républicaine des Anciens Combattants.  
 Fellowship of Reconciliation.  
 La Ligue de la Jeune République.  
 La Ligue des Femmes contre la Guerre.  
 La Ligue pour les Droits de l'Homme.  
 Union Populaire pour la Paix Universelle.

**Germany.**

Bund der Kriegsdienstgegner.  
 Bund entschiedener Schulreformer.  
 Deutsches Friedenskartell.  
 Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft.  
 Deutscher Pazifistischer Studentenbund.  
 Frauenausschuss der deutschen Liga für Völkerbund.  
 Internationaler Arbeitskreis für Erneuerung der Erziehung.  
 Internationale Jugendliga, Deutscher Zweig.  
 Weltjugendliga Verband Deutschland.

**Great Britain.**

Fabian Society.  
 Federation of Women's Village Councils.  
 Fellowship of Reconciliation.  
 Fight the Famine Council.  
 Friends' Relief Committee.  
 League of Church Militant.  
 Miners' Federation: Great Britain.  
 National Peace Council.  
 No More War Movement.  
 Society of Friends.

Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organizations.

Union of Democratic Control.  
 Women's Co-operative Guild.

**International Organizations.**

International Association of Sociology.  
 International Co-operative Women's Committee, England.  
 International Council of Women.  
 International Federation of League of Nations Unions, Belgium.  
 League of Nations (International Labour Office).  
 Mouvement Pacifique Chrétien, Pax, France.  
 Movement towards Christian International.  
 Paco: Bilthoven, Holland.  
 Pan-Idealistic Group, England.  
 Save the Children Fund.  
 World Alliance for Promoting Friendship through the Churches.

**Holland.**

Thirty-nine organizations were represented at the Congress.

**Italy.**

Bureau International de Sociologie Torino.

**Rumania.**

National Council of Women.

**Sweden.**

Swedish Association of Women Teachers.  
 Swedish School Organizations for Peace.  
 Women's Christian Temperance Union.

**Ukraine.**

Alliance Générale des Femmes Ukrainiennes.  
 Conseil National des Femmes Ukrainiennes.

**United States of America.**

American Association to abolish War.  
 Barbara Frietsche Section of the Steuben Club.  
 Fellowship of Reconciliation, New York.  
 Five Years' Meeting of Friends.  
 Society of Friends.



## Resolutions.

### I.

THIS Conference, composed of 111 International and National Organizations, representing twenty million men and women, and organized by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, declares that the present terrible state of Europe, and its reactions on the rest of the world are the result, not only of the World War, but also in very large measure of the existing Peace Treaties.

These Treaties are contrary to the Armistice Terms (*e.g.* President Wilson's fourteen points). They are inconsistent with the spirit of the League of Nations as expressed in the Preamble of the Covenant, and do, in fact, "endanger the peace of the world" (Article 19 of the Covenant). They have proved disastrous alike from the political, economic, military, and psychical aspects.

They have:

- (a) Prevented economic reconstruction on a basis of international co-operation and the satisfaction of international interests, by treating this matter as one to be settled by those nations alone which achieved military predominance in the World War.
- (b) Recognized and created animosities and suspicions which make disarmament by land, sea, and air increasingly difficult, and the abolition of chemical and bacteriological warfare practically impossible.
- (c) Retarded the establishment of a League of Nations universal, democratic, and fully effective.

Therefore

This Conference demands A NEW PEACE based on New International Agreements, and its members resolve to work unremittingly by every means in their power to bring about the convening of A WORLD CONGRESS through the instrumentality of the League of Nations, of a single nation, or a group of nations, in order to achieve

A NEW PEACE.

### II.

This Conference, called by the International League for Peace and Freedom, representing twenty million men and women, meeting at The Hague, urges the Allied Prime Ministers meeting in London on December 9th to come to such an agreement on the question of reparations as shall, by restoring confidence, lead to the stabilization of the exchanges, the recovery of International Trade, and the revival of International confidence.

### III.

This Conference recognizes that every regional agreement helps on universal disarmament, and congratulates the nations (Russia, Finland, Poland, Esthonia, Lithuania, and Livonia) which, at the Conference in Moscow, have initiated a movement for progressive disarmament.

## Proposals for Action.

### I.

The W.I.L.P.F. national sections in Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Italy propose to take immediate common action in putting pressure upon their respective Governments to bring about a reasonable settlement of the demands made by the Allies upon Germany for reparations. Further, to unite in making representations to any International Organization or meeting which has the question of reparations under consideration. Further, to appoint for the purpose of joint action a Correspondent in each of these countries for intercommunication. Further, to prepare and exchange literature and a list of suitable speakers. They will invite other members of the Entente countries to co-operate.

### II.

The W.I.L.P.F. national sections in Great Britain, France, Belgium, and the United States propose to take immediate common action in putting pressure upon their respective Governments to withdraw the Armies of Occupation from the Rhineland, and to unite in making representations to any International Organization or meeting which has the question of the Armies of Occupation under consideration.



## III.

Resolution for presentation to the I.F.T.U. Congress at The Hague, December 10th to 15th, 1922.

This Conference, composed of 111 international and national organizations representing 20 million men and women and organized by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, welcomes most warmly the declaration made by the Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions held in Rome in 1922 that "The Fight against Militarism and War and for World Peace, based upon the fraternization of the peoples, is one of the principal tasks of the Trade Union Movement"; that "it is, above all, the duty of the International Trade Union Movement to combat the concluding or maintaining of alliances or agreements which might lead to concerted military actions," and to take united and international measures to "counteract all wars which may threaten to break out in the future." The organizations represented at this Conference desire to stand side by side with the workers in this effort, and welcome the initiative taken by the I.F.T.U. in calling an International Congress at The Hague with the object of organizing co-operative international action for the attainment of these ends.

This Conference notes with satisfaction that the I.F.T.U. gives its support to international efforts that are being made to secure control and restriction of the manufacture of munitions and war material of every kind. We ourselves go further, standing for total universal disarmament, national and international, and we appeal to the workers of the world to co-operate with us in this demand, and in the campaign we are initiating at this Conference to secure the abolition of the present disastrous Peace Treaties and the calling of a World Congress to achieve A NEW PEACE based on international justice, democracy, and goodwill.

## IV.

This Conference views with the greatest apprehension the international dangers of any military occupation of the Ruhr, and urges upon the Reparations Conference, which is shortly to be held in Brussels, that the best way of settling the problem of international indebtedness due to the war would be to abandon at once both indemnities and inter-Allied war debts, and make the restoration of all the devastated areas a matter for international agreement.

It heartily welcomes the suggestion advanced at the Assembly of the League of Nations (1922, Report of the 3rd Committee) that the whole question of reparations should be considered from an international standpoint, and urges the Reparations Conference to recommend to the Entente Powers that they should secure the good offices of the League of Nations in bringing together all parties for the settlement of the whole question.

## V.

(a) That mass demonstrations should be held, in co-operation as far as possible with all other friendly organizations and individuals, such as religious bodies, workers by hand and brain, youth movements, and the International Association of Former Soldiers.

(b) That this should be accompanied by an intensive press campaign.

(c) That the question of a New Peace should be made a prominent feature of all political and election work.

(d) That deputations should be sent to members of the Parliament, governments, and political parties.

(e) That newspapers might be induced to have a questionnaire on the question of making completely new international agreements, such as was carried out by the French paper *Le Matin*.

## Evening Meetings.

*On Wednesday, 6th Dec.*, a Reception was held at the Hotel Wittebrug, when Mevr. Ramondt-Hirschmann welcomed the delegates.

*On Thursday, 7th Dec.*, a public meeting was held at the Dierentuin. Miss Addams in the chair; speakers: Lord Parmoor, Mlle Dejardin, Dr. Marie Lueders, Marcelle Capy, and M. Zueblin.

*On Friday, 8th Dec.*, a public meeting was held at the Dierentuin. Miss Marshall in the chair; speakers: Dr. Alice Salomon, Mlle Mélin, Prelat Giesswein, Mme Plaminkova, M. Paul Otlet.

*On Saturday, 9th Dec.*, a public meeting was held at Ruyterstraat. Mevr. Ramondt Hirschmann in the chair; speakers: M. Ruysen, Fräulein Heymann, Miss Margaret Bondfield, Graf Kessler, Emily Hobhouse, and Dr. Elisabeth Rotten.



It warmly welcomes the report of the Committee of the League of Nations (1922) and of the 9th Committee that the whole question of disarmament should be considered from an international standpoint and that the Commission should be recommended to the League of Nations to bring together all parties to the settlement of the whole question.

- (a) That the Commission should be held in cooperation as far as possible with all other friendly organizations and institutions such as religious bodies, clubs, and public youth movements, and the International Association of Professional Soldiers.
- (b) That this should be accompanied by an intensive propaganda campaign.
- (c) That the question of a New York office should be made prominent feature of all political and election work.
- (d) That deputations should be sent to members of the Parliament, governments, and political parties.
- (e) That newspapers might be induced to have a special page on the question of making completely new international agreements such as was carried out by the League of Nations.

## Evening Meetings

On Wednesday, 2nd Dec, a Reception was held at the Hotel Wiltshire, when Miss Raymond Hirschmann welcomed the delegates.

On Thursday, 3rd Dec, a public meeting was held at the Dominion Club, Miss Adams in the chair; speakers: Lord Palmerston, Miss Dr. Marie Perle, Miss G. G. and Mr. Nicholson.

On Friday, 4th Dec, a public meeting was held at the Dominion Club, Miss Marshall in the chair; speakers: Dr. Alice Johnson, Miss Helen G. G. G., Miss P. P. P., Miss O. O. O.

On Saturday, 5th Dec, a public meeting was held at the Dominion Club, Miss Raymond Hirschmann in the chair; speakers: Miss H. H. H., Miss G. G. G., Miss P. P. P., Miss O. O. O., Miss K. K. K., Miss L. L. L., Miss M. M. M., Miss N. N. N., Miss P. P. P., Miss Q. Q. Q., Miss R. R. R., Miss S. S. S., Miss T. T. T., Miss U. U. U., Miss V. V. V., Miss W. W. W., Miss X. X. X., Miss Y. Y. Y., Miss Z. Z. Z.