

"Warriors and statesmen have their
 And what they do or suffer, men record;
 But long sacrifice of women's days
 Passes without a thought, without a word".



"Yet it must be, more holy courage dwells
 In one meek heart which braves an adverse
 state,
 Than his whose ardent soul indignant swells,
 Warmed by the fight, or cheered through
 high debate".

PAX INTERNATIONAL

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

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CURRENT EVENTS

Civil Populations And Gas Warfare

The "Red Cross Campaign for Protection" recently published the following:
 "The International Committee of the Red Cross will open on July 1st a world competition, with a prize of 10,000 Swiss francs (£400) for the best re-agent for the detection in the air of the presence of mustard gas.

"This prize is the first step in a campaign for the protection of the civilian population against the horrors of aero-chemical warfare, and will be followed, if funds permit, by other international competitions, notably competitions to discover the best respirator or gas mask to be used by the civil populations in times of war, and the best means of purifying the air in subterranean places, not systematically ventilated, in which civilians may take shelter in air raids.

"These competitions have been decided upon after advice by experts of 15 nationalities on the extreme difficulty of efficiently protecting the inhabitants of great cities and industrial centres against attack by aeroplanes armed with gas bombs."

Let members of the W.I.L. never forget that the Conference on Chemical Warfare at Frankfort demonstrated that there is no protection for the civil population against gas warfare except to end war.

Borah Outlawry Of War Foundation

A gift of \$55,000 has been presented to the Idaho University U.S.A. by Mr. Salmon O. Levinson for the establishment of a Borah Outlawry of War Foundation. Mr. Levinson conceived the idea of the Foundation when he saw Senator Borah with matchless skill, and brilliant oratory fighting for the Pact of Paris on the floor of the Senate.

Idaho is Senator Borah's home state and the net income of the gift to the University is to be used to maintain a lectureship for the promotion of the cause of war outlawry.

The gift was an act of friendship between the two men who have fought hardest for the outlawry cause. For Mr. Levinson was the originator of the plan which forms the basis of the recently ratified Kellogg Pact and Senator Borah is its most vigorous champion.

Growing Power of Women

The *London Daily Express*, alluding recently to the fact that the women of America were blamed for the difficulty experienced at Washington in getting the Cruiser Bill passed, said:

"As a portent of the growing power of women in national and international affairs the incident, however it ends, is deeply significant. There is no country where women have the vote in which similar vetoes or obstacles may not be experienced on issues which they conceive to be essentially moral issues; women may then easily work and vote as a sex. Nobody pays much attention to the present League of Nations. But an International League of Women, actively vehement in the politics of all countries, would be a power indeed. It might come very near to abolishing war for ever."

Health Committee Of The League

It is along technical lines such as in the Health Committee that the League of Nations does its most effective work. At the session of this Committee on May 4th, the report of the Commission sent to Greece was heard.

Last October the Greek Under Secretary of State for Health wrote to the Medical Director of the Health Section of the League of Nations Secretariat asking for assistance in the sanitary reorganisation of Greece.

Accordingly after the matter had been approved by the Health Committee and

the Council of the League a commission was appointed consisting of the Medical Director and Dr. Mackenzie of the Health Section of the Secretariat, Prof. Haven Emerson of Columbia University, two members of Public Health Services, one from the U.S. and one from Australia and Prof. B. Borcic, Director of the Institute and School of Hygiene, Zagreb Greece. This Commission was to make surveys on which could be based the advice to be given to the authorities in Greece.

Certain districts were visited and studied in detail by these experts between January and April. Then the President of the Health Committee, Dr. Madsen, and three other members, with the chairman of the Malaria Commission, Dr. Lutraria, went to Greece and after studying the data collected by the experts and exchanging views with the Greek Under-Secretary of State for Health and his colleagues in Athens, presented a series of recommendations which were adopted by the Health Committee, and constitute the advice which the Greek Government requested and which was accepted.

The recommendations provide for the setting up of a unified Public Health Service, built on a wholly new basis and free from all political influence having at its head a permanent technical chief and forming the advisory and executive organ of the Government on health questions. The technical personnel is to consist of men fully trained in modern methods of preventing disease and in the modern practice of hygiene.

Proposals are made for setting up a modern school of Hygiene as well as for training selected Greek medical officers through individual study tours and interchanges arranged by the League Health Organisation.

As a first step a training centre is to be established in Athens with three experts on: (1) hygiene and preventive medicine, (2) malaria prevention, (3) sanitary engineering. The Greek Government proposes to call on experts from abroad for these three professorships. Besides accepting in full the recommendations of the Health Committee the Greek Government has accepted the increased cost of the plan which involves an expenditure of one third more than the present budget.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A letter has just been received from Miss Moore of Australia concerning suggested changes in the W. I. L. Constitution and in regard to representation on the future International Executive. We print extracts from the letter thinking our members will be interested in her point of view.

Dear Miss Sheepshanks,

Your letter of February 6th on the subject of Constitutional Changes to be discussed at Prague has just reached me. We happen to have had this subject under discussion quite recently, so that I can reply at once. Thank you for your detailed explanation of the points at issue.

When at Honolulu, I heard Miss Addams make a statement as to the constitution of our League, which struck me as I had not thought of it nor heard it put that way before. She said our League was different from other international societies, in that others usually were formed by a number of separate groups linking up to organize an international centre, but that ours began with an international centre or nucleus, and all the national groups have been formed from that. This peculiarity seems worth preserving, because it means that we are not a set of national bodies trying to be international if we can, and liable to fly apart in times of special tension (as so many so-called international societies did during the war), but we are international in our very nature, and our only real reason for being "national" at all is that we are trying to permeate the people we live amongst with the international spirit, and to get that spirit expressed in the enactments of the various governments.

It seems in harmony with this concept of the League that the Congress as a whole as an international body should continue to elect individuals on their personal merits to form the international executive. In the nature of the case the Executive will often have to make decisions and take action without waiting to consult all the sections. Therefore it is desirable that the executive should be as able and as representative as possible... The Congress is the meeting, most representative of all the sections, which ever assembles. It is likely to choose women whose wisdom and breadth of outlook it feels it can trust, and women, moreover whose circumstances and place of residence make it possible for them to attend meetings; then it will go home, satisfied to leave its executive affairs in these able hands. But a system of sectional representation could never be fully carried out, and it would in a sense put sections which could not send representatives in an individual position....

What we emphatically do not want is any kind of reflex of that constitution of the League of Nations which stamps certain names as "Great Powers" with permanent seats on the Council, and others as secondary. However this may seem advisable from the point of view of practical politics, it is humanly speaking a false valuation. This is not said because we ourselves (Australia) would in any case be one of the "secondary" class. We are more than secondary, we almost rank as outsiders altogether, and can speak with

the frankness of that position. We have National Sections, because we must all live somewhere, and be part of some political organisation, but wherever joint action is undertaken, the more the national spirit is made subsidiary to primary human values, the better...

Eleanor M. Moore.

Prague Congress

We hope you are all keeping the Prague Congress on August 23rd in mind and making your plans accordingly. We have heard that Miss Addams is arriving in Europe the end of July on her way to Prague. Emily Balch with a party of friends arrives in Geneva the middle of June. Agnes McPhail of Canada with two or three other members of that section hope to get over early in August.

We have had an acceptance from two Chinese members who have promised to speak for us. The East European countries have promised full delegations. Everything points to a most interesting Congress. Don't forget to write for your accommodations in Prague, saying what you wish to pay and when you will arrive. Address: Dr. Anna Schustlerova, Prague XII, Slerska 24.

Pax International

We are delighted to be able to continue with good reports about Pax. Little gifts of money continue to come in. We now are within fifty to a hundred dollars of our goal. All this has come from the notices in Pax. There have been no speeches, no money spent on travelling expenses for propaganda, the members have read Pax and answered the appeal. It really is wonderful and such fine letters as we have had from all corners of the earth. We can't quote all but here are a few that have come within the last month.

PEKING, CHINA

It comes with somewhat of a shock that there is a possibility of losing Pax my new found friend. I send my mite with the hope that this good messenger may not be silenced. Theodora C. Gleysteen.

YPSILANTI, MICHIGAN

Please find enclosed a check for ten years subscription to Pax International. It is the most worthwhile publication that comes to the house. I could not keep in touch with the struggle for peace by any other means. Mrs. Benjamin L. D'Oodge.

HONOLULU, HAWAII

I wish most emphatically to say that for us, in these distant parts, it is absolutely necessary that Pax continue. We find it the best means of disseminating knowledge of the workings of the W.I.L. and it more than any other thing has assisted us in increasing our membership. Gertrude Scott Straub.

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

The thought that we might not have Pax any more gripped our hearts and although the Louisiana League has a rather empty treasury at a recent board meeting we made up our minds that we could not possibly allow out beloved international paper to lapse and so we are sending \$20 towards Pax. Emilie S. Behre.

WINNIPEG, CANADA

May I take this opportunity of telling you how much we in this part of the world appreciate Pax. It is always so lively and interesting. We find it very heartening. Mrs Robert Ayre.

CONTRIBUTIONS SINCE LAST PAX

Mrs. Thompson, England,	Frs.	3.—
Mrs. Longson,	"	3.—
Mme. Manicus-Hansen,	"	10.—
Denmark,	"	6.—
Miss Mather, France,	"	42.50
Groupe de Groningen, Holland	"	5.—
Mme. Sasek, Switzerland	"	10.—
Frau Meier & Frau Graf,	"	3.—
Frau Tanner,	"	10.—
Mlle. Voessner,	"	2.50
Mme. Terry Tugenhat,	"	5.—
Czechoslovakia,	"	2.50
Mrs. Louis Tynberg, Germany,	"	10.—
Mlle. Fichet, Tunis,	"	20.73
Mlle. Moretton,	"	32.—
Mrs. Leland, U.S.A.	"	113.70
Mrs. Philip Kind,	"	26.—
New Orleans Group,	"	26.—
Mrs. Benjamin L. D'Ooge,	"	181.33
U.S.A.,	"	25.—
Mrs. Lillian T. Smith,	"	
Miss Florence Halsey,	"	
New Jersey Group,	"	
Mrs. T. C. Gleystern, China,	"	

The Reparation Question

DR. MARIANNE ZYCHA
AUSTRIAN SECTION

The unifying and undignified disputes between debtor and creditor states which have lately taken place in Paris under the name "negotiations" show to the friends of peace, how miserably world prosperity and happiness are made to depend on financial operations and not on ideal considerations... The serious proposal to cripple a people for 47 years is as absurd as it is sad; sad because it is a perpetual threat to peace; absurd because, as the English philosopher John Locke says, the descendants of the conquered nation are not under any obligation to the governments of the victorious country but are always at liberty to cut themselves free. Without going further into the present negotiations may I be allowed to recall a few ideas from John Locke's "Two Treatises on Civil Government" written in 1689 when hardly anyone thought of a such a thing as a renunciation of war.

Locke discusses "just" wars; and comes to the following conclusions:

"(1) What just rights has a victorious nation over a conquered? None over those who were not to blame for the war.

"(2) If the victor has complete power over those in arms against him, still he should have none over their property.

"(3) The women and children of the aggressor are innocent; the victor must spare them when he demands reparations.

"(4) The victor has no claim on any (foreign) country.

"(5) Even if all have agreed in supporting an unjust war they only pledge their own life; the victor has no claims on their children.

"(6) The descendants of the vanquished should be free men.

For in any case the vanquished have the right to shake off the yoke as soon as they can; even if it is called rebellion, it is right before God."

The readers of Pax can apply these ideas of a seventeenth century upholder of war to present events.

And if an opponent of pacifism wants to use Locke's principles for his own purposes, we will know how to answer him.

DISARMAMENT

Salvador de Madariaga

The article which follows consists of extracts from the introductory chapter of Mr. de Madariaga's new book Disarmament (publishers Coward McCann, N.Y.) and is an invaluable document on the League of Nations and Disarmament. Mr. de Madariaga's conclusion is that no general disarmament is possible in the absence of a well organized World Community. This is a provocative thought and every earnest pacifist should read the book.

ARMAMENTS A LOSS

A rough and ready method of calculating the material loss involved in armaments is to add up the "defence" budgets of all the nations of the world. This sum amounts nowadays to about 3,856 million dollars...

What becomes of these sums? They are spent in men and in material. Now this material is the most expensive in the world. While we grudge the quality of the material we grant our schools, hospitals, astronomical observatories, we lavish our best steel, our choicest woods, our finest optical appliances, our purest chemicals, on the soldier, the sailor and the airman who ask for them.

Save vice, nothing is as wasteful in the world as war and the preparation for it. The factories erected and maintained at full swing, the workers employed are often mentioned as arguments in their favour,—mere fallacies hardly worth refuting. The "defence" expenditure is so huge that it would suffice to pension off all workers employed in war industries and yet would leave a substantial surplus for the nations' treasury.

But of course the real argument is quite different. The release of taxation which disarmament would bring about would increase the purchasing capacity and reduce industrial burdens to such an extent that production would be stimulated in general by disarmament infinitely more than it would be paralyzed in its armament branch...

Nor is that all. The men, diverted from creative occupations, are made to learn a trade which, in all coolness of mind and with no wish to offend, it is impossible to describe otherwise than as organized, disciplined, systematic and wholesale murder. True, the military profession calls forth many a fine quality in man; courage, self-denial, to mention two of the most prominent virtues of the soldier. But the point is that such splendid gifts are put to a destructive and repulsive use, so that to defend soldiering on account of the virtues which it breeds is tantamount to justifying commercial frauds on the ground that they call forth great proficiency in arithmetic and stimulate quick wits...

Armaments cannot be justified except on grounds of dire necessity, and such necessity must rest on mistrust. During the press campaign which preceded, accompanied and followed the Naval Conference known as the Coolidge Conference, an English visitor complained to an American Admiral in Washington of the abuse which could be read daily in the American press at the expense of the English nation. The Admiral answered, "Don't mind it. We need it in order to get our Naval Bill through..." Now international mistrust is one of the greatest causes of material, intellectual, moral and spiritual loss in the world.

Materially, it tends to foster artificial economic systems by lending some plausibility to the theory that a nation must be self-supporting... But the Commission of Experts to which the matter was

referred reported that the only self-supporting region in the world is the whole world. Yet, both before and after the findings of that Commission, the self-support will-o'-the-wisp dances in the otherwise sober head of many a statesman, and the map of the planet is anxiously explored for oil, rubber, gold and other sinews of war.

Nor is this the only economic absurdity which armaments and their moral equivalent, mistrust, impose on our distracted world. Military and naval reasons warp, distort and even subvert economic loss at every turn. Spain is, and will probably remain for ever, the victim of an over-zealous general staff which, fearful of French invasions, forced the Government in the middle of the nineteenth century to lay out Spanish railways on a gauge nearly one foot larger than the normal European size. The economic loss of this well-meant stupidity is incalculable. Great Britain has turned down the Channel tunnel scheme time and again, the last time under a Labour Government, on the mere unfavourable advice of its Committee of Imperial Defence...

The very fact that armaments are kept acts as a deterrent on enterprise...

But the greatest loss of all is in the realm of the spirit. For the existence of armaments is a permanent blot on mankind. That in our present stage of civilisation, twenty centuries after the divine teachings of Christ, five centuries after the all but divine creations of Leonardo, four centuries after the splendid achievements of Shakespeare, mankind should still be piling murderous weapons in its arsenals, divided against itself, its soul still blackened by fratricidal passions and its hands still soiled by human blood, is an appalling thought on which no mind can rest that is worthy of the name of human.

ARMAMENTS A DANGER

But armaments are not only a waste and a shame, they are also a danger...

Two points offer themselves for consideration.

The first concerns the relations between the armament industry and war... There are no armament firms in the world which are established on the principle of pure and disinterested patriotism. They are all industrial enterprises which have in common with every other industrial enterprise in the world that their aim is to manufacture dividends. They only differ in that the intermediate products wherewith they manufacture dividends are guns and battleships instead of motor cars or cheese. Now an industrial enterprise is essentially interested in its market. There is no mystery about that, no villainy. It is all above board. Let us print it in capitals, for it is blatant, open and obvious, in fact it is a platitude: *armament firms are interested in fostering a state of affairs which will increase the demand for armaments...* That armament firms are more likely than not to keep

a state of mistrust and international unrest epidemic in the world is a conservative view of the situation which could hardly be disputed. And it follows that from such a state of international unrest war may spring at any moment.

The second point is even more important. Armaments are not held by a nation in an inchoate form. Men and material are organized into a force, and put under the leadership of a general staff. The general staff, composed as it is of soldiers or sailors, has, as is traditional in the fighting profession, a high sense of honour. The military branch of any administration may therefore be expected to give full value to the state in exchange for its salaries and privileges. Now what can a general staff do three hundred and sixty days a year at the rate of six hours a day but prepare for war? Here again, the facts are above board...

The first thing a general staff does, therefore, is to set up before its eyes a concrete hypothetical adversary. Nor is this adversary chosen capriciously. In most cases, there exists a series of circumstances—historical, geographical, traditional—which clearly singles out a particular nation for such a distinction. The same set of circumstances, acting in the opposite direction with equivalent effects, makes the general staff of the second nation choose as its hypothetical adversary the nation whose general staff chose it. Then begins the usual rivalry. Armaments closely watched, policies uncharitably discussed, statesmen's speeches microscopically scrutinized by anxious leader writers; the public gradually aroused from indifference for the affairs of the adversary to interest in them; from interest to misgivings; from misgivings to fear; from fear to hatred; from hatred to fury. And one day, the spark flies through the air and death rides roughshod on the horses of folly...

That "preparedness" is a folly would have been more widely understood had the advocates of the pacifist view taken greater care to show that preparedness cannot and should not be abandoned without putting something in its place.

But, that granted, and the "something" in question left moreover for discussion in subsequent pages, it is necessary to nail to the counter the fallacy! "If you want peace, prepare for war." That is, if you want something, get ready for the reverse of it... To-day, the world has grown small for our power and resources. Only one opinion and only one market cover the face of the earth. Wars absorb the whole of the countries which engage in them, exact all their resources and consume all the raw materials which human ingenuity has wrung from the recesses of the earth....

Preparedness leads therefore to the scramble for raw materials and territories, and thence to increasing causes of friction and possibilities of war...

Thus... preparing for war may be said to be a highly dangerous system of preparing for peace.

Sixth International Congress

of the

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

PRAGUE

August 23 to 29, 1929

Subject : Renunciation of War — What Follows

How to Make the Kellogg Pact a Reality

Draft Programme

All sessions of the Congress will be held in the Dum zemědělské osvěty

President : Jane ADDAMS.

Wednesday, August 21 and Thursday, August 22.

Executive Committee meetings.

Friday, August 23.

2 *p.m.* to 6 *p.m.* — Registration, programmes, badges and information in the Congress building.

8.30 *p.m.* — Congress reception. Messages.

Saturday, August 24.

9.30 a.m. to 12.30. — *Opening of the Congress.*

Opening address by the President.

Appointment of the Committees: a) Minutes. b) Resolutions.
c) Credentials. d) Nominations. e) Press. f) Finances.
g) Future Work. Constitution.

Section Reports. *Rapporteur*: Anne ZUEBLIN.

Disarmament and Machinery of International Peace

3. p.m. to 5.

- a) The Kellogg Pact. — Laura Puffer Morgan.
- b) General. — Andrée Jouve.
- c) Arbitration, conciliation and judicial methods. — K.D. Courtney.
- d) Economic effects of Disarmament. — Francis Delaisi.
- e) International Control of Civil Aviation. — Captain Brunskog.

PUBLIC MEETING

Disarmament

8. p.m.

Speakers: Agnes MacPhail, M.P.; Dr. Gertrud Woker; Dorothy Detzer; Magda Hoppstock-Huth; Mme Schustlerova (Czechoslovakia), Marcelle Capy (French).

Sunday, August 25.

9.30 a.m. to 12.30. — First Report of Credentials Committee.

Reports of: a) International Secretary. b) Financial Secretary.
c) Pax Editor. d) Standing Commissions. e) Conference on
Modern Methods of Warfare. f) East European Conference.

Machinery of Internal Peace

*Pacific Methods of Settlement of Internal Disputes
and their International Aspects*

3. p.m. to 5.

- a) Social. b) Industrial.

Speakers: Gabrielle Duchêne; Milena Illova; Ellen Wilkinson,
M.P.; Emmy Freundlich; Olga Misar.

Evening. — Reception by the Czechoslovakian Sections. Speeches.

Monday, August 26.

9.30 a.m. to 12.30. — *Meeting for Delegates onlh.*

Chairman: Mary Sheepshanks.

Second report of Credentials Committee.

Nominations for new Executive Committee.

Report of Constitution Committee. Discussion. Vote.

Machinery of Internal Peace

3.30 p.m. to 5.30.

*Pacific Methods of Settlement of Internal Disputes
and their International Aspects:*

Speakers: a) Political: Yella Hertzka; Louie Bennett; Milena Rudnycka.

b) Racial: Mabel Byrd (U.S.A.), Miss Tye (China), and women from India and Japan.

Evening free (Congress meeting for delegates only if necessary to continue the business of the morning session).

Tuesday, August 27.

9.30 a.m. to 12.30. — Reports of Committees *ad hoc*: a) Resolutions. b) Finances (budget).

Elections.

Resolutions. Discussion. Vote.

Afternoon free. (Probably garden-party.)

GENERAL CONGRESS MEETING

Changes in International Relations without War

8. p.m. to 10.

Speakers: Agnes MacPhail, Catherine Marshall, Léo Wanner, Marta Larsen-Jahn.

(The discussion on these speeches will take place the following afternoon.)

Wednesday, August 28.

9.30 *a.m.* to 12.30. — Resolutions continued.

Future Work. (Report and Discussion.)

3.30 *p.m.* to 5.30. — Discussion on : Changes in International Relations without War.

PUBLIC MEETING
World without War

8.00 *p.m.*

Speakers : Emily G. Balch, Gertrud Baer, Dr. Budzinska-Tylicka,
Lucie Dejardin, Mme Pechmanova, Czecho-Slovakia.

Thursday, August 29.

Free for excursion.

Congress farewell dinner in the evening.

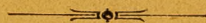
Friday, August 30 and Saturday, August 31.

Meetings of the newly elected Executive.

Admission cards for Congress.

W.I.L. delegates and alternates	3 Swiss francs
Fraternal delegates	5 » »
W.I.L. members (not delegates or alternates) .	5 » »
Visitors	10 » » (\$ 2)

for the whole session.



The Common Sense Of World Peace

H. G. Wells

On April 15th, Mr. Wells made an address in the German Reichstag which attracted wide spread attention. The address is now printed in book form by the Hogarth Press London, price 2/6. In his speech Mr. Wells was rather hard on the pacifists, finding their work ineffective and did not perhaps give them sufficient credit for the enormous propaganda they have carried on, a propaganda that has prepared the way for Mr. Wells article which is most stimulating and inspiring. We print below extracts from his speech.

"A large part of our peace advocates are marking time—with greater enthusiasm and pride and dignity, I admit—but marking time...

...The very prevalent persuasion that a few amiable declarations, a few amiable conferences, a Pact or so and a picnic or so, will suffice to lay the foundation of a permanent world peace is a pure delusion. A permanent world peace implies a profound revolution in the nature of every existing government upon earth, and in the fundamental ideas upon which that government is based...

"I am suggesting that something very fundamental, something very difficult, important and formidable, is being shirked and evaded in all this peace discussion and all these permanent peace proposals. This difficulty is the *sovereign independence of states*. That is the cardinal difficulty before us, and until we tackle it instead of walking round it and round it, we shall not make much further progress towards the organized peace of the world...

I should be sorry if I seemed ungrateful to Mr. Kellogg and the American people for what they have done in keeping talk and aspiration about peace alive in the world... But the Pact was contrived by men who either do not realize at all, or who find it advisable at present not to admit that they realize, the possibility of the world being arranged in any other way than as a sort of patchwork quilt of independent sovereign states with their boundaries fixed for ever. Consequently their conception of peace is entirely controlled by that idea of integral and unassailable sovereignty. Each of these self-determining sovereign powers into which the world has been parcelled by God—assisted by the treaties of settlement now operative—is, it would seem, to go on doing what it pleases for ever, build itself in with tariffs, make itself a hotbed of epidemic diseases, cultivate a bursting charge of population or reduce its population to nothing, block interstate traffic across its territories, prohibit immigration or emigration, isolate itself from all foreign intercourse, and so on and so on only now the difference is that it has promised not to make any more war. There are to be no more readjustments of boundaries, no more coalescences of sympathetic and kindred peoples, at least none are provided for. The Pact is evidently sensible of the possibility of "disputes or conflicts"—but it sets up no authoritative means whatever for what it calls the "settlement or solution" of these "disputes or conflicts" in the place of the war decision which it renounces. We are, I understand, to entrust vital questions, questions like outlets for surplus population, the control of tropical raw material, the strangulation of the industrial development of one power by another, to some miraculous type of arbitration...

Now the United States bickered for years before the main lines of their federal constitution were wrought out.

And if anything is plainer than another in that chapter of American history, it is that an enduring Pax is only to be attained by pooling sovereignty in relation to the main causes of stress between the originally separate communities. Every step you make towards peace therefore means a loss of separateness, a loss of independence. Peace and national independence are incompatible—and our world is refusing to see it...

If I am right in saying that, then I am right in saying that we may sign Kellogg Pacts until there is a shortage of parchment and gold pens, and we shall have done nothing real for the peace of the world...

On the other hand, a Zollverein spreading out until by including the whole world it passed out of existence, or a federation of world banking and monetary controls, or a consolidation of the control of world shipping and overland transport by a federal bond, would take the world half-way towards an everlasting peace. On the day when a man—with a ton of goods—can travel from Cardiff to Vladivostok or from Moscow to San Francisco, as he can travel now from San Francisco to New York, without a passport and without a customs examination and without seeing a single battleship on the sea a single soldier in uniform or a single warplane in the air, the chief structures of a World Pax will exist. And until he can do that, the Great Peace will still be unachieved...

There are in the world at the present time two profoundly different schools of pacifist effort. They are so different that I would rather describe them as opposed to each other than as being in any sort of co-operation. They may be distinguished as the international school and the cosmopolitan school. The former school I call international because it rests fundamentally on the belief that the states and nationalities that are recognized to-day are permanent and essential human things. Consequently it seeks world peace through treaties between what it regards as the real, the innate and incurable divisions of our species...

In flat contrast to this international school of pacifism is the cosmopolitan school to which I draw your attention to-night and of which I declare myself entirely a disciple. This school thinks not in terms of states and nations but in terms of cosmopolis, the city of mankind. Cosmopolitanism is something entirely different from internationalism, it is antagonistic to internationalism. It does not see world peace as an arrangement between states but as a greater human solidarity overriding states...

The true objective of a sincere and intelligent peace movement must be the creation of federal controls—of world-wide controls... To set up such world-wide controls is a complex and gigantic task. It is the task before our race. It

is a very interesting and indeed exciting question into which I will not enter now, how far it can be made through existing governments or how far it may have to be made in spite of existing governments... You will probably agree with me that the world is not prepared as yet for any such process of world federation... Why is the world unprepared for the rational adjustments of its political and economic life? We have already given the answer. School, university, popular literature, press etc. combine to resist any such preparation.

And the first campaign on behalf of world peace must necessarily be a Kultur-Kampf, a fight for a new education which will supply the necessary preliminary preparation...

I am using Kultur-Kampf to express a struggle, any struggle, to control the education of the ordinary people.

We need an education that will turn mankind from tradition to hope... There is no way to world peace except through these preliminary battles in the mind...

It follows that if our mental backgrounds and our political methods are to be made over from a competitive nationalism to a World Pax, there must be a world wide organized movement to bring it about, essentially religious and essentially new, existing primarily to bring it about and distracted by no other interests from this devotion. This means a transference of initiative in the peace movement from the casual patronage and sentimental adhesions of eminent and popular persons to men and women who are prepared quite desperately to make it the form and direction of their lives...

Where, in the confused social and intellectual life of to-day, is the movement for world peace to find its leaders, its saints and martyrs, its banded supporters, its disciplines and concentrations of effort? To ask that question is to discover the flimsiness, the entire insincerity, of a large part of this voluminous pacifism that figures so conspicuously in the limelight of world affairs at the present time...

The immediate progress of the world towards ultimate peace and unity waits now very largely, I believe, upon the appearance of vigorous personalities and groups of personalities, capable of transmuting the immense desire for world peace and world development which is now so widely diffused, into a lucid, organized and militant cosmopolitan will...

I do not despair of the world. We may yet win out in our War to end War. It is going to be—as the sporting people say—a near thing. But our primary duty, if the War to end War is to be won... is to clear our minds of cant and delusion and face the immense complexities and difficulties and labours of the task before us, frankly and simply—as a good surgeon faces a difficult operation or an engineer faces the wilderness.

WORK OF THE W. I. L. NATIONAL SECTIONS

Swedish Section

This section during April arranged a lecture tour for Dr. Nestler who was a German gas officer in the war and spoke for the W. I. L. at the Frankfurt Conference. One lecture was given at Gothenburg and another at Stockholm under the auspices of the local group of the W. I. L. in those cities. A third lecture was given for the Union of Christian Social Life. All the meetings were well attended and well reported in the press.

This section announces that the Swedish Diet has granted 25,000 crowns for peace propaganda. The sum is put at the disposal of the Government which will divide it among the peace groups. The Swedish Section of the W. I. L. is claiming its share but the distribution of the fund will not be made before the beginning of the new budget year, July 1st.

This section reports that there has been quite a political controversy raging which has particularly stirred pacifists. A Baron Langenskiöld, a very rich man, has left a legacy which is to be devoted to the training of young men in defence of their country.

The administrators of the Fund have, with the aid of the High School Principals, spread the news to all the boys in the advanced classes that seventy of them would be given full military training for two months this summer and next, free of cost, the uniforms, war material, as well as board etc., are all to be paid for. The training school is to occupy one of the former army camps of instruction which has not been used since the army reductions were made some years ago.

When this became known there was strong reaction against it in pacifist circles, especially as it was discovered that not only had the Defence Minister (Secretary of War) put the camp and the barracks, but also the guns and ammunition at the disposal of the "Langenskiöld Foundation".

The Swedish Section of the W. I. L. at once took up the matter with the members of both houses of Parliament and in both Houses questions were asked the Minister for Defence which he will be obliged to answer the end of May.

The newspapers have written up the whole affair and much has been said both pro and con. So much interest has the matter aroused that the Secretary of the Socialist Party who is a member of the Upper House, with the sanction of the House, sent in a note of censure on the action of the Minister of Defence to the Constitutional Committee whose business it is to see that the Statutes of the Realm are not trespassed upon and this Committee has brought a rather strong charge against the Minister for Defence which may result in his dismissal.

But even with all this protest it is not likely the military training can be prevented this summer though very unlikely that it will be repeated again next year, at least with any aid or subvention by the State.

The Swedish Section is now busy canvassing for delegates to the Prague Congress. The journey is long and expensive but money is being raised to aid with the expenses.

German Section

The German Section has published an attractively illustrated brochure of 40 pages giving a vivid account of their work from January 1926 to December 1928. The cover has a telling and original design by Lotte Laserstein.

Graphic accounts are given of the various international enterprises of the W. I. L.: the Dublin Congress, the delegation to China and Indo-China, the various approaches made to the League of Nations through interviews, deputations and resolutions; the international executive meetings in different European cities; the summer schools and other activities.

The description of the work of the German section shows what energy and enthusiasm has been put into it by its 42 local branches.

They have worked against colonial imperialism and opposed any fresh colonial policy by Germany; they have worked for penal reform and the abolition of the death penalty.

The German Section has collected money and given scholarships for the summer schools to Serbian and Belgian women.

New local groups have been formed in the last two years in ten cities. The great difficulty has been financial, work can not be done without funds and the members find it hard to raise money.

Each of the German States which contains a branch of the W. I. L. has a section of the report devoted to its activities.

Bavaria had to face the "Hitler" militaristic agitation, but the Munich group of the W. I. L. had a pacifist exhibition which attracted great attention and which has been loaned to other towns.

Good work has been done in getting in touch through the consulates with students and others from the Balkan states living in Munich.

In the "free towns", Hambourg and Bremen, the W. I. L. is extremely active and collaborates with workers' organisations. Besides many public meetings there were dramatic and artistic performances embodying pacifist principles.

In Prussia forty towns were the scene of W. I. L. work resulting in large increases in membership. The elections gave great opportunity for work.

In Hesse, Thuringia, Saxony and Wurtemberg local groups are doing good work in spite of difficulties.

The German section has opposed military expenditure, has opposed union with Austria (as being not in the best interests of either country), has advocated a broad and generous treatment of the Minorities question (the recent German law gives minorities in Germany such treatment).

It protested against the "legal murder" of Sacco and Vanzetti in the U.S.A.

At the time of the industrial crisis in the Ruhr in the iron trade, it urged the employers to adopt the eight hour day.

It petitioned the Bulgarian government on behalf of political prisoners.

It opposed the erection of a costly national war monument.

It has endeavoured on every suitable occasion to secure the appointment of women representatives to the League of Nations commissions.

When Germany entered the League of Nations, the German section in September 1926 asked the German Federation of Peace Societies (Friedenskartell) to request the Minister of Education in

each of the States to introduce instruction on the League of Nations into German schools and to use for this purpose the excellent book by Dr. Hans Wehberg *Die Völkerbundssatzung* (The Constitution of the L.O.N.).

A little later the German Section asked that the Prussian Ministry of Education might be approached personally, and this was done. Prof. Quide and Gertrud Baer saw the Prussian Minister for Education, Dr. Becker, and asked him to see that Dr. Wehberg's book was provided. On November 23rd, 1928, the section was informed that the Prussian Minister of Education had recommended Dr. Wehberg's book to the authorities of the provincial schools and had commissioned them to provide the book as a school text book, and that this order would be published in the central gazette for the whole education administration in Prussia.

Other work of the Section has been the opposing of the building of German cruisers.

Every member of the new Reichstag in November 1928 received a pamphlet with 12 demands including: free trade, abolition of the death penalty, ratification of the Washington Convention (8 hour day), transformation of the War-Ministry into a Peace-Ministry, absolute prohibition of the bearing of arms.

Far-reaching propaganda work has been done with hundreds of individuals and organisations and through the press.

Conciliation work on the German-Polish and German-Danish frontiers, propaganda against chemical warfare, work for free-trade, against the trade in narcotic drugs, for progressive education, and against antisemitism.

Such are only samples of the activities of the German W. I. L.

The monthly paper *Die Frau im Staat* gives its news. M. S.

The United States Section

This Section on April 24th held its annual meeting in Detroit. It had the good fortune to have Miss Addams with them and opened its conference by a banquet at the Hotel Statler at which Miss Addams presided. Emily Balch, the National president, gave the greeting of welcome which was followed by an address by Agnes McPhail, the only woman member of the Canadian Parliament. During the course of the conference there were three formal addresses one on the "Race Question" by Judge Frank Murphy, another on "Traffic in Opium" by Ellen La Motte, and the third on "Traffic in Arms" by Laura Puffer Morgan. At the close of the Conference there was a luncheon for teachers at which Katherine Blake presided and Mr. Tucker Smith spoke on Militarism in Education.

The annual meeting was a great success some feeling it the best convention the U.S. Section has ever had. There was much enthusiasm and fine spirit.

This section has printed a leaflet embodying Foreign Policy Proposals which was prepared by Emily Balch and endorsed by the U.S. Section. It is too long to print in full here but a copy of the proposals may be had from the U.S. Section.

The following principles were adopted in regard to:

The Machinery of Peace

"Our motto is Prepare for Peace. To this end we advocate the following measures:

U.S. Section (continued)

"(1) Membership in the World Court and signature of the optional clause accepting compulsory jurisdiction.

"(2) Full membership in the League of Nations on the understanding that the United States is exempt from any obligations to supply military force or join in military measures....

"(3) A thorough-going provision of treaties for the pacific settlement of disputes....

"(4) International agreements not merely for reduction of armaments all around, but for the fundamental transformation of the whole type and purpose of armed forces, giving them a purely police character and abandoning everything directed to the making of war....

"(5) A well-equipped Department of State supported by ample appropriations, keeping in touch with an instructed and interested public opinion by means of yearly public reports to Congress, and infusing into all its representatives at home and abroad a modern conception of international diplomacy freed from all bad diplomatic traditions of desire to advance national prestige and get the better of other nations....

"(6.) Recognition of all de facto governments without attempting to pass on their constitutionality or other characteristics....

"(7.) Peaceful readjustments where changes are called for. To prevent peace becoming a guarantee of the status quo and a consecration of injustice the great necessity is a conciliatory and friendly spirit ready to consider grievances fairly...."

Miss Dorothy Detzer, the Secretary of the U.S. Section, has proposed that during the summer months when there is not the same drive in peace work, that all the local groups form Moving Picture Committees. Young people especially to be asked to serve on these Committees. The object of the committee should be to protest to local Moving picture managers against a too great and constant showing of military features in the news reels and always to commend the theatre for any features giving constructive international pictures, such as the signing of the Peace Pact etc. This is a work the W.I.L. groups all over the world could undertake, and it will be found that the theatre managers are very responsive to this kind of criticism.

Danish Section

This Section reports that at the elections recently held in Denmark for the Folketinget (Danish House of Commons) the chief question discussed was the military system of the future. The Democratic parties which were for a sweeping reduction of armaments, almost total disarmament, were victorious.

At the coming session of Parliament in the autumn a measure providing for a great reduction in the Danish military system will surely be introduced into Parliament as was done once before some years ago. Then it was rejected by the "Landstinget" (House of Lords) and it will be interesting to see if this time the wish of the population so clearly expressed at the last elections will have sufficient weight in the House of Lords to force at least one of the conservative parties, which already contains a fraction friendly towards disarmament, especially among its farmer members, to vote for the bill.

During the election campaign, members of the Danish Section worked hard spreading information on the problem of disarmament. The Copenhagen group of the W.I.L. was particularly active. The following questionnaire was sent out to all candidates by the section:

1. Will you work for reduction of armaments?
2. Will you work to have the Danish Government apply to the Council of the League of Nations for a reduction of armaments in accordance with art. 8-20 of the Covenant?
3. Will you work to have all private military training corps abolished?
4. Will you work to have military training in public and private schools abolished?
5. Will you work for a revision of the act of 1917 (concerning Danish Civil Service) so that service of this nature will not far surpass in duration all military service?
6. Will you work for the suppression of all private manufacture and trade in arms, ammunition and poison gas?

Books Pacifists Should Read

Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit (Violence and Non-Violence), a Handbook of active pacifism by Dr. Franz Kobler—printed by Rotapfel-Verlag, Zurich. This book puts pacifism on a broad basis. It attempts to ask what are the relations

of a pacifist towards nationalism, revolution, religion and every day life.

The Origin of the World War by Sidney Bradshaw Fay—publishers Macmillan Co. U.S.A. This book disposes for all time of the fiction of a sinister German plot in 1914 to subdue the world. It shows the Entente to have been more at fault than the Central Powers.

Falsehood in War-Time by Arthur Ponsonby, published by Allen and Unwin, London. An exposure of the tremendous tissue of lies embodied in war propaganda.

A Frenchman Looks at Peace by Alcide Ebroy, published in France and America, M. Ebroy proves that the Treaties of Versailles, St. Germain and Trianon were examples of human vindictiveness and betrayed in every particular the "war-aims" of Mr. Wilson and the Entente Powers.

Disarmament by Salvador de Madariaga publishers Coward McCann U.S.A., also Oxford University Press, London. See middle page of *Pax*.

Common Sense of World Peace by H. G. Wells—Hogarth Press, London. See middle page of *Pax*.

Squad by J. B. Wharton publishers Coward McCann U.S.A. This book is a squad of eight men arrive at the front. Four are killed, one runs away, one mutilates himself to escape, one is badly wounded and one goes mad. During their first action they lose their "patriotism" despair grips them.

The Case of Sergeant Grischa by Arnold Zweig published by Viling Press U.S.A. The story of an illiterate Russian soldier captured by the Germans, falsely charged with espionage and sentenced to be shot.

The Way of Sacrifice by Fritz von Unruh—publisher Alfred A. Knopf, London—the German edition is called *Opfergang*. Written by a Prussian officer and not allowed to be printed until after the revolution. A devastating account of war.

All Quiet Along the Western Front by Erich Maria Remarque publishers Putnam's Sons, London. German Edition: *Im Westen Nichts Neues*—Ullstein A.G. Propyläen Verlag, Berlin. This book is the most terrible picture of war ever written. It gives in plain language all the horrible details.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Jane Addams, International President

International Headquarters, 12, rue du Vieux-College, Geneva
Secretary: MARY SHEEPHANKS.

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.

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