

PAX INTERNATIONAL



**Women's International League
for Peace and Freedom**

International Office
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Switzerland



On the economic, social and moral sides of life we all are dependent.

We do not produce enough calories to feed our population. We grow in grace through our intercourse with our fellow men. We build our character largely by meeting our obligations to others. We all live in the same world and we are bound to a common destiny through a common brotherhood.

Calvin Coolidge.

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CURRENT EVENTS

New U. S. Tariff

June 14. The Hawley-Smoot Tariff Bill was passed by Congress and signed by President Hoover. It is the most unpopular tariff bill in a hundred years. More than a thousand professional economists and leading industrialists protested against the bill. Fortunately President Hoover can modify the tariff to the extent of 50 per cent up or down.

India

The Simon Report was published in June. It stirred up much opposition in India. The campaign of non-violence continues. Gandhi is kept in practically solitary confinement without trial. The Indian Congress Working Committee was declared an unlawful assembly on the ground that its object was civil disobedience and the creation of a spirit of general defiance of authority.

Liberation Of Rhineland

June 30. — The evacuation of the Rhineland was completed and on July 1st not a single French soldier was on German soil.

French And Italian Discord

Great tension has existed during the past month between Italy and France. Each country claims the other threatens it by a proposed heavy increase in military expenditure. Finally Italy proposed a naval holiday. Monsieur Briand delayed his reply until the ships for which credits had been voted were laid down, thus enabling France to build all she intended to build this year. Italy whose original offer was genuine followed suit and so the whole matter ended farcically.

U. S. Signs Naval Treaty

On July 22, the Senate ratified the Naval Treaty 58 to 9 and Pres. Hoover has now signed it. The building of big warships is stopped for 5 years.

The German Peace Academy

On June 21st the United States broadcast from Germany the message of the German Foreign Minister Dr. Julius Curtius concerning the foundation of the German Peace Academy. It was a thrilling moment not only because Germany was talking over the air to America but because one great nation has come out boldly through its government and declared its intention to dedicate itself to the elimination of war and calling on other nations to follow suit. The Peace Academy which Germany has established "will study efficient means of securing peace in the same manner as academies of war study the most effective ways of conducting war."

Dr. Julius Curtius said over the radio :

"We advocate going to the very root of the matter by removing in good time all the causes of war. We stand unreservedly for the peaceful settlement of every kind of conflict between States. And having ourselves, in spite of all rumors to the contrary, completely disarmed, following the Treaty of Versailles, we strongly insist upon an all-around reduction to minimum of all military establishments and preparations for war, which are always a potential danger to the peace of the world."

Free Trade And Peace

In June in Geneva there was an Economic Conference of the League of Nations Societies. We quote below some of the things Sir George Paish said on this occasion :

"At the present moment of stress and strain when unemployment is general, when trade is depressed, and when nations and individuals find themselves in a financial situation of unusual difficulty, it is desirable, indeed it is essential, to discover the most effective means of adjustment. Nations cannot be driven into poverty without danger of war... Nations in these days are part of a world economy and the prosperity of individual nations is dependent upon the prosperity of the world. The countries which produce large surplus supplies of food stuffs and raw materials need to sell their products to the countries which produce surplus supplies of manufactured goods, while the manufactured goods of one country need to be exchanged for those of other countries...

This situation demands the utmost freedom of trade to enable nations to pay for what they need to buy and to meet their obligations... And with this pressing need of greater freedom of trade since the war, the nations almost universally have pursued a policy of trade restriction. Is it therefore cause of wonder that trade is depressed, unemployment universal and the financial situation an anxious one?... If the policy of trade restriction were reversed not only to the extent recommended by the report of the World Economic Conference but completely, by the destruction of every barrier to trade and migration then recovery would be rapid...

One of the resolutions proposed by Sir George Paish was as follows :

"That the free movement of labour, of capital, of credit and of produce between the nations is essential to that rapid expansion of the world's productive and consuming power which is called for by the present situation."

TO JANE ADDAMS ON HER SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY

Lida Gustava Heymann

We salute you on this day (September 6th) with deep admiration and sincere friendship! we who are devoted and loyal pacifists.

Your pacifism was never of the kind that is theoretical, doctrinaire and meaningless but pervaded by real understanding and justice. Your heart has gone out to all mankind and so you have comprehended the forces that separate and also those that unite old and young, men and women, rich and poor, peoples and nations.

You believed all people to be equal. Liberty and equality was not a high-sounding phrase to you but a spiritual commandment to which you have been true throughout your life in spite of all vicissitudes.

Not only have you given work and bread to thousands but you have given to tortured humanity that which was more precious, beauty, joy, and understanding, and in so doing you have released healing and creative forces which have furnished the strength needed to face life's cruelties and struggles. Whoever so acts and lives leaves a deep and ineffaceable impression.

The guiding principles of your sincere and straight-forward life have been non-violence and justice. You have believed unshakenly in the power for good in every human being because you yourself are good. Therefore you possess that in yourself which lends beauty to old age; and your deep conviction that in spite of world war and chaos the salvation of humanity can only be accomplished through non-violence gives you clear vision and serenity in your old age.

What then have we to offer you on your 70th birthday? Nothing, since you possess in your own person all that is beautiful.

But one thing we would like to express, we who have worked with you for decades, before, during and since the world war, we would like to express to you our heartfelt thanks for all you have given us.

THE NATIVE PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence

In the process of memory South Africa appears to me to be a land where every kind of beauty is spread lavishly for human enjoyment, but in the process of reflection a cloud of darkness rises. It spreads from the knowledge that the gracious civilisation of the white races is founded on the exploitation and repression of the black races, which in the Union of South Africa (excluding Rhodesia and the British Protectorates) are in the proportion of three to one. Moreover one realises that this condition applies

not alone to South Africa, but in varying degrees to nearly every part of the globe where Western civilisation impinges upon primitive cultures...

In giving my impressions of the Native Problem of South Africa, I want it understood that I am not attempting any British criticism... The virile primitive Bantu tribes of South Africa have been subjected to the pressure of great world forces. One of these forces is the great wave of Imperialist Capitalist enterprise that swept over the world during the 19th century. Capitalist enterprise was brought to bear upon the Bantu to drive him out of his tribal civilisation, to destroy the power and authority of his Chiefs, and to break down the traditions which hitherto have ruled his life so as to force him into the Western Industrial system as a cheap-labour supply.

The roads over the mountain passes and throughout vast stretches of country could not have been made without the help of the native. The magnificent harbours, the extensive railway lines, the mineral wealth, the agricultural products could not have been achieved without him. Today the unskilled black labourer earns about £1 a week (less rather than more), and the skilled white labourer earns something like £6 a week (more rather than less) and one man out of ten of the white population is "a poor white" incapable of skilled work and unable to live on the wage of the black unskilled worker. So there comes into play another force equally world-wide as the force of Industrial Capitalism. This is Trade Unionism with its principle of a decent standard of life for every white worker. Hence it arises that the unskilled white worker regards the native worker as a blackleg and fears him as a rival. Between the upper millstone of Imperialist Capitalism and the nether millstone of the white workers' standard of life the Bantu is being crushed today. These two forces are augmented by a third, which is the instinctive repulsion amounting in some cases to positive hatred inspired in most white people by "colour", whether yellow, brown or black...

In the meantime one act of legislation after another is being carried through Parliament, the effect of which is to create an impasse blocking to the Bantu all chance of escaping from conditions of abject poverty and repression. It is the recognition of this exploited misery and weakness underlying the gracious and beautiful white civilisation that tinges happy memories with a feeling almost of shame. There were moments when the intense horror and repulsion felt by the majority of people against "colour" seemed to me a sort of obsession. I remember in particular a scene in the dining room of the hotel

at Bulawayo in Rhodesia, where the commercial classes of the city, as well as the tourists foregather. Amongst them I saw around me some men of my own race who bore the appearance of habitual overeating and overdrinking; men unshapely, with not a line or suggestion of beauty in their bodies, and with them women many of them obviously powdered and painted, with artificially crimson lips. Amongst us moved Indian waiters, graceful slender figures with gentle dignified manners and faces suggestive of the aristocracy of race.

To anyone with the smallest artistic sense there could be no doubt at all as to which type represented in the room was physically and aesthetically superior. Yet the Indian in South Africa is outclassed like the Bantu...

I want to make it very clear that in the Union of South Africa itself the Bantu is not without his champion. In the Universities of every town there is a special chair for the study of the Bantu races, their tribal cultures, their mentality and traditions. The most enlightened of the people are favourably disposed to them... It was my good fortune to be in contact everywhere with humane and intelligent people in every kind of position of responsibility who are alive to the retribution which must fall upon the country unless some just solution is found to this coil of circumstances. We as British people have no direct responsibility for the South African Union, but the same conditions which have developed there are present in their initial stages in East Africa and in African British Protectorates.

The policy of segregation *if adopted at the beginning of the white occupation* offers an escape from the worst problems. If the native races are given their fair share (fair both in quantity and quality) of the land, if they are left to develop their own culture and are not forced either by special taxation or by any other method into Western systems of Industry, it is possible that the impact of a white civilisation upon them would make for their progress and happiness and development. The one thing that is not possible without disaster to both races is the weaving of the native races into the web of our industrial civilisation while denying them any participation in the standard of life of the white peoples, or any franchise rights in the community of which they form a vital part.

It is true that the native enured to tribal discipline submissive and law-abiding by nature, may be denied every human right for generations and even for centuries. But the white man pays in the end a terrible price and will awaken to the fact that he has twisted a rope around his own neck.

Work And Bread For Millions

Lida Gustava Heymann

Dictators, arrogant egoists, who know how to advertise themselves, have the following of the great masses. Their names are known everywhere; the press is full of their utterances and their achievements. These despots feel themselves world conquerors, even gods. Only a few of their contemporaries realize that their accomplishments are worthless and a hindrance to the progress of civilization; it remains for the historians of the future to justly portray the bombastic futility of these men.

How different are those personalities who quietly, without shouting, with no attempt to attract attention, are earnestly endeavoring to create new values and add to the progress of civilization. Their names remain unknown; the press may mention them now and then, but the masses know nothing of them; they possess no money. Only the future will fully appreciate these persons and their achievement.

Who for instance has heard today of Hermann Soergel and his Panropa project? Only a very few. Yet his project is of a gigantic size and suited to give to humanity what it has needed most since the world war: common peace ideals, work and bread. This plan carried out would furnish a livelihood to more than 200 millions people. But for the realization of this project huge sums of money are needed. So much money that the amount today cannot be estimated. But money is to be had as has been proved over and over again each year by the size of the military budgets of all the countries. The money in this case is not asked for a futile purpose, to promote death and destruction, but instead to create, to

build. The barren desert land of the Sahara is to be made fertile, and transformed into oases. The sea level of the Mediterranean is to be lowered 200 meters thus creating new land amounting to 660,200 square kilometers for the countries on the edge of the Mediterranean. The shores of the Mediterranean are today mainly barren mountainous land; but investigations have shown that new land thus created will afford valuable and productive soil, and furnish a granary for Europe. According to the statements of Geologists the Mediterranean fifty thousand years ago was an inland sea, the continents of Spain and North Africa were connected, the sea level being about a thousand meters lower than today. When the masses of melting ice of the last glacial period were seeking an outlet near Gibraltar the Mediterranean was formed in its present shape. Soergel's plan proposes the building of a mighty stow dam near Gibraltar between Tangiers and Tarifa, between Europe and Africa, thus re-establishing the former condition. Locks are to be erected and in thousands of channels the de-salted seawater will pour into the Sahara transforming hot barren desert into fertile fields. Africa will become again what it was in times of yore, the richest and most productive part of the earth. It is true, the problem of de-salting the seawater has not been solved. But Soergel believes it will be, he says however:

"But even if the satisfactory accomplishment of the extraction is always held to be impossible, this problem might just as well be entrusted to Mother Nature, in that large tracts of North Africa could be transformed

into navigable lakes (instead of having plantations exclusively), the intermediate land being gradually made fertile through rainfall."

Whoever thinks that this project sounds like a fairy tale from "A Thousand and One Nights", should read Hermann Soergel's book: "Lowering the Mediterranean, Irrigating the Sahara, Panropa Project." J. M. Gebhardt's Edition, Leipzig, 1929.

This book even in its outer appearance shows its international character. It is written in four languages, German, English, French and Italian, and covers only forty-eight pages. It has 25 illustrations making clear the concise text. Everyone who is working for the peaceful upbuilding of humanity should consider it his duty to help make Soergel's Panropa Project known to all concerned. It is not only a question of Europe, of transforming Europe's lust for battle and murder into constructive work for centuries to come but in this way Europe and Africa will approach each other, will become one. Africa is concerned. The peoples of Africa have awakened! They are often superior to Europeans spiritually and morally if not technically. They have much to give to us Europeans who have completely broken down through the world war.

Let us not forget this and realize that the time is past when Europeans can invade other continents, play the master, steal and colonize land, and suppress other peoples. The union of Europe and Africa, planned by Soergel will only come to pass if Europeans and Africans unite and work out together as equals the realization of a Panropa-Panfrica.

Meetings At The Maison Internationale

On June 18th Madame Maroussia Orloff, a member of the Geneva Russian Colony, gave an extremely interesting short musical programme in which she illustrated with appropriate selections: German sentimentality, Russian melancholy, Spanish passion and French elegance.

A small meeting convened by special invitation was held on June 24th to meet some of the Indian delegates to the International Labour Conference. Addresses were given by Mr. J. K. Mehta and Mr. Shiva Rao and later on an informal discussion took place in which Mr. Chatterjee and Mr. Sinha and others took part. They described recent events in India and explained the Indian point of view.

On June 26th there was a reception to the women delegates to the Inter-

national Labour Conference. Mrs. C. Ramondt-Hirschmann who was fortunately in Geneva at that time presided and introduced the two speakers, Mme. Wasniewska of Poland and Miss Rosenberg of Hungary.

On July 16th a tea was arranged in honour of Mrs. Laura Puffer Morgan and Miss Amy Woods. There were a large number of Americans present besides people from Switzerland, Holland, Sweden, Great Britain, the Ukraine and Albania. Miss Sheepshanks, who presided at the meeting, gave a brief statement of the aims and work of the W. I. L. P. F., before introducing the speakers. Mrs. Morgan said that in recent conversations with statesmen it seems likely that the Disarmament Conference will be held either towards the end of 1931 or during 1932 and that it had

been pointed out to her that much of the success of this conference depends upon the preparation before hand and the expression of public opinion. It is therefore urgent that pacifist opinion should come out strongly for drastic disarmament. It was pointed out that Germany would not be content to wait much longer for the fulfillment of the undertakings given in the Versailles Treaty that their disarmament should be followed by general disarmament.

Miss Amy Woods described from personal experiences the various phases passed through in the evolution from a national outlook to an international outlook. She said her own views had been broadened by travel that she had become an absolute pacifist. She stressed the need of formulating a philosophy of peace.

The International Labour Conference

Mary Sheepshanks

The annual conference of the International Labour Organisation was held in Geneva in June under the Presidency of Prof. Ernest Mahaim of Belgium. The conference was larger and more representative than ever, delegations from 51 countries being present besides an official observer from Mexico.

The report of the Director, Albert Thomas, in two large volumes and covering economic and labour conditions of the whole world, was distributed beforehand and debated in general session, in forty-six speeches from twenty-six countries dealing with various topics raised by him. In his reply the Director dwelt on the immense and growing volume of work flowing into the International Labour Office, and said that the problem was for the office to have resources and strength to fulfil all the claims on it. He indicated the possibility of regional developments, notably in the Asiatic-Pacific region and in South America. The conference this year has also shown the difficulties of treating special questions not of direct interest to all states, e.g. forced labour, and hours of coal miners. M. Thomas emphasised that the world economic crisis must not be a barrier to social reform.

WORK OF COMMISSIONS

Three commissions studied the three main questions submitted to this year's conference: viz. Forced Labour, Hours of Work in Coal Mines and Hours of Work of Salaried Employees. In accordance with the usual procedure a draft convention on each subject was submitted to the commissions, discussed, amended and reported on by them to the plenary meeting and voted on.

FORCED LABOUR

A committee of 45 members (15 from each group, government, employers and workers) considered the report and draft convention presented by the Office. The proceedings were extremely animated and certain tendencies and sympathies very noticeable, the workers group championing the interests of the natives and M. Jouhaux (France) generally acting as spokesman of their views, and being well supported by the Javanese, Hadji Salim. The French, Belgian and Portuguese governments and employers' representatives appeared apprehensive as to an encroachment on their rights and interests. It is true that the door once opened to international intervention may lead to the curtailment of privileges, and possibly some may fear a reallocation of colonies and mandates. The French convention appeared to consider the convention as intended to weaken them nationally — this point of view was several times urged by M. Diagne, the Sengalese,

who by a strange irony was put up by the French Government to support its case. Another objection put forward by employers and governments was that 8 or 10 Colonial Powers are to have their hands tied by the vote of non-colonial powers. It is possible that the workers' amendments forced the pace too much and have imperilled the chances of ratification by some Colonial Powers. The British Government however warmly supported the Convention.

It was deeply regrettable, though perhaps unavoidable, that the millions of African natives whose conditions of life and work were at stake had no direct spokesman.

The general result of the committee's work was to strengthen the convention, which was adopted by the conference. The main result is: that governments undertake to abandon all forms of forced labour within the shortest possible period. Forced labour for private individuals or companies is to be abolished immediately, and also for work underground.

Meanwhile, and pending total abolition, such labour may only be used for public purposes and subject to conditions laid down in the convention. Another great gain is that labourers may not be sent far away from their villages, thus getting rid of one great evil.

The great danger is that as military conscription of natives is not interfered with, governments will simply conscript natives and use conscript labour for e.g. road and railway building, and this in spite of the voting of a Recommendation for the avoidance of indirect compulsion.

The whole question is to come up again for revision in five years time. Let us now hope that the governments will ratify! W.I.L. Sections in France and Belgium especially should watch this.

SALARIED EMPLOYEES

A draft convention was adopted limiting the hours of work of clerks and shop assistants to 48 hours a week and 8 a day. The large classes of employees in hotels, restaurants, hospitals, theatres and places of amusement are not included, but Recommendations were voted that special inquiries should be instituted into these classes of workers, with a view to the framing of a special convention within four years.

In the case of the salaried employees there was a certain amount of opposition from employers and governments who felt the question was not urgent.

HOURS OF WORK IN MINES

The League of Nations referred the thorny question of miners' hours to the Labour Office which held a pre-

liminary conference on the subject in January and hoped to secure an international agreement in June. The proceedings in committee were extremely animated, the employers' group opposing reduction of hours and on a point of procedure leaving the commission. Nevertheless agreement was come to on a day of 7 and $\frac{3}{4}$ hours, the British Labour Government and workers' delegates reluctantly accepting a longer day than is acceptable to British miners in the hope of securing uniformity with other coal mining countries and especially with Germany.

At the final vote the German Government delegate abstained from voting and thereby prevented the necessary majority being obtained, and the Convention had to be abandoned. The subject will be taken up again next year. Germany's opposition is said to be due to fear of Polish competition e.g. if Poland refused to ratify.

WOMEN

There were eleven women either as delegates or advisers, from Canada, China, Denmark, Britain, Germany, Poland, Switzerland, Hungary, Sweden and Ireland, and they took an active part in the proceedings.

The British Government asked for an amendment of one clause in the Washington Convention (forbidding night work for women) so as to permit women engineers' night work in electrical stations.

Frl. Mohrke, the German workers' delegate, protested against the non-inclusion of a representative of female salaried workers on the committee on salaried workers. She urged that occupational training should be given to commercial and technical employees, especially to hotel workers. Warmly welcoming the collaboration between the International Labour Organization and the women's organisations, Frl. Mohrke opposed as "entirely mistaken" the policy of the Open Door Council, which works against protective legislation for women. Speaking as a representative of industrial workers, Frl. Mohrke said that all women's organisations except the Open Door Council were in favour of protective legislation. Married women must be considered as mothers as well as workers; women must be more protected than hitherto, not less, such protection is necessary for the community and for women themselves.

Madame Wasniewska of Poland urged the claims of women to better representation on I. L. O. bodies.

Many other and interesting topics were raised in the general discussion and especially the question of labour in Asia.

Situation In India

In the May Pax we gave an account of the non-violent struggle in India for independence. We told of the action of the W. I. L. in asking for amnesty for political prisoners, and the telegram to Gandhi reading: "May non-violence achieve success."

Letters From India

Margaret E. Cousins, a European resident in India, writes:

"Things are extremely tense here. In fact, people are nearly at the point of despair. If Martial law is proclaimed in Bombay the limit would then be reached of the British bankruptcy of Statesmanship. Even then I doubt if India will seek to retaliate in a militaristic and violent fashion, for Gandhi's teaching of non-violence is India's true psychology and nature... In reality it is India which is working out experimentally the principles of the W. I. L. and we want all your help in Geneva... The Simon Commission is as much special pleading as was Miss Mayo's book. We who have lived here for long years could give opposite arguments for all its special pleading. Also its constituents are quite inaccurate such as in its remarks about the Indian women not having proved themselves as citizens. They have only had the opportunity for doing so since Britain gave the first instalment of Reforms in 1919...

"In Madras City 75% of women voters polled at the first election for which they were eligible to vote. As many as 6,000 women went in public procession in Lahore recently in protest against Gandhi's imprisonment and these are women who had all their life been in purdah. I could give instance after instance of the same kind. Only two days before yesterday when I went to a country town and held a women's meeting in connection with the movement to encourage spinning and home industries, after a few women had gone in procession through the town the women of the place just flowed into our meeting like a river and the meeting was nearly defeated by its own success because of the noise of the babies!

"I cannot tell you how busy all of us women are who are still outside prison, but one never knows when we may find ourselves inside. To me it is like a repetition of the old Suffragette doings because the methods and spiritual atmosphere are so similar.

"Unless a pronouncement is made soon that the British Government will use the Round Table Conference for discussing a Constitution for a Self Governing India, our All Indian Women's Association will not seek to send any of its representatives."

Mrs. N.D. Captain, Bombay writes:

"I and all our workers are very grateful and appreciate greatly the prompt and sympathetic action taken by the W.I.L. Executive. I received Pax... and cannot tell you what I felt when I saw almost two pages devoted to India... Forgive me for saying so but

we Indians have almost despaired of making Europe and still less England see India and understand her people... We shall eagerly await the result of your deputation to the Secretary of State but judging from the public pronouncements by him as well as others connected with the Government of India, I feel it... will be in vain... I am enclosing a cutting of the statement made by a friend of mine during his trial. It is what most thinking Indians are feeling and for which thousands of the young and old of the country are now in jails, most of them getting the treatment meted out to ordinary criminals... Believe me that our heartfelt thanks are ever present for the noble way in which you sisters thousands of miles away have realized our agony of soul and body."

University Teacher On Trial

"I plead not guilty. I have never yet excited to sedition, disaffection and hatred... But I believe this land belongs to us Indians as England belongs to the English and Germany to the Germans. I hold that there can be as little justification for a British India as there would be for an Indian England....

We are doing what the meanest Englishman would consider it his duty to do under similar circumstances... We seek to do what George Washington did for America and Mazzini for Italy, what the patriots of all countries and climes have done. But under Gandhi's banner we seek to improve the law of Moses of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" and to follow the law of Buddha and Christ. We try to return good for evil and believe that hatred cannot be cured by hatred but by love... To-day, I am happy that I am called upon as many before me have been to prove my faith with my sufferings. My only regret is that I will be confined to the comparative security of jail while my companions are exposed to lathi blows and gunshots."

W. I. L. Deputation

As announced in the May Pax the W. I. L. planned to send a deputation of W. I. L. members representing different countries to London to urge upon Mr. Wedgewood Benn, the British Foreign Secretary for India, the immediate release of all political prisoners in India. Unfortunately this plan could not be carried out for Mr. Benn replied:

"I fear that during the present pressure of business when urgent duties and meetings may be thrust upon me at short notice, a deputation after travelling so great a distance, might find that on their arrival in London I was unable, through no fault of my

own, to keep an engagement. I think that the Government's policy has been clearly stated in recent pronouncements by the Viceroy, in the House of Commons and in the Press and the W. I. L. may rest assured that we shall not be diverted from our settled policy.

"While grateful, therefore, to the Executive for communicating with me, I feel that little useful purpose would be served by a deputation now."

Louie Bennett's Letter To Mr. Benn

"As the Irish member of the proposed deputation to you from the W. I. L., I venture now to say to you in writing something of what I had hoped to say to you personally. And I am the more strongly impelled to do so because your phrase "we shall not be diverted from our settled policy" fills me with fear. Does that settled policy involve a continuance of repression, arrests and imprisonments, accompanied by leisurely preparations for a Conference which Irish politicians would regard as safely rigged?...

"I presume that you have duly considered the danger of driving moderates into the camp with the extremists, by the policy of repression. Whatever their faults, we side with our own people in the last gap. The Irish leader, Arthur Griffith, was driven against his own judgment to accept the Irish Republican policy....

"Let me add that I, and I think that I may speak in this sense for the Executive of the W. I. L., desire independence for India. But it is our great desire to see it realised without violence, by the triumph of such a spirit as Mahatma Gandhi has striven to inspire in friend and foe alike.

"One other comment: The proposal to convene a Conference whose delegates are subject in any way to a process of selection by the British Government seems to an Irish mind a hopeless method of settlement. Irish extremists would feel it a duty to wreck such a Conference. Nor can I see how any group of moderates could hope to work out successfully a scheme evolved under such conditions."

Further W. I. L. Activities

The following telegram was sent by Mary Sheepshanks for the International Executive to the British Prime Minister; the Viceroy in India; to Mahatma Gandhi and to Jawaharlal Nehru: "The W. I. L. earnestly desiring peaceful solution Indian problems urges truce to secure co-operation in conference, urges Government withdraw repressive measures and grant amnesty and begs Indians suspend disobedience."

Disarmament Campaign Of The Women's International League

The W. I. L. has been for some time carrying on a Disarmament Campaign. A petition on disarmament has been gotten out which is printed in many languages and signatures are being secured all over the world. Dr. Sahlbom who is the chairman of the Committee on Scientific Warfare is in charge of this work.

Dr. Sahlbom's Report

"You will all remember that the Committee on Scientific Warfare was charged by the Congress in Prague to organise an international Disarmament Campaign such as suggested by Frau Perlen. It was however impossible to carry out this task by correspondence and a subcommittee met in Zurich in December and in January to discuss ways and means of carrying out this plan. We have drawn up the text of a Polyglot Declaration and Appeal incorporating the most impressive arguments we could think of on the need of making simultaneous universal disarmament propaganda. Both Declaration and Appeal are being printed, together with the names of prominent persons in different countries, who have already signed it.

"We now trust that our national sections will do their utmost for this action. We must get millions of signatures as a manifestation of the earnest will of the Peoples to throw off the yoke of war and preparations for war. Every section ought to choose a national committee to organise the work, and cooperate with organizations and circles outside our League and try to get wide publicity and moral and economic support for our action. Especially I appeal to the sections in neutral countries to energetically take up this work and help our comrades in countries still suffering from the war and intimidated by danger of new wars, or oppressed with heavy military burdens.

"There is no doubt that the time has come for an effort to concentrate world opinion against preparations for war and to draw the logical consequences of the Kellogg Pact by a strong demand for disarmament.

"For more than ten years the League of Nations has tried to solve the disarmament problem. Official Conferences have followed each other, the Governments have declared in solemn words their good will, but the delegates keep on bargaining over tons and types of battleships unable to abandon the illusion that armaments can bring security. In the meantime, the war industrials are weaving their network of trusts over the whole world. The statistics of traffic in arms give us a sure evidence that the preparations for war are increasing in almost every state, both in quantity and in efficiency. In spite of all denials, the continual perfection of war methods makes it more and more impossible to assure protection to the

civil population, as we have tried to emphasize in our appeal. If our statements seem exaggerated or fantastic we need only to refer to the official documents of the International Red Cross. The Red Cross' Expert Commission came to the following conclusions:

"Supposing an air attack similar to those made during the world war, protective measures for the civil population would be possible of realization, but they would entail very great expenditure without giving full security to the population."

"Supposing war methods of a still higher efficiency it would necessitate protective arrangements of such vast dimensions that it would be practically impossible to realize them."

"In face of what a future war is likely to be I think we are compelled from a practical as well as from an ideal point of view to fight against all war preparations, which far from furnishing security are provoking conflicts and moreover are preventing the establishment of that constructive cooperation and unity of the peoples, which is no longer a utopia but a rational project, adopted by politicians and statesmen.

"Disarmament Conferences are doomed to fail until world opinion has grown strong enough to force the Governments to live up to their peace proclamations by seriously considering the question of Universal and Total Disarmament, and we know from well informed sources that many government officials would welcome the creation of such a public opinion."

The Disarmament Petition

WAR IS RENOUNCED

LET US RENOUNCE ARMAMENTS

The undersigned men and women, irrespective of party, are convinced: That competition in armaments is leading all countries to ruin without bringing them security;

That this policy renders further wars inevitable;

That wars will in future be wars of extermination;

That the Governments' assurances of peaceful policy will be valueless so long as those measures of disarmament are delayed that should be the first result of the Pact for the Renunciation of War.

They therefore demand total and universal disarmament and request their Government formally to instruct its delegates to the next Disarmament Conference to examine all proposals for disarmament that have been or may be made, and to take the necessary steps to achieve disarmament.

Work Accomplished

SWEDEN. — The Swedish section has sent out this petition to all their W. I. L. members with an appeal for help. A big campaign is planned in the autumn in cooperation with 16 other organizations. The Swedish Section is also trying to get cooperative action with the Danish, Norwegian and Finnish Sections.

GERMANY. — 3000 petitions had been issued by this section for signature before the middle of July. This section is securing fine publicity for its work in the leading papers. Frau Perlen who is in charge of the work in Germany says it is important to hear of the work of other sections for every one asks what is being done in other countries.

GREAT BRITAIN. — This section launched its campaign May 30th and found that the disarmament declaration met with instantaneous success and approval. They have already circulated 10,000 petitions and thousands more are going out shortly. Several thousands of signatures have already been obtained and so far they have had 30 press notices.

A large number of organizations are cooperating with this section and many eminent men and women have given their signatures.

HOLLAND. — The Dutch Section has issued 3000 petitions and they have already collected enough money to pay for the initial expenses of the campaign.

OTHER SECTIONS. — The Austrian, Hungarian, Czecho-Slovakian, Bulgarian, and United States sections have issued petitions in their respective languages, and we hope soon to have reports from their work. We are also waiting eagerly for news from all the other W.I.L. sections and groups.

Appeal To National Section

All sections should do their utmost to make the Disarmament Petition a success. This is work that needs universal action. We ought to secure re millions of signatures of men and women all over the world demanding military disarmament, so that we can present these names to the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament of the League of Nations.

A million or several million voices the world around clamoring for disarmament could make themselves heard. Join in this world campaign. Get petitions from your national headquarters. Do not rest until by our very numbers we have defeated the militarists and hoisted the banner of Peace.

WORK OF THE W. I. L. NATIONAL SECTIONS

British Section

This Section has been most active. It has launched its big campaign for getting the W. I. L. Disarmament Petition signed as described on another page of this issue. Besides this it took active part in big meetings held on May 12th and 13th under the auspices of the "Women's Peace Crusade" on "World Disarmament". It has been collecting facts in regard to the military training of boys and these have been laid before Members of Parliament who have asked questions in the House of Commons and propaganda is being made to secure the abolition of the War Office grant.

This section prepared a memorandum on Forced Labour, which was considered by other Women's Organizations and the memorandum was then sent to the Governments concerned, to the International Labour Conference in Geneva in June and to the British delegate to the conference.

The section has been active on the problem in India. It passed a resolution on India which was printed in the June Pax, asking for Dominion Status for India, release of political prisoners and that the Indian members to the forthcoming Round Table Conference be nominated by the Indian Legislative Assembly, and that the British Government state definitely that the object of the Conference is for full responsible Government for India.

A letter was sent to Mr. Wedgewood Benn, Secretary of State for India asking that Indian Women's Organizations be invited to nominate women representatives to the Round Table Conference. On June 4th a meeting was arranged between W. I. L. members and Indian women at which different sides of the question were discussed with the idea of getting understanding. Two meetings were held in July to discuss the Simon Report and the present situation in India. An eminent Indian and Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe spoke. The British Executive held a special meeting on July 7th to draw up a statement on India. This was circulated to all the local groups and to the secretaries of the National Sections and to Mr. Wedgewood Benn and to a number of Indian women in England. The acknowledgments received thus far indicate that the statement has been received with general approval.

Austrian Section

On the 26th of May the labor groups of the Austrian Peace Associations arranged a mass meeting with the slogan "Women Want Peace". This meeting was held at the time of the Congress of the International Council of Women in Vienna. It was thought an opportune time to

stress the intense desire for peace of these labor groups and also an occasion when the thorough going international pacifists could be heard. The affair was a big success and the hall was crowded. Although the meeting was arranged by the Labor Unions it proved also a huge success for the W. I. L. thanks to the efforts of Mrs. Askanazsy, Mrs. Husak and Fraulein Grasel. The speakers were all W. I. L. members who generously gave their services, Camille Drevet, France, Frau Grethen of Hannover, Mrs. de Gay Solly of South Africa, Dr. Anna Schustlerova, Czechoslovakia, and Mrs. Hendrik-Match, United States.

A resolution was presented by Dr. Marianne Zycha calling for both international and internal disarmament. This was accepted with great enthusiasm.

The Graz Group of the Austrian Section arranged three meetings in connection with Good Will Day. One on May 17th, "Women and Peace", another May 18th, "Peace and Youth" and a third May 19th, "Civilization and Peace". The guests from Vienna were Olga Misar and Dr. M. Zycha who represent the two groups in Vienna, Miss Hoystedt representing the Labor Groups of the Austrian Peace Associations and Herr Rona representing the World Youth League. The remarkable thing about these meetings was that the Graz W. I. L. group had succeeded in bringing together representatives of different parties with varied points of view. On the second day a youth group was formed. On the third day an interesting incident occurred in that a Fieldmarshall a representative of a Graz preparedness group, expressed his desire to speak and then made it evident that he had been to some extent converted to pacifism. He spoke of war as an "inevitable evil" but said however that if women could succeed in abolishing war it would be a great blessing.

Considering that Graz is the home of the "Heimwehr" (home defense) and that on August 1, 1928 a peace meeting was assaulted, these meetings were a triumph and gave new courage to all who participated.

Tunis Section

In May this Section held a meeting and passed a resolution of protest at the arrest of some Tunisian Students who held a demonstration to manifest their loyalty to the Mohammedan faith on the eve of the Catholic Congress. The resolution reads:

"Believing 1) that these arrests are a violation of liberty of opinion and that they offer marked contrast to the warm reception given to the Eucharist Congress in Tunis,

2) that this difference in treatment can only breed rebellion and justified discontent,

"Requests that the Resident Minister General representing as he does in Tunis the noble and liberal traditions of the French Republic will graciously release at once the young manifestants thus restoring confidence among the population whose moderation and generous hospitality one cannot with justice ignore."

This resolution was sent to the Resident Minister who replied immediately as follows:

"I have not the power to release, as you request, the arrested individuals who are not in my hands but in those of Justice. Without trespassing, however, in the domain of the judicial authority I have appealed to the indulgence of this authority towards the young people who have yielded heedlessly to their impulse.

I know that a certain number of them have been set at liberty; but I have received word that others who were guilty of offences against the common law, have been imprisoned by the Judge of Education, and that only that Tribunal is qualified to take measures in their behalf."

Irish Section

This section arranged for Professor Amuja C. Chakravarty, literary secretary to Rabindranath Tagore, a week's visit to Dublin.

During the week he gave a series of interesting lectures, 1. "The Non-Violent Movement in India", 2. "The New Woman's Movement, Bengal", 3. "A Plea for Free Co-operation between England and India", 4. "The Work at Santimeketan" (Tagore's Colony).

In his lectures Prof. Chakravarty dwelt at length on the importance of the Woman's Movement to India. He made special mention of the work of Mrs. Margaret Cousins in the Women's Indian Association, to whom the Irish Committee sent messages of greeting and goodwill. This section hopes to print the above series of lectures in leaflet form. Prof. Chakravarty showed great interest in the work and ideals of the W.I.L. He wrote afterwards to the Section as follows:

"I have come back (from Ireland) with rich memories and with an added faith in humanity and in the spirit of fellowship which unites us in spite of external differences. I am perfectly convinced that the work you are responsible for in your League will bear rich results and will actively contribute to a deep understanding between the people of Ireland and those of other countries. Please convey to all the members of your Committee my hope that in our passionate urge for peace we shall never submit to evil by accepting violence as a truth. We turn to the invincible spirit of the New Woman in Ireland and in other countries to lead us all out of the welter of violent politics into the glory of truly heroic living."

United States Section

This Section held its annual meeting in Washington, May 21 to 24. Miss Addams was present at the meeting. A series of interesting resolutions dealing with the following subjects were passed: "The London Naval Treaty", "The Consultative Pact", "International Law", "Prohibition of War", "Codification of Agreements", "Pan-American Arbitration Treaty", "Military Training", "Labor and Peace", "Lynching", "Race Discrimination", "Recognition of De Facto Governments", "Independence for the Philippines", "Non-Violence in India", "Nationality of Women". There is no space to print these resolutions but we give below one passed in relation to the recent Tariff bill in America and a portion of the letter sent to the Senate by Dorothy Detzer, National Secretary.

RESOLUTION ON TARIFF.

"Whereas: The pending Hawley-Smoot Tariff Bill, has already affected our good relations with other countries so that it is hardly less dangerous than a race in armaments.

"Be It Resolved: That we call on the Senate to defeat this bill, or, should it pass Congress, that we call on the President to veto the bill."

LETTER TO SENATORS.

"We see this measure jeopardizing the good relations of this country with the rest of the world, not only as indicated by the protests which have come from twenty-seven countries, but because it would definitely violate the spirit of the resolution adopted at the International Economic Conference of 1927....

"From a purely selfish American point of view we ask you to vote to defeat this measure because it would increase the general cost of living; because it would inflate the profits of a few at the expense of the majority and because we believe that it will increase the already appalling state of unemployment in

this country with all its disastrous results. But we particularly beg of you to vote against the Bill because we believe that the tariff war which would result would be as serious a menace to our relations with other countries as a competitive race in armaments would be."

Traffic In Arms

In the May *Pax* we printed a letter the W. I. L. executive sent to the International Federation of Trade Unions calling upon them to aid in stopping the transport of arms to China. The Federation of Trade Unions have sent the following reply:

"We also would welcome the possibility of stopping the transport of arms from European countries to China and Japan, and the entire discontinuance of the manufacture and transportation of war material. The responsible authorities in the International Labour Office have repeatedly expressed themselves to that effect.

In the present instance it is a matter that particularly concerns the transport workers; this your letter emphasizes. Therefore we have first of all gotten in touch with the International Federation of Transport Workers and asked them to let us know their viewpoint. We are convinced that the above mentioned federation will give their wholehearted attention to the very important matter suggested by you." — Joh. Sassenbach, secretary-general.

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Secretary: MARY SHEEPSHANKS.

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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