

I hated idolatry, but when I saw an idolator prostrate before his God.



I knew that he was better than I who undo all by hating his worship.

Vedie Hymn.

# PAX INTERNATIONAL

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

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## DANGER SPOTS TO WATCH

### Dictatorship.

The Chief of Police in Trieste under a decree from the Italian Government has ordered the disbanding of the Jugoslav cultural societies, which consist of 80 institutions in Trieste alone.

The reason given for this action is: «irredentism in propagating exclusively Slav national literature is contrary to Italian national interests».

### Fatal Government Instructions.

Viscount Cecil, one of the staunchest supporters of the League of Nations, resigned from the British Cabinet and did not go to Geneva as a delegate to the Assembly. He gave as his reason for resigning a fundamental disagreement with the British Cabinet on the policy of disarmament. In regard to the Naval Disarmament Conference he says:

«Over and over again I was compelled by my instructions to maintain propositions in the Commission which were difficult to reconcile with any serious desire for the success of its labors... I believe an agreement might have been reached on terms which would have sacrificed no British interests.»

### Gas Masks.

According to last reports there were 3,675 U.S. marines on duty in China. It was announced from Washington that five thousand gas mask army marines in China were sent from army stores in the Philippines to Shanghai.

## GOOD TIDINGS FOR PACIFISTS

### The 8th Assembly Achievements

#### Big Powers Criticised.

Monsieur Hambro, the delegate from Norway, at a full session of the Assembly criticised the big Powers and the Council. He said:

«We discuss the work of the Council, but the Council itself keeps silent. We cry into a grey void, but the leading Members stand aloof, observing an attitude which is rather disappointing for those who come here eager, sympathetic, with the greatest belief in the foresight, broad-mindedness, and wisdom of the first statesmen of the age... There is an impression abroad that within the Council is a Supreme Council, which meets at the same time as the Council but in private to discuss the problems with which the Council itself is to deal later and in this way questions have been decided before they were submitted for consideration to the Council as a whole...»

«We cannot help feeling that it would perhaps give greater political weight to the deliberations of the Council if its members were not too closely tied to the diplomatic centres of the Great Powers.»

#### Arbitration.

Herr Stresemann for Germany signed the Optional Clause of the Permanent Court of International Justice, providing for compulsory arbitration for all disputes.

#### Outlawry of War.

Mr. Sokal, Poland presented a resolution to the League calling for the «outlawry» of all aggressive war, and limiting the settlement of all international disputes to peaceful methods. The representatives of all the nations present voted on this resolution separately and individually and everyone voted for it.

#### Committee on Security.

It was recommended to the Assembly by the Disarmament Commission whose leading spirits are Nansen (Norway), Benes (Czecho-Slovakia) and Brouckère (Belgium), to set up a parallel committee, to be known as the Committee on Security, which shall «consider the measures capable of giving all States the guarantees of arbitration and security necessary to enable them to fix the level of their armaments at the lowest possible figures in an international disarmament agreement».

This proposal was accepted by the Assembly and it was decided as a result to arrange for a Disarmament Conference in November.

## W. I. L. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON ARBITRATION.

During the Executive Committee Meeting it was learned that Herr Stresemann on behalf of the German people would sign the Optional Clause providing for compulsory arbitration. The following letter was accordingly sent to him.

#### Letter to Stresemann.

«The Executive Committee of the W.I.L., meeting in Geneva September 9th to 13th, passed a resolution expressing its deep appreciation of the action of the German Government, as announced to the League of Nations Assembly by Herr Stresemann, in declaring its intention to sign the optional clause of the statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague.»

«Germany has thus the honour of being the first Great Power to accept universal obligatory arbitration in all disputes.»

«By this action Germany gives a lead in the cause of peace, which we hope to see followed at once by the other Great Powers.»

«As Herr Stresemann rightly claimed in making his declaration: 'It is not speeches but deeds that make for progress, and Germany is entitled to consider herself among the countries which are collaborating in world progress.'»

## Executive Committee Resolutions On Russia.

Believing that the unfriendly attitude of certain Western Powers towards the U.S.S.R. and the pressure they are exerting on other Governments constitutes the greatest threat to world peace, the Executive Committee of the W.I.L.P.F., meeting at Geneva, urges the National Sections to do their utmost to counteract the intrigues (false news, publication of false documents) whose object is the rupture of diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. and to do all in their power to prevent such a rupture.

#### On Capital Punishment.

The Executive Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom meeting at Geneva requests its National Sections to take energetic action in their respective countries and their colonies and dependencies for the suppression of the death penalty, so that official murders, like that of Sacco and Vanzetti, which are a disgrace to modern civilization, may never recur.



## W. I. L. EXECUTIVE MEETS AT GENEVA

The Executive Committee for the first time in its history met in the Maison Internationale. Always before it has met in different parts of the world to make propaganda. But for once the Committee stayed at home and gave its members a chance to get acquainted with their own club house. It was agreed that in general one Executive meeting a year ought to be held in Geneva.

The library was used for Committee meetings and tables were placed down the length of the room for the convenience of the twenty to twenty-five members in attendance. Every day at one the Committee stopped work for a picnic lunch. When the weather was fine we ate in our garden.

The Maison's resources were stretched to their limit. We ran short of forks, knives and chairs. Fourteen has previously been our capacity for meals. But the Executive seemed to enjoy themselves in spite of inconveniences.

Those who attended were: Executive Members, Gabrielle Duchêne (France), Gertrud Baer and Lida Gustava Heymann (Germany), Cor. Ramondt-Hirschmann (Holland), Clara Ragaz (Switzerland); Consultative Members, Olga Misar (Austria), Andrée Jouve (France), Anita Augspurg and Frida Perlen (Germany), Dr. Hilda Clark and Edith Pye (Great Britain), Dr. Aletta Jacobs (Holland), Sophie Dabska (Poland), Dr. Naima Sahlbom (Sweden), Dr. Grütter and Marguerite Gobat (Switzerland), Ella Boynton (U.S.A.). For part of the time, Mrs. Robertson and Mrs. Swanwick (Great Britain) and Dr. Kunvari (Hungary). Visiting International Members, Miss Hamilton (Canada), Mme. Wanner (France), Miss Macnaughten and Kathleen Innes (Great Britain), Lola Lloyd and Lilian Wald (U.S.A.). Secretaries, Mary Sheepshanks and Madeleine Z. Doty.

This made a pretty good representation and caused lively discussions at the meetings for there is great difference of opinion among us. We particularly missed on this occasion our great mediator, Vilma Glücklich. She it was who always found the path of conciliation. We were all saddened by her loss. At our first meeting we rose and stood silent a moment in memory of the generous spirit who had gone from our midst.

### China.

The first matter taken up was the mission to China. It was decided that in view of the fact that by appropriating the whole of our reserve fund there was enough money for the travelling expenses of one delegate, one delegate at least, i.e. Camille Drevet, should go to China. It was agreed, however, that it was most desirable to have Edith Pye, the English delegate, go as well, and that the journey should therefore be postponed a little longer to try and secure additional funds. The English Section is making a special effort to secure this money before November.

Mrs. Grover Clark, the U.S. delegate, is already in China, and it was decided that the other delegates should meet her there not later, in any case, than December.

The plan now is to have the delegates go to Indochina on the way out making contacts there, then proceed to Shanghai, travelling over as much of China as possible, and return by way of Japan and

the U.S. Mrs. Grover Clark speaks Chinese fluently, so our delegates hope to get directly in touch with Chinese women without the need of an intermediary. Mrs. Clark is already making plans for the arrival of the mission. In a recent letter from Peking she says:

«I have conferred principally with Mrs. Sophia Chen Zen, one of the best known of the younger Chinese women here, who is in touch with various Chinese women's organizations and who is very widely known for her advanced thinking and general wide awakeness. We have gotten in touch with various women's organizations and the letter sent by the W.I.L. to the Chinese women has been published in the leading Chinese papers. There is no doubt whatever that when the delegates come they will be given a warm welcome.»

Besides this letter from Mrs. Clark a cable has come from Mrs. Sophia Chen Zen which reads: «Warm welcome assured.»

### Pax International.

Those who are interested in «Pax» will be glad to know that we are to keep on with the paper for another year on its present basis. Work at Headquarters has grown so rapidly that it has become impossible for one person to both edit the paper and act as secretary. The work has therefore been divided. Mary Sheepshanks, the new incoming international secretary, is taking over the secretarial and political work, while Madeleine Z. Doty is to continue editing the paper. There was considerable discussion over «Pax». The representatives of the French and German sections made numerous criticisms. But practically all the other sections gave the paper hearty support, saying it was proving particularly useful as propaganda. It was agreed that it was impossible to edit a paper that would please everyone. As Dr. Jacobs of Holland said: «Let us be thankful for what we have got and encourage instead of discourage the editor.»

This year money will again be raised to cover the printing bill for «Pax» but it was agreed that if the members care to have an international paper it ought ultimately to be made wholly self-supporting. In order to do this it was decided to set aside 2.50 Swiss Francs of the dues of every new international membership, which sum should be used in future to help cover the expense of «Pax». During December and January, Madeleine Doty is to make a tour, going to the U.S.A. and raising money for the paper, and then returning to edit it from Geneva as before. During her absence an issue will be published by Mary Sheepshanks.

### New International Secretary.

Miss Mary Sheepshanks, the new secretary, was for a long time secretary of the International Suffrage Alliance and edited their paper «Jus Suffragii». She is taking up her work at Headquarters with great enthusiasm. As the work at Headquarters has been lightened by Madeleine Doty continuing to edit «Pax», she is hoping to do much more work along political lines than has yet been undertaken by our League. She is planning to keep in close touch with the National Sections and supply them with special material suited to their special needs and acting on suggestions they may send in. Also she hopes to keep in very close touch with the League of Na-

tions and keep our members well informed, sending around monthly a multigraphed news-letter of events with suggestions as to action that our sections might take. She will also write an article each month for «Pax» on some phase of our work.

### The Constitution.

Considerable discussion arose over the British suggestion to amend the W.I.L. Constitution so that the Executive should consist of the present ten members elected by the Congress and an additional one representative from each National Section with voting powers. This would make a smaller Committee than the present system but would insure each National Section a vote at every Executive meeting.

At present each Section may send two Consultative Members to the Executive Committee meeting but these members only have voting privileges at one Executive meeting during the year. Those in favor of this amendment contend that there are now large National Sections whose views need representing and it would be well to have these Sections feel responsible for the policy of the W.I.L., by giving them direct representation and voting privileges while those opposed say that the ten Executive Members represent all countries rather than any one country and it would be dangerous to give Consultative Members power to decide the policy of the W.I.L. because they include representatives from new sections who in some cases would take a national point of view and might submerge other sections. It was agreed, however, that no change could be made in the Constitution until the next Congress, when the delegates to the Congress must decide it.

### Next Congress.

It was proposed that the next Congress, the one in 1929, be held in the Balkans. That three days of the Congress be spent in Greece, three in Jugoslavia, and three in Bulgaria and perhaps three in Roumania. It was suggested that something in the nature of a «Pax Special» train be organized to take the delegates from one country to another. It was thought the business sessions could be held in the morning, and the afternoon and evening sessions be devoted to propaganda. This proposal was received with great enthusiasm and voted for.

### The World is One

The world is one, we cannot live apart,  
To Earth's remotest races we are kin;  
God made the generations of one blood,  
Man's separation is a sign of sin.

What though we solve the secret of the stars,  
Or from the vibrant ether pluck a song,  
Can this for all man't tyranny atone  
While Mercy weeps and waits and suffers long?

Put up the sword, its day of anguish past;  
Disarm the forts, and then the war-flags furl  
Forever keep the air without frontiers,  
The great, free, friendly highway of the world.

So that at last to rapture men may come,  
And hear again the music of the spheres,  
And stand erect illumined, radiant, free,  
The travail and the triumph of the years.  
(Boston Transcript) Hinton White.

# The International Spirit

Salvador de Madariaga

The following article consists of extracts from a speech which Monsieur de Madariaga, the Head of the Disarmament Section of the League of Nations, delivered at the opening of the W.I.L. Summer School, August 25th 1927.

### The National Spirit.

The international spirit has an opposite and that opposite is the national spirit. I am not here to condemn the national spirit in order to defend the international spirit. I believe that opposing forces can exist together, but this co-existence of the national and the international spirit must be harmonized. The national spirit is relatively modern; so is the international spirit, for opposites are born together.

What do we see in the Middle Ages? Nations, certainly, but not nations in the present sense of that word. The word nation then meant, races, peoples, tribes, that is to say, collective varieties of humanity. These people were in a fluidic state... There were struggles, territories were stolen and lands inherited. Peoples who were under the domination of one man, passed to the domination of another. There was no foreigner in our sense of the term... Three types of individuals wandered over Europe, carrying with them the spirit of brotherhood, which was later to become the international spirit... These individuals were pilgrims, adventurers and scholars or students who went from one university to another... In the Middle Ages in the midst of confusion, disorder, and movement there were two stationary poles: Christianity and the Christian the individual...

Gradually the fluidic collective groups attempt to incarnate. There is something profound and dramatic in this descent of the national spirit into the limits of the flesh...

The first phase of this manifestation was territoriality. The wandering soul seeking a body. The national frontier is the first piece of work. It is the profile of the national group: there, the group feels the pressure of the neighboring nations; there lies its most sensitive zone. Bernard Shaw, saw this phenomenon most profoundly. He saw it not as a static fact in history but as a living phenomenon. He personified it in his Joan of Arc; in her we see national feeling incarnating itself in territory...

### The State.

The second phase of this evolution, is the development and consolidation of the State. The national soul has found its body, it now acquires its conscience, its personality. The State is the personality of the nation. It is the organ through which the conscience of the nation acts. Already there exists in this collective personality a tendency which is to have enormous consequences, a tendency towards absolutism. Thus you see in Europe a movement with strange unanimity, which goes from feudalism to centralized monarchy, to absolutism. This movement has gone on in all European countries, expressed in each country in a manner that conforms to its race...

Historically this movement finds expression on the one hand in monarchy or absolutism, on the other in democracy; two seemingly different things in appearance yet animated by the same tendency. The supremacy of the king, the supremacy of the people. Whether

you call the people or the king sovereign, the nation proclaims itself sovereign and second to none. We have now reached the dramatic turning point in the development of this aspect of human history. At the moment when sovereignty appears, human unity, the unity of the species disappears.

### Nationalism a Religion.

In the Middle Ages we saw Christianity as the supreme power and in Christianity, the Christian, the individual. But now a third person has appeared; the sovereign nation which raises itself above Christianity, above the individual. We have become slaves of the nation. The nations deify themselves, national gods appear. In the beginning national gods were modest. We had to come to the Great War, which was to have been an epic of liberty, to see the nations openly transform themselves into Gods... During the war we saw religious faith broken up to conform with the lines of the frontiers. Protestants fought Catholics, Christians fought Christians... The national god conquered the Christian gods.

The gravity of this national religion seems doubly serious since it kills brotherhood and seeks to kill the individual.

The two poles of human life Christianity and the Christian, so strong in the Middle Ages are menaced by the national religions...

Today there are no limitations to national sentiment. And the most serious obstacle in the development of the League of Nations is this intransigence on the part of National sovereignties. The fatal consequence of this has been a third descent into incarnation. Nations have become joint stock companies for the purpose of economic exploitation of the natural resources; political economy has invaded politics... Socialism, which at the beginning tended to take on a universal character, to become quasi-religion, has become nationalistic. In many countries it represents nothing more than a new theory of distribution of profits for the firm of France and Co., England and Co., etc.

### The International Spirit.

It is under such conditions that we must consider the international spirit... The international spirit can be conceived of as in different degrees of development. There is one stage quite widespread, which represents a certain degree of progress but with which it would be difficult to be content. People say today; no more war; anything you wish but no more war. This kind of international spirit would create a world where lions and tigers were replaced by foxes. The struggle would continue but it would have changed its form. It would no longer take place on battlefields but around tables and in corridors. The victors would be those who had the keenest minds and the least scruples.

Then there is a more advanced phase which consists in a cooperative society of the nations where people will cooperate, the fox having been civilized and the lion become extinct. This would mean a world where war had been ousted, competition between nations had

been eliminated, where the League of Nations was no longer a tournament field in which a judge settled differences arising from struggles for the right to exploit the good things of this world.

Suppose we had reached this advanced phase and that we had a well thought out organization which distributed profits to each in the best interests of all. Still this is not sufficient because there is an ideal phase which cannot be reached except by something higher... The real international spirit is the human spirit, it is not the spirit of the fox... It is not the spirit of the intelligent but cold exponent of cooperation, it is the human spirit which recognizes something eminently worthy in man — I my self would say something divine... What then should we search for? We must not forget our two extremes, the two ideas that have led us like two stars throughout this analysis. We must strive for unity among mankind and for individual liberty; and we shall consider any method, national or international, as bad, which does not try to establish unity among men...

Now that I have come to my conclusion I am seized by a doubt: do we perhaps exaggerate the unity of the human race?... Who can say that this international spirit is the same thing in all the European and Asiatic countries? Would it not be better to content ourselves by saying it exists in each country in its own fashion? I myself see three forms and I should not like to have to say which was the best. The form which it takes in France is that of the idea of equality, an idea which has force enough to lead to heroism. I see it also in the form of an entente, a collaboration... which manifests itself in a sincere and profound way each time there is something to do. This is the form that it takes among the Anglo-Saxon peoples. I see it also as a religious passion arising from the fact that instinctively, it is recognized that all men, no matter what their race or colour, are creatures born of the same vital source that they have the same rights and duties. I believe that this form of the universal spirit is more likely to be found among people of Spanish origin... But I am convinced that there are many different forms of the international spirit I only want to conclude by saying that the international spirit, whatever its form, is a force and that instead of using the term «international spirit», we should find a term which makes one forget the idea of the nation.

I do not want to be interpreted as anti-nationalist. I consider that nations are diverse groups of human beings of the greatest interest. All that I ask of them is not to exaggerate their importance. I would like to have the word «international» replaced by a word that brings us a little nearer our two poles, (Christianity and Christian) for example «humanist» or «pro-human».

The thing that is necessary is that the international spirit should be manifested and that we may know it by its fruits; peace for mankind and liberty for the individual.



# A Human Side of the League of Nations

Mary Sheepshanks

This year there are seven women delegates to the League. They come from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, England, Hungary, Roumania and Australia. Below is given a picture of one session of the Assembly which dealt primarily with subjects of interest to women.

## The Opium Traffic.

Casual visitors to the Assembly are sometimes disappointed not to find anything of immediate and human interest under discussion.

The meeting of September 20th, in the Hall of the Reformation was one to grip even the most indifferent, the subjects under discussion were of such deep human tragedy and the feelings they evoked were so passionate, that no one could fail to be moved. The occasion was that of the reading of the reports drawn up by the 5th. Committee, which deals with the humanitarian activities of the League. At 10 o'clock Senor Guani of Uruguay, President of the Assembly, mounted the dais, rapped his hammer on the table and summoned M. Hambro of Norway, (President of the 5th. Committee) and Mme Larsen-Jahn to the platform.

Mme. Larsen-Jahn is a Norwegian, a member of the Executive of the W.I.L. and we are very proud of her. This is the third year that her Government has sent her to Geneva, she is a very hard worker, very clear headed and it is always a pleasure to hear her speak, as she has a charming sympathetic personality. She never wastes words, but says what she has to say briefly and clearly. She is the youngest of the women delegates and has bobbed auburn hair. As «reporter» on the work of the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Opium, she had to draw attention to the failure of individual countries and governments to fulfil their undertakings to suppress the illicit manufacture and traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs.

Mme. Larsen-Jahn's report and appeal to the States, Members of the League, were warmly supported by Lord Lytton, of the Indian delegation, who described the immense scale on which opium is smuggled into India in spite of the vigilance of the Indian Government, one smuggled consignment alone would supply three million injections. All this gigantic traffic goes on in spite of the fact that fifty four nations, including all the manufacturing and distributing countries pledged themselves in the Hague Convention to limit the manufacture and sale of these noxious drugs strictly to medical purposes. The speaker drew a moving picture of decent normal people, who, perhaps accidentally, came in contact with such drugs and who in consequence became physical, moral and mental wrecks. The whole evil, as he pointed out, is not in the least inevitable. There are only about thirty factories in the world manufacturing these drugs, and if the governments would control them and see that the products only went into the hands of those who needed them for bona fide medical purposes, the evil would cease. No single nation could stop it, but concerted action could.

The Assembly had the pleasure of hearing of the hearty co-operation of the Persian Government with the commission of the League in taking steps to limit the cultivation of the opium poppy in Persia,

where poppy cultivation is a most important source of wealth. Persia voted a large sum of money for the work of the commission in Persia, and Persia's representative Mohammed Ali Khan Foroughi received a warm welcome from the Assembly in recognition not only of this gift but still more of the fine willingness Persia is showing to sacrifice an immense source of revenue for the general good.

## Traffic in Women.

Many readers of Pax will have read the report of the Experts' Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children published last spring. That report exposed the reality and the horrors of the traffic, as ascertained by a number of courageous investigators, who, taking their lives in their hands, travelled over the routes taken by the traffickers, entered the underworld, associated with its members as one of themselves and delved to the bottom of this hideous 20th. century slavery. This experts' report was considered by the 5th Committee and its report was presented to the Assembly directly after the Opium report by the delegate for Cuba, who was given that honour in recognition of the energetic steps taken by his country against the traffic. The importance of women police was emphasised, and above all, the dependence of the traffic on the system of licensed houses of prostitution. It was splendid news to hear that in Germany a new law would come into force on October 1st., providing severe penalties for the traffic, and abolishing licensed houses; unfortunately it is not in Germany's power to carry out this excellent legislation in the districts now «occupied» by French and British troops. Military occupation and prostitution are two evils that go hand in hand. It was noticeable that the reporter referred to the need to protect women from their «weakness» but did not refer to their male clients.

The above subject was however dealt with fearlessly and frankly by Dame Lyttelton, the white haired Englishwoman, who for the third time has come to Geneva, as delegate to the League of Nations.

What a sign of the times it is when a woman can appear in the great meeting of the nations and before men of all races and colours denounce the hypocrisy of the apparent respect paid to women, to the home and to purity, while the loathsome vice continues that coins money out of their degradation. As Dame Edith said: there are noxious infections which die when exposed to the light, let this be one of them.

After urging the need for abolishing licensed Houses and of raising the age of consent and the age of marriage, the speaker devoted most of her time to exposing and denouncing the evils of the commercialisation of vice, by which a man or woman makes money by catering for the vices of others; the mock-marriages, the bogus theatrical engagements and other various wiles by which girls are lured abroad; their helpless position in a foreign land where they do

not even retain the earnings of their trade; worst of all their enforced training in the vilest and most degraded forms of vice.

Dame Edith also appealed to men and women to save their boys from the education in vice supplied to them by those who trade in the bodies and souls of women.

One thing that could and should be done to check this vile traffic would be to see that those guilty were punished with due severity.

But the real cure must begin at home, even in the nursery, in lessons of self-control, purity and respect for others.

This appeal to the heart and conscience of the world ended with: «Thank God for the League of Nations».

## Social Service Work.

This day in the Assembly might almost have been called women's day. Mme. Henni Forchhammer of Denmark, also an honored member of our Women's League, was another woman delegate to report for her committee and this time it was a cheering report of the work done by her countrywoman, Miss Jeppe, in her home at Aleppo, in rescuing women of Christian races, mostly Armenians, who were detained against their will in Turkish homes, Miss Jeppe's unselfish and admirable work in the League is now practically at an end, but has been the means of rescuing two thousand women and either restoring them to their families or starting them independently in work. Child welfare is another subject with which the League concerns itself, and a statement was presented on its work for blind children, for illegitimate children, on the effect of the cinema, and other problems of child welfare.

The work of the Health Organisation was touched upon by an Indian, Sir Ramaswami Ayyar, and its world wide character was illustrated by the fact that it is appointing experts from Australia and Japan. Other fruitful features of its work are: its interchange of Health personal from different countries; and its researches into sleepingsickness and malaria; and the important work of the Singapore Bureau on epidemics, all inspired by the League ideals of universal service and universal health work. Speaking for India, Sir Ramaswami showed how this special branch of League of Nations work came right home to the Indian people. The same is true for health-work in Latin-America. These distant countries are less concerned with the political work of the League, but a health committee that goes to South American countries to study the causes why so many of their babies die, shows people there the value of a big world wide organisation to investigate these human problems and find remedies.

These are only some of the activities carried on by this section of the League of Nations as reported on in one short session. But perhaps this sketch of some of the work done, and the brief mention of the women taking some part in it will interest women who read this paper.

## WORK OF THE W. I. L. NATIONAL SECTIONS.

### British Section

#### Hard Work Ahead.

Hilda Clark.

No wonder that the W.I.L. members in Great Britain try to come to Geneva during the Assembly, for it is there that we learn not only what our Government's foreign policy is but how it affects other people and whether it is helping or hindering the cause of peace. It is not for nothing that most of us are trained in the Suffrage movement. We wanted the vote in order to have the responsibility of citizens and having the vote, we know we must learn how to use it. It is not enough to denounce, we must be constructive. Now the League of Nations is a gathering of States reflecting their faults as well as their virtues. Its great value to us is that publicity and daylight help the virtues more than the vices and while some of the microbes of evil are very hard to kill and seem to resist even the Geneva sun, others are certainly shrivelling up and losing power, while the yearly dose of fresh air is stimulating the growth of some good principles. Whatever progress there is, comes from the public opinion to which we can contribute if we follow closely what is going on.

We British members of the W.I.L. have been greatly concerned for two years at the attitude of our Government to the question of arbitration. We find at Geneva that there is a strong public opinion in many countries which believes that the acceptance of obligatory arbitration is the best step towards that «moral disarmament» which will lead to genuine material disarmament and real security. There is also the other point of view held by those who believe that security can only be obtained through military and naval power, preferably wielded by one's own State, but as that is clearly impossible for everyone, then by allies.

It was evident this year that the first of these views is gaining ground and that more and more States are prepared to make the sacrifices it may involve for the sake of peace and international justice. But alas for the British Pacifists! Our Government does not share it. It will not give up the right to use the method of war if the methods of peace provided by the Covenant fail. Over and over again in the debates we have heard the British Delegate ask to have a resolution modified and toned down, thus weakening its moral effect on the countries who are feared to be a danger to peace, because Great Britain cannot ask others to do what she will not do herself. Sir Cecil Hurst tried to explain that this attitude must not be taken as an obstacle to disarmament, but the only proof of this would be if Great Britain took the lead in disarming.

Every possible way was explored of taking a step forward without rousing British or Italian opposition. Finally it was agreed to ask the Preparatory Commission for Disarmament to appoint a Committee to consider «the measures capable of giving all States the guarantees of arbitration and security necessary to enable them to fix the level of their armaments at the lowest possible figures».

Now this gives us a great opportunity. It may work for good or it may result in disappointment. It just depends on

what the people in the countries represented on that Committee feel and say. If they want peace they must tell their governments that they are prepared to make the sacrifices that international life demands and that the first step is to accept pacific settlement of all disputes. There will be some who will urge that Committee to recommend that military alliances will bring security or who will try to stifle its work.

In Great Britain the W.I.L. is redoubling its efforts to induce the Government to change its policy with regard to arbitration and to help forward the work of the new Committee by encouraging all States to seek their security through justice.

The example of Germany in signing the «optional clause» will be a great help to us. If France will now remove the reservations she put on her signature 3 years ago, our case will be still further strengthened. We shall welcome any material from other Sections of the W.I.L. to help us in our campaign.

### French Section

#### Conclusions on the Summer School

Andrée Jouve.

The Summer School of the W.I.L. this year was under the charge of the French Section. In the last issue of «Pax» we enumerated some of the brilliant speakers, but not all. We did not tell of the wonderful lecture by Sir J. C. Bose, the great Hindu plant scientist, or of the two days when Romain Rolland honored the school by his presence. The following article is by Andrée Jouve, Chairman of the Summer School Commission.

I am not going to make a full report of the Summer School of 1927. There is too much to say. We prefer to publish a pamphlet on the remarkable lectures, of such great educational value, that were given.

I think that those who passed the two weeks of the school at Gland will never forget them: the lake with its beach, the boating, the walks in the fields, the beautiful scenery, the simple hospitality of Miss Thomas and the whole Fellowship School and their devotion at all hours, the excellent atmosphere of confidence and comradeship that existed between the old friends who met again and that which grew up immediately among the new-comers. That is the charm of our Summer Schools, that they provide a specially fertile ground for practice in cooperation in all its forms, for honest research, and for earnest intellectual work.

Never was the work better or more fruitful than this year, never was the subject dealt with more closely connected with the actual policy of the W.I.L. In 1925, wishing to adapt and closely relate to existing conditions our principles on colonisation adopted in 1915, the International Executive Committee put on the Agenda of the Congress, colonial problems, feeling that these problems more than any others threatened the peace of the world.

But we must hear details, listen with shame in our hearts, to the justifiable complaints of our friends of other races, all well-informed and competent, and consider the testimony of white people who have been in close touch with the

colonial regime, to really understand the crimes all imperialisms commit and the danger engendered by accumulated hate.

Before colonisation the native races had a social and a moral life, an art whose value becomes more and more apparent the longer it is studied. This goes without saying as far as the old civilizations of Asia are concerned, but it is also true of the extremely diversified forms of African culture. The foreign element, above all the economic life of the West, in forcing itself on these complex native organisms, has produced a dangerous disorganization. Without doubt we have brought these people science, hygiene, some education, but faced with the facts, we are amazed to see how parcimonious, slow and insufficient the work has been. It does not at all compensate for the confiscation of land by commercial societies, for forced labour paid with ridiculous salaries, for the contempt for native customs, rites and amusements, for excessive taxes, opium and alcohol. And we are not speaking here of the brutalities and flagrant injustices as well which are no exception.

If this treatment discourages the primitive peoples and makes them indignant, what shall be said of the effect on the evolved peoples such as those of India, of Indochina, of the Dutch East Indies and the Philippines, of the exploitation of their natural resources for the profit of the colonising power, of the draining away for centuries of their riches for the benefit of the ruling power which seems to them all the more unjust, since, though considered as subjects, they have none of the rights of citizens of the mother country; neither the right to travel freely, nor to form trade unions, nor freedom of assembly or press. If they occasionally have rights on paper, there is no telling how many restrictions in reality limit these rights: journalists are imprisoned, religious ceremonies are prohibited, political offenders are banished to wild areas where the conditions of life are inhuman.

The men of Asia who took part in the war in Europe, for the benefit of Europeans and «for the right of the self-determination of the peoples» are excluded from holding the highest offices, they have no voice where their interests are concerned, and cannot even receive in Europe or their own countries, as they wish, that Western education of which we are so proud and which as one of them said «we measure out to them drop by drop.»

This state of things must be changed before it is too late, before violence becomes the only means left.

In general, the majority of those attending the Summer School were in favour of freeing the colonies, either in the immediate future in the case of the evolved peoples firmly decided to obtain their independence, such as the Asiatic peoples; or with a transition period in which the peoples should enjoy the same rights as the citizens of the colonising power so that they might better prepare themselves for independence, as in the case of certain African peoples, or in cases where the people are still very primitive and need some protection against economic exploitation and seizure by the white race.

In the meantime, a great many reforms could be obtained by an enlightened public opinion, and really beneficial colonisation could be carried on in



### Summer School continued

primitive regions by doctors, teachers and artisans. The object of these reforms should be, not to lull to sleep a justifiable right to independence, but to prepare the people for it, by assurances for the future, of cooperation and mutual assistance between the white and coloured men wherever their work together is profitable for all.

Besides the political action which we can undertake in our respective countries each time that these problems arise, our League ought to fight by means of education and propaganda against race prejudice still very widespread in the world.

The life at Gland, where work and play, shared in common with our brothers of other races, was animated by such a cordial and joyful spirit, has proved to us once again that human unity is a reality.

#### Resolutions.

I. The members of the Summer School organised at Gland by the W.I.L.P.F. hope that the League will keep closely in touch with the national and international organizations which work for the protection and liberation of the native races...

II. They hope that the League will appeal to all competent organizations in order to secure the suppression of forced labour in the colonies.

III. They request the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society to continue its fight for the restitution to the natives of their own land, particularly in the colony of Kenya.

IV. They express the hope that the regime of concessions be finally abolished in French Central Africa; that the concessions which expire in 1929 be not renewed; that a regime of free trade and free work be established.

V. They express to the «Dutch Committee» their hearty sympathy for the exiles of Indonesia and unite themselves with this Committee in asking for amnesty for these people.

VI. Regretting the involuntary absence of the Chinese lecturer, official representative of the Kuomintang, who was to have spoken on the Chinese situation,

They condemn the disguised system of colonisation which is applied to China, and express profound sympathy with the efforts of the Chinese people to attain entire political and economic independence.

### September at the Maison Madeleine Z. Doty.

Last year we thought we were crowded during Assembly time but this year almost double the number of people came. We couldn't of course, take any more people in the Maison to live than formehy because rooms don't stretch but we averaged right along fourteen people for lunch and dinner. When the weather was fine we ate at two tables in the garden, but when it rained we had to stretch our dining table out so far we occupied the whole room. At our Thursday afternoon teas, without sending out special invitations, from thirty to fifty people turned up. Our paper has carried the news of our Headquarters all over the world, so we had friends from everywhere, from India, Australia, Turkey, Roumania, Russia and so many from the nearby countries that they cannot be enumerated. What is so fascinating about the work is that we not only get all languages and all countries, but all shades of opinion from college presidents to laborites, from war resisters, to a stray American legionary.

This international business is growing. A new world is opening up. Each year more people want to belong to a world fellowship. We were wise when we established a headquarters at Geneva.

Beside the ordinary teas and dinners, we had a late afternoon meeting when Roger N. Baldwin, U.S., who had just returned from Russia gave an account of his trip. The chairman in introducing him stated that the W.I.L. did not hold itself responsible for Mr. Baldwin's views, but he gave such a fair and unprejudiced account, presenting both good and ill in that interesting country, that everyone present was extremely impressed. We got a picture of a people struggling to establish a new form of civilization, sometimes going wrong but frequently hewing out new paths under great odds.

Later in the month we had an evening party for the members of the W.I.L. who are or have been delegates to the League of Nations. Mrs. Swanwick, editor of «Foreign Affairs», president of the British Section of the W.I.L. and former delegate to the League, made an interesting little speech on this business of reconciliation. She said we must never compromise on principle but must compromise often on method to reach an agreement.

Then Mrs. Larsen-Jahn, Norway, and Mrs. Henni Forchhammer, Denmark, both delegates to the League this year, added their word, and all three said many nice things about the W.I.L., the Maison and the staff. At this party the house was so full we couldn't have gotten another person in. Many people were standing in the hall and the young people, because we were short of chairs, sat on the floor at the speakers' feet.

But these were not the only meetings we had during Assembly time. The night of September 4th we had a large meeting in the Salle Centrale. The subject of the meeting was: The League of Nations and the Native Races. This meeting was given in connection with our Summer School and speakers came from there. Madame Duchêne, vice-president of the W.I.L. was the instigator of the meeting. It was held the night before the opening of the Assembly so that the policy of the W.I.L. in regard to colonial problems might be laid before the public. The chairman was Mrs. Swanwick and the speakers were Professor Félicien Challaye, France, Mr. S. Stéfany, Madagascar, Mr. Mohammad Hatta, Indonesia, Mrs. Roland-Holst, Holland and D.G. Mukerji, India.

The conclusion of the meeting was particularly impressive for Mr. Mukerji pointed out that the solution of the many problems that had been discussed lay in something deeper even than self-determination for every land; it lay in the union or fusion of East and West, the belief of each individual soul that men, whatever their color, race or creed are brothers and spring from the same Divine Source, from the one God who is Father of all.

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D.O.G.B.



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

Jane Addams, International President

International Headquarters 12, rue du Vieux-Collège, Genève  
Secretary: Madeleine Z. Doty

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

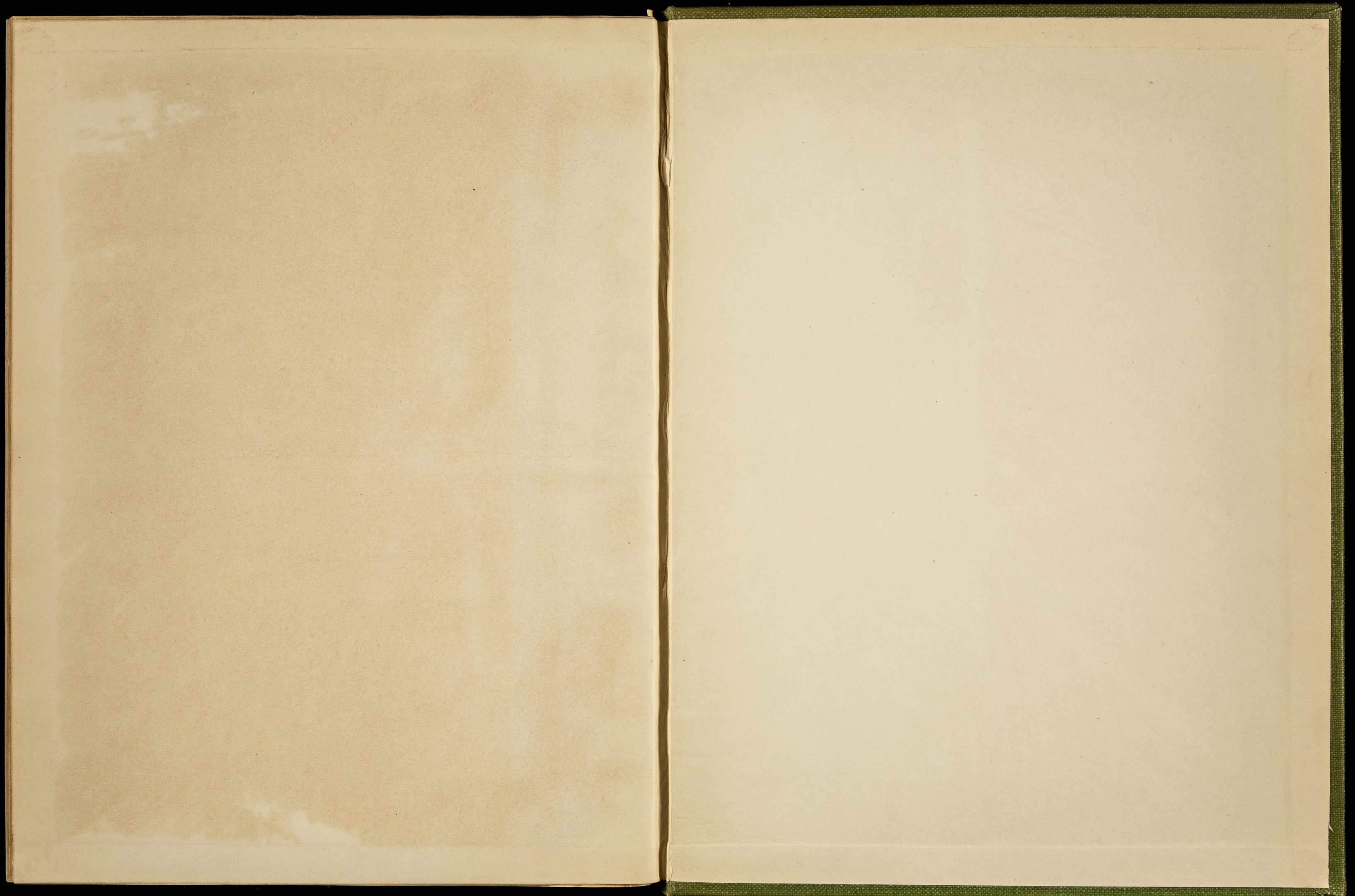
It aims at uniting women in all countries who are opposed to every kind of war, exploitation and oppression, and who work for universal disarmament and for the solution of conflicts by the recognition of human solidarity, by conciliation and arbitration, by world co-operation, and by the establishment of social, political and economic justice for all, without distinction of sex, race, class or creed.

The work of all the National Sections is based upon the statements adopted and the Resolutions passed by the International Congresses of the League.

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