

On Tolstoy's Centenary.

Tolstoy's greatest contribution to life lies in my opinion, in his ever attempting to reduce to practice his professions, without counting the cost. M. K. Gandhi.



It was clearer to Tolstoy than it has been to any others, save to a small handful of shining souls, that a righteous life cannot be lived in a society that is not righteous. Jane Addams.

# PAX INTERNATIONAL

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Published monthly (except July)

International Office 12, rue du Vieux-Collège, Geneva, Switzerland.

Vol. 4. No. 1.

NOVEMBER, 1928

## CONTENTS

Current Events.	
The Executive Makes Plans For The Future.	
Lyon And The Executive,	Leo Wanner.
Resolutions Of The Executive.	
Tolstoy And Gandhi,	Romain Rolland.
Work Of The W. I. L. Sections :	
German, French, Hungarian, Irish, Austrian and Belgium.	
Editor . . . . .	Madeleine Z. DORÉ.
Office, 12, rue du Vieux-Collège,	Geneva, Switzerland.
Subscriptions to «Pax International» :	
One year fifty cents or 2/-.	
International Dues . . . . .	\$5 or £1.

## CURRENT EVENTS

### Pacifists Imprisoned

In Jugo-Slavia 72 members of the religious body of Nazarenes have been condemned by the military court of the Save District to 10 years imprisonment for refusing to take up arms. All of the condemned have already served 5 years imprisonment for the same offence. All friends of peace in the whole world should protest against these inhuman sentences and demand the revision of the sentence.

### Chinese Criticise League Opium Inquiry

In an article in the *Manchester Guardian* October 12th, it is reported that the National Government Council on Opium and the National Anti-Opium Association have issued a joint manifesto expressing disapproval of the League of Nations decision to send a Commission of Inquiry to the Far East. Their objection is based on the fact that the League inquiry is limited to a mere investigation of opium conditions to the exclusion of narcotics; whereas the two problems are closely allied. The manifesto urges the appointment of a Chinese member to the Commission and its enlargement to include the world-wide problem of narcotics.

A number of prominent British Missionaries have associated themselves with the Chinese protest and cabled to their home organisation in England urging

the British to support the Chinese position.

### China to Suppress Opium

"A firm hand and no saving of face", were the Chairman's closing words at the conference which established the new official Opium Suppression Committee in China when for the second time in her recent history China set forth to conquer the poppy and the pipe.

A hundred or more persons were at this conference representing not only the ministries concerned but private citizens' organisations as well.

Judging from reports, there was plain speaking at this public conference. Details were frankly presented on the traffic in opium, such as transport by army lorries, removal of police patrols from rivers, plump revenues from the various bureaux of "Opium prohibition", where charges for privileges of smoking replaced the intended fines for smoking, and one could buy all he could pay for. Up-to-date reports on conditions in some places especially criticised were prepared by the Anti-Opium Association during recent months, and their findings helped to frame this definite policy of eradication. The time limit set was six months. After February, 1929, punishment is to replace provision or even the medical treatment offered in many hospitals by the Government during this transition period.

Another year, and perhaps governments whose complaint now is, Our colonies are deluged with opium—probably Chinese, will have to note a difference. It is pertinent to inquire, Will China notice a difference in the "deluge" of narcotic drugs from these countries who manufacture?

### Ferment in the Far East

"The East is becoming the storm centre of the world", so said Mr. C. F. Andrews, an Englishman who has resided for many years in India, in a meeting in London.

The *Manchester Guardian* October 12th reports Mr. Andrews as saying that India has become only second to China in her terrible suffering and bitterness of heart and in constantly growing antipathy to the domination and overweening arrogance of the West.

Mr. Andrews told his audience that both Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore had urged him some months ago to come to the West. "It is your

duty", they said to him, "to tell the West that India cannot stand the strain much longer, that the bitterness is increasing, that the old trust and confidence has almost entirely departed and that distrust and suspicion have come in its place not only in China, but in India."

### People Without Nationality

As a result of the post-war upheavals especially in Hungary, Roumania, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Austria, thousands of people have found themselves without a home, without a nationality and without a passport.

Think of the condition of a man and his family conducted to the frontier by gendarmes and expelled from the country. From then on the life of that family has been one of hunted animals going from country to country, unable to remain anywhere permanently because they lack the requisite papers. They are "heimatlos", and without nationality.

This situation has been solved for the Russians and Armenians without nationality by means of the "Nansen Passport" which is at present accepted in about 32 countries of the world as a legal paper.

But until now nothing has been done for all the other homeless people. And in order to help them find some way out of their difficulty a committee has been formed in Geneva called the "World Committee for the Homeless", whose object is to draw up statistics so that the material may be given to the press, public opinion educated in the matter, and an international conference called under the auspices of the League of Nations, and measures taken, so that these homeless people may have some standing.

The director of the Committee is Walter H. Furgler, and the office is at 3 Rue Général-Dufour.

### Jane Addams on Women Voters

"I think the expression of women in the vote will be always a reflection of the opportunity they are afforded to say what they want with direct respect to civic and social betterment. I don't think they have nearly the timidity about seeing party lines overridden for a definite purpose that men have.

"In time men must come to sympathize with that attitude; because the usefulness of the old-fashioned political party is being challenged as it never was."



## THE EXECUTIVE MAKES PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

As was said in the October issue of *Pax*, there was a most successful meeting of the Executive at Lyon on the last days of September. The members of the Executive present were Gabrielle Duchêne, France; Lida Heymann and Gertrud Baer, Germany; Clara Ragaz, Switzerland; C. Ramondt-Hirschmann, Holland; Emily Balch, U. S.A. The Consultative Members were Edith Pye, C. Corbett-Fisher, England; M. Illova, Czecho-Slovakia; Camille Drevet and Léo Wanner, France; Anita Augspurg Germany; A. Loeb, Canada; Lucie Dejardin, Belgium; C. Cederfeld, Denmark; Naima Sahlbom, Sweden; Eugénie Meller, Hungary; Anna Bassalik, Poland; M. Z. Doty, U. S. A., and the International Secretary, Mary Sheepshanks. The visitors were Ester Dahlen, Sweden, Lydia Schmidt, F. Holbrook, Lola Lloyd, U. S. A.; M. E. Cousins, India; Dr. Hilda Clark, England.

### Gift of Money

It was reported by Madame Ramondt-Hirschmann as treasurer that Jane Addams had received a gift of \$5,000 for the W. I. L. from Miss Campbell of California.

### The Ukraine

An interesting report was presented by Emily Balch in behalf of Mathilda Widegren who had been to Lemberg and seen members of the Ukrainian Section of the W. I. L. She said the Ukrainians were not forbidden passports but that a visa for a foreign country was so costly *i. e.*, 40 dollars or 8 pounds that it was prohibitive for most people and that only certain people could get reductions. Madame Bassalik of Poland said that the Polish Section would see to it that the Ukrainian members got the reductions on their visas, so that members might attend the Prague Congress.

### Austrian Unrest

The internal unrest in Austria owing to the arming of the two groups there, the Heimwehr and the Schutzbund, and the possibility of armed conflict, was considered and it was agreed that after obtaining the approval of the W. I. L. Austrian Section, to write to the leaders of the two groups, Seipel and Hainisch, and urge that the Heimwehr and the Schutzbund be not allowed to demonstrate at Wiener Neustadt on October 7th for fear of serious trouble.

### War Films

Madame Wanner reported that the Lyon group had been investigating the effect of war films and found that they were arousing nationalist feelings both among children and adults. It was urged that the W. I. L. should try to form committees in each country of literary men and women and get them to write scenarios.

Miss Balch proposed and it was agreed that a letter should be sent to the International Cinematographic Institute at Rome urging that serious attention be paid to the international effect of films.

It was proposed by Madame Illova and agreed that film exhibitors be recommended to sign the Convention of the International Film Exhibitors in Berlin, which agrees to exclude nationalistic, militaristic films.

### Next Summer School

The Hungarian Section is to undertake the summer school this year. Plans for it will be announced later. But those who intend to be present at the Prague Congress will not find the distance far from there to Hungary.

### Next Executive Meeting

This is to be held at the Maison Internationale in Geneva early in April. The programme for discussion will be announced later.

### Modern Methods of Warfare Conference

Place: Frankfurt, Germany.

Date: January 4th to 6th, 1929.

Considerable time was devoted by the Executive to discussion of plans for this conference. The preliminary programme has among its subjects for discussion, The Character of Modern War, Chemical Warfare, Bacteriological Warfare, Mortality and Morbidity due to Chemical Warfare, The Uselessness of Methods of Protection, Action to be Taken, The Change Over from War Industries to Peace Industries. Sweden has done a great deal of the preliminary work for this conference. Dr. Sahlbom reported on the work of the committee and presented the programme. She asked that all sections cooperate in the work of this conference by suggesting names of suitable speakers and scientific men who might be invited to attend; and also names of labour organisations which might be invited to participate. For information and a detailed programme of how to help with this Conference, write to Dr. Naima Sahlbom, Maison Internationale, 12, Rue du Vieux-Collège, Geneva.

### East European Conference

For various reasons it was impossible to arrange for this conference as planned in the fall. It was suggested that some one must be sent to the countries concerned to prepare for it. It was felt that both the Baltic and Balkan Countries should be visited, Camille Drevet was suggested as the person to send. It was decided that the East European Committee should ascertain whether a French speaking person can successfully work in the Baltic Provinces; if not, Madame Drevet is to carry on preparatory work in Poland and Jugoslavia visiting also if possible Roumania and Greece, and a German or Scandinavian is to do further preparation in the Baltic Provinces. It is hoped this Conference can be held in March or some time in early spring before the meeting of the Executive in April.

### Prague Congress

As has already been stated in the October issue of *Pax* the Congress is to open the evening of August 23rd. The Executive Committee will meet from the 20th to 23rd, then the Congress will run from the 23rd through the evening of the 27th. The subject is "The Renunciation of War—What Next?" The problem of settling internal as well as external disputes without violence is to be considered and a study of Peace Machinery made. Jane Addams is coming over from the U. S. to preside. It is hoped every section will make heroic efforts to send as many delegates as possible. For information on accommodations write to.

Madame Milena Illova, Gregova 6, Prague 12, Czecho-Slovakia.

## LYON AND THE EXECUTIVE

LÉO WANNER

CHAIRMAN OF THE LYON GROUP

It was both a great pleasure and a great honour for the Lyon group of the W. I. L. to receive the members of the Executive Committee.

Lyon, which is a working-class city, has always known how to combine work and ideals having acquired through the centuries a character which is both realistic and idealistic...

I was curious, even a little anxious, as to what reactions the W.I.L. would make on the public of Lyon, which is so cold, even sceptical but which is always earnest and enamoured of justice and liberty.

My fears were unnecessary. The delegates from the 14 countries who made up the Executive, won the sympathy of everyone. From the first moment, they fitted into the traditions of Lyon which bases logic on life and criticism on practical reality and which elevates work to the height of faith.

And it was because the women of the W. I. L. came to us with a strong programme based on serious study, that the Municipality until now non-committal in its attitude lavished upon us the marks of its favour.

I am very happy to have the opportunity here publicly to pay homage to all our friends who attended the Committee meeting and particularly to the speakers at the different meetings.

First there was the meeting at which Miss Seymour, Mr. Blanco and Camille Drevet, in temperate and scientific manner, exposed the traffic in opium and narcotics in China and Indo-China.

Then in a small intimate reunion a great wave of sympathy was established between the Syndicalist Women's Organisation and the Members of the W. I. L., by Lucie Dejardin, who gave a simple and moving talk.

And finally there was the big meeting on Disarmament when Miss Balch with her characteristic elevation of spirit presented the virtues and defects of the League of Nations, making us see what it might become if public opinion demanded it: an organisation at one and the same time judicial and ethical, solving conflicts by arbitration in the name of international justice. And Mrs. Corbett-Fisher, smiling and satiric, told of the popular movement in England in favour of a real renunciation of war and with deadly sincerity showed that the Government had not at all the same conception on this point as had the people who work and pay for war. Then Gertrud Baer, calm, exact, and courageous as always, showed the homicidal folly of preparing for chemical warfare, illustrating her remarks with the horrible effects caused at Hamburg at the time of the explosion of a reservoir containing poison gas.

Brave also, was the discourse of Madame Duchêne denouncing the race in armaments of all the big countries, while at the same time each one had signed the Kellogg Pact, thus putting a barbed wire entanglement between their secret intentions and their official acts.

In one word, a great success was achieved at Lyon by the W. I. L., which demonstrated once again its truly international spirit.



MODERN METHODS of WARFARE and the PROTECTION of the CIVIL POPULATION

Conference at Frankfort-on-Main, January 4th to 6th 1929

APPEAL  
Perpetual Peace... Or World Annihilation

Formerly war only raged over limited areas; the evil was localised;  
To-day, a war once started spreads everywhere.  
Formerly only one area was involved in fear and danger;  
To-day the whole world is "Balkanised", fires blaze up from various centres all at once,  
in all parts of the world.  
Never has war threatened the world in more terrible form;  
Never has war threatened such vast surfaces of the world;  
Never has it threatened such innumerable populations as are threatened by modern methods  
of war.

It is no longer a question of conflicts between mercenaries;  
It is no longer a question of battles involving mobilised young men;

**Entire peoples are threatened !**

Do they know what a new war would be with the methods of destruction offered by Science  
from now on and which are every day perfected ?

Do they know that airplanes without pilots, steered by radio and carrying poison gas  
bombs and incendiary bombs can in a few minutes destroy simultaneously great cities like London,  
Paris, Berlin ?

Do they know that poison gases not only destroy human beings, sometimes like a thunder-  
bolt, sometimes after long and terrible sufferings, but also that they penetrate the depths of the  
earth and poison water and anything underground ?

Do they know that incendiary bombs can by chemical combination produce a temperature  
of 1000 degrees which would secure the annihilation of everything which by a miracle might have  
escaped destruction by gas ?

Do they realise that a new war would thus be a war of the **simultaneous extermination  
of peoples**, and would imperil the whole of civilisation ?

Now, if the race in armaments continues—leading as it does, all States to ruin—**nothing  
can prevent a new conflict from breaking out.**

It is a duty to make known to the masses the extent and gravity of the danger that threatens  
them;

It is a duty to show them the futility of all the measures of protection against chemical  
and bacteriological methods of destruction perfected by Science for use in war.

Proposals for disarmament have been made since 1927 by the U. S. R. R.

The Pact for the "**Renunciation of war**" has been signed by a large number of States.

THE LOGICAL CONCLUSION OF THIS RENUNCIATION CAN ONLY BE DISARMAMENT

And it is the only way to avoid fresh wars.

If, with us, you are convinced,

Insure the success of the campaign we have undertaken by giving us your **moral support**  
by the help of your name, if you cannot help us in a more active way,

And by material help according to your means.

INTERNATIONAL PETITION

The undersigned, men and women of all parties and outside parties, knowing :—  
that with modern methods of war a new conflagration would bring about the **simultaneous  
extermination** of the peoples;  
convinced :

that the race in armaments leads all states to ruin together; that if present conditions  
continue a new conflict cannot fail to break out;  
and believing :

that it would be impossible to believe in the sincerity of governments who declare them-  
selves in favour of peace if they continue to postpone the radical measures of disarmament which  
alone can meet the needs of the situation; and that the "renunciation of war" proclaimed by the  
signatories to the Kellogg Pact, **implies disarmament**;

declare :

in favour of total and universal disarmament, and demand that a disarmament conference  
be called at the earliest possible date, at which shall be examined, without parti-pris, all proposals  
for disarmament, either immediate or by stages, from whatever source they may come.

<i>Name and Christian Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Subscription</i>

Sign this petition and return to 12, rue du Vieux-Collège, Geneva.



# Resolutions Passed By Executive Committee At Lyon

## China

Edith Pye and Camille Drevet gave the Executive Committee a very interesting report on their trip to China, and the possibility of forming a W. I. L. section but felt the initiative for forming a section must come from the Chinese women.

It was suggested that Hannah Hull, chairman for several years of the U. S. Section, who is on her way to China, should be asked to follow up the work of Camille Drevet and Edith Pye and carry a second message to the women in China with whom we have already made connections. It was decided to send *Pax* to all these women.

It was agreed to try to initiate a China Fund for the purpose of assisting in the work of understanding between the Chinese and Western women.

The following resolutions were passed :

### A Message of Thanks

The W. I. L. P. F. sends its warm thanks to all in China who gave so much help to their delegates and through whose efforts it was possible for them to see so much of value to the W. I. L. P. F. in their work for international peace and understanding.

### Message to the Government

The W. I. L. P. F. rejoices that the unity of China is now on the way to full realisation. It hopes that an enlightened Government will secure for the Chinese people better social, political and economic conditions including the complete emancipation of Chinese women.

### On labour

The W. I. L. P. F. expressed itself in sympathy with a resolution passed by the National Industrial Conference in China to the effect that "foreign industrial enterprises in countries where industrial conditions are less favourable than in their own country should be encouraged to set a standard consistent with the best practices in their own countries."

The W. I. L. P. F. expressed itself as in favour of all measures like the above which will tend to awaken public opinion to the necessity of applying in all countries the principles which have been accepted internationally as governing industrial conditions. It wishes to emphasise the special responsibility that rests upon employers of labour in foreign countries to apply these regulations in the future.

### On Opium

The Executive Committee has received with deep interest the Memorial of the National Anti-Opium Association of China.

It decides to do all in its power to support the objects for which the Association exists and suggests to each National Section, that they should undertake the study of the production, manufacture and traffic, legal and illicit, in opium, prepared opium and other noxious drugs, with a view to rousing public opinion to demand that all measures be taken for the limitation to the amounts needed for medical and scientific purposes.

### To National Sections

(1) It was suggested that each section of the W. I. L. should get in touch with

the Chinese Embassy and Consulates in their countries and confer with them on the matter of traffic in arms and opium.

(2) It was suggested that every national section which has literature on the W. I. L. in either French, German or English should be asked to send sample copies to Headquarters and that the material should then be turned over to Hannah Hull so that she might take it to China and consult with the women there about having some of it translated into Chinese.

## Indo-China

The Executive Committee was much interested in Camille Drevet's report on Indo-China. It expressed its fraternal sympathy with the women of that country and its warm thanks for the welcome given its delegates and passed the following resolution :

The W. I. L. expresses the deepest interest and fraternal sympathy in the efforts of the Indo-Chinese women to take part in the social life of their country.

The W. I. L., in accordance with its principles... and aware of the feeling of the Indo-Chinese and their legitimate demands... calls upon the French Government to grant them freedom of the press, freedom of association, and the right to form trade-unions.

## India

Mrs. M. E. Cousins, who has lived for 13 years in India, brought messages from the women of that country to the W. I. L. She said that the Indian Women's Association has been affiliated with the W. I. L. for five years. The Executive Committee expressed great appreciation at receiving a message from Indian women and passed the following resolution :

"The W. I. L. welcomes the support of the Indian women's work for peace as expressed in resolutions passed on Women's Day in Madras and by the Delhi Women's League, and it also supports the demand of women of India for self-government in India."

## Kellogg Pact and Disarmament

The Executive discussed ways and means of using the Kellogg Pact as an instrument of propaganda.

The Committee passed the following resolution :

"Believing that the fact that the States have solemnly renounced war and bound themselves to have recourse only to pacific methods of settling disputes, implies disarmament, we believe a campaign for disarmament should be undertaken on this basis.

### Work for Headquarters

1. It was agreed that if the answer from the National Sections was adequate and it is thought a demonstration would be successful, that a big demonstration on disarmament be made in Geneva at the time of the League of Nations Disarmament Conference.

2. It was agreed that Geneva Headquarters be asked to write the different Governments that have signed the Kellogg Pact urging them to set free

all those people who are in prison for refusing military service.

### To National Sections

The Executive Committee reminds the National Sections of the resolution on the Kellogg Pact passed by them in March and declares that it believes that a strong public opinion can alone make the Pact efficacious and urges the National Sections to do all in their power to inform and lead public opinion in that direction.

The Executive Committee profoundly regretted the reservations to the Pact made by certain States and the ambiguity of the Preamble and the Executive urges the National Sections in the countries which have made reservations to protest against them and do all possible to abrogate them.

The following suggestions for work are made to the National Sections :

(1) To study peace machinery and the methods of bringing about changes in international relations without war—Study conventions of the League of Nations.

(2) To consider the possibility of an amendment to their National Constitutions so that they shall be in accord with the Pact renouncing war and that all articles concerning the declaration and waging of war be eliminated.

(3) To work for the abolition of war departments.

(4) To work to secure the abolition by vote of all military budgets.

## Occupied Territories

"This Executive Committee is of the opinion that all territories occupied by foreign military forces, such as Egypt, the Rhineland, Nicaragua and Hayti should be evacuated with the least possible delay.

## Problem of Minorities

Dr. Clark gave a report on the minority problem and the Executive Committee passed the following resolution :

"Considering the continued uneasiness and danger to public peace which results from the situation of numerous minorities in Europe ;

"Considering that a loyal observance of their duties on the part of the Minorities and a loyal respect of the rights of these Minorities on the part of the States depend the one on the other ;

"Convinced of the necessity of ensuring to the Minorities in all the States complete justice and equity, —

"The W. I. L. expresses the wish that in order to facilitate effective settlement of a question so delicate and essential, the Council of the League of Nations should proceed without delay to make a general examination into the problem of Minorities as well as into the results that have been produced by the existing system."

### To National Sections

The Sections are asked to present the above resolution to their governments and impress upon them the importance of carrying it into effect, this is asked especially of those sections whose government is represented on the League of Nations Council.



# Tolstoy And Gandhi

Romain Rolland

This is the year of the Tolstoy Centenary, and the American magazine, *Unity*, published in September an extremely interesting article on Tolstoy and his relation to Gandhi, written by Romain Rolland and translated by John Haynes Holmes. We give extracts from that article here because it expresses the faith of many members of the W. I. L. and because many members will not have seen *Unity*.

In 1847, at the age of 19, young Tolstoy<sup>1</sup> sick in a hospital at Kazan, found as a neighbour in the bed beside his own a Buddhist priest, a Lama, who had been seriously wounded in the face by a brigand. And he caught from this man the first glimpse of the law of Non-Resistance which was to absorb his life for thirty years...

In 1896 he was enthusiastic over the first writing which appeared from the pen of Vivekananda; and he relished the conversations of Ramakrishna...

Like the Swami of India, Tolstoy had fed upon the spirit of Krishna, "Lord of Love". More than one voice of India hailed him as a Mahatma, an ancient Rishi reincarnated...

At the end of the year 1908, C. R. Das (who later became Gandhi's friend and a leader in the movement) was in the camp of Revolution. He wrote to Tolstoy, making no concealment of his faith in force and violence; he fought openly against the Tolstoyan doctrine of Non-Resistance; yet he asked him for a word of sympathy for his paper, *Free Hindustan*. Tolstoy sent him a very long letter, almost a treatise... He energetically proclaimed the doctrine of Non-Resistance and of Love, imbedding each section of his argument in citations from Krishna. He was as vigorous in his opposition to the new superstition of science as to the old superstitions of religion. And he vehemently reproached the Indians for divorcing their ancient wisdom, in order to espouse the error of the West. He said:

## Tolstoy On Non-Resistance

"One could hope, that this new scientific prejudice would find no place in the immense world of Brahma, Buddha and Confucius; and that the Chinese, Japanese and Hindus having uncovered the religious lie which justifies violence, would come directly to understand and accept the law of love, proper to humanity, which was promulgated with such flaming power by the great masters of the East. But the superstition of science, which has replaced that of religion, more and more enthralled the people of the East..."

"You say that the English have enslaved India, because India has not met violence with force? Just the contrary is true! If the English have enslaved the Hindus, it is only because the Hindus have recognised and still recognise violence as the fundamental principle of their social organisation; in the name of this principle they submitted to their petty kings; in the name of this principle they battled against them, and against the Europeans, and against the English. A commercial company—thirty thousand men, and rather feeble men, too—has enslaved a people of two hundred millions! Tell that to a man free of prejudice! He would not understand what these words mean. Is it not evident, on the basis of these very figures, that it is not the English but the Hindus themselves who have enslaved the Hindus?..."

"Man has only to live in accordance with the law of love, which is native to his heart, and holds within itself the principle of Non-Resistance, of Non-Participation in all violence. Then, not only will a hundred men be unable to enslave millions, but millions will be unable to enslave one. Resist not evil, take no part in evil, have nothing to do with the coercions of government, with courts, taxes, especially the army! And nothing, nobody, in the world can enslave you!"

This letter of Tolstoy fell into the hands of a young Indian, who was a lawyer in Johannesburg, in South Africa. His name was Gandhi. He was captured by it. He wrote to Tolstoy towards the end of 1909. He told him of the sacrificial campaign that he had been conducting for a half a score of years in the spirit of Tolstoy's gospel. He asked for his permission to translate the Das letter into the Indian language.

Tolstoy sent Gandhi his fraternal benediction in the "battle of gentleness against brute-force, of humility and love against pride and violence". He read the English edition of "Hind Swaraj", which Gandhi had sent him, and he grasped instantly the whole importance of this social and religious experiment. "The question which you treat", he wrote, "that of passive resistance, is of the greatest value not only for India but for all humanity."

He procured the biography of Gandhi by Joseph J. Doke, and was captivated by it. In spite of illness, he sent him some affectionate lines (May 8th, 1910). Then, when he felt better, he addressed him from Kotschety, on September 7th, 1910, just one month before his flight to solitude and death, a letter of such importance that, in spite of its length, I must reproduce it almost entire. It is, and will ever remain, the Gospel of Non-Resistance, and the spiritual testament of Tolstoy.

## Tolstoy to Gandhi

"I have received your journal *Indian Opinion*, and I rejoice to see that it supports absolute Non-Resistance. I am moved by a desire to tell you the thoughts which the reading of your paper has aroused in me.

"The longer I live—and especially now when I clearly feel the approach of death—the greater do I feel the need of expressing myself upon what most nearly touches my heart, upon what appears to me to be of unparalleled importance: the knowledge that what one calls Non-Resistance, is, in the last analysis, nothing more nor less than the teaching of the Law of Love, when uncorrupted by false interpretations and reservations. Love, or, in other words, the aspiration of the soul towards human fellowship and solidarity represents a law of life unique and superior to all else. Everyone of us feels this and knows this in the depths of his heart..."

"This law has been proclaimed by all the sages of humanity—Hindu, Chinese, Hebrew, Greek and Roman. It has been

expressed most clearly, I believe, by Christ, who said in unmistakable terms that this law contained all the law and the prophets. But more than this: he foresaw... the danger that it might be altered and misapplied by the people whose lives are given over to material interests. This danger is to be found in the fact that these people believe that they are authorised to defend their interests by violence, or, to use their own expression, to render blow for blow, to retake by force what has been seized by force, etc., etc. Jesus knew, as every sensible man knows, that the use of violence is incompatible with love, which is the highest law of life. He knew that, immediately violence is admitted even in a single case, the law is abrogated at a blow. Our whole Christian civilisation, so splendid in appearance, is foundering upon this misunderstanding, this strange and flagrant contradiction which in some cases is deliberate, but more often is utterly unconscious..."

"The difference between Christian and other nations has been found only in the fact, that in Christianity, as in no other religion, the law of love has been clearly and unmistakably granted; and Christians have solemnly accepted it, while they have at the same time regarded as lawful the use of violence, and have established their life upon the basis of violence. The life of Christian peoples thus represents an utter contradiction between their profession and their practice, between the love which ought to be their principle of action and the violence which is recognised under diverse forms, such as government, courts, armies, all declared to be both necessary and proper. This contradiction becomes accentuated in the development of the inner life, and has become a veritable paroxysm in these latter days.

"Socialism, anarchism, increasing criminality, industrial depression, the monstrous luxury of riches which, with the black misery of the poor, keeps growing steadily, the terrible series of suicides, all this state of things bears witness to that inner contradiction which must be and will be resolved. Resolved truly in the sense of recognising the law of love, and of condemning all employment of force! This is why your activity in the Transvaal, which seems to us to be at the end of the world, is none the less standing at the very center of our interests. It is the most important thing upon the earth to-day; not only Christian peoples, but all peoples throughout the world, are involved in it..."

You will undoubtedly be pleased to learn that with us also, here in Russia, an agitation like yours is rapidly developing, and that refusal of military service is on the increase from year to year. However small the number the Non-Resistants and the conscientious objectors may be, both groups are able to say, 'God is with us. And God is more powerful than men.'

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

### German Section

#### Kellogg Pact and Disarmament.

This section informed all its local groups with regard to the action taken by the international office at Geneva on the following matters: (1) the demand that Russia should be invited to sign the pact; (2) the demand for general disarmament, (3) the deputation to the League of Nations on disarmament.

#### Opium.

The section made an extensive study of this problem. It has collected material on import, manufacture and export of raw opium and opium extracts from the Reich statistics and has turned the material over to international headquarters.

The data as to the legitimate medical needs of Germany in opium and its derivatives is being studied. This is a complicated matter and will take some time.

#### Nobel Prize.

Prof. Quidde who was awarded the Nobel Prize in January was requested to propose Jane Addams' name for the next award and has done so.

A letter was sent direct by this section to the Nobel Prize Committee in Norway proposing Jane Addams' name and giving a biographical sketch.

### Karlsruhe Branch

This group writes of a most interesting meeting held by them in Karlsruhe. At it the Rev. Mr. Saenger who had made a tour in France told of his experiences. He said when he left Rheims he had been charged by a French branch of the War Resisters there to present to the Karlsruhe Group and particularly to the chairman, Frau Eifler, a Peace Medallion as a token of international unity and an expression of the deep gratitude felt by them for the work of the Karlsruhe group toward Franco-German rapprochement.

The medallion shows on one side manual, agricultural and intellectual workers grasping hands before the Temple of Peace and on the other side the sun of peace, Pax, rising on two doves bearing an olive branch with the inscription: "Whoever wants peace, must prepare for it". A letter accompanied the medallion to Frau Eifler reading in part as follows:

"Pastor Saenger has described you to us with veneration and told us how wholeheartedly you have dedicated yourself to Franco-German rapprochement... We wish to assure you of our heartiest goodwill in token of which we send you this peace medallion.

Herr Saenger... will also inform you of the warm and friendly welcome he received from 2,000 citizens of Rheims who attended his fine lecture.

May the modest medallion speak to your heart and remind you how much we are in sympathy with all those in Germany who work with all their strength that a real and precious peace may prevail between our countries..."

### Bremen Branch

This group arranged a "matinée" at a theater in celebration of the Tolstoy Centenary. The performance opened with music and an address by Prof. Theodor Lessing of Hanover, who spoke

of the disharmony that exists to-day between inner belief and outer action. He pointed out that it was this which had made the tragedy of Tolstoy's life. This speech was followed by Stefan Zweig's play, "Escape to God", which is a representation of Tolstoy's last days and his death.

At the performance there were a few disorderly youths who took exception to the Jewish origin of the speaker and tried to create a disturbance but they did not succeed in making any impression on the audience which was deeply impressed with the splendid performance.

### French Section

This section, before the elections, carried on an extensive campaign for disarmament. They distributed thousands of tracts describing the military conditions of their country and calling on voters to demand of the candidates up for election what they propose to do for peace. (For a full account of the campaign see *May Pax*.) While this work was being conducted in Paris, a similar campaign was carried on in Lyon under Madame Wanner with equal success. At Grenoble, under Madame Christin and the feminist banner, work was also done for disarmament.

The French suffrage organisations copied the W. I. L. in their electoral campaign and used peace arguments such as "Vote for women assures peace", "All women are against war".

On August 14th, in accordance with instructions from the Headquarters for a disarmament demonstration on that day, a resolution demanding a League of Nations Disarmament Conference at the earliest moment was sent to Monsieur Poincaré and Monsieur Briand. The latter took the trouble to reply at length. A portion of what he wrote follows: "Madame,

...You make allusion to the peace proposal made by Russia and to the Pact to outlaw war. I wish to recall to your mind the fact that the French delegation did not wait for either of these suggestions. In September 1925... the French delegation took the initiative in demanding a preliminary conference on disarmament. A year later... it thought it would be possible to hold a conference in 1927 with a definite programme which without impairing the guaranties for national defence proposed a serious limitation of armaments and military expenditure in time of peace and also international control with a view to further limiting armaments..."

In spite of all our efforts even this moderate programme up to the present... has been categorically rejected. Moreover, the entente which we thought at one moment was about to be realised in the matter of land and air forces has been subordinated to the naval problem in which little has been done since the calling of the Anglo-American-Japanese Naval Conference.

If this question could be solved which the Government of the Republic is doing everything to bring about, you can rest assured that France would be the first to demand a quick conclusion and the calling of a conference. But if it is not solved, you should take account of the danger of prematurely calling together an international reunion, the outcome of which will cause disappointment as

serious as the hopes placed in it were great."

At the last general meeting of the French Section it was decided to create two Committees, each of which should attach to itself the greatest number of personalities and organisations possible. One committee is to devote its time to making known the terms of the Kellogg Pact and showing that the logical consequence of the Pact is Disarmament. The other Committee will aim at revealing to the public the danger which menaces them from the modern methods of warfare and the impossibility of protecting the civilian population.

The last named Committee has already been formed and is circulating a petition which the French Section would like to see accepted internationally. The petition is enclosed as a leaflet in this issue of *Pax*.

### Hungarian Section

This section had a large and interesting meeting in the spring when Mrs. Meller, who attended the Executive Committee in Geneva, reported on the work of the Executive and the resolutions passed. In accordance with these resolutions the Hungarian section drafted four memoranda on (1) the Kellogg Pact and Disarmament, (2) the ratification of the Opium Conventions, (3) Traffic in Arms to China, (4) the Eight-Hour Day Convention. These memoranda were presented to high officials in the Prime Minister's office and to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Commerce. The members who delivered the memoranda discussed these questions with the officials and told of the activities of the W. I. L. The replies given by the officials were evasive and non-committal.

On June 7th, the Annual General Meeting of the Section was held with Mrs. Meller in the chair.

Later a second deputation called on the Minister of Foreign Affairs in regard to Disarmament. On this occasion the section was assured that the Hungarian Government is a staunch advocate of general disarmament and takes this stand in all international conferences.

This section reports that it was not possible during the summer months to collect signatures for the Disarmament petition but that now that the fall has come, they propose to make an attempt to secure signatures and get the cooperation of other peace societies. They are not very hopeful of results for they say there is little enthusiasm for disarmament in those countries which have been disarmed by the peace treaties. They say however that they are very happy to report that the Hungarian Ambassador in the U. S. was directed to sign the Kellogg Pact for Hungary.

This Section further reports that they intend to study the Opium question. They say the Hungarian Government has signed the first Opium Convention and they have learned from Countess Apponyi that the Government now proposes to sign the second one. Further work of the section was to agitate for the Nobel Prize for Jane Addams. From the biographical material sent them, Mélanie Vambéry wrote an article on Jane Addams which was published in the *Magyar Hirlap* and received much attention.



### Irish Section

A Garden Party was held at the house of Senator and Mrs. Douglas, on July 14th, at which Dr. Bennett (Yale University, U. S. A.) spoke on the subject of "Making Munitions Unawares"—and was a plea for better international understanding.

Open-air meetings were arranged for July to be held on the subject of Disarmament in conjunction with the members of the Liaison Committee, which is working in support of Disarmament.

An effort is being made to get together a deputation in the autumn which will approach the Government on the question of the "Traffic in Women and Children", and suggest the following much-needed reforms in our law: a) Raising the age of consent; b) giving power to the District Court to grant orders on the application of the mother; and c) ceasing to accept the plea of "reasonable belief as to age".

### Austrian Section

This Section fearing a bloody clash on October 7th, when an armed demonstration was to be made by the two parties in Austria, the Heimwehr and the Republikanische Schutzbund, held a big meeting shortly before this date.

Dr. Marianne Zycha presided at the meeting, declaring that the present situation was menacingly like the one immediately before the world war. Men are hounded against each other, the leaders are helpless or too afraid of their prestige to make a stand. The Government, which alone has the power and duty to intervene, keeps silent. She ended with a burning appeal to all, especially wives and mothers, to prevent the threatened civil war.

Prof. Dr. Uhde spoke next urging individual responsibility while Prof. Hannerschlag urged people to put humanity before party.

Olga Misar closed the meeting putting the pacifist point of view in her own warmly human way. She was interrupted by a man in the audience in the course of her speech and asked what pacifists have ever achieved. She replied that when danger threatened, people appealed to pacifists and expected them to perform

miracles. But pacifism is a matter of education and years of work, and she said, "we would be delighted if our critics would join our ranks and support us".

There were many interruptions during the meetings, some socialists declared that the whole blame for the threatened conflict was the fault of the other side. It was pointed out that the socialists had demanded that both armed bands should be forbidden to demonstrate, and that they had been supported in this demand by some leaders among the Christian Socialist party but not by the Government. It was emphasised that no party seemed to grasp that peace can only be attained by a conciliatory non-party attitude.

A resolution was proposed and adopted unanimously and sent to the Chancellor and Parliament. In brief, it was as follows:

"This meeting protests strongly against the gambling in human lives which is being prepared for October 7th.

We must all shoulder the responsibility for the calamity which threatens, which results from folly, carelessness, dishonesty, and incitements to violence...

We must not keep silent; silence is equivalent to taking part in a crime...

We know that all conscientious and rightminded people in our country oppose the settling of national questions by force.

In the name of the peace-loving people of Austria, we demand of the Government, of Parliament, and of all responsible authorities, that the demonstrations of October 7th shall not take place."

A letter from Olga Misar says:

"The 7th of October passed without any clash or loss of life, owing to the enormous preparations which had been made by the military. Immediately after the event Chancellor Seipel invited the leaders of the political parties to a Conference on Disarmament declaring he thought the matter very serious. However, when the Conference met, he himself made such difficult conditions for disarmament that the opposition party found it impossible to continue negotiations. Matters are consequently very unsatisfactory, the danger of civil war is not less than before, and there is a

deadlock which women and pacifists are trying to overcome. Never was our work as necessary as now."

### Belgian Section Liège Branch

This Branch has been working to secure reconciliation with Germany. Ever since the Liège Executive Committee meeting, when there was such a display of nationalism and feeling against our German speaker, the Liège Group has been working for this end. In 1927 this Section tried to arrange to have German children visit Belgium, but because of the patriotic students' demonstration felt that it was wise to postpone it. But last spring Madame Helen Leroy of Heidelberg visited Belgium to extend there the work she had done in France for the interchange of school children. Her work was made known in the Socialist papers and four students spent their summer in Germany, a small number in comparison with the hundreds of French children who have spent their summers in Germany. This summer, however, the Liège group says,

"Fifty German children were sent to Belgium and our time was chiefly spent in looking after them.

"It was not easy to find suitable accommodation for them, for we have nothing corresponding to the German inns for young people. We were able to arrange for them to visit Ostend, Antwerp, Ghent, Brussels and Liège, and took them to factories and social centres and arranged for them to fraternise with Belgian children.

The German young folk took part in a great demonstration of young workers on August 5th at Brussels. Throughout their stay these young people met with nothing but friendliness. Moreover, the sight of these young people singing their songs and showing their desire for fraternal relations, had a deeply moving effect on young and old in Belgium."

After the departure of the young Germans, the Liège Group took up the question of disarmament. They protested against the military projects of their Government and demanded the évacuation of the Rhineland. They joined with other organisations in demanding that the Government sign the Kellogg Pact.

## Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Jane Addams, International President

International Headquarters, 12, rue du Vieux-Collège, Geneva  
Secretary: MARY SHEEPSHANKS.

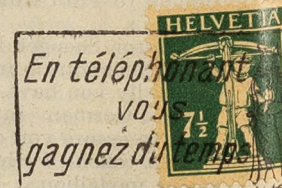
### WHAT THE W. I. L. P. F. STANDS FOR:

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.

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

International Dues — \$5.00 or £1 a year.

Cable Willif.



London S. E. 18.  
Woolwich  
71 Rectory Place  
Mr. C. H. Grilling