

PAX INTERNATIONAL

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom 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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Jane Addams, Honorary President

WOMEN AND WAR IN THE FAR EAST

Women, who in most countries are excluded from general political life, often have the courage to protest against war. Some make protest in their own countries. It is our pleasure and duty to quote from the letter of a Japanese woman to her Chinese sisters, which few papers have reprinted:

"This is a personal letter from me to you and I turn to you in Christ's name to express my profound grief and sorrow at the situation which has arisen between our countries. The sole purpose of my words is to ask pardon for the injustice that my people has done to your people and I want to gain forgiveness from your generous hearts so that we may always be friends and strengthen the bonds between us. I believe that killing is the worst of all sins, no matter what the reason. I regret that there has been bloodshed and use of weapons and have no words to express what we feel, we can only ask your forgiveness. As a woman of my country, I recognise our sin and feel the greatest remorse. It is shameful for us and I can find no justification for such action.

"The Japanese people by no means approve of this action. On the contrary, wherever I go, men and women regret the action of the troops which took us completely by surprise and was even done without orders from Tokio. We also regret that some newspaper articles have attempted to justify this action and to put it in a favourable light. There was strong opposition even among members of the Government as you perhaps know. Shidehara's diplomacy was at work to settle matters by means of negotiations, as you know. But now everyone is saying that weak diplomacy, contrary to its peaceful aims, creates strong militarism. In any case, we women are absolutely opposed to the militarists in power. As soon as the news of the unfortunate events in Manchuria reached us, unanimous expression was given in women's meetings to the opinion that weapons should on no account be used, that there should be no fighting, that no one in either China or Japan should be killed, and that we should not differentiate between friend and foe. We are organising many meetings to discuss the situation and taking definite steps to demand that the question be settled by negotiations and the troops withdrawn as quickly as possible.

"It made a great impression on me that in many meetings the leading women of many women's organisations were wholehearted pacifists; I never recognised this so clearly before. Some of these organisations are cooperating with women abroad. We need the confidence and co-operation of all the women of the world,

especially in such difficult times. I am sure you will help us and that we can work together.

Please do not believe that everyone in Japan thinks alike and follows the words of the Government blindly. You know that the present Government is very reactionary; and we women can unfortunately do little to control the Government. The Government itself can do little and even public opinion is powerless at times. For all these reasons the peoples must understand each other and work together in all possible ways. I shall never give up my firm belief that there are many ways which will lead our two peoples to live peacefully together as neighbors and relatives...

"Let us work together to bring peace; our stand must be firm so that our bonds of friendship cannot lightly be broken by men who put their faith in violence...

"I think we were too optimistic and our efforts to build the road to peace were not conscientious enough. We will do our best on this side; please help us from your side in this work. Let us be more energetic at our work than the militarists are at theirs! Please tell your people that we pray for real peace and tell us what we had best do.

Tomie Wada Kohra of Tokio."

(Printed in No. 4 of *Die Friedensfront* and reprinted in *Die Geeignete Menschheit*, Hamburg, March 7, 1932.)

Besides this, the women of Japanese women's peace associations wrote the following letter to their Chinese friends on March 16th:

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"Dear Friends,

"We, the members of the Women's Peace Association in Japan, are burdened with agonizing grief over the present rupture between your country and ours. Some of you may feel how indifferent we women here are in regard to this matter. Allow us to say, though that it is quite the contrary to the fact. We are greatly concerned about this grievous state of affairs, and we earnestly desire to maintain the most friendly relationship between us, as we are responsible in maintaining peace over a large section of the Orient...

"All kinds of rumours must be afloat in your country, as they are here, and an unthinking public is, in any country, in time of war, apt to be swayed by them. We are trying to sift the grain from the chaff, and we believe that you must be doing the same, for we know too well that no reconciliation can be brought about on the foundation of misunderstanding and misrepresentation.

"In case there is any truth in the reports of the unfortunate events which have occurred in your country through the faults of our people, we are ready to ask your forgiveness, and we trust that you are willing to take the same attitude toward us. When one is carried away by excitement, even the beautiful spirit of patriotism is so often marred by fanatic action, and we deeply deplore these things because we sincerely want your friendship and co-operation in the work for peace."

* * *

From China we have received a letter from Tientsin which is addressed to all the pacifist women of the world:

Tientsin, China, March 13, 1932.

"To all the Women Peace Lovers of the World,

"At midnight on September 18th, without warning and cause, the Japanese imperial soldiers usurped all buildings, both government and civil, in the city of Mukden, in Northeast China. This inconceivable aggression was done through the direct order of the Japanese military commanders, causing confusion and terror among all residents. From then on began the pre-planned occupation of Manchuria and the subjugation of the Chinese people at her most vulnerable spot, and during the most critical stage of world affairs, the effect of which spread throughout the entire country.

"Picture to yourself a situation where famine, flood, poverty and the struggle for political democracy were claiming

the interests and energies of all the leaders of China. At such a time as this, Japan launched her attack! Under the pretence of protecting her citizens in different cities (even to those where there are no Japanese Nationals) Japan has continually sent unnecessary troops and ammunition. Such provocation caused serious conflicts at local centers such as Tientsin and Tsingtao, culminating in bloodshed and atrocities barbarous beyond description, in the so called civilized international center of Shanghai.

"In spite of the League of Nation's persuasion and efforts at settlement, Japan defiantly continued her undeclared warfare upon China. Believing in the sincerity of those powers, whose signatures were affixed to Peace Covenants, and maintaining our unchanging faith in the sanctity of peace, China made no military resistance until forced to do so for self-defence.

"Have you noticed that because of her desire for peace, China has yielded at every instance to the point of humiliation? Have you noticed that, generally speaking, the world's indifference to the situation, when China uses pacific methods, is completely changed to approbation, when resistance is offered? Is it not natural, therefore, that China should conclude that armed force is imperative in present day conflicts and that the old axiom that "Might makes Right" still holds true. But God forbid!

"It is imperative that the world continue its efforts to bring about justice even after the stimulus of this immediate war emergency is removed. We appeal to the conscience of the world, and urge the women of every peace-loving nation, including those high souls among the Japanese who condemn this military action, to use every means possible for stopping this carnage of war and for establishing peaceful means of settlement.

"May we depend upon you to pass on these facts with such sympathetic interpretation to other women, so that they may give their heartfelt understanding and moral support towards the combined effort of women of the world in the cause of peace?"

"Yours in the name of Peace,

"Young Women's Christian Association of Tientsin, Tientsin Amico Club."

* * *

We have just received the following message from the Federation of Women's Organisations in Peking:

"March 1932.

"To the Honourable Commissioners of the League of Nations!

"A Statement of our Attitude.

"We women of China take this opportunity to send you greetings, you who are here to represent justice and not force, you who are here to help to settle an international dispute through means of peace rather than of war.

"We women, here in China as elsewhere in the world, believe that no war could ever settle an international dispute permanently, and that war, whatever its justification may seem to be, could never bring anything to Humanity but destruction both in body and soul, not only of the vanquished but of victor as well. We therefore declare to the world, through you our friends of peace, that we women of China believe that whatever the disputes between nations may be, war is never to be the instrument for settling them, since it is both hopelessly futile and mercilessly destructive.

"It is on this ground that we resent most deeply Japan's military actions both in Manchuria and Shanghai. We will not concern ourselves here with the original disputes between China and Japan, for these are already well taken care of by our experts and scholars whose viewpoints are also ours. We only want to call the attention of the civilised world especially the League of Nations, that if one member of the League could wage war and carry on wanton destruction upon the soil of another member of the same League for the settlement of disputes which it is the duty and privilege of the League of Nations to help to settle, then indeed why the League of Nations at all? And what would be the future of the world peace for whose realization the brave and deep-thinking men and women of the whole world have been working so hard for more than a century?"

"But your presence here on the arena of trouble at once helps us to keep alive our hope and faith in the ultimate triumph of right over wrong, of justice over sword. We therefore fervently pray that for the prestige of the League of Nations, for the future of world peace, and for the welfare of the two nations of China and Japan, the disputes between these two countries may, through your wise counsel and impartial mediation, not only be settled, but settled fairly. For only a fair settlement is a permanent settlement and only a peace that is based upon justice could be permanent peace.

Sophia Chen Zen, on behalf of the Federation of Women's Organizations in Peking."

But war is more than a misunderstanding or breaking-off of diplomatic relations. It is a tragic reality, a monstrosity which we must all fight. The peoples of the world, firm and organised, must combat war with their will to peace.

Among the letters I have received from many countries, is one from the Philippines of which I must speak. The letter speaks of the profound anxiety felt by the peoples of the Pacific. "You there can talk peace, and may be feel peace, but I tell you we over here do not delude ourselves now with any such feelings of safety." The writer says that there will be no peace in the Pacific as long as there is no international force (a moral one of course) which can put a stop to the dangerous march of national imperialism. In the present case, Japanese imperialism, in other circumstances, other imperialisms are equally dangerous.

All our Sections are carrying on the campaign against war in the Far East, against the traffic in arms and munitions, and are trying to create active public opinion.

Will the war which was let loose last September be stopped? Shanghai and Manchuria have already been victims. Militarists' provocations make us fear that war may spread to Soviet Russia. War still threatens. And war materials, manufactured in all industrial countries are reaching Japan in greater and greater quantities.

In all countries our campaign against war must be more active and energetic.

Faced with the situation in the Far East, and the threats of war which spring from the policy of war profiteers, we must make resistance against war and to this end, with the approval of the European chairman, since I had no time to consult Miss Balch, I sent the following letter to the organisations which were represented on February 6th at the Disarmament Conference:

"On February 6th, we presented our petitions, our just demands, to the Disarmament Conference, and this action was the first common manifestation of the peoples' desire.

"Will you not take up work with us again, on more specific ground, and give your support to the following programme:

"Work for total disarmament to be achieved by stages in a limited period of time, the first stage to bring substantial reduction.

"Close collaboration between pacifist and educational organisations and trade unions, which have taken a stand against war and for disarmament.

"Collaboration for the purpose of creating a united front giving material

and moral support to those who refuse to take part in war or to manufacture or transport materials of warfare.

"Immediate work to the end of obtaining effective measures against war profits.

"If we stand shoulder to shoulder against war, we shall, without use of violence, have limitless strength at our disposal.

"Will you let me know whether your organisation will support this programme and will you send me specific proposals for immediate work as regards the Disarmament Conference.

"In view of our approaching Congress, I should be glad if you would reply before May 8th if possible."

As regards war profits, I tried to continue the campaign which we had begun and I drew up a text for the Conference containing the following demands to which eight organisations outside of our League subscribe.

"Considering that the question of war industries appears to be given secondary consideration and that discussion on it is delayed,

"Considering that the regime of war profits is incompatible with disarmament.

"We urge that this fundamental question of war industries be given its proper place and that the Conference immediately establish a principle necessitating the inclusion, in each article of the Draft Convention, of effective measures against the profits of private manufacture of war materials."

I hope to receive some replies before the Congress and also to be able to present this programme to the next meeting of the Joint Peace Council, May 8th in Geneva, to the Non-Partisan Disarmament Conference in Paris April 24th and to groups of Pacifist War Veterans who were not represented on February 6th. I hope that our Congress can decide definitely on immediate action along these necessary lines.

This is the way in which we can give answer to the appeal from the woman of the Far East, as well as to all appeals from people under the threat of war.

Camille Drevet.

THE GRENOBLE CONGRESS

Some of our friends have already started for Grenoble. The United States Section has announced the following delegates: Emily G. Balch, Hannah Clothier Hull, Amy Woods, Dorothy Detzer, Mildred Scott Olmsted, Madeleine

Doty, Mrs. William S. Day, Helena S. Dudley, Emma James, Lola Maverick Lloyd; and as alternates: Jane Bryan, Mrs. Alter and Mrs. Schaefer. The Swedish Section announces: Dr. Naima Sahlbom, Mathilde Widegren, Elisabeth Waern-Bugge, Miss Stendahl and two other delegates. Bas-silka Kerteva will represent the Bulgarian Section, Mme. Morawska-Huemmel the Polish Section. The Dutch Section is sending: Selma Meyer, Mrs. R. van Wulfften Palthe, Miss Idzerda and three other delegates.

Unfortunately, all our friends cannot be at Grenoble. Our Australian Section has written to say they cannot be represented.

Several resolutions have already been sent in. Lida Gustava Heymann proposes a resolution on Opium as conclusion to her report for the Anti-Opium Commission. The British Section proposes a resolution on Traffic in Arms, on co-operation with international women's organisations, and on disarmament; the Hungarian Section on the Nationality of Married Women, on Statelessness and on the Traffic in Arms; the Polish Section on Moral Disarmament; and the Commission on Political Prisoners is bringing forward a resolution on the treatment of prisoners.

As regards speakers at the Congress, we have some very good news.

Roger Franc and Dr. Schœdon will speak on "The Economic Crisis as a Menace to Peace"; O. Lehmann-Russbült on "War Industries"; Ir. Angström on "Internationalisation of Civil Aviation"; the subject "From Organisation for War towards Organisation for Peace" will be treated in its educational aspects by Andrée Jouve, in its juridical aspects by Laura Puffer Morgan and in its moral aspects by Rev. J. Cooreman; Arnold Förster will speak on an "International Force" while Gabrielle Duchêne will open the discussion; "Security without Armaments" will be dealt with by Jane Addams, Donald Grant, Amy Woods and others; at the public meeting on "The Changing World" Jane Addams, Mrs. Chi Yin Chen, Rev. J. Cooreman and others will speak; and finally Kathleen D. Courtney, Camille Drevet, Amy Woods and G. Michon will report on the League of Nations Disarmament Conference. The programme includes as well very interesting reports on the work of W. I. L. P. F. Commissions since Prague.

A very cordial invitation is extended to all International Members of the W. I. L. P. F. to attend the Grenoble Congress.

NEWS FROM THE UNITED STATES

The resolution introduced by Mr. Fish into the House of Representatives, to prohibit the exportation of arms, munitions, or implements of war to belligerent nations, has been favourably reported on in the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House by a vote of 15 to 2. Dorothy Detzer is trying to get the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives to give precedence to this resolution.

The United States Section, concerned with regard to relations with Haiti, has written to Mr. Stimson asking that the United States Government follow the same policy in Latin-America which it has advocated for Japan in Manchuria. The letter concludes:

Madame Marthe Bray

member of our League and an active pacifist and feminist, founder of the Paris Branch of the League for Feminist Action, informs all members attending the Grenoble Congress that she can provide comfortable rooms at very reasonable prices in the

HOTEL AVENIDA
41, rue du Colisée, Paris.

"A first step in this direction would seem to be the early withdrawal of American marines and the prompt restoration to Haitian control of their finances.

"We would respectfully suggest that in case Haiti desires to pay off existing loans in whole or in part, that she should be encouraged to do so and every facility put in her way.

"We would further urge that the provisions of the present loan contract be given a strict interpretation in the sense most favourable to the Haitianisation of Haiti, which is surely the declared policy of the United States."

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THE YOUTH CRUSADE

The Youth Crusade came to its climax in Geneva on April 3rd. The Plainpalais meeting was very successful. Several delegates from the Crusade presented to Mr. Henderson a resolution expressing the will of young people to disarmament.

THE TOTAL DISARMAMENT GROUP

The Group is continuing its action, trying to carry forward the idea of total disarmament in Geneva and in different countries.

Miss Honora Enfield, who is a member of the Total Disarmament Group, represents the *International Co-operative Women's Guild*, and not the Women's Co-operative Guild as was incorrectly stated in last month's *Pax*.

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