

"The movement against war is sound. I pray for its success. But I cannot help the gnawing fear that the movement will fail if it does not touch the root of all evil—man's greed. Will America, England, and the other great nations of the West continue to exploit the so-called weaker or uncivilised races and hope to attain peace?"



"War will only be stopped when the conscience of mankind has become sufficiently elevated to recognise the undisputed supremacy of the Law of Love in all the walks of life. Some say this will never come to pass. I shall retain the faith till the end of my earthly existence that it shall come to pass."
Mahatma Gandhi.

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DANGER SPOTS TO WATCH

Upholding "Rights" in China.

From the daily and weekly papers we gather the following facts.

"There are six United States gunboats in Chinese waters. One of them, the "Pigeon", in the Yangtze River, joined in the firing during September.

"The Japanese have two cruisers, two torpedo boat destroyers and nine gunboats in the Yangtze.

"The British in addition to their regular flotilla have detached twelve warships from the Mediterranean fleet and sent them steaming for China."

Mrs. Swanwick in an article in "Foreign Affairs", says: "So long as we have gunboats on the Yangtze or armed forces anywhere in China, 'incidents' like the Wanhsien are certain to occur, and it is essential to invite them."

"The Friend", October 8th, says:

"One conclusion seems clear — that the upholding of 'rights' in China by the gunboat policy can only lead to the embittering of Chinese national feeling and to the harm of the interests supposed to be defended. Still more it is clear that the whole business is contrary to the Christian way, which is as right for nations as for individuals."

A group of Chinese Youth have recently issued a Manifesto to the League of Nations which has been printed in the

Geneva papers. A short extract is as follows:

"Listen to the feeble but heart rending voice of Chinese Youth which speaks through this manifesto....

"Honorable delegates, if the League of Nations does not intervene, it will be responsible for a war which is being germinated in the Far East."

Militarism in the U. S.

Since 1921, when the U. S. National Defence Act provided for the Reserve Officers Training Camp, the growth of militarism in the American colleges and high schools has been phenomenal. There are now 328 R.O.T.C., units operating in 225 institutions, more than 60,000 students are subject to compulsory military training. The Government spends 10,000,000 dollars a year and employs 793 officers and 963 enlisted men for these units.

The following is a quotation from a report of a lecture given in a course of Military Psychology in one of the Reserve Officers' Training Camps:

"Gentlemen, there will be wars till the end of time. Everlasting peace is for the grave — not for life.

There are few new worlds on this planet. The strong will survive... The weak will perish. Steel your arms and draft your bodies for the greatest war that the world has ever seen."

"World Tomorrow", Oct. 1926.

A Bombing Biplane.

The Cyclops is a monster metal bombing biplane, many times as formidable, many times as agile as its fabled namesake, which has just been built in the U. S.

Engineering skill has arranged that 50% of the Cyclops' final flying weight shall be "useful load", i.e. 4,000 pounds of bombs; 2,500 pounds of fuel, enough for 500 miles; 1,000 pounds personnel; 500 pounds of munition for machine guns.

Five machine guns are carried: One out on each lower wing, clear of the propeller; one in a disappearing turret which drops down from the fuselage aft of the pilot, for defence below; two firing as one in another turret rising above the fuselage still further aft, for defence upwards.

Effective Poison Gas.

Preparation for Chemical Warfare goes busily on. Occasionally developments in that industry are revealed in curious ways. Last summer a hundred billion locusts settled in the Crimea and proceeded to eat everything in sight.

The Russian Government there upon sent a few airplanes with poison gas. The locusts were all instantly killed.

The question is, can a human being live through a barrage of gas that kills 4000 locusts to the square yard?

"The Nation", September 8, 1926.

GLAD TIDINGS FOR PACIFISTS

Action on China.

The U. S. Section of the W.I.L. has sent the following telegram to the President of the United States.

"The National Board of the W.I.L. in session at Philadelphia September 25th begs that the United States Government continue to exercise untiring patience amid the chaotic conditions in China and do not allow itself to be provoked into naval intervention under any circumstances. Further it hopes that the United States will use its good offices to induce other governments to follow the same policy." Signed: Hannah Clothier Hull, President.

"Down With Tariff Walls"

A Manifesto, bearing the title "A Plea for the Removal of Restrictions on European Trade" and signed by leading world bankers and business men has been issued in London, Paris, Berlin and other capitals. This manifesto calls for the removal of trade and tariff barriers between the countries of Europe. Some of the men signing this document are: J.P. Morgan; M.A. Taylor, President of the First National Bank of Chicago; Mr. Montague Norman, Governor of the Bank of England; Sir Arthur Balfour; Mr. Lionel D. Rothschild; beside many other leading bankers or manufacturers all over the world.

Quotations from the Manifesto

"It is difficult to view without dismay the extent to which tariff barriers, special licenses and prohibitions since the war have been allowed to interfere with international trade and to prevent it from flowing in its natural channels....

One state lost its supplies of cheap food, another its supplies of cheap manufacture. Industries suffered for want of coal; factories for want of raw material. Prices have risen and artificial inflation resulted; production has as a whole diminished, credits have contracted and currencies depreciated....

Too many states, in pursuit of false ideals of national interest have imperilled their own welfare. There can be no recovery in Europe until politicians in all countries realise that trade is not war, but a process of exchange. In peace our neighbors are our customers and their prosperity is the condition of our well-being."

CHRISTMAS IS COMING

Madeleine Z. Doty.

Already here in Geneva there are signs of winter. A cold wind blows across the lake and the nearby mountains have had their first coat of snow. We have started the furnace in the Maison, and it is good when the wind blows to huddle against the radiator.

But last winter we kept beautifully warm thanks to a generous Christmas gift which bought us two extra tons of coal, and already one small contribution for fuel has come in, so we are again hoping to be rich enough to keep really warm. This winter our household will be bigger. There are five of us living permanently in the house, and that means a steady income.

Your club house has grown greatly in beauty during these last months.

We told you the halls had all been done over in a grey and white Japanese paper with white woodwork.

Now we have just finished renovating one of the bed-rooms which anyone of you may occupy when you visit here. It has been papered in a light buff paper with cream white woodwork and very gay blue and orange curtains. There is an arts craft rug on the floor and two coloured prints of pictures painted by Austrian children hang on the walls. The closet has been painted sky blue, which is an unexpected delight when you open the door to hang up your clothes.

Now all these improvements are due of course to the generosity of our members, for it is you people who pay your dues and send subscriptions that make these improvements possible, and we have not yet come to an end of the things that have been done. At the moment we are at work on the kitchen, a dingy, grubby place sadly needing attention. It had an old stone sink and that was where all the dishes from our big tea parties had to be washed. But now there is a large, white porcelain sink and rows of neat shelves, and next week the painters come to transform the kitchen. It is to be as nearly like a Dutch one as it can be made all in blue and white. This has been possible owing to some money Miss Addams left with us which had been contributed by a friend. Miss Addams herself gave us fifty dollars to buy much needed spoons and forks and house linen.

And Miss Mary Smith, who was with Miss Addams, when she saw how attractive the house had become and how shabby the dining-room was, said:

"Yes, of course the dining-room must be done over and a new linoleum put on the floor." And very quietly she slipped a hundred dollars into the house cash box.

Then one day towards the end of the summer Bertha Poole Weyl of New York City turned up and quite fell in love with the Maison. She viewed it inside and out and when she left, handed us a hundred dollars for a rug and curtains for the library.

When the kitchen is finished, we will wave a fairy wand over the dining room and library and create new delights.

Jesting aside, it is a pity fairy wands are not in use instead of painters, for this business of fixing the kitchen and living in the house at the same time has its excitements.

Anyway when you turn up to visit your International Club House, we are sure you will be delighted with the results and say "Well done thou good

and faithful servants". And since this is your Club House and Christmas is coming, why not complete the interior decorations (there are three bed-rooms sadly needing doing over), and buy the house. Yes, buy the house and make it an International Club House for women all over the world who are valiantly fighting for "peace on earth, goodwill towards men."

This Christmas season is just the time to think about it. Instead of giving a friend some small gift which will vanish or be forgotten in a few short years, say to your friend "I am buying you an interest in the Maison Internationale". All the pennies and dollars added together will quickly make a big sum.

If each National Section and each branch of every section would pledge themselves to raise a small amount we would soon have enough to buy a Club House on a mortgage. Much better to buy a house on a mortgage and feel that the rent we pay each year goes towards paying off a mortgage than continually to rent a house in which we have no interest.

We have a lease on the Maison until 1929. By then we must own our Club House. Make this Christmas the beginning of the fund. Let us remember the gallant band of women who set sail with Jane Addams at their head for the Hague in 1915 and met women from all over the world, from enemy and allied countries, and had the courage to join hands and to say even in the midst of war: "War must not, shall not be".

Now is the time, now while we can all appreciate it, to buy our International Club House and dedicate it to "Jane Addams and Women and World Peace".

And further, when each section sends in its promise of a given sum to be raised at a given time, let them send a large size photograph symbolic of their particular country. For instance, Australia has recently sent us a beautiful picture of the Australian bush which is typically characteristic of that country. Let each National Section do the same, picking out a picture which represents their nation and sending it with a pledge for so much money toward the purchase of the house.

We will mark each of these photographs as we frame it with the name of the National Section which sent it and as one by one the 24 pictures from the 24 National Sections are hung on the wall, we will know our Club House has become a permanent reality, a gift of women all the world around.

Woman the Saviour.

Olive Schreiner.

And she stood far off on the bank of the river. And she said, "For what do I go to this far land which no one has ever reached? Oh, I am alone! I am utterly alone!"

And Reason, that old man, said to her, "Silence, what do you hear?"

And she listened intently, and she said, "I hear a sound of feet, a thousand times ten thousand and thousands of thousands and they beat this way!"

He said, "They are the feet of those that shall follow you. Lead on! make a track to the water's edge! Where you stand now, the ground will be beaten flat by ten thousand times ten thousand feet."...

And she said, "Over that bridge which shall be built with our bodies, who will pass?"

He said, "The entire human race." And the woman grasped her staff. And I saw her turn down that dark path to the river.

PEACE IS VIGOR OF SOUL

In the Pacifist paper "Les Librés", Romain Rolland writes to French Conscientious Objectors on Gandhi's philosophy. He says:

"I earnestly beg French Conscientious Objectors to apply themselves seriously to understanding the real trend of Gandhi's thought and the exact meaning of his non-violence, which is action magnificently disciplined...."

They should read in my Introduction to Gandhi's "Young India" his definition of the Satyagraha: "The sword of self-sacrifice," and the accompanying commentary (pages XII and following): "What is all this talk of crossed arms and sheep-like submission. What nonsense ever to have confounded this paroxysm of action with the bovine race of passive pacifists! There is not a single grain of passivity in the whole of Gandhi's being. All there is direct action.... 'Nothing on this earth' he writes, 'has ever been accomplished without direct action.' Far from enervating people's energies, he forces them to undergo the severest discipline ever imposed upon a people. And he inspires the people with a fervent desire cheerfully to accept this discipline.... Non-violence is a fight (p. XIV).... I lay special emphasis on its fighting character (p. XX). ... There is less distance between the Non-Violence of Mahatma and the Violence of Revolutionaries than there is between heroic non-acceptance and the servile indifference of the eternally Resigned who represent the mortar and the cement of all tyrannies and reactions. (p. XX).

As far as I, personally, am concerned, it is enough to say that I am in entire agreement with the words of Spinoza which I used as the motto for my Third Volume of "L'Ame Enchantée." "Peace is not the absence of War, but the strength which is born of Vigor of Soul."

Invocation

A Contribution to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

O God of Peace, inspire us,
With gracious thoughts us robe,
To touch the hearts of womanhood
Of the entire globe.

"There shall not be a war again!"
We solemnly declare;
So mothers, sweethearts, wives and all
You daughters come and share.

And let us join our hands in love
To forge a glorious chain,
That man to kill his fellow-man
Shall try to break, in vain.

O women of the universe,
Mothers of all mankind,
Help make the world a paradise,
There Peace and Freedom find!

CLAIRE M. MARBURG

Economic Imperialism With Special Reference to the United States

Emily Balch

Three Classes of Powers

It is substantially true to say that the population of the whole globe is divided into three classes: (1) the colonial Powers of Europe together with the United States and Japan, (2) the smaller independent nations of Europe and of European extraction outside Europe, and (3) peoples which are, in one form or another, dependent on countries of the first class.

The relation between the master countries and the subject countries is not easy to judge categorically. Some observers will dwell on its pax Romana aspect and emphasize the order and security in government (as, let us say, in India under the British), the raised standards of life as regards comfort and health, the new stimulus to stagnant and decaying cultures, the blessings of Christianity among benighted and cruel superstitions as in Central Africa.

Other observers will draw a one-sided picture showing only the evils such as the break down of old-self-consistent cultural and economic systems the demoralization due to alcohol, the trader, even the missionary.

It is not practicable here to try to consider such an immense and complicated balance-sheet of good and evil.

Three Policies

If we analyze the possibilities of the situation we have:

- (a) Absence of all contact (national isolation);
- (b) Contact and trade without political domination;
- (c) Domination; either open and complete political control or partial and veiled power, often mainly economic.

The first — isolation — is entirely impracticable. Japan and China desired it for themselves but even had it not been forcibly broken down from the outside, it is most doubtful whether it could have been maintained. Today it is unthinkable anywhere.

The second possibility — contact with native independence — must be considered more closely. Here, I think, the anti-imperialist, if he honestly cares for truth, must face some very difficult and painful facts. Contact without political control may mean a very nasty state of things. A "native" government cannot prevent the pressure of modern industrial forces. "Native" governments are not all-wise and all-virtuous any more than are those of London, Paris or Washington. Traders or trading companies which desire either to buy or sell, whether or not in ways destructive to the people, will endeavor to induce native rulers to permit them to do so. And in general they will not find it hard to secure such permission.

The most hideous phase of this particular sort of supply and demand was the demand for slave labor and its supply by the slave trade. It was mainly native colored slave traders, often native rulers who hunted the slaves and sold them to the white man. This chapter is, happily, now practically closed, but it is typical.

Unregulated contact between profiteers and backward populations is not a satisfactory solution. It means rum, opium, fraud, cruelty and disease and forced labor in one form or another. It means the rise of native tyrannies owing their wealth and power to the income and support derived from foreigners who want to sell, who want to buy, who want to exploit natural resources — gold and

silver mines, rubber, oil or what not; — who want to undertake, as profit-making enterprises, such things as railways or irrigation works.

External national independence may be freedom in name, and in reality bondage and exploitation for the benefit of foreigners who thrive under a government which draws its strength from the blood-suckers of its own people.

Are we limited to one of these three possibilities: isolation; or a free field for profit makers among backward but nominally independent peoples; or political control by one or another civilized master-country?

The first appears impossible, even if it were desirable, and the second highly dangerous. I suppose none of those who view human relations as we do is resigned to the third, the imperialistic solution.

Another Possibility—Regulation

But another possibility is at least conceivable — regulation without control. We have a faint foreshadowing of such a policy in a number of different ways. International agreements not to sell rum, opium or firearms is an example, even if the motives for such agreements are not wholly altruistic. International agreements to prevent slave trading are another.

Another form of regulation — the word is not a happy one but I am using it because I know of no better — is in regard to the policy of governmental refusal to enforce the claims of its citizens abroad. This has been internationally formulated as the Drago doctrine which takes its name from a great Argentine statesman. The United States section of the W.I.L.P.F. is now pushing a bill in Congress to secure the observation of this wholesome policy by the Government of the United States.

A very interesting and important experiment is the mandate system of the League of Nations. As yet it exists more in theory than in practice, but it undertakes to transform colonial possession into a temporary trusteeship, which is to be exercised for the good of the native population with a view to ultimate independence, a trusteeship, subject to the criticism and oversight of representatives of the internationally organized countries of the globe.

Another important step is the effort to realize the principle of the open-door. It takes away a motive for international quarrels over colonial booty; it limits the power of the native government to play favorites among concession hunters, etc. It is possible that it may yet be the determining factor in the realization of an independent New China.

On the philanthropic and religious side there could be fruitful and helpful contact without political lordship.

Haiti as Illustration

I want to illustrate from the relation of the United States with Haiti of which I have a glimpse at first hand.

Those who approve the occupation of Haiti by United States forces and its administration by United States representatives point to the establishment of order and security, the making of roads, the attempt to introduce more productive agricultural methods, the campaign against the prevalent diseases. My point is that it would be possible to render help along all these lines without assuming political control. This help might be

through governmental aid as by loan of official experts, through great philanthropic endowments like the Rockefeller or the Phelps-Stokes funds, or by devoted and friendly individuals. It might involve help to Haitians to enable them to travel and study abroad, and visits to Haiti, brief or life long, of teachers, doctors and specialists of varying types.

The most difficult aspect of the Haitian situation is the tendency to recurring revolutions. The fact is that with an ignorant people divided from one another by lack of roads and really quite unready for parliamentary institutions, it is hard to see how despotism and illegal continuance in power is to be ended, except by revolution. If outside help in this dilemma must be had occasionally, it ought to be arranged beforehand by a mutual agreement that the intervention should not come from one Power acting alone at it chooses, but from an international body acting according to a pre-arranged plan.

The special problems of American imperialism concern primarily the United States and its neighbors and dependents. It reaches to Samoa and the Philippines, it concerns and disturbs the mind of every Latin-American country. For the most part the Imperialism is very silent, very much concealed under a protective coloration of political independence and very little known or realized in the United States itself. For the most part we citizens of the United States are so innocent of any imperialistic purpose and so complacently unaware of what is done in our name in inconspicuous but effective ways that we are aggrieved by any criticism along these lines.

We are wrapped deep in that skillfully induced absence of mind of the mass of the people under cover of which the British empire was acquired on behalf of financial interests and political ambitions which were very wide awake indeed.

Reform Through Public Opinion

It will be difficult to accomplish anything till party politics take such a turn as to make the question of Imperialism a live political issue. This will happen only when there is a body of informed and determined public opinion and popular feeling which presses the issue on the attention of political leaders.

It is difficult to instill this opinion and create this feeling where the motive is all altruistic. Those who directly suffer from American imperialism are remote, scattered, weak peoples, speaking other languages, with no access to our government and no place in its mechanism.

It is the more difficult, also, because the old American belief in liberty is no longer, if it ever was, well informed, convinced, determined and general. There is much lip service to the principles of the fathers and much real belief in the rule of the business super-man and the extension of national power and prosperity by any and every method.

It is going to be, for us and for other colonial powers, a very long and very difficult undertaking to develop relations with weaker and more backward peoples in such a way as to be useful to them and favorable to their development, cultural and ethical, economic and political, without forcing our control upon them.

But we can be content with no less ambitious program.

Work With The League of Nations

The League's Value

Mrs. H.M. Swanwick, President of the British Section of the W.I.L., who attended all the sessions of the Seventh Assembly, has written a very vivid editorial about her visit in the October "Foreign Affairs". She feels strongly that the League of Nations, "with all its defects," is most valuable and says:

... "Again and again it was Norway, Sweden, Denmark, or Holland that spoke what everyone knew to be honest and right, that stood up for the conception of a true League against those who would use it for their own selfish purposes, or those who, like Great Britain and some of the Dominions, are chiefly anxious to curtail or limit or arrest its functions."

Admittedly it is hard for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, and it is as hard for the Great Powers. They need the smaller established and civilised States to present to them incessantly the better way. Let those who are always ready to cry, "Scrap the League!" whenever it acts according to the nature of men "with great possessions" reflect that, in the League, in its Assembly and Council and Commissions, there is brought to bear on these over-rich men the influence of a more altruistic conception; that the narrow nationalism of Foreign Offices has to suffer attrition from the broader outlook of a highly expert international civil service at which the cleverest young diplomat cannot sneer as "ignorant"; that the glare of Geneva publicity shows up to each and all of us the most precious material with which to educate our electorate in progressive internationalism.

When Nansen champions the democratic rights of the Assembly; when London stands for constitutional methods; when Lange presses questions of disarmament; when Uden and Van Rees champion the peoples of the mandated areas — all the internationalists the world over should support them and should study these questions, so that their support may be effectual. It is idleness and futility — for us especially who are citizens of one of the great States — to take refuge in vague abuse of "the League", instead of working our hardest to strengthen the hands of these genuine Leaguers, fighting their long battle against our Government!

What reward have they for their obstinate virtue if the "Right" oppose them and the "Left" abandon them?"

What the W.I.L. can do

Catherine Marshall.

Is there anything that organisations like ours can do in relation to the League of Nations Assembly that will have any practical effect on its decision?

We are sometimes told, "the Assembly represents Governments whose delegates come with definite instructions how to vote on the various questions on the agenda? It is hardly proper, even if it were possible, for an outside body like yours to try to affect the decisions arrived at. Whom do you represent, anyhow? A mere handful of women, divided among different countries."

My answer is that the work our Women's International League can do in relation to the Assembly is of precisely the same kind as the work our Non-party Women's Suffrage Movement was able to do in relation to the British Par-

liament, and is justifiable on the same grounds.

There are two ways of exercising a constitutional influence on a representative body; first you must influence the individual Members through the constituencies which they represent, and secondly you can approach them in their corporate capacity, putting before them expressions of the desires of a National or International organisation. The "Members" in the case of the League of Nations are the National Governments, the "Constituencies" the countries which elect them to power. Our capacity to do anything effectively at the Assembly, or in relation to the various Commissions and Committees of the League, depends on the work done by our National Sections at home throughout the year, just as our power to influence the British Parliament in the matter of Women's Suffrage depended on the strength of our organisation and influence in the various Borough and County constituencies. The solid foundations of our work in Geneva are formed by such things as our Arbitration Pilgrimage in England, by the reconciliation work done by our German and French Sections in the devastated region of France and in the occupied Rhineland and Ruhr, by co-operative work where Minority problems have to be solved, such as that accomplished by our Czech and German groups in Czecho-Slovakia and by our Danish and German Sections across the new German-Danish frontier, and by our Scandinavian Sections' work in the educational field and for Disarmament.

This work can have effects of several kinds. It may result in the placing on the Assembly Agenda of definite Resolutions, moved by the Governments of the countries in which the work has been done. In that case we work hard in Geneva watching the progress of each Resolution through Committee and Subcommittee, seeing Delegates and getting support for it in its various stages, providing would-be supporters with material and evidence on which to base their support, and generally getting publicity for the cause we have at heart.

But apart from definite Resolutions it is often possible to get points made in speeches both in the Assembly and in the Committees, or action taken in the standing Commissions, which form a valuable basis for further action between one Assembly and another. And then there are the very important matters of framing Agendas, defining terms of reference for special Committees, developing the constitution and procedure of the organs of the League itself. Anyone who has done Parliamentary work will know the kind of opportunities that occur if someone is on the spot at the right time to perceive and to use them.

Perhaps the most encouraging and rewarding moments in our work in Geneva come when we are able to make the representatives of the smaller countries realise that there is a public in the big countries that looks to them to voice its desires and needs—when we can give them evidence of support for policies they are pursuing from the peoples of the big countries even though the Governments of the big countries may be hindering or definitely opposing.

I have written, as I was asked to do, of some of the things we may hope to

accomplish if we send to Geneva some of our most efficient political workers. But before all else we should go there to learn and to study. Geneva at all times, but especially when the Assembly is in session, provides an unrivalled school for the student of international politics; and by studying League of Nations problems at first-hand, and watching how they are dealt with, those who are not only students but active workers in international politics can gain better than in any other way a knowledge of the forces that have to be reckoned with and the practical difficulties to be overcome, and can learn to acquire that sympathetic understanding of other people's points of view without which no one can be of real use in the world.

Women Delegates to the League

In September, a dinner in honour of the six women delegates to the Seventh Assembly of the League of Nations was held at the International Club in Geneva. Over 200 guests were present, including the chief officials of the Secretariat of the League and of the International Labour Office, beside distinguished visitors, such as Mrs. Woodrow Wilson and Miss Jane Addams.

Dame Rachel Crowley presided and the speakers were Miss Henni Forchhammer, delegate from Denmark, Mademoiselle Hélène Vacarescu, delegate from Roumania, Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon of the International Council of Women and Mrs. Corbett Ashby of the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship.

As a result of the speeches made on this occasion, it was decided to send the following letter to the Governments of all the nations who have not included a woman among the delegates they have sent to the League of Nations:

"Your Excellency,

At a very successful gathering held in Geneva in honour of the six women who had been sent by the Governments of Sweden, Denmark, Great Britain, Norway, Roumania and Australia as Substitute Delegates to the Seventh Assembly of the League of Nations, speeches were made by several of the delegates, as well as by women representing international organisations. Every speech was virtually an appeal to the Governments or all States, Members of the League of Nations, to include a woman in their delegations at future Assemblies.

A strong point was made that the co-operation of women in the deliberations of the Assembly and its Committees not only gave added strength to the decisions of that body, but also was an encouragement to the womanhood of all countries to do their part in the constructive propaganda in support of peace.

In conveying this appeal to you on behalf of our associations, we sincerely trust that you, Your Excellency, will do us the honour of placing this letter before your Government and will do your utmost to include a woman in your delegation next year."

We are, yours faithfully,
Ishbel Aberdeen and Temair, President, International Council of Women.
Margery Corbett Ashby, President, International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship.
Jane Addams, President, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
September 22nd, 1926.

WORK OF THE W. I. L. NATIONAL SECTIONS

United States Section

We have had word from America that the National Office of the United States Section is changing its home. Dorothy Detzer, the national secretary says:

"We are moving into the loveliest place. It is on one of Washington's most beautiful streets in an old Georgian house, all renovated with charming window boxes and a beautiful entrance, and best of all, just opposite the War Department."

The new address of the office is: 522 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Briefly the program of the U.S. Section, as outlined for the coming year is:

I For Study:

- Shall the U. S. enter the League of Nations — (pro and con). The policies of the W.I.L. and the League of Nations to be shown side by side;
- Arbitration Treaties, a study of existing treaties and the preparation of a model treaty to be used as a basis for national legislation between the U.S. and other countries.
- Disarmament Treaties, a study of what has been accomplished and a model Treaty prepared.

II For Action:

- Work based on the resolutions of the W.I.L. as passed at the Dublin Congress;
- Introduction of bills in line with W.I.L. policies into Congress and State Legislatures, work for Senate Concurrent Resolution 15, dealing with Economic Imperialism and prohibiting the use of the Army and Navy to support economic interests.
- Work against the National Defence Act, Citizens' Military Training Camps, Military Training in Schools and Colleges, and against Conscription Bills. The U.S. Section has already begun its work for Arbitration. At the National Board Meeting in September a resolution was drawn up in favor of Arbitration treaties which all the branches of the U.S. are to present to various organizations in the U.S. for adoption. The resolution reads:

"Resolved that the United States should endeavour to negotiate a series of treaties with all other nations providing for the peaceful settlement of all differences by judicial decision or arbitration."

The New York branch of the United States Section has also changed its office and is now at the Bible House Astor Place, New York City. They are planning a speaking-trip up-State at the end of November. Miss Eleanor Brannan is acting as Secretary for this branch this year. She reports that they had many successful street meetings this summer. Miss Brannan spoke at seventeen such meetings with the help of five other speakers, on every occasion giving out literature. Altogether, 4,000 leaflets were given out and 500 signatures were secured to a petition against compulsory military training in colleges. Miss Brannan says: "The attitude of the crowds was inspiring, so interested that it was easy to speak to them. The audiences that stayed throughout the speaking averaged about seventy-five and were mostly men. I made world disarmament and all-inclusive arbitration treaties the two practical necessities for securing peace. I only wish that street meetings were held in all cities of the United States, for I believe that little effort is made to reach

the public by the pacifist. We go on talking to the converted when an eager audience is awaiting outside."

German Section

This Section has just sent two petitions to the German Parliament, one dealing with firearms, the other with war monuments.

"To the German Reichsrat"

The German Section of the W.I.L. appeals to the Reichsrat to insert in that portion of the law which deals with the carrying of weapons and munition, an absolute prohibition of the carrying of weapons by private persons, as well as of the sale of weapons and ammunition to private persons.

Such a law is urgently needed. The world war and the postwar years have resulted, especially among the masculine population, in a looseness of morals, a disrespect for human life, a licentiousness and a lack of control of the coarsest instincts and feelings, which make necessary the prohibition of the carrying of weapons by private persons as a protection to the general public.

There are reports in the papers daily, that when a difference of opinion or a quarrel arises, the two sides immediately resort to arms, very often with fatal results. It is the duty of the State to protect the general public from such uncontrolled, armed men.

No valid reason or pretext can be found in an orderly State or community for the carrying or the use of weapons, and it is high time that Germany returned to the status of a well-regulated State.

Every citizen should be sufficiently cultured to deem it ignominious and cowardly to carry arms or to seek his imagined right through weapons. But as long as this is not the case, the State must show by legislation that it has reached this height of culture and that it intends, by law, to lead the people to this point.

For all these reasons the proposers of such a law await a decision from the Reichsrat in accordance with the above suggestions."

"To President Paul Løbe, German Reichstag."

The German Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom appeals to the German Reichstag not to appropriate, assign or set aside any Government funds for the erection of a monument in honour of those killed in the World War, as long as the German Republic is dishonoured by war cripples who subsist on miserable pensions, and as long as the general housing problem, which is a result of the war, remains unsolved."

British Section

This Section reports that, when a deputation from the Peacemakers Pilgrimage went last July to present their resolution on Arbitration to Sir Austen Chamberlain, he said the subject of Arbitration would be taken up at the Imperial Conference of the British Commonwealth of Nations this fall. The Imperial Conference is now taking place in London and the British Section is following up the pilgrimage work by sending a short memorandum on Arbitration to all the Dominion Premiers with a copy of the Pilgrimage Report and a letter asking them to meet members of the National Pilgrimage Council and discuss the subject.

The following resolution, which has been passed at many meetings, in all

parts of the country, has also been sent to the Imperial Conference:

"This meeting considers that the highest interest of the British Empire requires the maintenance of permanent peace.

It therefore urges that the forthcoming Imperial Conference shall accept the principle of arbitral settlement of all international disputes which are incapable of solution by direct negotiation between the parties.

And further, this meeting urges the members of the British Empire to accept the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice in all judicable disputes by signing the optional clause (Clause 36) of the Statute which established the Court."

The British Section further reports that their branches have started their winter work with some interesting programmes including several Study Circles on such subjects as "India", "China" and the "Covenant of the League of Nations."

Irish Section

This Section sends in word that they have just had their Annual Meeting and that at this meeting a vote of thanks was passed for the generous financial help given to the Irish Section during the Dublin Congress by International Headquarters. It has asked to have this vote of thanks put in "Pax".

This Section has been studying the Problem of Unemployment and has issued the following statement on it, which it has sent to its Government and has asked to have presented at the Imperial Conference of the British Commonwealth of Nations, taking place in London this month. It reads as follows:

"Unemployment is so wide-spread and so complex in cause and effect that it must be dealt with internationally as well as nationally, in order to find any adequate solution, or even alleviation of its tragic effects.

"The Irish Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is therefore of opinion that it ought to be considered by the approaching Imperial Conference of the British Commonwealth of Nations and urge the Government to put it forward on the programme they present at the Conference.

"Further, the Irish Section, viewing with dismay the effects of unemployment on the character and intelligence as well as on the physical health of the victims (and more especially the young people among them) strongly urges the Free State Government to investigate the problem and to seek solutions of it through international co-operation.

"Meantime the Irish Section suggests that the following reforms should be put into operation at once in the nations composing the British Commonwealth:—

- The ratification of the Washington Convention decision concerning hours of work in industrial undertakings.
- The raising of the school-leaving age to 16 years, with the payment of a maintenance grant to all pupils between the ages of 14 and 16 years.

These two reforms would very appreciably affect unemployment and would, moreover, prove of far-reaching advantage to human welfare and to industry. The British Commonwealth of Nations ought to be among the pioneer nations already pledged to them. The Irish Section of the W.I.L.P.F. appeals to the Free State delegation to propose them to the Imperial Conference.

The Flensburg Conference

At the end of September, the Danish and German Sections of the W.I.L. held a conference to discuss frontier problems.

For two days the delegates met just at the border on German territory and on the third day crossed over the border into Denmark. This conference, held at the frontier, made it plain that language barriers must be broken down, that one language was not to be suppressed while the other was glorified, but that a knowledge of both languages and both cultures made the people possessing them doubly rich. It was pointed out that the people living on the frontier might "live" peace and that it was better to "live" peace than to "preach" peace. That the great thing for people living peace was to remove the "barriers" erected between nations and to create "bridges" across which nations might meet each other in friendship. One speaker in closing quoted the words of Selma Lagerlöf:

"As long as words issue from my mouth and blood flows through my veins, I shall work for peace, even if it require my happiness and my very life."

Two interesting reports of the meeting have been sent in, one from Germany and one from Denmark.

Bridges or Barriers?

Gertrud Baer (Germany).

The W.I.L.'s first Nordic-German Conference met in Flensburg on German ground, on September 24th and 25th, and in Sonderburg, on Danish ground, on September 26th. Sixty representatives of six countries, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Esthonia, Ireland and Germany, and numerous guests from the frontier provinces came together to discuss the European Minority problem especially in its relation to some of the Nordic states. The sessions of the Conference and the big public meetings were presided over alternately by a Danish woman, Thora Daugaard or B. von Cederfeld, or by a German woman, Magda Hoppstock or Gertrud Baer. Reports giving interesting details on the work undertaken in common by the Majorities and Minorities were presented by Matilde Widegren, Sweden, who told of the work in Finland, by Helen Chenevix, Ireland, who spoke on the work in Denmark and Germany. Statements about the way cultural autonomy is working out in Es-

thonia were particularly informing. These statements were given by a representative of the Majority and by representatives of the Russian and German Minorities who had worked together in the Y.W.C.A. for the welfare of Esthonia. Both the Esthonian and the German spoke about the great danger that arises from cultural autonomy, for it gives the Majority the self-satisfying feeling that it has done everything for the Minority and both Majority and Minority are then inclined to shut themselves off from each other. Gymnastic exercises, games, sport and the kindergartens have shown that barriers between the nationalities are being artificially raised by grown people, while the Esthonian, German and Russian children work and play together in friendship and harmony. It was a great joy for those of us who had summoned the Conference to know that it is the younger generation, and especially the younger generation of women among the different nationalities in Esthonia who are building up newer and finer relations between the Majority and the Minorities. We hope that conditions in Esthonia will have cleared up and become more stable by the time the W.I.L. Congress in 1929 arrives and that the political and psychological state of mind, which still relies on armed preparedness in disputes with border states, will have been overcome.

The two evening meetings brought excellent speeches by Magda Hoppstock, Hamburg, and B. von Cederfeld, Fünen, on the post-war situation of European Minorities and thorough reports on the subject of "Bridges or Barriers" (the cementing of relations or the erection of barriers between nationalities) were given by Miss Nisson, Norway, Frau v. Wahl, a German-Esthonian, Dr. Axel Dam, Denmark, and Frau Kirchhoff, Germany. The 2nd and 3rd Resolutions on Minorities passed at the Dublin Congress were especially warmly supported.

On Sunday all the members of the Conference went by ship to Sonderburg — a most picturesque spot in Denmark, where they were the guests of the W.I.L. group there and the speakers at the Flensburg Conference spoke again at a fine public meeting presided over by Thora Daugaard. The Danish and the German Sections of the W.I.L. will carry on their Minority work this coming winter in the same practical way that they have done

heretofore and border conferences such as the Flensburg Conference will be organized.

Practical Work.

Thora Daugaard (Denmark).

It is often said of the members of the W.I.L. that we are "theoretical" only. But those who boast of being "practical" say they believe in "realities". Well, the Flensburg Conference was a reality — a piece of *practical work* for peace. Some people told us that this conference would be a failure but it turned out to be a success from beginning to end. Even the criticism afterwards (without this no success is real) was not lacking. But on the whole the critics ("black painters") patted us on the head and said we were cleverer than they had thought. Let them pat us or let them beat us as they like — we know and we now know better than ever before that the chief work for sections with minorities is at *their frontiers* and we are going to carry on this work in the same manner and with the same understanding with which we started it.

The Conference has been reported in the papers to a much greater extent than we expected. Our politicians in the Danish Parliament which has just opened have made enquiries about it. Also this Conference has been reported in the southern part of Sweden and at a meeting in Ystad I had to answer questions about our frontier work.

"Times alter" said an old Danish peasant to me after Magda Hoppstock-Huth had spoken — and he added "Germany now is not the Germany it used to be" — That is what the Conference has proved to us and it is felt as a great relief.

The World Section

At the Congress in Washington, the idea of a World Section arose. Anyone could belong to this section regardless of what country they came from. It was to be a world group. Few people joined the group. At the Dublin Congress the plan was not again endorsed. Therefore, after consultation with Vilma Glücklich, Hungary, and Madeleine Rolland, Switzerland, who were among the originators of the idea, the plan has been given up and the subscription already received toward the World Section, is to be handed over to International Headquarters unless there is some objection. The sum is small, amounting only to 67 Swiss francs.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Jane Addams, International President

International Headquarters 12, rue du Vieux-Collège, Geneva
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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