

"From the broad standpoint of humanity and civilisation, all war is an assault upon the stability of human society and should be suppressed in the common interest."



"The Government of the United States... stands ready to conclude with the French, British, Italian, German and Japanese Governments a single multilateral treaty... not to resort to war with one another."

Frank B. Kellogg. U.-S. Secretary of State.

# PAX INTERNATIONAL

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

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## CURRENT EVENTS

### British Section Campaign on Outlawry

Mrs. Chapman Catt representing nine of the chief Women societies in the U. S. has inaugurated a campaign to support the Kellogg proposal to outlaw war by a multilateral treaty of the five Great Powers renouncing war as an instrument of national policy and in favour of a pacific settlement of international disputes.

The British Section has decided to co-operate in this campaign by :

1. Calling a meeting on March 30th, of the representatives of the chief Women societies in Great Britain to co-operate in this scheme.
2. To make this campaign in conformity with those in other countries essentially a woman's campaign, but to notify the organisations consisting of men and women and ask them to endorse and support the scheme.
3. To organise a national demonstration in Albert Hall in November 1928 in support of the Kellogg proposals.
4. To raise the necessary funds by means of a personal appeal to individual.

### W. I. L. on Disarmament and Outlawry

The outstanding events of the past month were the U. S. Secretary of State Kellogg's proposal for the outlawry of war between nations and the Russian proposal for disarmament.

At the International Committee these events were considered and the following resolution was passed dealing jointly with both proposals :

"The W. I. L. P. F. Executive Committee welcomes the proposals made by the U. S. A. that all States should renounce war as an instrument of national policy in favour of the pacific settlement of international disputes.

In order to make this policy effective it urges :

- (1) that full support be given by the governments to the U. S. S. R. proposals for complete disarmament within a prescribed period of time,
- (2) that all States should undertake to accept the final settlement of all disputes by international, judicial or arbitral procedure.

We strongly appeal to our national sections to bring pressure on their governments to act on these lines and also to organise campaigns to focus public opinion on these issues.

### OUR DELEGATES TO CHINA

The following articles consists of extracts from the journal of Edith Pye and Camille Drevet. So much material has come from both that it is impossible to publish it all in *Pax* and a brochure giving a full account of their journey will be published after their return. Our delegates went first to Shanghai then to Nankin and from there to Pekin.

#### A Visit to Nankin

Camille Devret

We had been warned not to go to Nankin; we were told there were few foreigners there and we might be looked on with suspicion.

But the women of Nankin had sent a delegate to Shanghai to invite us, and we accepted with joy.

We were the only foreigners on the train which was unheated. The Chinese comfortably wrapped in furs disregard the cold. At every station soldiers, their rifles slung on their shoulders, passed through the carriages. No one took any notice of us, except to look

at our fur which we have the old habit of wearing on the outside !

After a seven hours journey we arrived at Nankin. The crowd was so dense on the quay and in the station courtyard, that we felt ourselves overwhelmed. But our Chinese friends rescued us and led us to the motor cars specially decorated in our honour with placards of welcome to the W. I. L. P. F...

We were taken to the American College of Ginling, a collection of pretty bungalows where we were to stay. Some American women who remained during the terrible events of March 1927 have now come back to take up their work among their young Chinese pupils.

The days we spent at Nankin will always remain in our memory. We were continually in touch with the women of the Kuomintang, both in the provincial government and the municipal body. These active and friendly ladies told us all about their plans.

They have been entrusted by the government with work among the women and are trying to teach hygiene and show the need of education. They want to fight polygamy which is wide spread and also prostitution.

They asked us a thousand questions about the position of women in the west. With them we visited schools, colleges and universities.

The first day we visited a charming little kindergarten and then were received by the women of various state organisations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They gave us an extraordinarily cordial reception. The lunch was delightful and animated. Amongst all the women there was only one man, a delegate from the Government come to do us honour...

After the lunch we attended a large meeting in the Hall of the College for boys. The Hall was ornamented with flags and inscriptions. In the place of honour the portrait of Sun Yat Sen. Proceedings began with music from the military band, then speeches of welcome and speeches by Edith Pye and myself.

Two Chinese melodies were played for us, one on a little flute called "the peace flute" and the other on a flute with six stops into which the air enters freely and which is therefore called "the free flute" (these flutes were in honour of "peace and freedom").

The second melody with its motif several times repeated seemed to me an urgent appeal with a strangely pathetic ring: China calling her children to the immense task which awaits them.

## Our Delegates To China (Continued)

The next day we visited the college that forms part of the University. The pupils there undergo military training and the girls wear a grey uniform like that of the boys. Then we were received by the women of the provincial government. At two o'clock the municipal reception took place. The mayor, the heads of the education and public works departments were present. At the back of the platform was a banner of welcome to the W. I. L. delegates in Chinese.

All spoke with deep feeling about our visit which is a great encouragement to them...

Another day we visited the tomb of Sun Yat Sen and afterward breakfasted with the supervisor of the monument in a little restaurant in the forest. He showed us the plans for reforestation and planting gardens and lawns around the steps leading to the monument and tomb of Sun Yat Sen... He asked Edith Pye and me to plant two trees in memory of our visit.

In the presence of 20 women all united by the same thought we planted the trees. Each one of our Chinese friends there represented a women's organisation. They were women of the Kuomintang Government or teachers, women who had resolved to give their time and strength to the education of the children of their country and all longing for peace.

These peace trees will remain forever a living symbol of our mission to China and of the union of the women of China with women of other countries.

## Glimpses of Peking Edith M. Pye

We had a most interesting and amusing dinner-party at a very high-class Chinese house. Mr. and Mrs. Hsuing Hsi Ling are important people in Peking. He was Prime Minister in the time of Ynan Kai but has now withdrawn from politics and devotes himself to good works. Neither he nor his wife speak anything but Chinese, but their two married daughters and their husbands who were there have been educated in the west and speak English fluently.

Camille Drevet and I sat one on each side of the host. It was a lovely house, an old palace that had belonged to one of the princes and though quite small, was full of old carvings, and small trees covered with exquisite yellow scented flowers... The food was Chinese but served foreign style and at the end Mr. Hsuing made an interesting speech. He said he was sure that if only foreign countries would stop sending arms to China, the Generals would have to stop fighting. He thought that if the foreigners would give up their privileges it would put the Chinese on their mettle to see that the foreigners did not suffer for it.

He welcomed our coming and called us "Angels of Peace". Mrs. Hsuing then made a long but what must have been a witty speech to judge by the daughters—but much of the joking was untranslatable.

She believes the remedy for the situation lies in education and hopes that we shall tell people in Europe of the efforts that are being made in China. She said she was sure we should have the support of all Chinese women in our work for peace...

The next day we were shown the industrial colony into which most of the energy and money of the Hsuings goes. It was originally started after one of the many famines, when people brought their children to the government because they could not feed them. Mr. Hsuing in those days was in the Peking local government and he was entrusted with

the funds to create a home for these children. He was far-seeing enough to realize that you must teach children how to live after they leave such an institution and has gradually evolved a very wonderful colony, where the children learn many industries such as spinning, weaving, tanning, pottery, soap-making and engineering.

The institution is in a lovely spot in the Western Hills, and the buildings which have been erected are in themselves a village. They have a bank and a co-operative shop, and a model town hall in which the business of the colony is transacted by the young people, we were told. There are now 1,600 of them, of all ages...

The whole party of us was carried about in sedan chairs each with 4 bearers, and as the village is in the hollow of the hills and extends up the sides, we were very glad to be carried. Some of our bearers still wore pigtails, but they were very jolly careful little people... They took us right up to the top of the hill to a hotel for lunch—it was a zig-zag path almost perpendicular in places and through much snow sparkling in the sun, but the bearers were like goats for sure footedness and it was an amusing experience.

After lunch we went to the Assemblée Hall and spoke to about nine hundred of the young people...

We drove home in a wonderful sunset glow. The hills were a sort of transparent purple—very lovely. There were two delicious pagodas, one Chinese, just the shape of those on the embroideries, the other Mongolian and quite different...

Another day at a private gathering we met about 20 Chinese members of the Y. W. C. A., mostly young married women whom we were told afterwards, were considered reactionary by the students. I explained our object in coming and then they gave very definitely, their point of view, which summed up is that they beg our W. I. L. to try and do something about the following matters:

1. To suppress the import of arms.
2. To hasten negotiations over new treaties.
3. To stop the import of narcotics by smuggling.
4. To secure for China the right to settle her own affairs.

### CONCLUSIONS.

We had much less opportunity to meet Chinese women and young people in Peking than in either Shanghai or Nanking. Martial law is in existence and is used to prevent any kind of meetings among the Chinese. There is undoubtedly an atmosphere of fear and apprehension and the intellectuals and those of advanced ideas have all left or are leaving. Those who remain do not show themselves or take any part in public life...

The executions that have taken place have thoroughly terrorized thoughtful people.

As far as I was able to ascertain the nationalist feeling is as strong in Peking as in the South. I heard no good word for the present regime from anyone. The older people felt that there is not much hope from any of the present leaders, but all said fighting in China would stop if the import of foreign arms and ammunitions ceased. They all put emphasis on the need for education. Some of the younger women were bitter about the delay in negotiating new treaties. We understood that there is even more bitterness in the extreme party with whom we were unable to get in touch.

But we found better feeling on the part of European towards Chinese in Peking than in Shanghai. The International Women's

Club is really international and has many Chinese members. The Chinese Returned Students Club accepts foreign members and has a good many. We were able to address two meetings, the International Women's Club, about 120-140, and the Industrial Young People's Colony, about 900 to 1,000.

## Pax International To Continue Madeleine Z. Doty

Here I am back in Geneva after three months in America. I hardly know which country I love the most. Both seem like home. There is a richness and maturity about European civilisation that is enchanting; on the other hand there is a vigourousness, a willingness to try the new that makes America delightful.

Wherever I went in America I had a splendid response to our appeal for funds for Pax. Not that it is easy to raise money in America for "good" causes. It is not. Those who would give have little they can give, while those who are rich are rarely interested in giving to Pacifists. But there is a great increase in peace sentiment. The average man is taking an interest in international affairs. Little gifts added together make a big one, so I secured \$2,600 of \$3,200 needed for the printing and editing of Pax. The remaining \$600 we need we hope to raise during the year.

In my campaign for money I travelled as far west as Minneapolis. In each city I went I asked for the money for one month's printing and stenography. In the cities where there were State Branches of the W. I. L. we were able to raise that amount at one meeting. The contributions were as follows:

Boston . . . . .	\$250
Philadelphia . . . . .	250
Newark . . . . .	250
New York . . . . .	255
Minneapolis and St. Paul . . . . .	256
Chicago . . . . .	290
St. Louis . . . . .	290
Small meetings New York State:	
Syracuse . . . . .	45
Rochester . . . . .	37
Albany . . . . .	50
A tea at Mrs. Mecaalsamer's in	
New York City . . . . .	150
Milwaukee makes a contribution	50
Mr. S. O. Levinson . . . . .	250
Other individual contributions . . . . .	176

Total \$2,600

This means we can keep on with our paper for another year. But I promised the U. S. Section I would not come back to them for money for Pax if they helped this time. They need all the money there is amongst them for their own work in America. When the year is up if we wish to continue with Pax we must finance it from money for membership dues or subscriptions. It is time now that the paper if it has value stood on its own feet.

It was interesting to see how much more the American W. I. L. members through Pax knew about European members than formerly. They now feel closely in touch. They asked questions about different members and sections. The little paper is giving us understanding one of another. I feel its usefulness. It is with real joy I take up my task again. Please help me to make the paper this year better than it has ever been before. Send me material, articles, stories, poems soon and often.

# We Must Disarm

Louie Bennett.

A bombshell was thrown into the League of Nations by the proposal of the Russian delegate Litvinoff for complete world disarmament. This proposal was of course turned down and the British representative Lord Cushendum made some sarcastic remarks on the Russian belief in revolutionary or civil war. He pointed out that Russia still believes in an armed police forces and approves of individuals carrying pistols. But the Russian were not daunted they came back on the last day with another proposal for partial disarmament. In the following article Louie Bennett tells what happened at the Preparatory Commission for Disarmament. She points out that now is the time for us to act. All the pacifists of the world should unite in marching on Geneva and making some form of huge demonstration when next the Disarmament Commission meets. Let us make a demonstration similar to the pilgrimages or crusades of old. Let peace lovers come from every corner of the globe by plane, by autocar, by steamer, by rail on foot or by bicycle, no matter how, so long as they come, and when they have come, let them clamour at the door of the Disarmament Commission refusing longer to tolerate delay and demanding immediate steps towards disarmament.

"The most helpless Conference I have ever attended", I heard a delegate say as he came out from the last Session of the Preparatory Commission of the Disarmament Conference. "All is in the melting pot again" was another comment.

These phrases reflected the mood in which this Session of the Commission closed.

The Russian proposal for immediate, complete and general Disarmament was refused by the League because "whilst in harmony with the ideals of mankind, it is under existing world conditions incapable of being carried into execution.... it can only be realised when international organisation is strengthened in respect both of methods of pacific procedure and the system of sanctions". The work of the Preparatory Commission "must be pursued along the lines already mapped out."

So we go back to Security and Arbitration!

Litvinoff, in the course of his first speech, noted that the League of Nations Council and Assembly have debated disarmament in 38 sessions: also 14 other commissions and organisations outside, but connected with the League of Nations have given 120 sessions to the subject; 111 resolutions in regard to disarmament have been adopted by the League of Nations; thousands of pages of printed matter have been issued on the subject, but not one serious step forwards has been made.

Bernstorff, the German delegate, spoke also of the prolonged and fruitless debates of the Preparatory Commission and urged that no more time be spent on preparatory work but that a date be fixed for the full Conference. This proposal was not supported, said Lord Cushendum, the British spokesman, springing a surprise upon the Commission, "conversations are proceeding between the Great Powers, and it is almost certain that agreement on some of our difficulties will soon be reached, then we shall be able to take more definite steps... for after all, it is the Great Power who must settle this matter."

So the game goes on. Conversations, diplomatic interviews, exchange of notes bringing us always back to the same points.

When closing the session, the Chairman gave some advice to the Russian delegation, speaking with the benign smile of one who has it in his power to bestow priceless gifts upon mankind: "You are young; we are old. We have the experience of age. Come back to us another time, stimulate us with the vigour of your youth, but be guided by the wisdom of our experience."

How did Litvinoff restrain a loud laugh, even in that august assembly? Well might

he say that the Commission spoke a language the Russians did not understand!

All the experience of countless wars have not taught these wise-acreas of the old world even a method of limiting armaments, much less of ending warfare. And when a youthful Government offers them such a method they turn from it with a scorn that does not avail to conceal the fear with which it inspires them. They can only repeat the cry of security, whilst their own action—or lack of action—is the greatest danger to security.

But the new draft convention submitted by the U. S. S. R. on the question of the reduction of armaments is "commended to the attention of the various Governments". The Great Powers are holding conversations. The Government of the U. S. A. is occupied with schemes for the outlawing of war. (And as Litvinoff said, it is only logical that a Government making such a proposal should accept also the Russian proposal. If you make war a crime, why have an army?)

The press is cold. But this Russian incursion upon the Disarmament Commission will have wide spread reactions. (For, as a delegate told the Russians, here in the League of Nations you are connected up with all the listening posts of the world.)

We have, in fact, come to a parting of the ways. The world must now take a big step towards a more intense militarism or towards pacification.

The Great Powers repudiated the Russian scheme because they feared its affect upon their imperial and economic interests. But now a new fear assails them. If they refrain from a definite advance towards disarmament, another war will become inevitable, and further it will be impossible to maintain the prestige of the League of Nations. Many members of the Commission based their objections to the Russian Draft Convention on points where, as it seemed to them, it did not conform to certain articles of the Covenant. "You have come here with this proposal in order to 'sabotage the League of Nations', Cushendum said to Litvinoff. The reply of the latter was telling "It seems to me it would be difficult to invent a better means of discrediting the League of Nations than to put that up as a barrier to complete disarmament".

The task of pacifists in this crisis is clear. The diplomats must be made to prove the sincerity of their professions by being forced to "take the first serious and genuine steps towards general and complete disarmament."

The will of the people must make itself dominant. In these months between now and the next Assembly of the League of

Nations whilst the Governments of the world have before them the Draft Convention for the reduction of armaments submitted by the U. S. S. R., every country ought to ring with the word Disarmament.

Litvinoff stated that their project for complete disarmament had received wide spread support. Sympathetic letters and resolutions had come to them from many quarters and he referred in particular to a letter promising whole-hearted support signed by 124 organisations in 13 countries of which a considerable proportion were women's organisations. That declaration read:

"On behalf of the growing world opinion embodied in the organisations which we represent we gratefully welcome the courageous proposals of the Soviet Government for complete and general disarmament, and note with satisfaction that they are to be discussed in detail by the Preparatory Disarmament Commission at its next meeting on March 15th.

"Being convinced that these proposals represent the will of the great mass of people in every country, who are determined to make an end of war, and that, where the will exists practical means can be realised for giving it effect, we urge with all the strength at our command that the members of the Commission should examine the Russian proposals with the utmost care, and with the determination to place before the International Disarmament Conference, when it meets, some concrete scheme for the complete disarmament of the world within a definite period of time."

This sort of campaign ought to be continued. Petitions, resolutions, letters ought to be sent to individual Governments and to the League of Nations from every organisation and every group who desire to see a world free from war. There ought to be now a demonstration in favour of the renunciations of war, as fervent and as impressive as at the outbreak of the Great war, when men rushed to arms animated by the ideal of defending a small nation.

Every individual can play a part in the conflict between the forces of militarism and pacifism, which is now at an intensely critical stage.

The issue of the conflict depends primarily upon the people rather than upon the Governments. Governments must follow the will of the people, if that will is resolutely expressed. Every individual, however humble or obscure, can help to sway the issue of the conflict. Therefore the pacifists must for this emergency seek the co-operation of every organisation, group and individual for the purpose of making a united demand for complete and general disarmament.

# The United States, Proposes Outlawry Of War

Mary Sheepshanks

The offer of the United States to conclude a general treaty with France, Britain, Germany, Japan and Italy, to which other States might adhere, and which would renounce war between them, comes at the same time as the Russian proposal, that all nations should give up and destroy all the instruments of war. If these two proposals are accepted by the rest of the world, great steps forward in the direction of permanent peace will have been taken. The United States is now the richest and most powerful state in the world, and potentially Russia, with its enormous territory, vast population and great natural wealth is not far behind. The absence of these two great nations from the League of Nations is a hindrance to the building up of peace. Those who urge disarmament are told that as long as Russia maintains the great Red army and works for international revolution, other nations dare not disarm. The United States' attitude makes it doubtful whether the "sanctions" of the Covenant, e.g., a possible blockade of an aggressor state, could be enforced, and thus some nations feel their security is not established. Britain refuses to agree to the Protocol partly for fear it should bring her into conflict with America; the breakdown of the Coolidge conference on naval armaments and the subsequent big U. S. naval programme raise the spectre of naval rivalry between the U. S. and Britain with all that implies to the peace of the world. No progress has been made by the League of Nations Disarmament Commission and in general an impasse has been reached in the endeavour to put international relations on a peace footing.

Now come these proposals from the U. S. and from Russia. Some distrust the Kellogg plan because they mistrust "capitalist" America, they say it is an election stunt, that it is insincere because simultaneous with warlike operations in Nicaragua and with a big naval budget. But we do not need to imagine a wholehearted pacifist in Mr. Kellogg in order to believe that Europe should accept a serious offer of a treaty made by a responsi-

ble government. In the U. S. as in European countries there are of course two different tendencies, perhaps about equal in strength. There is an imperialistic, militarist party (though of course it would not call itself so) which wants the biggest navy ever, which tends to expand as a colonial power, which is feared in the Latin American states, and which, if it gain the upper hand, will lead the U. S. into an imperialist policy that, accompanied by big armaments, must eventually lead to war, as all such policies and armaments do. A great war carried on by the United States against whatever power, would become a world war and would involve unimaginable horrors and be the end of civilisation. This party, with its militarisation of education and other well-known signs of imperialism, has lately had a set back by the nation-wide protest against the big navy programme. For the moment therefore the other tendency, that for a peace policy, a policy of rapprochement to other countries, has a chance to be heard. It takes this chance to offer a peace treaty to the great states, a treaty into which the smaller states can come. This may well be epoch making in the history of the world. If accepted it must strengthen the peace tendency in the U. S. and draw it nearer to Europe. Indeed if war is absolutely ruled out as between the U. S. and the states in the League of Nations, there would no longer be any reason for the U. S. to remain outside the League. Hitherto they have kept out because they feared it would involve them in European wars, and after their last experience of that sort they say "never again". On the other hand if the offered treaty is refused, that will be a blow to the peace party and will naturally strengthen the militarist party, and will alienate America from Europe and will start the U. S. on an imperialist career bound to react calamitously on the rest of the world. Some criticise the Kellogg proposals as being of the same order as the vague pacifist declarations of which we have had many, e.g. the Polish denunciation and renunciation of

war adopted by the last Assembly of the League of Nations. But what is now proposed is a definite and binding Treaty, not a mere declaration. Each country will bind itself to renounce war "as an instrument of national policy", its diplomacy must therefore not be supported by assumed or veiled threats. This does not necessarily bar out the use of "sanctions" by nations in the League, as they would be instruments not of national but of international policy. As the treaty is between many countries (multilateral), any act of aggression by one of the countries concerned would amount to a breach of the treaty and would therefore release other countries from their obligations to the offending country.

Nor would a country that was actually attacked be precluded from defending itself. The treaty would bind nations to keep the peace. If the peace were broken, the treaty would fall through.

Lord Thomson, late Air-Minister in Britain, in a recent speech in Glasgow, warmly supported the outlawry of war as "the substitution of law and judicial tribunals for politics and force in international affairs". He declared that if the six Great Powers accepted the Kellogg proposals and acted up to them loyally a new attitude to war would be gradually established, armaments could be reduced to police requirements, sea-forces of different countries, instead of rivalling each other, would co-operate as a sea-police, the principle would be adopted that "war is a crime" and this once adopted, there would be nothing to prevent the U. S. joining the League of Nations. The war spirit which is ultimately at the root of all wars would be checked from the beginning, by children being taught that war is a crime.

War was condemned in the selfsame terms half a century ago by the great Quaker John Bright; driving one day past the London monument of the Crimean War, he was asked by his little grandson: "What does that mean?" His reply was: "A Crime!"

to be resorted to, to settle the disputes. Mr. Levinson's strongest supporter in his theory of outlawry is U. S. Senator Borah. In 1925 Senator Borah introduced a resolution into the U. S. Senate looking towards the outlawry of war. This resolution did not undertake to formulate a treaty of nations but called for an International Conference to do this.

But Mr. Levinson in order to crystallize his proposal drew up a miniature treaty. It reads in part as follows:

"We the undersigned nations of the world hereby condemn and abandon forever the use of war as an instrument for the settlement of international disputes and for the enforcement of decisions and awards of international tribunals, and hereby outlaw the immemorial institution of war by making its use a public crime as the fundamental law of nations. Subtle and fatal distinctions between permissible and nonpermissible kinds of war are blotted out; the institution of war is thus outlawed, as the institution of dueling has been outlawed."

This plan to outlaw war is growing in

favor in the U. S. It has been taken up by the Secretary of State Kellogg. He answers the French proposal to make a bilateral treaty between the U. S. and France never to go to war by saying let us make a multilateral treaty with all nations never to resort to war to settle disputes. Says Senator Borah of Kellogg's proposal. "At the present time we have a network of treaties and understandings relative to peace-arbitration treaties, conciliation treaties, the Hague Tribunal, World Court, peace machinery of the League of Nations and the machinery of Locarno. The effect of the Kellogg proposal is a solemn pledge to let that peace machinery work. It is a solemn pledge to rely upon the peace machinery of the peace plans and not upon the war machinery. It is a solemn pledge to employ peaceful methods for the adjustment of controversies. This gives us international laws based upon peace and not upon war. This pledge strengthens every piece of peace machinery in existence." For a further study of the question read *The Outlawry of War* by Charles Clayton Morrison, published by Willette, Clark and Colby.

## THE INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE MEETS

The International Executive Committee met on March 20th, at Geneva in the Maison Internationale. The executive members present were Lida Gustava Heymann, Gabrielle Duchêne, Emily Balch, Louie Bennett, Gertrud Baer, Cor. Ramondt-Hirschmann, Clara Ragaz and the secretary Mary Sheepshanks. The consultative members came from fourteen countries and were: Dr. Clark and Mrs. Innes, Great Britain; Miss Chenevix, Ireland; Dr. Augspurg and Frau Hoppstock-Huth, Germany; Dr. Budznska, Poland; Frau Hertzka, Austria; Fru Widegren, Sweden; Mrs. Cederfeld, Denmark; Frau Illova and Fräulein Neustadl, Czecho-Slovakia; Dr. Jacobs and Fräulein Meyer, Holland; Marguerite Gobat and Dr. Woker, Switzerland; Mrs. Loeb, Canada; Frau Meller, Hungary; Mme Wanner, France, and Madeleine Z. Doty, America.

### Next Congress

It was agreed that the next Congress should either be held in Athens in April or in Prague in July. There were eight votes for the former and nine for the latter and it was decided to write to Jane Addams and ask her preference and hold the Congress at whichever one of the two places she preferred.

### Next Executive

It was decided to hold the next Executive meeting at Lyon, France, on the 26th of September.

### Two Special Conferences

1. It was agreed that a study conference on the modern methods of warfare, with special reference to scientific warfare, be held in the near future. The co-operation of several scientific men was assured. The date and arrangements for the conference were left to the Commission on Chemical Warfare.

2. It was agreed that a conference on East European questions be held in Vienna and that two delegates from each of the following countries be asked to attend: Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Germany, Danzig, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Yugo-Slavia and any other countries interested. It was further agreed that the conference discuss problems common to these countries and that special commissions be formed to deal with particular problems. A Committee to make arrangements for the conference was appointed consisting of Gertrud Baer, Yella Hertzka and Hilda Clark.

### Traffic in Arms in China

Word had been received from our delegates to China that the Chinese women urged the W. I. L. to do what it could to prevent the importation of arms and munitions into China; that fighting between the different generals would cease if the importation of arms ceased. The British Section as soon it received this news sent a letter to Austen Chamberlain appealing to him to do all in his power at Geneva to insist on publicity in regard to the traffic in arms and to secure the ratification by Great Britain of the Traffic in Arms Convention.

### The Executive Acts on China

The Executive took the following action in regard to this matter:

1. A letter was written to Count Bernstorff, the Chairman of the Traffic in Arms Commission of the League of Nations as follows:

"Dear Sir,

"The International Executive Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom meeting in Geneva from March 20th to 24th begs to submit the following matter for your consideration.

"A delegation of women sent by W. I. L. P. F. to China in December last and which has spent the last three months in China, has had opportunities of meeting a large number of representative Chinese as well as leading Europeans. They have been strongly urged by Chinese and Europeans to press upon the League of Nations, the European Governments and the Japanese Government, the great injuries that are being inflicted upon the peoples of China by the extensive import of arms and munitions into China from Europe and Japan. The civil war which is devastating China and inflicting terrible suffering on its population is prolonged and made more destructive by these munitions.

"We women of the W. I. L. P. F. knowing from the bitter experience of the years 1914 to 1918 the horrors and evils of war, feel it a sacred duty to protest in the name of humanity against the crime for which Europe and Japan are responsible in keeping alive the wars in China.

"We therefore urge that the League of Nations should take immediate steps through its appropriate commissions

- (1) to control and limit the private manufacture of arms, ammunition and war material,
- (2) to secure the necessary ratifications of the Convention for the supervision of the international trade in arms and ammunition and in implements of war."

This letter was presented to Count Bernstorff by a deputation consisting of Milena Illova, Czecho-Slovakia; Fräulein Gertrud Baer, Germany, and Mary Sheepshanks, International Secretary. The deputation was received by Count Bernstorff and he discussed the best means of putting an end to the private manufacture and traffic in arms. He expressed himself as in warm sympathy with the deputation and said he was doing all in his power for the suppression of the traffic in arms.

2. A memorandum similar to the one presented to Count Bernstorff was also sent to Monsieur Ossuski and Monsieur Benes, of Czecho-Slovakia.

3. A similar memorandum was presented to London, of Holland.

4. A letter on this matter was drafted by Gertrud Baer and sent to the Council of the League of Nations. This letter is to be followed by a deputation in June. Meanwhile a copy of the letter drafted by Gertrud Baer was to be sent to each delegate of the Disarmament Commission together with copies of the other memorandum that had been prepared, and also an abstract of an article on the traffic in arms published in the *China Weekly Review* on February 11th, 1928.

### Action for National Sections

The Executive urged the following action on the sections in regard to the traffic in arms in China:

1. That the Norwegian Section especially be asked to urge upon its Government that Oslo should not be used as a port for the exportation of arms as it has hitherto been.

2. That the Czecho-Slovak Section should be asked to continue its efforts to stop the manufacture and export of arms from its country (A large consignment of arms has recently been sent from Czecho-Slovakia on the ship *Praga*).

3. That all sections should be urged to work to secure the ratification by their government of the convention to suppress the traffic in arms.

4. That the sections in all countries concerned with the traffic in arms with China should be urged to take action on the lines similar to the letter sent to the Council of the League.

5. It was agreed that the national sections should be requested to inform the International Secretary of what action they take in regard to the traffic in arms and that this information should be forwarded to the women in China with whom the W. I. L. is in touch.

6. It was agreed to find out what countries represented on the Council of the League of Nations have ratified the Opium Convention and to ask the National sections in those countries to bring pressure to bear on their Governments for the ratification of this convention.

### Disarmament and Outlawry

The Executive considered the Russian disarmament proposal and the U. S. outlawry plan. For the resolution on these two matters see front page.

The Irish Section proposed a campaign on disarmament and it was agreed to support their proposal and to collaborate with them in a campaign which should take place not later than next Armistice Day.

It was agreed that a committee be constituted to take charge of the preparation of this campaign to consist of Bennett, Clark, Duchêne and Baer.

### Resolutions of Economic Commission

Yella Hertzka presented a resolution on the eight hour day from the Economic Commission which was accepted by the Executive Committee. It was agreed that this resolution be sent to the Labor Office of the League of Nations and directly to the Governments of the following countries: England, Hungary, Ireland, Canada, France, Denmark and Germany. It was further agreed that the resolution be sent to the national sections.

### The Eight Hour Day

The W. I. L. P. F., having taken cognizance of the report of the Economic Commission on Unemployment, expresses indignation that certain governments refuse to ratify the Washington Convention on the Eight Hour Day at a time when unemployment is taking on disquieting proportions in all countries;

That, even in those countries where the eight hour day is imposed by law, the law is losing force and there is danger of its being annulled.

Consequently, it urges all the National Sections to undertake active propaganda to obtain from their Governments the ratification of the Washington Convention for the Eight Hour Day.

### Rationalization in Industry

A resolution on rationalization was presented and accepted in principle. It was agreed that the resolution be sent to the "Labor Office" of the League of Nations and the "Institute for Research on the Scientific Organization of Industry", also to the Co-operative Societies asking them to use rationalization in industry for the welfare of the workers and not simply for profit. It also agreed to send the resolution to the National Sections, asking them to inquire whether Labor Organisations in their countries agreed with it or wished changes. The resolution in substance was as follows:

### Resolution on Rationalisation

"The W. I. L. sees in the rationalization of industry and commerce a change comparable to that of the opening machine era and like it, full at the same time of promise and of danger.

We believe that the mechanising of the workers, overspecialisation, too great speed in work and excessive standardisation are grave moral and physical dangers.

We believe that all that affects the attitude of the worker towards his work and towards society, all that makes him not merely an employee but consciously a social co-creator is of great importance. In this connection we believe that mechanically simplified and over specialised labor has grave dangers.

Further, we believe that the introduction of more elaborate machinery tends to produce unemployment, especially amongst skilled workers whose places are taken by unskilled women and juveniles, thus lowering the whole standard of living of the working class.

We feel that these evils could be mitigated by:

- (a) Shortening of hours of work,
  - (b) Rest periods during the work and other measures for lessening the monotony of work,
  - (c) Protective legislation for juvenile workers especially in regard to working hours,
  - (d) Raising wages,
  - (e) Improved Social Insurance, Pensions for old and incapacitated workers and adequate compensation for workers displaced by new methods,
  - (f) Raising of the school leaving age,
  - (g) Better and more varied education,
- and above all by giving the worker a share in the control of the industry in which he is engaged.

Therefore we urge the need for the fullest investigation into the results of rationalization from a physiological, economic, social and moral point of view.

### Unemployment

Another matter on which the Executive passed a resolution was unemployment, the substance of which follows:

"In the unsettled period we are now going through, one of the problems which causes us most concern is Unemployment.

We do not approach this question as "specialists" but desire to deal with it from

the human point of view which we think should predominate under all circumstances.

Unemployment has grown more menacing with the rapid increase in rationalisation.

Although rationalisation may afford new opportunities for employment, groups of workers to day find themselves temporarily and in many cases permanently thrown out of work.

The W. I. L. P. F. expresses the hope that in studying Rationalisation, the Economic Commission of the League of Nations will give the position of the workers its earnest consideration, and that it will make adequate provision to prevent suffering among the workers discharged as a result of the development of modern industry.

The W. I. L. P. F. fears that Rationalisation may make unemployment and poverty a permanent factor in modern civilisation unless a reduction in working hours accompanies the development of rationalisation.

Unemployment insurance, which gives temporary aid, is not sufficient.

In order to safeguard the legitimate interests of the workers it is essential that they should have a share in the control of industry.

### Maison a Social Centre

Miss Sheepshanks proposed and it was agreed that the Maison Internationale be made more of a social centre by developing the Thursday after noon teas, by organising an evening reception once a month with a rota of hostesses to receive the guests and by organising a youth group to meet weekly.

### The Honolulu Congress

The interim congress at Honolulu is a great chance for a splendid holiday and an interesting time. Many wonderful people will attend. Jane Addams herself will be there and preside. The Pan-Pacific Union of which Jane Addams is honorary chairman is holding a Pan-Pacific Women Conference in Honolulu the middle of August. Directly after this, on August 20th, there will be the Interim W. I. L. Congress. Quite a number of our members in the far East who have been unable to attend the Congresses in Europe because of the distance, plan to come to Honolulu. The Japanese Section is to send some representatives. Mrs. Sophie Sen Chen from Peking, China,

expects to attend. She has a little daughter three years old who is named Jane Addams Chen. We hope that beside Mrs. Chen there will be many other Chinese women present as the result of our delegates visit to China. Some members of the W. I. L. living in San Francisco are planning to make the trip. But this Interim Congress will be purely informal; there will be no reguly arappointed delegates and no resolutions will be passed. It is merely an occasion for the members living in the far East to get together, and confer with members from the West. All members of the W. I. L. are cordially invited to attend. For further information write Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago III.

### W. I. L. Summer School

Don't forget to register soon for the Summer School.

This year it is under the auspices of the British Section and will afford a delightful opportunity to enjoy English country life and see something of Shakespeare's home and Ann Hathaway's Cottage. There will also be excursions to Warwick and Kenilworth Castles.

Time — July 27th to August 10th.

Place — Westhill Training College, Birmingham, Worcestershire.

Subject — New Theories of Government. A complete list of lecturers will be announced later. Those who have already been booked are:

Professor Salvemini } Fascism.

Commandatore Luigi Villari }

C. Roden Buxton: Socialism.

E. L. Wise, C.B.: Economics of Bolshevism.

Mrs. H. M. Swanwick will open the debate on last day.

Terms from £3.10 to £4.10 a week including lecturers.

Booking fee 5 shillings, not returnable.

For further information apply to Secretary Women's International League, 55 Gower-street, London, England.

### Photographs

A photograph taken in the garden of the Maison Internationale of all the executive and consultative members present at the recent meeting may be had from International Headquarters, 12 rue du Vieux-College. Price: Fr. 3,40, postage included.

## Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Jane Addams, International President

International Headquarters 12, rue du Vieux-College, 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 £1.00 a year.

Cable Willif.



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