



"The things that divide the nations of the world are small compared with the links that bind us all together."

Phillip Snowden.



"Peace must be dynamic, peace must be the handmaiden of justice in the new world towards which we are moving."

General Smuts.

# Pax International

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Merry Christmas  
 and  
 A Happy New Year

## Armistice Day Speeches

President Hoover, U.S.A.  
 "No Nation can go too far in Disarmament for us."  
 General Smuts, South Africa.  
 "Henceforth by an inevitable process war follows the chivalry of feudalism into the limbo of the past.... the nation that resorts to it will be branded as a public danger and a nuisance."  
 Senator Borah, U.S.A.  
 "An armed world is a fighting world and peace pacts whatever their terms will not make it otherwise. People of the world should organize and direct public opinion to the end that armaments may be reduced."



Jane Addams

"Not compromise but a new solution born of goodwill and pooled intelligence."

## Armistice Sunday \*

W. H. Sharps

You who are twelve, thirteen, and fourteen wonder what kind of Sunday, Armistice Sunday can possibly be.  
 This is what it means :  
 From 1914 to 1918 almost the whole civilized Christian world was at war. Thirty nations were fighting on two sides. The people in these countries spent \$250,000,000,000, and the lives of ten million soldiers in these four years. Besides these ten million soldiers who lost their lives 3,500,000 people who stayed at home died too. These were babies and old fathers and mothers who could not get enough food and heat and who died of disease...

The soldiers did not march with flags and drums or ride around on beautiful horses. They dug holes and trenches and hid in the earth... All day and all night they shot at each other across a space about 500 feet wide, called No Man's Land. Now and then they would jump up out of the ground where they were hiding and run across to the other soldiers' trenches and cut the barbed wire and try to kill the other soldiers with knives about sixteen inches long fitted to the end of their rifles and called bayonets. Or they would try to blow the enemy soldiers to pieces with bombs...

The soldiers did not know the names of the other soldiers in the opposite trenches... But they were ordered to shoot the other soldiers. Sometimes they burned them alive with flame "throw overs". Very often they poisoned all the air with a cloud of deadly gas and killed the other soldiers in this way. Soldiers on both sides did this. Their generals told them to do it.

The English and French and Americans thought that they were right. They thought that they were defending their countries. Their priests and ministers led them in prayers to God to help them kill the Germans...

The Germans and Austrians and Turks and Bulgarians thought that they were right. They thought that they were defending their countries. Their priests and ministers led them in prayers to God to help them kill the English and French and Americans...

Airplanes and Zeppelins flew over cities and dropped bombs on the people and blew up their homes.

Museums and libraries and cathedrals hundreds and hundreds of years old were burned down or blown up.

Half the world made all the land and the sea and the sky just as deadly for the other half as it could.

On November 11, 1918, the German generals gave up the war. Two hundred and fifty million dollars had been spent to kill thirteen million people in four years.

\*Reprinted from the American periodical "The Nation", Nov.

## THE SOUL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Madame Ciurlionis of Lithuania, who is a member of the W.I.L. attended the Prague Congress. Later she came to Geneva as a delegate from her country to the League of Nations. She was the one woman who held the position of full delegate. The other seven women sent to the League were alternate delegates.

In Lithuania Madame Ciurlionis is widely known for her books about her own people. She was sent to Geneva, because she better than anyone else expressed the spirit of her country. We can well be proud to have her as member of the W.I.L. We have received the following letter from her.

I am very late with the letter I promised and perhaps the time has passed when my impressions of the Tenth Assembly of the League of Nations will have any value.

Nevertheless I am writing to tell you that those impressions together with the impression received at the W.I.L. Congress at Prague have guided my steps and inspired the conferences which I have given in our provincial cities, Kaunas and Memel...

Out of the immense chaos of impressions which I received at Geneva during the sessions of the League of Nations, some have been forgotten, while others have crystallized into opinions and are directing my work.

At the League I saw as elsewhere in life, much goodwill and high idealism mixed with ambition and personal and national vanity. I saw both forward action and backward steps, "a wise moderation".

One might easily become a pessimist, but I prefer to remain an optimist, it is healthier, for pessimism paralyzes action.—Well then, it seems to me that the League of Nations is a fine expression of world unity, it is a beautiful body, but only a body, the soul of that body is the sincere action in every country of devoted persons, in the many diverse organizations which have been created to push the nations and humanity towards a common purpose.

What can the body do if the soul does not blaze forth? What is to become of all the resolutions passed on Disarmament, "The Traffic in Women", "The Traffic in Opium" and on "Slavery", if the conscience of the world is not awakened, if mankind is not converted, if the way is not prepared so that the tree of peace may flourish; if it is not possible to create a great universal desire to have done with all those things, which bring shame to humanity of the 20th century.

These are my very simple thoughts. I must say that when I returned from Geneva, I felt a new energy, for though

there are pessimists who can easily point out the imperfections of the League of Nations, the fact remains that one sees nations, even different races meeting together, talking together, debating together, and every where at bottom one found the same desire to live, to be free, to fight the same evils which corrode the life of the white race as well as that of the black.

I think one can expect nothing from the League of Nations without believing in it: it is like a bank which marvellously increases its capital if the securities it receives are good but if they are worthless, bankruptcy follows.

The question is, what deposits will the powerful nations, who direct world politics, make?

Those who have followed the action of the League of Nations in the ten years that have passed will have had some experience and can reply.

I, who know the social work done in my own country, am profoundly persuaded that *the activity of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is a very necessary part of the soul of the League of Nations.*

In conclusion, I wish to thank you with all my heart for the warm welcome which I received at the Maison Internationale.

Sophie Ciurlionis.

### The British W.I.L. Conference On Opium And Dangerous Drugs

The British Section of the W.I.L. held an all day conference on "Opium and Dangerous Drugs" on November 13th at the London School of Economics.

The Conference was a very important one. It was not large, but some of England's most representative people attended. Every one had come to study and learn.

The speeches were of a very high order. Dr. Hilda Clark who presided at the morning session opened the meeting by explaining that the W.I.L. had taken up the matter of Dangerous Drugs in response to an appeal from the Chinese women to our organization, that we should do what we could to stop the traffic in drugs to China.

The opening speech was made by Mr. L. A. Lyall, the chairman of the Central Opium Board of the League of Nations. This Board consists of seven members and was established for the purpose of gathering statistics on "Opium and Dangerous Drugs" to lay before the "Advisory Commission on Opium" of the League of Nations. Mr. Lyall gave a survey of conditions in the Far East. We print portions of his paper elsewhere.

The next speech was by Mr. Sharan Singha a member of the Indian Students' Union. He said very plainly

that conditions in India were far from satisfactory. Then Mr. Charles Robertson for many years in the Ministry of Education in Egypt gave a picture of the situation in that country. He said the drug evil was causing the most acute alarm in Egypt, that very few of the victim people knew anything of drugs until they were taught to use them. The demand was created so that the chain of suppliers right back to the factory might reap their gains. The last speech of the morning was by Professor Noel Baker, one of the British Delegates to the Tenth Assembly of League of Nations. He told what happened at the Opium Commission of the League in September.

In the afternoon the Viscountess Gladstone took the chair. She read a letter from Viscount Cecil in which he said he was afraid that if the manufacture of dangerous drugs were limited, it would send prices up thus inflicting serious hardship on the poorer members of the community who desired to use them for medical purposes. Under these circumstances he suggested that the only way out was to make the manufacture of dangerous drugs a government monopoly. He doubted however whether world opinion was ready for such a drastic step.

The afternoon session opened with a speech by Mr. Lyall, who described the work of the Central Opium Board. Then a young Chinese student gave a vivid picture of the fight the Chinese government is now making to suppress opium growing and smoking in China.

Rev. Herbert Anderson who has lived 40 years in India, and was a member of a "Committee of Inquiry on Opium Consumption" made it plain that what India wants and what official India is doing are not one and the same. The last speaker was Professor A. J. Clark, professor of Pharmacology at the University of Edinburgh. He discussed the different drugs, their relative dangers and the possibility of making other drugs from those already existing.

At the close of the speeches there was an animated discussion, Miss Kathleen Courtney taking the chair. Miss Edith Pye brought forward the following resolution which was carried.

"Having heard with thankfulness the decision of the League of Nations to find a method of limitation of manufacture of opium and dangerous drugs to medical and scientific needs, this conference believes that these substances should be removed from the sphere of private profit, and, on account of the need for control of prices under any system of limitation of output, urges that the control of manufacture of these drugs (limited to medical and scientific purposes) shall be taken over by the Governments of the countries concerned."

## A Survey Of Conditions In The Far East

L. A. Lyall

Chairman Of The Central Opium Board Of The League Of Nations

### OPIMUM IN CHINA.

It is difficult to give any reliable accounts of the present opium situation in China, for the Chinese government does not send an annual report to the League of Nations.... For 1927 the Chinese Anti-Opium Association estimated the amount of raw opium produced in China at 7000 tons. This is far more than the total amount produced by the rest of the world. Since then the Nanking Government has forbidden the cultivation of opium, opium smoking and all traffic in opium. But the Nanking Government does not control the whole of China. Many provinces are controlled by Generals who do not obey Nanking. Civil wars are not finished. Huge armies are kept up and their pay is hard to find. The opium revenue is immense and easy to collect. As long as these conditions exist opium will be grown.... The evil can only be put down by China. Chinese public opinion is alive to the importance of the question and will sooner or later find means to deal with it.... No opium grown within the British Empire is shipped legally to China and the amount smuggled in is negligible.

### DANGEROUS DRUGS IN CHINA.

But with regard to other narcotics, cocaine, morphine and especially heroin, the position is quite different. Here again England is not the chief culprit.... England is only so far to blame that her factories help produce the over supply of narcotics that feeds the illicit traffic, and as long as this over supply exists the illicit traffic will go on. America is unable to check the flood of morphia and heroin into the United States, and if America cannot do it, what hope is there for China? The Naarden case threw a lurid light on the extent of the traffic. Between March 1927 and May 1928 this one Dutch firm succeeded in shipping to China 40 Kilos of cocaine, 760 Kilos of morphine, and 2316 Kilos of heroin. All of this poison—except perhaps a few ounces, was intended for the illicit traffic. In 15 months this one firm smuggled into China two and a quarter tons of heroin.... Heroin is the deadliest of all the drugs commonly made from opium. It is far worse than morphia... Two tons is about half the amount of heroin produced throughout the world in one year... It was enough to supply over two hundred million doses of heroin in a year. The Geneva Convention has now come into force and stopped the operations of the Naarden firm. But other ways of smuggling will be found.... The only way to stop the illicit traffic is to limit the

manufacture of drugs to the amount needed for legitimate purposes... The importance of this illicit traffic to China and the world in general can hardly be exaggerated. If China were successful in her campaign against opium and the smuggling of heroin etc. continued, her last state would be worse than her first.... Morphine and heroin are far more harmful than opium.

### OPIMUM IN THE FOREIGN POSSESSIONS.

I now turn to the opium smoking in the foreign possessions in the far East. I shall confine my remarks to the British colonies, especially to the Straits Settlements with its hinterland the Malay States and Hongkong...

In the Straits Settlements... a government opium monopoly has been established, opium is now only sold in government shops and consumers of opium have been registered. If the suppression of opium smoking is to be gradual these are necessary preliminary steps and in my opinion suppression ought to be gradual...

Further more a fund of 43 million dollars has been set aside in Singapore and over 10 million in Malaya, and is now accumulating compound interest, to replace in the future the opium revenue that will be lost when opium ceases to be sold.... But if we ask what has actually been done to suppress opium smoking the position is much less satisfactory. If we compare figures.... the sales of opium... have been reduced in 10 years... 15 per cent, not a remarkable achievement. At this rate opium smoking will continue for the best part of a century. But this is not the worst... The report of the British Malaya Opium Committee... admits that the majority of Chinese opium smokers in British Malaya learnt to smoke in British Malaya... I am therefore safe in saying that at the present day over two thirds of the opium smokers of the Colony learnt to smoke in the Colony. And as it is 15 years since The Hague Convention was signed by Great Britain it is safe to say that the vast majority of these men learnt to smoke by buying opium from a government that had bound itself by international agreement to suppress opium smoking.

The excuse that the Government advances is... the prevalence of opium smuggling. The difficulty is a real one. But the difficulty of replacing the one third of the colonial revenue derived from opium is I am afraid a still more real one....

As in Singapore the Hongkong Government maintains an opium monopoly.... It cannot be denied that the Hongkong Government is in

an almost hopelessly difficult position. Still it seems to me that the tone of its reports on opium are unfortunate... they are so full of blame for other people. China is the chief villain.... The Chinese are selling (smuggled) opium to the people of Hongkong... In 1927 the government attempted to suppress this smuggling by selling government opium at so cheap a rate that smuggled opium could not compete with it. The attempt had to be abandoned because the sale of Government opium went up so fast that the stocks ran short. Such a policy may check smuggling but cannot lead to a diminution of opium smoking.

In the Philippine Islands the American Government has entirely forbidden opium smoking. No doubt opium smoking continues to some extent.... even if this were true the policy has much to recommend it. It has the support of Chinese public opinion. The Government cannot be accused of having one law for Americans and another for Chinese.

And most important of all the policy of the Government in a question of right and wrong is not influenced by financial considerations, as the policy of the Singapore Government must inevitably be when a third of its revenue is drawn from opium.

### The Hague Convention

This convention came into force as an international agreement in 1912. Article 17 reads as follows:

"The contracting Powers having treaties with China shall undertake to adopt the necessary measures to restrict and control the habit of smoking opium in their leased territories settlements, and concessions in China, to suppress, *pari passu* with the Chinese Government, the opium dens or similar establishments which may still exist there, and to prohibit the use of opium in places of entertainment and brothels."

The Anti Opium association of China writes in a recent report in regard to article 17: "Now *pari passu* means to keep pace. In other words when the Chinese Government adopts the policy of absolute suppression as the National Government now does, foreign Powers maintain opium monopolies or allow the existence of opium dens or shops in their leased territories or concessions only at the violation of the Hague Convention.... In fact the success or failure of the Chinese nation wide anti-opium campaign will depend to a great extent, upon whether or not these provisions of the Hague Convention are made effective."

# The World Is One

Salvador de Madariaga

The following stimulating article is reprinted from the English periodical "The Spectator" November 23, 1929. Monsieur de Madariaga was formerly the head of the Disarmament Section of the League of Nations and is now a professor of Spanish literature at Oxford. He has lectured for the W. I. L., once on the subject of "The World Community."

M. Painlevé, used to say in his admirable lessons on Mathematical Analysis that everything which happens in Nature influences everything else that happens in Nature...

The fact that unemployment in England is vitally dependent on movements of world economics is patent not merely to specialists but even to that elusive Briton so fond of open-air life who goes by the name of the man-in-the-street. When, therefore, some of us, at times perhaps a little impatient with the provincialism of so-called statesmen, advocate world-community solutions for what are, in fact, world-community problems, we are not in the least calling forth from a vague nowhere an ideal Kingdom of God on Earth... For the world community is not a Utopia to whose cloudy regions we are bid to ascend, but an actual fact in the midst of which we live and strive and which we are merely asked to realize.

Let us watch a few obvious events. We are, of course, entitled to take some big dramatic moments and point out the moral which flows from them: the death of an Austrian prince killed in 1914 in a town the name of which had never been heard by most people, made millions of British, French, German, Russian, Italian, American widows. But we may waive the right to use such telling examples of world solidarity if only because of their exceptional character. What about daily events? An English Cabinet decides to grant a subsidy to its coal industry: at once thousands and thousands of Spanish coal-miners are driven to unemployment and want. A French government decides to invade the Ruhr, thus casting a cloud over European affairs, but the cloud has a silver lining for England: the German heavy industry makes good the Ruhr deficiency in fuel by placing big orders for coal in Wales. The United States resolve to protect themselves against temptation by prohibiting alcoholic beverages, and, carried away by their enthusiasm, extend prohibition to their merchantmen: the result is a rise in the affairs of all the shipping lines other than those under American sovereignty. A campaign in favour of a more liberal use of fruit in diet is organized in England on grounds of health, and the results are felt immediately in the east of Spain by the increased prosperity amongst orange growers. All these examples are but the small side of solidarity. Far more impressive is the fact that the world has become one

only market and that there is one world price known day by day for every commodity that matters: corn, coal, petrol, rubber, metals.

Nor is the world solidarity confined to material life. A small committee of fashion experts sit in private somewhere in Paris, and women all over the world are forced to show far more length of leg and back than they will ever do of intention and forget what they once were taught to think of as the impassable limits of decency: for, as the French saleswoman put it, "la mode est toujours décente". The film makes us all over the world familiar with all the world. No longer is Japan a mystery to the Serbian peasant, nor Portugal but an empty word to the Russian mujik. The faces, types, customs, gestures, mode of life of all men are nowadays part of the consciousness of all men.

It is no longer necessary to have the wealth and enterprise needed for travel nor the culture, leisure and taste for reading books and the imagination for absorbing them in order to realize vitally and emotionally what the world is like. In a wonderful vivid way of its own the world, through the cinema and also through the radio, has penetrated into itself, has driven itself into its own consciousness, made itself known to itself and become one.

No paper would live that confined its news to the events of its own town and nation. Readers, even the most rabid and nationalistic of them, want to read and know all about the world. Even those who hate the very idea and fight against it, are dealing with it, and therefore enriching it. The world is alive, and we can no more escape being members of it than we can jump out of our own skin. Nationalism itself has become an international phenomenon, and helps world-consciousness to become more vigorous. An American mountebank hires himself to create trouble between England and America, and the result is a further development of Anglo-American relations, a more intimate mutual knowledge between them, ultimately an enrichment of world-consciousness.

But then it will be asked, why trouble about it? If the world-community must come, why advocate it, and why work for it? The answer is that the rough untutored boor is also fully conscious of his existence and one-ness, yet must be educated. For his self-consciousness is brutish and awkward: his mental, moral and even physical faculties are unruly and lack-

ing in all sense of proportion and hierarchy. And so with the world. Though one, the world is yet anarchial and unruly. It lacks the necessary co-ordination between its mental, moral and physical faculties. It is fitful and fanciful, sometimes almost mad. Wars shake its frame out of its normal life and bring it to the edge of self-destruction: commerce, the blood circulation of its body, is left to follow the capricious and selfish movements of its several limbs as in a man whose arterial system is out of order...

The world, in short, has not evolved the necessary institutions for its life to flow healthily and its unity to manifest itself in creative ways.

Some world citizens tried their best a few years ago and the League of Nations was born. It was but a manifestation of that consciousness of world unity which the progress of material and moral communications had brought about, and which a great crisis had helped to bring forth. But the evolution of world institutions has been grievously handicapped by the abstention of the United States from the work in the inception of which it had so forcibly co-operated. It will be the honour of Europe and in particular that of England and France to have remained faithful to the principle of world institutions at a moment when the other great Powers were lukewarm or inimical. The true difference between post-War and pre-War history is that in January, 1920, the principle of the political unity of the world was born. From that day nations stand before history with less and less light on their face as they deviate more and more from the direction whence the Zeitgeist is shining on the distant horizon.

## The World Is One

A TUNNEL TO ENGLAND.

Plans have been submitted by France to England for joining the two countries by means of a tunnel under the Channel.

AIR SERVICE BETWEEN CONTINENTS.

A floating platform, "Sea-drome" has been invented which it is intended shall be placed at ten different locations in the Atlantic between America and Europe as landing places for airplanes, thus binding the two continents.

THE WORLD BANK.

The statutes and charter for a world bank have been signed at Baden-Baden. This Bank is to be located at Basle, Switzerland.

# Imperialism And The World State

H. G. Wells

Extracts from a pamphlet by Mr Wells, entitled "Imperialism And The Open Conspiracy" (Faber and Faber).

In the days which culminated in the Boer War, I was a strong imperialist. I am often charged with instability because I am now an anti-imperialist, but my case is that it is imperialism which has changed and not I.... Then as now my ends were cosmopolitan, and my dislike for and opposition to nationalism and nationalist patriotism has never varied. They produce what may prove to be an impossible jungle of intellectual difficulties in the way to the world state and a rationalized conduct of human affairs. But in the days before the Boer War the Empire was not nationalist, and not very patriotic. It was a great free-trading system, extraordinarily open to the rest of mankind and sustaining the trade and finance of all the world...

At that time a quite opposite conception of Empire was being glorified by Mr. Kipling, with a vigour and a splendour beyond all comparison more attractive than such well-meaning gropings as mine, and a whole generation was persuaded that our imperial system.... was really a system of high and swaggering conquest.... I saw Britain infected step by step with a patriotic, exclusive, monopolizing ideology of the German imperial type. In a little dining and debating club of thirteen members... we had some very entertaining discussions... The German system, I argued, was geographically like a closed fist, incidentally involving various Poles, Alsations, and the like in its grasp... It had many elements of economic unity. The British Empire, on the contrary, was like an open hand spread throughout the world. It had and could have no natural economic unity at all... It was artificial, and it would be a struggle against natural law, to try to draw such an Empire together with any but intellectual and moral bonds... The essential task, therefore, of the Empire was to think, teach, intercommunicate, and unify... The only possible line of development was through the systematic perfection and realization of a liberal ideology, that would unite first the Empire and at last the world in a common world aim.

That was a conceivable role between 1880 and 1900. But since then our imperialists have so maintained their preference for battleships over brains as instruments for the expression of the imperial idea... and to the erection of mean and stupid tariff obstacles to natural economic development, that to-day it is difficult to imagine any restoration of these former hopes...

There has been a lag in our political apprehensions, and a still greater lag in our educational adaptations. We

are facing the second quarter of the twentieth century with the already lagging political ideology of the third quarter of the nineteenth...

A certain number of readers may say this is a very "theoretical" proposition. That is no condemnation. Theory is the most practical thing in the world. "Theory" has given us all the mechanical and chemical developments of modern life. If the world had been left to the "practical" men in immediate everyday charge of the matters concerned, we should still be lighting our streets with oil lamps and our homes with tallow candles. And if I am starting out for a two thousand miles automobile tour in lonesome country and someone comes along and says that my electric equipment is out-of-date, ripe for inspection and readjustment, and bound to give trouble and break down in a few hundred miles if I don't deal with it now, it may be wise of me to consider these propositions a little before I damn him for a theorizing fool and start up and go off in my usual dashing style, asserting that the vehicle always has muddled through, and therefore always, will...

This diagnosis of what is happening to mankind at the present time may be presented in a rather more concrete fashion. Up to so late as a century and a half ago the world was really divided into a considerable number of autonomous economic systems, and the sovereign states of that time did generally correspond to these systems... There could be phases of unsettlement and disorder. But on the whole that patchwork of sovereign states was a working system with a general stability...

The human animal was fed, clothed, housed, sustained by the resources of the country in which it lived. The whole of the rest of the world might have been depopulated and left a wilderness, and the general life of such lands as seventeenth-century England or France or Sweden or Persia or Abyssinia or Siam would have gone on without any grave interruption. Then national states were the best working pattern of human community, and patriotism and loyalty, excellent social cement... Man had a localized, patriotic mind because his economic life was definitely local and bounded.

A century of invention and science has altered all that. To-day we eat food from the ends of the earth, and are clothed with the resources of a planet... Let a man... go over the things upon his breakfast or dinner table, the furniture of his home, the appliances about him, the copper with which his house is wired, the petrol

in his car, the paper on which this is printed, the fibres, rubber, fats, lubricants, and metals out of which the material substance of his daily existence is woven. He will realize that in the short period since the nineteenth century dawned, human life has lost touch with locality to an extraordinary extent. Insidiously the average man has ceased to be part of a localized economic system, and has become part of a vaguely developed but profoundly real world economic system... And you cannot put him back to the old state of affairs unless you are prepared to shatter the developing thing, civilization, altogether.

It is only slowly that it is dawning upon us to-day that a change of scale and economic range demands a corresponding change in political forms. That is not an adaptation that will arrive by itself. It is a problem for mankind that has to be consciously framed and solved. Under all sorts of falsifications the sovereign states of the world have been thrusting out in a blind effort to achieve the new scale. One may hazard the general proposition that the outline of history of the last hundred years can be stated as the more or less lucid attempts of all the main sovereign states of the world to secure a world-wide control of the raw materials necessary for the mechanical civilization upon which we have entered. All our modern imperialisms are this: *the more or less conscious efforts of once national states to become world-wide*. And since at one time there can be only one complete world-wide state upon our planet, enormous pressures and rivalries and conflicts exist and intensify. And it seems to me that only two alternatives about the human future can be considered. Either these jostling and mutually incompatible independent sovereign states... must fight among themselves until only one survives, or else mankind generally must be made to understand the nature of the present process, to substitute for the time-honoured but now out-of-date traditions of independent national sovereignty a new idea of world organisation, and to determine political effort in that direction. The former alternative opens out before us the prospect of a long series of probably more and more destructive wars which may lead to the exhaustion and degeneration of our species; the latter demands mental and moral adjustments of the most complex, difficult, and laborious sort. It means a tremendous break with tradition and a fundamental reconstruction of education throughout the world. But to me plainly it is the only sane course for human effort.

## A Pan-European Weekend

Frida Perlen (Germany)

High up above Lichtenstein on the flagstaff of the Traifelberg Hotel flew the Pan-European flag, a red cross on a blue background shining in the sun. The Wurttemberg branch of the Pan-European Union organised a meeting which was attended by many members and guests.

Important and burning questions were thoroughly dealt with.

The first subject was "Present-Day European Politics", treated by the Editor-in-Chief of the *Stuttgart Neuen Tagblatts*, C. Brackmann. He said when one considers current politics in Europe, two things stand out: first, the sense of a lack of security everywhere, created by the introduction of the parliamentary system in Europe and through the quick changes in Governments in the different countries, which make far-seeing politics difficult. He gave as an example (the change to a Labour Government in England) and Snowden's influence on The Hague Conference; his fierce attack on the Young Plan which almost put it on the dump heap. Further the swing of the pendulum in French politics due to the change in the Cabinet. And no one can foretell how soon a change of government may take place in Germany.

Then there is the suffering in prestige which State sovereignty is experiencing through the heavy attacks on it by the League of Nations... He maintained that stability in politics

can only be secured by means of an organised system of European powers, whose unity would make the desire for individual sovereignty less important than now.

The second outstanding thing is the question of Minorities. The speaker asked for wider rights in cultural autonomy. The grave questions of Minorities could be solved by means of Pan-Europe. His conclusion was that Pan-Europe is as necessary to us politically as it has long been proved to be economically...

Dr. Vilma Kopp gave an excellent lecture on Sunday morning on "Women and Pan-Europe"... She examined why it is that the leading women stand aside and the organised woman's movements hold back from this idea...

But women must not only express their approval of the idea of Pan-Europe but must be ready to work untiringly for it. If all women would work for Pan-Europe, they would be working for peace, for the pacification of Europe and thus for the peace of the whole world. And what does opposition to Pan-Europe imply? Aside from narrowmindedness or fanaticism, there is the feeling that certain women have of admiration for masculine heroism and a sense of duty to their own nation, which they think would be lost in the creation of a Pan-Europe... She said in conclusion that without Pan-Europe world peace cannot be brought about. In social questions,

## A Balkan Federation

Anna T. Nilsson (Sweden)

Among the subjects discussed at the 27th Congress of the International Peace Bureau Conference held in Athens last October was the question of European federation. I felt the Congress thought that the idea of a United States of Europe was already passing and that a United States of the World was on its way. The question of the formation of a Balkan federation was of immediate interest. The Balkan delegates present at the Congress supported the idea of all working together for economic, cultural and intellectual objects. No decision was reached as to whether the initiative for such a federation should be taken by governments or private individuals, nor how far such a federation should include politics. The Congress decided to send a delegation consisting of the Council of the Peace Bureau to approach the governments on the matter: some Congress members also accompanied the delegation. Thus a group of 40 to 50 people visited Constantinople, Sofia, Bucearest, and Belgrade. At the various gatherings in these countries Senator Lafontaine,

Professor Quide and Professor Lefoyer spoke. The receptions were most friendly. The answer we received on the question of a Balkan federation was that if the people could be won for this idea, it would be an excellent thing. In Belgrade the attitude was somewhat reserved, partly due to the fact that the Yugoslav delegate to the Congress fell ill in Athens and was unable to prepare for the visit of the delegation. Neither the King nor the Ministers could receive our deputation, but we were hospitably received by the press and the League of Nations Union.

### WOMEN IN THE BALKANS.

Women are without political rights in South Eastern Europe. In Athens, after four years women are to be allowed to vote for Mayor as a first step...

In Yugoslavia at present there is no Parliamentary Government so women there are not specially disfranchised. Even the able Bulgarian women, who have the same position in social life as we Western women, have not the vote...

In my travel diary is a star for Sofia.

too, the way points to Pan-Europe, for man's soul and body are being ruined by our present economic system. Pan-Europe can perhaps bring about an economic re-birth. A new European spirit must be created, we need to build up community life on a humanitarian basis.

The last speaker was Professor Muller-Freienfels from Berlin, who spoke on "The Europe of to-day and to-morrow". He attempted to show the necessity for Pan-Europe from the physiological and sociological point of view. He went so far as to say that only a super-national entity, that is Pan-Europe, could save Europe from destruction. He believes that the European states, whether republican, monarchistic, socialistic or even fascistic, could agree on a constitution since the internal freedom of a state would not be touched by Pan-Europe.

He drew on a quantity of material from life and literature, to show that this is a realisable ideal, for Pan-Europe must be founded if Europe is not to be annihilated, if it is not to become a field of ruins which American and Cook's Tours will visit as Europeans to-day visit the ruins of Troy and Olympia.

Discussions at the close of the lectures were most fertile. In any case the idea of this weekend of the Pan-European Union was a happy one which we of the W.I.L.P.F. can well imitate.

It stands for many things but particularly for the fact that we have a good section of the W.I.L.P.F. there. At Sofia for the first time during the journey a woman spoke at a public meeting. On the way to Athens I stopped at Belgrade. Our W.I.L.P.F. now has a group in Belgrade and we had a meeting with it at which M. Golay, secretary of the International Peace Bureau, and I spoke. The geographical position of Serbia puts a heavy burden on this small section of our League... This is not the place to give a picture of the charm of the journey. But I do want to express my thanks to all the people we met in the Balkans.

Once on my journey when I rang for a chambermaid, she told me that she was an Armenian. "I know why you are here", she said, "God bless you, we women want no war", and she told me that her family were slaughtered like sheep, drawing her finger across her throat. I was shaken with emotion: the horror of it was so alive and near.

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

### Bulgarian Section

Madame Karaveloff

On the 10th of November Madame Catherine Karaveloff chairman of the Bulgarian Section of the W. I. L., received what was in fact a real National Demonstration in celebration of 50 years of public life and activities. It took place in the Theatre Royal, Sofia, which was packed. The audience was representative of every section of society. The King, Princess Eudoxia, and Prince Kyril were present. As were also Mons. the Archbishop of Sofia, and other clergy. The Prime Minister and Madame Liaptcheva, Deputies Ministers Municipal Councils' representatives University Professors, etc.

The curtain rose at 11. A.M. on Madame Karaveloff surrounded by a large students choir, which sang the National Anthem. The town of Sofia, the scene of the greater part of her life, and Roustchouk, her birth-place conferred on her their civic honours. Presentations and addresses were made by representatives of forty different societies, social and cultural, from all over Bulgaria.

During the three hours that the ceremony lasted the interest of the audience never waned...

Madame Karaveloff sat as though enthroned receiving the homage of her subjects; her throne becoming more and more hidden by the rapidly growing pile of beautiful flowers and gifts.

The tension only relaxed when Madame Karaveloff at the end rose and made a brilliant speech. In any country at any time it would be extraordinary for an individual to receive such general, such united appreciation and recognition from a whole people for service rendered!

At a grand banquet given in the evening in her honour, her brilliant personality shone out, and it became clear why she was so universally honoured. Her speech here as at the theatre earlier in the day, changed the atmosphere from grave to gay.

Her vivid flashlights back into the past on her early life, early influences, and early aspirations brought before her listeners a vision of what had created that character and power, which have brought her still unshaken, safely through many storms, and a little sunshine.

This noble woman, and great lady was born of an old Bulgarian family at Roustchouk, while Bulgaria was still under Turkish domination. She was educated in Russia. She was ready and qualified after Bulgarian liberation from the Turks in 1878 to take her place amongst the small band of eager and enthusiastic intellectuals who set out to re-create their country's

ancient civilisation and glory: which had been buried for 500 years under the cloud of Turkish rule and oppression. Later she married Petro Karaveloff, who played a very important part in Bulgaria's political history, and who was several times Prime Minister. Up till his death in 1903 she collaborated with him and supported him in his work. At the same time she wrote for the press, and did a considerable amount of translation of foreign literature. She took a leading part in the founding of all kinds of institutions, cultural and social. But her real work during the whole course of her 50 years of public service was in education.

Her interest in this remains active today. She is a keen feminist and worker for peace. President of the Bulgarian Section of the W.I.L., the spirit she has put into it accounts for its being one of the most alive and successful sections in Europe. Her great, her outstanding characteristic though is her calm, her undoubted faith. Faith in God, faith in man. Her own sorrows, her country's sorrows she accepts with patience, with a sublime toleration. Let us pray she may still labour for many years, as hopefully and as successfully for the progress and elevation of her country, and for all the great causes she has at heart.

M. Rutherford Anderson.

### Yugoslavian Section

One of the youngest of our national groups that has recently been formed in Belgrade, celebrated Armistice Day with a deeply impressive gathering in the hall of the Red Cross building. The meeting was presided over by Miss Petrovitch, president of the section, and the hall was full to overflowing. Many of the visitors were obliged to remain in the doorway and outside, they included numbers of young girls who showed the greatest interest in the proceedings. A member of our League from Vienna who was present at the gathering says that it was the first time she had been at a peace celebration in a former "enemy country" and that she could wish nothing more fervently than to see the realization of the splendid ideas expressed at this gathering. The public showed the greatest interest in this newly formed movement in their country.

Miss Milena Petrovitch for the Yugoslav Section has sent the following letter to all sections of the W. I. L.:

"Women of the world;

The Yugoslav section extends to you greetings and congratulations on the Peace Day of the 11th of November and begs you to believe that the women of Yugoslavia who have greatly suffered through war, wish to and will bring to the cause of universal peace their best efforts."

Letters from members of our League from Poland and other countries tell us of their interesting stay in Belgrade on the return journey from Athens to attend the congress of the International Peace Bureau, and what great importance they attach to the formation of a strong group in this country. Some friends from other countries have given pamphlets and books to the Belgrade group and other helpful propaganda material.

This section is distressed at the summary execution of a young man called Gourtan, living in Istra, a district governed by Italians and inhabited by Yugoslavs: Gourtan because of his political activities was summarily tried and condemned to death by the Fascist Government. He was executed twenty four hours after his sentence.

The Yugoslav section asks the W. I. L. to inaugurate a campaign against capital punishment, using for our motto the ancient truth: "Man has no right to take from another that which he cannot return to him again."

It will also be remembered that our League is deeply interested in the lot of the Nazarenes of whom there are still 31 imprisoned in this country for refusal of military service. The whole of our League will join in congratulating the Yugoslav group on its energy and activity and extend to it, our best wishes.

### Roumanian Section

Madame Emilian, chairman of the group in Roumania, which is applying for admission to the W.I.L., is now in Paris consulting with Madame Drevet as to the latter's tour in the Balkans next spring. We hope soon to welcome this new section into our midst.

### Czecho-Slovakian Section German Branch

The German Group in Czecho-Slovakia sent the following letter in October to all the German parliamentary clubs and the party leaders.

"The German W.I.L. in Czecho-Slovakia asks you, in the name of the thousands of women who cannot understand why in spite of the signing of the Kellogg Pact, total disarmament and the abolition of compulsory military service has not yet been undertaken, what you intend to do to bring these things about.

Will you, support the following things as a minimum program?

1. The revision of the Constitution and Laws to conform with the obligations imposed by signing the Kellogg Pact.
2. The reduction of military expenditures.
3. The shortening of the period of military service.
4. The Protection of conscientious objectors.
5. The Increase in pensions paid to war wounded, their widows and orphans."

## Pax International

Madeleine Z. Doty.

Early in November I went to England for two weeks, on a speaking tour to secure additional subscriptions to *Pax*. And I am glad to say there has been an increase of three hundred paid subscriptions in England during the past month. This theory of having every one pay for each copy of *Pax* they receive is a fine one, but in practice it is often difficult. I find a good many of our members are working women. If they pay the W.I.L. dues it is all they can manage, yet they want *Pax*. There are for instance two hundred miners' wives in North Wales and three hundred farm women in Canada, who want the paper, but cannot afford it. All over there are individual cases needing assistance. Take the following letter from Yugoslavia, which came a few days ago:

"I desire with all my heart to subscribe to *Pax* and to live and work specially to realize our feminist and pacifist ideals. To my great regret it is not possible at the moment for I am financially ruined... Judge whether it is possible to still send me the paper and I promise as soon as I am able to pay the debt... I hope I may still have the consolation of receiving dear *Pax*."

It is evident we need a subsidy to cover such cases and propaganda copies. I know some of our good friends will come to the rescue and contribute to such a good cause. For it is a good cause. Our little International paper is unique. It is a symbol of the day when the world shall be one. Like the aeroplanes it flies over all frontiers from land to land. It carries its message to 40 nations. It is not nationalistic, it represents the world. It is read east and west, north and south. Though it speaks only three languages French, German, and English, it is used everywhere. Thora Daugaard, the chairman of the W.I.L. section in

Denmark has just taken 40 subscriptions and is placing *Pax* in 40 schools in classes where they are studying English. This is a great idea. Push the good work along, help us send our paper around the world. Make all checks and postal orders out to *Pax International* and send them to Madeleine Z. Doty, 12, Rue du Vieux Collège, Geneva.

## Conscientious Objectors

The following letter was sent by the Joint Peace Council, consisting of representatives of seven different organisations including the W.I.L. to the States members of the League of Nations:

"We beg to draw attention to the fact that although the Governments of the following countries: Holland, France, Poland, Switzerland, New Zealand, Yugoslavia, have signed and ratified the Paris Pact they continue to imprison men for refusing to undertake service for war, which the Paris Pact renounces as an instrument of national policy.

We urge that those Governments in order to prove their sincerity should immediately release all prisoners confined for the offence of refusing military service."

## International Jurists Congress

A group of jurists living in different lands have decided to hold a conference in Berlin from December 8-12, to consider from a judicial and international view point, repressive legislation and judicial practices. It will consider the reform of the prisons, the treatment of prisoners and the exploitation of labour in the colonies.

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