Cities and towns adjust the size and e character of their several police forces included the monstrated needs of their patrol and their work. They do not stop to inquire list that may be the size or composition of the police force of some other city or town whether at home or abroad. monstrated needs of their patrol



The Pact of Paris if sincere and honest brings just this situation into existence as between civilized nations. Each one should be able to organize and equip its own police force whether on sea or land without reference to the size or character of any other.

Nicholas Murray Butler.

# nternationa

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

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

Vol. 5. No. 6.

Published monthly

APRIL. 1930

#### CONTENTS

Naval Conference and U.S.

Raghunath Rao. World Section of the W. I. L.

Tokio And London Pray For Peace. Women's Peace Messages

Ethel Snowden. Unemployment In Germany

Dr. Klare Schæden. Bank For International Settlements Barbara Wootton

Women And Prisoners In Serbia Karin Michælis.

Women In Indo-China

Camille Drevet. Work Of W. I. L. National Sections. Bulgarian Summer School.

Editor . . . . . Madeleine Z. Dory. Office, 12, rue du Vieux-Collège,

Geneva, Switzerland. Subscriptions to «Pax International»: One year fifty cents or 2 shillings. International Dues . . . . \$5 or £1.

#### The Kellogg Pact

Mahatma Gandhi

I have no difficulty in agreeing that the Kellogg Pact has great possibilities, the patent insincerity of many signatories notwithstanding.... My difficulty is about India's part in promoting peace. The parties in the Pact are mostly partners in the exploitation of the peoples of Asia and Africa; India is the most exploited of them all. This Peace Pact therefore, in substance, means a desire to carry on the joint exploitation peacefully. At least that is how the Pact appears to me at present. India has never waged war against any nation.... She therefore does not have to develop the will for peace. She has that in abundance, whether she knows it or not. The way she can promote peace is to offer successful resistance to her exploitation by peaceful means. If she can do this, it will be the largest contribution that any single nation will have made towards world peace.'

#### Naval Conference And U.S.

Raghunath Rao

The difficulties in the way of disarmament are essentially of a political and non-technical nature; they cannot be got over by pious aspira-tions and it is futile to put all the blame on France for lack of tangible results in the Naval Conference.

With far more truth and greater justice, the blame could be laid on the side of the United States and England. In the present situation disarmament is impossible unless it is world-wide, and world-wide disarmament is impractical in the absence of world- wide organization. It seems yet too early to expect Great Britain and more particularly America, to form integral parts of any such organization...

The question arises: does not the League of Nations already provide such an organization? It does, but neither America nor, for that matter, even Great Britain, can be said to have regarded it very seriously. Great Britain, as recent political developments have shown, is still intent on consolidating her Empire and looks at the League as the shadow rather than as the model of the Empire. She has perhaps of late exhibited greater signs of appreciation of Geneva but her policy in this respect is severely constrained by the policy of the United States....

We may inquire why there should be such a deep-rooted objection to the League in the United States. Part and a considerable part of the reason is no doubt the isolationist tradition of American politics. There has been recent talk of reviving the Monroe Doctrine in all its rigour.

But this is not the entire explanation. The great objection is as stated by Mr. D. M. Edwards in the "Messenger of Peace:" "Perhaps the fundamental weakness of the League is the fact that its whole spirit is to maintain the status quo. There is not the willingness to decide matters

on the present-day basis; the past exercises entirely too strong an influence. This condition can without doubt be charged to President Wilson. Many of the arrangements affected by the Council of Versailles were based upon the principle of the status quo and not upon what good judgment and intimate knowledge of affairs would suggest.'

The question whether the United States would receive at Geneva a position commensurate with her real power is a very large question. Some notion of what that power is may be gathered from the book of Mr. Ludwell Denny entitled "America conquers Britain".

The people of the United States comprise less than 7 per cent of the population of the world and yet the States produce: 39 per cent of the coal, 35 per cent of the hydroelectric power, practically all of the natural gas, 71 per cent of the oil, 60 per cent of the wheat and cotton, 55 per cent of the timber, 38 per cent of the lead and phosphates, and 50 per cent of the copper, iron and steel of the world.

Turning from production to consumption, this one seventh of the world's population consumes 42 per cent of the world's iron, 47 per cent of its copper, 69 per cent of crude petroleum, 56 per cent of the crude copper, 36 per cent of the coal, 53 per cent of the tin, 48 per cent of the coffee, 21 per cent of the sugar, 72 per cent of the silk, and over 80 per cent of the motor cars.

As to foreign investments it is true that Britain has still the lead of 4,000 millions sterling against America's 3,150 millions, but during the last three years America's foreign investments have been almost twice as large as those of Britain's.

In this situation to ask America to come to Geneva and to pay her homage to Europe because of the latter's historic traditions is to ask for the impossible.

#### THE WORLD SECTION OF THE W.I.L.

Frau Kerp of Holland has sent us her objection to the World Section.

Dear Editor:

Your appeal for the formation of a World Section will be a great temptation to those who-as you say-"cannot identify themselves for geographical or other reasons with their national groups". For who is there who would not agree with you that "there is in this world need for women who will call themselves world citizens and devote themselves | national sections lead the inhabitants wholly to the service of mankind, even if national interests now and then seem to clash with world welfare." Yet I wish to protest emphatically against the formation of a World Section, because I see in it a great danger for our League's future.

In each country it is the most valuable members of the W. I. L. who will wish to belong to the World Section. But to be a member of the World Section, one must give up membership in one's national section. In this case will there not be great danger that the national sections will lose just the very members who would be most indispensable for fruitful work? And isn't the work within the national sections, and within the individual local groups more important than anything else because they form the sole basis through which universal peace can be achieved? It is true that this national work means hard and thankless detail work which often does not show immediate results. On this account is there not danger that many will flee into the world section who do not comprehend that it is our first duty to help to realize our ideals in whatever place and among whatever people we may happen to be? Those who are conscious of the task before them, as soon as they identify themselves with our League, will not only stand for peace among nations, but will also oppose the fight between classes, parties, races and sects which create within the individual nations a latent

There are two more points which I would like to bring forward for discussion.

First you say that the World Section could absorb the women "who for geographical or other reasons cannot identify themselves with their national groups". Through many years of life in foreign countries I can very well understand the reason for this point of view. Yet-for the sake of our ideals—I deem it an indispensable duty of all W. I. L. members to identify themselves as far as possible with the country in which they reside. How can the pro- our fellows.'

blems of humanity be understood without self-forgetfulness and goodwill, broadmindedness and tolerance, and don't you think that it is valuable that local groups should have the experience that comes through cooperation with a foreigner? The moment women become members of a world section, there is danger that they will lose interest in the work of their local group, and that undeveloped elements in the local groups will get control and prohibit all interference by those who do not agree with their narrow national point of view.

Secondly you write in your appeal that you deem it necessary "that the of their country through nationalism to internationalism." This phrase sounds very strange to me. To my mind, the Women's International League should require from all members that they finish with nationalism. There are so many peace associations of different hues that those elements who cannot make up their minds yet to become really and truly world citizens and yet have the desire to some connection or other. Unless all our members are determined to comply with the demands which have been set up for the world section, our League ceases to be what it was originally: a pioneer band of women who, compelled by pacifism, not only strive for understanding among nations, but what is more, stand for peace among all groups of different points of view and economic ideals.

Irma Gladys Kerp.

#### LONDON AND TOKIO PRAY FOR PEACE

On the afternoon of Saturday, March 1st the attempt to influence the Naval Conference through thought and prayer was carried out. At two thirty there was a service in the City Temple, London, Afterwards a procession formed of the congregation and with many others joining in, marched to Westminster Abbey. London streets are usually deserted on Saturday afternoon but the procession was very impressive on account of its size, and by the fact that it represented many forms of faith and belief. It was led by the Bishop of Winchester. Then came the clergy, bearing crosses and banners followed by thousands of women of all ages and a noticeably large number of young men. At Westminster Abbey there was a beautiful and impressive service. It was especially arranged to express the will of the people for peace. Two quotations for the collect were as follows:

"Let us pray that we may all be delivered from the bondage of fear and that by faith in God, who gives freely of His Spirit to all men, we may learn to live in trust and confidence among

"Let us pray for the peace of the world, uniting in silence with many who in many parts of this country and of the world are interceding with our Heavenly Father for the disarming of the nations and the turning of the world to peace.'

At five o'clock there was a two minutes silence for intercession for disarmament and peace.

Precisely at the same hour at the other side of the globe in Japan a similar services was being held.

The W. I. L. had cabled the Japanese section of the plan for a prayer on March 1st and that section responsed valiantly. In a few days it had organized an impressive meeting. Tano Jodai, the secretary of the section writes:

"On March first, the day when the service took place in Westminster Cathedral, we held a special meeting in one of the big halls of the city. It was very fortunate we were able to secure very prominent speakers on a very short notice. President Hayashi of the Keio University, the Viscount Ishii, the world-known statesman, and President Tagawa M. P. join a peace league, can always find of the Meiji Gakuin made a wonderful trio at the meeting. They spoke right to the point, and the audience was greatly educated about the present condition of the Naval Conference and its importance. These three men are very different in their sphere of influence, and vet how united they are in their desire for drastic measures for disarmament. Mr. Tagawa led the audience to the climax of moral disarmament when he appealed to the audience to offer silent prayer at the stroke of five o'clock, the very time when people offered the prayer at Westminster Cathedral.

It may not be anything remarkable to you who live in so-called Christian countries where religious service is common on such an occasion, but here it is a very different matter. Buddhists, Shintoists, Christians, agnostics and other religious adherents have never before come together for the purpose of spiritual union, it has always been an impossible thing. So we consided Mr. Tagawa handled the situation most wonderfully, when he appealed to the audience that each in his or her belief should express their spiritual interest for disarmament and be silent for two minutes for meditation or prayer, and they responded most heartily....

Mrs. Inouve broadcast half an hour for the same purpose from ten minutes to five on, and appealed to the public in general to observe two minutes silence.

Besides these prayers of London and Tokio the idea of silent intercession had spread all over the world and was carried out in many places. A remarkable exchange of messages took place between religious leaders in America, England and France.

### Why Women Want Peace

Mrs. Phillip Snowden

In London on March 31st. at 9,25 in the evening Mrs. Snowden broadcast messages from W. I.. L. members all over the world which had been sent her, in the hope that this additional pressure on the Naval Conference might bring results.

onference makes it reasonable that should once more say over the radio the things which have so often been said in one way or another by other speakers. We speak peace now in he hope that our words may do something to help the Naval Confer-

I decline to believe that the concentrated thought of this nation cannot even now bring about success.

I am often asked the question: Do women really want peace. I want to return an answer to that question to-night: They do.

Women want peace for all the reasons that men want peace, as well as for special reasons of their

In the early days of the Conference, deputation of women waited upon its members, bearing a message from 0 millions of women. These women belonged to four of the five great powers met to confer on Naval Po-

What did all these women want from the Naval Conference?

They requested that the Delegates should make of the Pact of Paris for the renunciation of war, a reality, and not a sham, by agreeing to a large all round reduction in naval armaments. It is not by any means too late to make that fine dream of these women come true.

But there have been recent fears and qualms. And there are sad and timid hearts at present. When a few days ago, a critical hour in the deliberation of the Conference seemed to have arrived, I received from all over the world, by cable, by letter, by telephone, renewed appeals from women which I was asked to convey to the Delegates, and which I wish to make known also to you.

Women have cabled me from 13 countries. Written messages have come from 19. Some of these messages are from notable individuals speaking for themselves. Others voice the wishes of influential organisations.

Amongst the more notable of those of personal standing, who also speaks for the Women's International League a body which has sections in 26 countries, is Miss Jane Addams. America possesses no more distinguished citizen than she Her wire reads:

"The American public has slowly accepted the shrewd wisdom and the underlying good will in the phrase parity through reduction" in which Prime Minister MacDonald and President Hoover epitomized their con-

The shadow resting upon the Naval clusions. We are quite sure the Naval Conference commissioners will not throw away this widespread public approval at the very moment it has been so splendidly obtained. If as we are told the abolition of the romantic battleships will also secure the abolition of the dreaded submarirines it will be hard for a war-weary world to forgive those who fail to utilize this opportunity for notable advance in the history of disarma-

Miss Agnes MacPhail of Canada also wires to the same effect. She was for 9 years the only woman member of Parliament in Canada, and last year she was one of Canada's chosen delegates to the League of Nations.

Miss Selma Lagerlof, the brilliant Swedish novelist telegraphed me from Stockholm: "Humanity has for thousands of years tried to create happiness and glory from force and violence. It has failed. Let us dispel hate and fear. Let us try understanding and friendship and we shall succeed".

Madame Curie, the renowned French scientist says: "I am firmly conceived that science and peace must overcome ignorance and war."

Mrs. Gauntlett, who organised the marvellous petition of Japanese women put this message into my hands: "I bid you goodbye with a heart full of gratitude and goodwill, and carry with me a sense of friendship and love so freely given. The bond of love and friendship is stronger than all the armed forces of the world, and is so elastic that it will. in time, bind the nations together and keep them in peace ... "

Amongst other messages which have come definitely expressing the sentiments of large bodies of women is one fron Denmark. This comes in the name of 13.000 Danish women members of the W. I. L. The women of that progressive country are very anxious lest a failure in London should damage the prospects of the forth-coming Disarmament Conference in Geneva.

I wish there were time to read you everything that women from the four corners of the world have to say. I am sure the words would waken an echo in the hearts and minds of those who are good enough to listen to me to-night. Here are two or three of the shorter ones taken at random?

"The W. I. L. of Australia strongly urges disarmament."

"Representative women in Hawaii in 15 organisations, memberships ap-

proximating 400 each, await with hope and expectation the success of the disarmament conference. It must not fail us now.

"The Mexican W. I. L. urges naval disarmament as contributing to world peace. Schools consecrating two minutes silence for peace.

There are others from Japan France, Germany and Belgium and so I might go on, giving you from countries large and small, in brief sentences or lengthy argument, the passionate pleas of millions of women.... Do not these appeals speak for themselves? Is it really necessary to ask if women want peace, or why, with the exception of a few, they want peace before all else?

Perhaps I can give you some reasons. Every one of the 10 million women whose representatives laid their petition at the feet of the Naval Delegates on the first day of this month must have seen something of the effect of the late war upon her own people and country. She must have come to realise out of her own observation and experience the senseless waste and cruety of it.... The women of this generation cannot think of war as a beautiful or a necessary, much less a Christian thing.....

They are coming to realise that great spiritual ideals are not achieved through physical warfare; that war never settles anything that could not be better settled by other means; that war does not end war ....

Women have seen their husbands and sons maimed and broken, or killed on dim and distant battlefields.....

They are asking themselves by what moral right they give those sons to death

Women feel enormously the special pressure on themselves as housewives of the heavy burden of war taxation, which robs the children of opportunity and reduces the family standard of living.....

Women are shocked at the sadlyenlarged battalions of the workless -1,500,000 in this country, 3,000,000 in Germany and at least 4,000,000 in the United States.....

Ten million women, most of them now armed with political power, have shown the way to the rest of womankind, and call upon all to help the London Conference; and not only that Conference, but every effort made by the nations in concert to lessen the danger from swollen armaments, to arrest the lust for power, to elevate reason above passion and to bring the world to peace.

## Unemployment In Germany

Dr Kläre Schoedon

Unemployment is an element of the economic system of capitalism, and accompanies it and its market fluctuations and crises and the processes of mechanisation, rationalisation and concentration, but since the war unemployment has attained such enormous proportions, to a certain extent permanent and international, that it seems as if we were confronted with a new type of problem.

At the end of January there were registered at the labour exchanges, which does not take into account the unemployed who did not register, over three million unemployed, nearly 630,000 of whom were women. The unemployed comprised 5% of the total population, or about one tenth of the industrial population.

Besides there are 1,300,000 on part time work. Trade union statistics show that 21.3% of their male members were out of work in December 1929, and 7.1% on short time; of their female members 14.2% were out of work and 15.5% on short time. The average trade union unemployment rate for the year 1928 was for men 8.8%, for women 7.7% while the pre-war average rate from 1907 to 1913 was 2.4% and 1.5%. Women.... are less subject to seasonal fluctuations than men; this is due to the fact that women are less employed in seasonal trades than men and not at all in the building trade.

It also appears that the women most of whom belong to semi-skilled or unskilled occupations, are less affected than the highly specialised men by dismissals resulting from rationalisation.

#### UNSKILLED WORKERS

The greatest amount of unemployment today, i.e. 25%, is to be found among the unskilled and semiskilled workers both male and female. This class of worker is especially affected by seasonal fluctuations. In July 1929 the unemployment among them was only 40% of what it is today, this is an index of the general economic situation and shows the ridiculous inadequacy of the government appropriations for providing work for the unemployed...

Unemployment has shown a very uneven course since 1923. The labour market was at its best between October 1924 and October 1925, and at its worst from October 1923 to September 1924, and from December 1925 to March 1927.

There has been least unemployment since 1926 during the months of August, September and October 1927 when there were less than a million unemployed per month. What place 1930 will occupy which has opened with such high unemployment figures

Unemployment is an element of depends on Germany's foreign policy and the insight and energy used in internal organisation.....

The fact cannot be hidden that there is a permanent surplus of labour much greater than that before the war, and that this surplus is perpetually increased by rationalisation and by the growing preference for short time engagements.

Three million unemployed and one million on short time means a falling off in the purchasing power in the home market and a decrease in productivity, for many of the unemployed are between the ages of 20 and 40 the time of greatest efficiency. It is therefore fair to say that unemployment is an index of our present economic situation, although it is not a direct criterion of private prosperity.

#### PROBLEM OF ORGANISATION

In view of various factors in present economic conditions which should be favourable to labour such as the increase in exports; the increase in amount and value of coal production in 1929 as compared with the pre-war period; the savings bank deposits of over 4 milliards in two years; the visible accumulation of over 8 milliards of capital last year and decrease in the discount rate of the Reichsbank—it is evident that it is not so much a question of lack of capital as of total lack of proper distribution of capital with regard to the unemployment problem. Today the acceptance of the Young plan leads one to expect that economic life will settle down and that a check will be given to the export of German capital, that there will be an increasing influx of foreign money, an equalisation of the rate of interest between Germany and Western Europe, and that the yearly reparations payments will be diminished by about 700 millions.

The unemployment problem is one of organisation and must be recognised as such. Private enterprise shows not the smallest initiative in this direction; the finance minister of the Reich, Dr. Moldenhauer wants the whole unemployment problem treated as a matter of insurance. The Government and Parliament show no serious intention of dealing with the problem in accordance with the principles of human economy and of developing new industries and the means of livelihood on a permanent basis, so as to transfer at least a portion of the unemployed to productive work.

It is true that the risk of unemployment can be diminished for the worker by a certain breadth of vocational training, by elasticity and adaptability to change of occupation, by technical training and the spread of information as to the labour market. But success here is limited from the

beginning through the lack of proportion between the number of unemployed and the number of jobs. For the 3,200,000 unemployed there are only about 22,000 vacancies.

The only trade whose demand for workers, especially female workers, is not met in summer, and which employs a considerable number of foreign seasonal workers, is agriculture. The Labour Exchanges are now endeavouring with success to transfer workers in other trades and young people from industrial centres to country districts where there is a shortage of labour.

The difficulties here are obvious: first of all aversion to agricultural conditions, which are backward from a social point of view and from th point of view of the rights of labour: also the seasonal nature of the demand for land workers. An appreciable relie of the labour market through change o occupation in favour of the land can only be hoped.... if the migrants b assured of permanency, through fa reaching agrarian reform and the pro vision of capital. Migration has th advantage over emigration of costing less and of providing similar cultural social and political conditions.

#### EMIGRATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

The German emigration oversea going back to 1871 was less before the war than after (except for the decade 1881 to 1890). From 1924 to 1928 emigration was almost three times as great as in the period from 1911 to 1913. This rise in emigration has occurred although the post-war period has brought restrictions, limitations and regulations This is an indication of our economic situation, though whether the relation between unemployment and emigration is one of cause and effect so that fluctuations in the labour market cause a corresponding change in the emigration figures is a matter of doubt, because emigration is an international affair and as such de pends on the economic conditions of the labour markets concerned.

In the period 1921-28, a minimum of about 24,173 people emigrated from Germany (1921) and a maximum of 115,431 (1923), while the highest unemployment figures were in 1926.

But even the maximum figure of 115,000 emigrants, which is twice what it was in any of the following years and which includes the workers families, did not greatly affect the situation in the face of 1 to 3 million unemployed.

The effect is even less than might be imagined by the bare number, because the emigrants' occupations in the foreign country depend not on unemployment at home but on the demands of the country of immigration. Of the

German Unemployment (continued)

42,660 wage earning emigrants of 1928, 8604 were agricultural workers....

The increasingly international character of commerce and industry leads to a far-reaching similarity of industrial problems and to world crises which threaten corresponding groups in the different countries with the same unemployment.

I have already mentioned that Germany is a country of immigration for foreign seasonal workers. Whereas in 1928, 42,660 wage earning emigrants quitted Germany, 88,927 foreign itinerant workers including 61940 women were provided with agricultural work by the "Deutsche Arbeiterzentrale". In view of the high

figures of German unemployment it would seem that contracts with foreign workers could only be justified, if all the native workers were not undercut or supplanted. (See resolution of the W. I. L. P. F. at Eger.)

I say emphatically no solution of German unemployment can be found in the acquisition of Colonies or Mandates. Apart from the fact that the former German colonies did not afford opportunity for large scale emigration, it is always suspect to give a false economic pretext for political ambitions instead of seeking economic solutions of economic problems.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE BIRTHRATE

In view of our unemployment it would be economic madness to deplore

our declining birthrate. This development should rather be welcomed and consciously directed. It is true that a falling birthrate is only perceptible 18 years later on the labour market, during which time the economic position may have changed. But it must not be overlooked that in a depressed economic situation a restricted family lessens the burden, and that in every economic position a reduction of labour supply creates a more favourable position for labour. The effect of the lowered birthrate during the war will be felt soon.

The ever widening circles of unemployment go further than I can indicate here, they embrace Germany's political life and leave their mark on it as on its economic life.

## The Bank For International Settlements

Barbara Wootton

There is a certain irony in the fact hat the first completely international ank should come into being as the esult of a scheme to promote the more ffective payment of reparation. For ome time past it has been understood nat the authorities of the leading entral banks have a habit of putting eir heads together privately to ettle important questions of interational finance. Now they are to scuss these matters round the board ble as well as round the dinner table, their new capacity as members of e directorate of the Bank for Interational Settlements; and this change omes about as a by-product of the oung plan for regulating German parations up to the year 1988!

To judge what affect the establishent of the Bank is likely to have on ings that really matter it is necesry to distinguish between its reparions and its other functions. So far the former are concerned the Bank in, so far as I can see, do little but ood. If reparations must be paid is best that they should be paid in e easiest and most convenient way ossible. The Bank will assist the ocess by providing simple machinery r payment, and may actually reuce the burden, if the provision that part of its profits may be used to sist Germany in the payment of the st 22 annuities, is put into effect.

Of the Bank's other powers it is not possible to speak with the same cheerful confidence. For one thing the close connection between the Bank's origin and the reparations problem is not altogether a happy augury for its non-reparations business. Because of this connection the seven countries primarily interested in reparations are over-represented on the Bank's Directorate. In practice this may mean much or little: in principle it is certainly wrong.

But perhaps the most widespread fear that the Young Report's proposal has awakened is that the Bank may prove an engine to promote the machinations of international financiers. In one form this is the fear of the conservative banker who pictures political influences diverting the Bank from the straight and narrow path of orthodox banking routine; in another it is the fear of the democrat who sees policies as made, not by peoples, but by banks and of the pacifist who believes that it is the manipulation of credit that causes the shedding of bleed.

the shedding of blood. Here let us distinguish. It is probably a good thing that the Bank should be "non-political". The academic democrat might prefer a Bank whose shares were held by the Governments of the contributing countries and not, as is to be the case, by the various central banks of those countries. Such a scheme might appear to be more in keeping with the general principle of public control over important industries. In this instance, however, the academic democrat would almost certainly be wrong. The Bank cannot but have very considerable control over the distribution of international credit. It will make loans to this country and that on such and such terms. A governmental board for such purposes would, as things are, almost inevitably descend to a most dangerous business of financial log-rolling. "I will back your loan if you will back mine.

There is a danger indeed that the Directors of the Bank may behave in much the same way. The authors of the Bank's statutes have done their best to protect their creation from becoming the tool of designing governments; but they are only human, and governments are often stronger than statutes....

This means that the real issue is whether the Bank will understand what are the canons of good finance. Its founders have carefully made the Bank non-political in order that stupid or malicious politicians may not mess up the useful work that it is to do. But all this is no good if the Bank itself misconceives that work. This, it seems to me, is the real danger. Non-political bankers do judge their work by certain economic tests. They like their debtors to be solvent, for example. On the other hand, quite apart from any political considerations, it is only too likely that these economic tests may be the wrong ones. The Bankers, conception of economy as applied to governments is apt to be exceedingly crude. The test of a sound credit policy is the contribution which it makes to the prosperity of the ordinary citizen in the form of regular work for good pay. But there seem to be surprisingly many bankers who really cannot continuously realize this.

All the same the risk is probably worth taking. Undoubtedly the ideal organisation for any banking industry is that it should be run by independent autocrats with the right ideas. It is not an industry where democratic management has much place. The International Bank will very likely give us independent management by autocrats with the wrong ideas. Against this, however, must be set the fact that the autocrats will probably get a good deal of their own way anyhow, by the back stairs if not by the front; and, further, that satisfactory credit control is quite impossible without some kind of international co-operation. It seems a little fainthearted each to sit hugging our own little heap of gold or solemnly to go pushing it about the world because we are too frightened to pool our reserves in the hands of a common authority.

## Women And Prisoners In Serbia

Karin Michaelis

Karin Michaïlis is one of our foremost Danish women authors. In a very incomplete summary of her two travel diaries I have tried to express what she says about the women and the prisoners in Serbia. Her testimony is nearly identical with that given by Mme. Camille Drevet, and is another appeal to women to unite in defence of their suppressed sisters and the unfor-Thyra Manicus Hansen (W.I.L. Denmark). tunate prisoners doomed to torture and death.

Most of the women in Serbia live under conditions difficult for us to imagine, worse even than those of the Mohammedan women whose liberation is already well under way, while in Serbia it seems as if a miracle were needed to bring about a change...

Does not the fact that in a land with millions of inhabitants, only 6000 women belong to the Women's Suffrage Union speak for itself? And to secure even this number of militants what work was need ed! Most of the women come from the teaching profession where the movement started.

Serbian men are deeply opposed to feminism and political rights for women. Politics are man's domain. It is the innate passion of all Serbs, Croates, Slavs...

Politics is to the Serb more than work, money, or ambition, more than love of wife or children; it is the kingdom where he wishes to rule.

The young girl who advocates equal rights for women has no chance of finding a husband—and those who are already married and wish to continue to fight for their ideals do so at the cost of creating a hell at their own fireside. The small and courageous minority who devote themselves passionately to the work ask for the vote only that they may improve social conditions, the schools and the hospitals, and free themselves from the bonds of the slavery to which under the present condition they are condemned. thrown into this human mass, every- into every prison...

As in every movement for independence, every fight for a new ideal, there is danger, of persecution and imprisonment, and it must be carried on secretly and behind the scenes. Woman is—so to speak—outside of the law, she has no moral or judicial rights. She has not even the right of heritage. If there is no son in a family, the nearest male relative inherits, and so on, even to the most distant male relative. A widow is not her husband's heiress and she and her children are left to the mercy of male relatives. Divorce exists in name, but for the woman it is practically impossible to get one: it is merely a privilege of the husband. The child born outside of matrimony, is outside

Among the small number of women intellectuals there are some who become professors, and physicians. I have even to my great astonishment, seen a woman managing a bank,

#### PRISONERS.

In February 1928, Stepan Raditsj wrote an article blazing with indignation, on the treatment inflicted on prisoners, and exposed the terrible punishments and tortures used.

Twenty unfortunate prisoners are often locked up together in such narrow cells that they are compelled to stand up all the time, even while sleeping. Every time a new-comer is they might succeed in penetrating

one shouts: "hands up!" and he at once stripped of everything of value such as food, tobacco, money and clothing. The rule of the stronges prevails, even when rations are distr buted. Most of these convicts don' even know why they are imprisoned there is no preliminary trial. A bo fifteen years old may be confined for three months for stealing an apple

The children and the young people of both sexes are entirely at the mercy of the adults; the physical promiscuit in these jails is beyond description The underground cells, completely shut off from air and light, are some times so constructed that the drainage from the sewers runs constantly over the bodies of the victims. Prisoner suspected of communism are frequent ly kept here three months unless the die before then or succumb to the temptation of committing suicide No one will ever know all their su ferings because their tormentors give them to understand that if they day complain they will be done away with like thousands of other victims....

To fight against the torture and suffering in the Balkans is ou foremost duty, a duty, even mor sacred, to my mind, than the figh against war. If the women of the whole world would unite in commo action, in a holy alliance of love

#### Women In Indo-China **Camille Drevet**

me a few copies of a very interesting magazine, the "Phu Nu Tau Van" managed by a woman and edited in likely to disturb public opinion... Annamite. The journal of Miss Ngueu Due Nhan is published in their first battle. They protested Saigon and has already 10,000 readers. against the condemnation to nine It is one of the most popular papers in Indo-China....

In 1927 the women that Edith Pye and I saw in Cochinchina did not, with very rare exceptions, take part in the social or political life of their country. But in 1928 and in 1929 things changed and many women young girls left their families to devote and other little articles. themselves to the organisation and education of the masses.

Miss Trau Thu Huong, a former pupil of the Normal School of Hué, was arrested at the same time as Miss Nguyeu Ehi Nhu Mon, because they had taken part in revolutionary pro-

An Annamite friend has just given director of the women's publications of Gocong has recently been arrested because she has published articles

In 1927 the girls of Annam fought years of hard labor of their friend Bui Dinh. The college girls marched out —defying the police. The authorities forbade the girls' families to give them shelter. They thought in this way they could compel them to go back to school. But the girls put up tents, organized a make-shift camp began to take active part. Several and, to earn their living, sold postcards

To-day the Annamite women are acquainted with both the police and prison. They mingle in the movement for independence which is spreading over their country, over Asia, Africa, and the whole world. The movement grows in force because the paganda. And Miss Phan Bach Van, young generation of to-day are work-

ing among the masses. They longer desire to belong to the "Elite and possess a French diploma. The work for the education and organis ation of the workers.

The French colonists, who only used to think of the Annamite women a those "cougais", must have been very much surprised to see Annamite girl talking to the coolies of Saigon an working with them and for them...

But the Annamite women have always been a power in the home and in the business affairs of the family.

The journal Phu Nu Tan Van is not a revolutionary paper. It is subject to censorship. It wants to help women to get acquainted with international life. It has asked for m co-operation. I will try to keep ther posted about the activities of t W.I.L. and the efforts women are making everywhere to create a new

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

#### **British Section**

The work of the British Section has ntred quite naturally round the ndon Naval Conference. The Exetive Committee at its December eting passed a resolution urging Government to "implement its nature of the Pact of Paris for the enunciation of War by proposing a ther reduction of cruisers and the tal abolition of battleships and subarines". Since then a steady camign has been kept up by the anches in many parts of the country passing the resolution at meetings forwarding it to the Prime inister. A leaflet setting forth the icy of this section is being widely tributed. As soon as the naval nference opened in January, a mpaign was started to bombard the me Minister with petitions. These ged for the abolition of battleships d a further reduction of cruisers, it is believed that these steps would cilitate the abolition of submarines d reductions in other types of ships. natures to these petitions are being lected and forwarded to the Prime nister daily from all parts of the ntry. Nearly 2,000 resolutions and itions, many bearing the signatures between 20 and 40 people, are own to have reached the Prime nister to date. The March Executsent a letter to Mr. MacDonald and other heads of the delegations to Conference, in which it stated that W.I.L. is convinced that the vernment could rely upon the supt of the country in taking a bold in the direction indicated by MacDonald at the opening of the ference, when he declared that whole world begged the statesmen he Conference to lift the programme of the narrow scrutiny of the techal experts and to put it on the ader field of the creative statesmen. March Executive also passed a olution, which was sent to the Prime nister and the Foreign Secretary, which it urges H. M. Government propose that a considerable reduc-

n at the earliest possible date. Among other resolutions recently ssed by the British Section was one the Officers' Training Corps, in ich the W. I. L. protests against use of tax-payers' money for the litary training of children, and ges that the grants of the War lice to the O. T. C.—which are now ger in amount than the total contriion of Great Britain to the League Nations—should be abolished, and mands that the O.T.C. regulations so amended as to prohibit direct

below the fifteen battleships

ovided for in the Washington Treaty

made at once, with a view to aboli-

members. Considerable publicity has been obtained for this resolution, and a memorandum containing facts and evidence has been sent to over twenty members of Parliament. Several members have promised to raise the question in the House on the discussion on the War Office Estimates.

Steps have also been taken to interest Members of Parliament in East African questions and to get questions asked in the House on the Solomon Islands and on Disarmament.

The March Executive passed the following resolution on India, which has been sent to the Prime Minister:

"In order to show that the British Government is in earnest in its intention to grant dominion status we urge (1) that the Indian members of the Round Table Conference promised by the British Government to formulate a constitution on a Dominion Status basis, shall be nominated by the Indian Legislative Assembly; (2) that amnesty be granted to all political prisoners; and (3) that in view of the present situation in India the Simon Commission be asked to issue its report without any further delay.

#### German Section

The following letter was signed by 14 organisations, including the German section of the W.I.L., who instigated it and sent to Dr. Adolf Grimme, Minister of Education, Science and Art.

The signatories of this letter venture to draw your attention to a new order made by the provincial education authorities which runs as follows:

"With reference to the instructions of October 26th, 1919, and of February 26th, 1923, we request you to see that understanding and interest in colonisation is awakened and kept alive in the pupils."

"As Germany in Art. 119 of the Treaty of Versailles has renounced all its rights and claims to oversea possessions, "understanding and interest in colonisation" can only mean support for a movement for the reacquisition of colonies. The setting up of such a political ideal is obviously not within the province of the schools nor of the Prussian minister of education especially in view of the fact that any such policy would bring the schools into sharp opposition to a large proauthority can be found for it in the policy of the Reich.

"Germany has in accordance with its wishes been accorded a seat on the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. Consequently Germany must devote itself to the great tasks entrusted to the Mandates Commission, more especially to the protection of the native population. These tasks are of increasing importance at this time of the rising of the colored races and in the performance indirect pressure on boys to become of these tasks the League of Nations the W. I. L.

may either prove its worth or break down. To do justice to this trust Germany must preserve complete independence in colonial questions, and should not aim either at mandates or colonies.

"It is hardly necessary for us to emphasise to you, Sir, that the reacquisition of colonies would be no gain but a heavy burden to Germany in view of the growing acuteness of opposition between colonial powers and colonial populations, in view of the unfavourable economic situation in Germany and in view of recent technical and commercial develop-

'We consider it our duty on your entry into office to draw your attention to the above mentioned order, and to beg you to examine the instructions given by your predecessor and to see that they are withdrawn. We venture to assure you, Sir, that such action would have the support of large sections of the German

#### **Canadian Section**

Mrs. Jamieson, the National Secretary of the Canadian Section writes: 'A few weeks ago three members of the W. I. L. had an interview with Gen. Ralston, Minister of Defence. on the occasion of his visit to Vancouver. We urged that the grant for Cadets should be withdrawn, and the Provinces left to finance their own physical education, which would then almost certainly take on a more wholesome form. The Minister stated that it was entirely a matter for the Provinces; as soon as they desired to finance their own physical education. and expressed that desire, the money would not be given by the Federal Government. This made us feel more strongly than ever that public opinion must be roused until Provincial Education Departments will refuse to accept the grants for Cadets.

#### Women's Deputation

Correction

The British section of the W. L. L. has asked that the following correction be made concerning the article printportion of the population, and that no ed in the March Pax on the Women's Deputation. This section wishes it made clear the manner in which the deputation was organized. The initiative came from the Japanese and American women. The British Women's Peace Crusade agreed at their request to ask for the deputation and the decision as to the composition of the deputation therefore rested with these three bodies.

> Furthermore there are several extremely active workers in the Peace Crusade who are not members of

#### The Bulgarian Summer School

Lydia Chichmanova

The W. I. L. P. F. will hold this year a summer school in Bulgaria. where a section of the League has existed since 1919 under the presidency of Mme Karaveloff, whose untiring public work during a period of fifty years was celebrated last fall. Several university professors and well-known people of Sofia have promised to speak at the school and the Section ventures to hope that the course, the subject of which is "Towards a New World" will be very instructive.

The final program of the summer school has not yet been drawn up but in a general way it has been mapped out. The school will take place from August 20th to September 5th in Sofia. Lectures and reports will be given in the forenoon while the afternoon will be devoted to informal talks and sightseeing. The surroundings of Sofia afford a rich opportunity for excursions. The city lies at the foot of the Witoscha monutain range on whose slopes lie many picturesque villages. There is wooded Kniazewo with its cold mineral springs; not far off Gorna Bania with hot mineral springs; Bojana with tis historic old chapel and interesting frescoes dating from the fourteenth century

At the close of the summer school if there are enough applicants, two journeys will be arranged into the interior of the country. One towards the south west and the Rila mountains in whose woody gorges lies the oldest historic monument of the Balkans. That is the famous Rila monastery which was founded in the tenth century by a pious monk. The Bulgarian kings made rich gifts to it in the 12th and 14th centuries....

The second journey will be towards the east, to the old capitals of Tornowo and Preslaw, near which in-

Control of the same of the

teresting excavations have been made, disclosing the civilisation and art of Bulgaria a thousand years ago.....

From Preslaw-Tornowo, those who wish can reach Varna on the Black Sea, or can cross the Balkans to Bourgas, a port on the Black Sea in South Bulgaria and from there take the sea voyage to Constantinople. The low rate of exchange makes life quite cheap for foreigners who come from countries with a higher rate of exchange. It is reckoned students will be able to get board and lodging from about five Swiss francs a day up.

For information write Mme Karaveloff, 10 rue Angel Kantcheff, Sofia.

#### W. I. L. Opium Conference

Successful conferences on the opium problem have been held this winter by the W. I. L. P. F. in England, France, Germany, and Holland. There is to be a culminating International Conference on Opium in Geneva on April 28th and 29th at the Salle de l'Athénée and a mass meeting on the evening of the 29th at Plainpalais.

At this conference the world wide nature of the problem will be studied. Beside a general report on the situation there will be reports from different contries as follows; Edith Pye for Great Britain; Camille Drevet, France; Lida Gustava Heymann, Germany; Dr. Milos Popovic, Jugoslavia; C. Ramond-Hirschmann, Holland; Shen Pen-chiang, China; Tarni P. Sinha, India; with other speakers from Bulgaria, Egypt, Japan, Persia and the United States. For full information apply to Mary Sheepshanks, 12 rue de Vieux College, Geneva.

#### LA RESIDENZA

LAIGUEGLIA, RIVIERA, ITALY

Food Reform Pension. Beautifully situated, Overlooking Mediterranean, terraced garden, Olive groves - Safe bathing - Terms moderate

## LA VILLA An International School

ESTABLISHED IN 1840 DIRECTOR Dr M. AUCKENTHALER

#### 57, Av. d'Ouchy Ouchy-Lausanne (Switzerland)

"La Villa" is a boarding school for boys from 9 to 18 years of age. It takes, students from all nations. Commerce and languages are taught. It prepares for college entrance examinations and for admittance to the Unita versities. There is provision for all kinds of sports. The school has a house at Grindelwald (altitude 3150 ft.), where the students go for winter sports. "La Villa" puts its students in touch with International affairs and gives them a wide outlook on life.

## Quo 🛧 vadis?

## Bookshop and Lending Library

#### Rue de l'Université, 7 Geneva (Switzerland)

DIRECTRESS: MISS JOSEPHINE STOREY

Quo Vadis works for peace through understanding. It is not a commercial enterprise, but a dedication. - Quo Vadis specializes in books from all lands dealing with religion, mysticism, philosophy and sociology. - The bookshop carries English and Esperanto books while the circulating library has books in English, French and German. This is to invite you to visit Quo Vadis when you next come to Geneva.

## FELLOWSHIP SCHOOL

An International Quaker school Gland (Switzerland)

DIRECTRESS : MISS EMMA THOMAS

A school for children from 4 to 17 years of age. Vegetarian. Co-educational. Cooperative.

#### ADVERTISEMENTS

Pax now takes advertisements. The paper has a circulation of 15,000 copies a month and is printed in three languages, English, French and German and goes to 49 Countries. For terms write the editor:

MADELEINE Z. DOTY Rue du Vieux-Collège, 12 - Geneva

#### Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Jane Addams, Honorary President

International Headquarters, 12, rue du Vieux-Collège, Geneva Secretary: MARY SHEEPSHANKS. WHAT THE W. I. L. P. F. STANDS FOR:

It aims at uniting women in all countries who are opposed to every kind of war, exploitation and oppression, and who work for universal disarmament and for the solution of conflicts by the recognition of human solidarity, by conciliation and arbitration, by world co-operation, and by the establishment of social, political and economic justice for all, without distinction of sex, race, class

or creed.

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

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





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