

The life of European civilization will depend on whether a wiser and more instructed spirit prevails now than before the experience of the Great War; if it does not, our present civilization will perish.
Viscount Gréy.



Nations rejoice in the fact that they have the courage to fight each other? When will the time come that they have the courage to trust each other?
President Coolidge.

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DANGER SPOTS TO WATCH

British Military in China.

Contingents of infantry, artillery and air force have been dispatched to China and some estimates declare that the British forces that have been sent total 20,000 in addition to the forces already at Shanghai. Sir Austen Chamberlain says that they are only for protection against mobs. The effect of sending these military forces has been to prevent the signature by the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Chen, of the memorandum drawn up by him and the English representative, Mr. Owen O'Malley. Mr. Chen said he could not sign the agreement as long as the British troops were concentrating on Shanghai: this he said would be to sign under duress. As this goes to press word has come that Mr. Chen has signed the agreement with the British.

American Military in China.

The U.S. have been much more secret in their dealing with China, but they, too have sent increased military. They have sent the Chaumont, a transport at San Diego, loaded to the scuppers with U.S. marines. It was announced that the Chaumont was sailing for "a secret destination in the Orient", but we all know what that means. Everywhere on recruiting boards in the U.S. is the sign: "Wanted Marines for service in China."

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Please let us know at once how many copies of the full Dublin Congress Report in English you wish. Price is 85 cents or 3/6. Also how many copies do you wish of each of the three pamphlets on Arbitration, Imperialism, Minorities. These pamphlets are composed of material taken from the full Congress Report. Price of each pamphlet is 20 cents or 1/0.

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England's Wounded.

There are still 6000 wounded soldiers in English insane asylums and 4000 more are suffering from epilepsy. During the war 57,000 men got tuberculosis and since then 20,000 of them have died. There are about 2000 blind men as a result of the war and even more who are suffering from spinal trouble and will never be able to leave their beds. There are still 9000 former soldiers in the English hospitals.

War Debts.

An analysis has been made of the expenditure of Great Britain on past, present and future wars. The debt analysed in a simple way shows that for every £1, 14/7 is spent on past, present and future wars. Only the remaining 5/5 is left for home needs.

The militarists are usually silent about the cost of past wars. In Great Britain's case, war pensions and the interest on war debt amounts to 11/6, while the present cost of army, navy and air force is 3/1, thus the total is 14/7. With the remaining 5 shillings and 5 pence the Government attempts to cover home needs. That is to provide for education, unemployment doles, insurance, land settlement, health services, etc.

(No More War Bulletin, February.)

GLAD TIDINGS FOR PACIFISTS

Bills to Abolish War.

There are two bills now before the U.S. Congress either one of which would outlaw war.

One is Senator Borah's which he introduced himself and which provides for "outlawing war between nations" and making war a crime. But Senator Borah's bill does not do away with the

U.S. army and navy or prohibit defensive war.

The other bill introduced by the Women's Peace Union of the Western Hemisphere is a Constitutional Amendment and provides that "war for any purpose shall be illegal". If this amendment were passed it would abolish the army and the navy and put an end to military force for any purpose. There has lately been a hearing on this latter bill before a committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Women from different parts of the U.S. came and spoke, and Senator Frasier, who introduced the bill originally into the Senate, said he had letters from all over the world supporting it.

U.S. Senate Votes to Arbitrate.

A resolution was introduced into the Senate the end of January by Senator Robinson to arbitrate the difference between the United States and Mexico. The resolution was passed by a unanimous vote of 79-0. It is the first time in the memory of the veteran Senators that the Senate agreed without a dissenting vote. This was undoubtedly due to the fact that the Senate felt that public opinion was strongly opposed to aggression in Mexico, and this public opinion against aggression was most certainly the work of the peace societies.

Japanese Admiral for Disarmament.

Admiral Kabayama, who has just resigned his post, states in the Tokyo "Times" that he is in favor of complete abolition of all dreadnoughts and submarines and favors decrease in the number of other war ships and the abolition of army planes. In his opinion, in spite of the progress Japan has made in education, industry and administration, she will be ruined if she does not give up rivalry in armaments.

Arm-Bands instead of Firearms.

The Germans in Hankow, China, are wearing arm-bands to show their nationality. The reason is this: Under the Versailles Treaty, they were deprived of the rights other Europeans enjoy, but without rights they prospered. Without gunboats or garrisoned concessions, without lurid police or foreign judges, German merchants have been immune from the boycotts which have struck the trade of other Europeans; and now while other merchants in Hankow must camp for safety in the yard of a big factory, the Germans go about their business secure in the possession of an arm-band which informs the Chinese who meet them that they trade without gunboats. (War Resisters' Bulletin.)

JANE ADDAMS HONORED

On January 20th, one of the largest banquets ever given in Chicago to a Chicagoan was tendered Jane Addams. The dinner was presided over by Julia Lathrop and addressed by the Mayor of Chicago, William E. Dever, William Allen White, Professor Merriman, and many other notables all of whom paid tribute to Jane Addams, "the founder of Hull House and the President of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom". There were 1400 people at the banquet. Places were sold out a week before hand and there were 5000 requests for tickets. The enthusiasm and emotion were intense and everyone spontaneously rose and clapped when Jane Addams entered the room.

Though the reason why the dinner was given at this time is not stated, it was probably as a vigorous protest to the attacks made a short while ago against Miss Addams by the American Legion. One of the members of that military organization had denounced her work for peace as "selling out America to international schemers".

What men and women all over America really felt for Miss Addams was testified at this dinner. There was a letter from the President of the United States to the presiding officer which read in part as follows:

"Her work at Hull House during the last twenty-five years of benevolence and charity has been a great contribution to the public welfare. It has set an example which has been an inspiration to well doing all over the country. It was but a short time ago that Miss Addams called at my office, when I was very much impressed by the fact that she had given her life and strength to the service of humanity.

"I trust that the testimonial of affection and regard which you are about to offer her may give her renewed strength and courage to carry on her work of peace and good will."

When William Allen White rose to speak, he said:

"This occasion is a tribute of love to America's most useful citizen."

And the Mayor of Chicago, when his turn came, said:

"I bring with me the respect and admiration of the municipality... Jane Addams has done more to promote the real welfare of Chicago than all our political organizations. She has been Chicago's first citizen and I think the first citizen of this great republic."

Professor Merriman began his remarks by saying that on the way to the dinner Jane Addams had buttonholed him and asked him not to talk about her and he had promised not to. Professor Merriman kept his word by not using Jane Addams' name but alluding to her much to the delight of everyone as "this person". He said:

"We must recognize in this person an outstanding figure in constructive political movements, local, state, national and international, quiet but effective, whether in dealings with city councils or with some great capital across the sea. She dared protest against the ways and works of militarism, and paid the price in full. More than any woman in America she has caught the spirit of the brooding mother who is concerned

with political and social relations, and hovers with gentle sympathy over the troubled scene of poverty and weakness and arrogance and crime and hate and force. She is a guiding-woman in a man-made world, a statesman without a portfolio, a professor without a chair."

At the end of the speeches Jane Addams rose and protested at so much praise. She said she was only "a humble occasion for the barrage of goodwill sent from the speakers' table!"

STOP MANUFACTURE OF POISON GAS

Emily Green Balch

The protocol against the use of poison gas is now up before the U.S. Senate. The situation is this: In 1922 at Washington the U.S., Great Britain, Italy and Japan agreed to a resolution prohibiting the use of poison gas in war time. In June 1925 the League of Nations at Geneva drew up a protocol against the use of poison gas which was signed by 44 countries. At the time a U.S. representative spoke ardently in favor of the protocol. Now the protocol is before the U.S. Senate for ratification and stands in great danger of defeat. There are persons who defend the use of poison gas as humane.

A writer to the N. Y. Times, Ernest McCullough says:

"The chief object of fighting is not to kill. The creation of casualties is of far greater importance... Morale is hurt by the sight of suffering men waiting for ambulances. Ambulances choke the roads needed by advancing troops and munition trains... Each dead man is one man removed from the ranks of fighters, but a casualty means several men out of the fighting... Warfare gas is the cheapest form of munition. It creates casualties by the wholesale."

It is obviously more vital to prevent wars than to modify methods of fighting. Nevertheless the effort of the nations to stop the use of poison gas in case of war is immensely important. To permit it would enlist vast financial interests in each country on the side of war and the preparation for war, and so make it harder to prevent war. It would lead Governments to concentrate on a form of fighting which unlike others is never a means of self-defense but wholly a means of attack. It would mean the development of those weapons which are most easily used against massed populations of helpless people and which are more cruel to the weak than to the strong and in particular cruel to children just in proportion as they are smaller and more sensitive.

To turn down the agreement not to use poison gas, which is now before the Senate would be, furthermore, an act of national self-stultification. It would be the repudiation of the commitments of our own Government at the Washington Conference in 1924 when we were a leader among nations. It would mean repudiating the very provision in the Geneva draft agreement which was inserted on the initiative of the United States representative at the conference, Senator Burton, and which was hailed at the

time as a great triumph for the United States. It means branding our own country in the eyes of the world as one on which no one can rely because it says a thing through chosen and authorized spokesmen and officials and unsays it through the Senate. Above all it means making us appear as people who talk a great deal about good-will and humanitarianism and who act solely as money-making considerations may dictate.

Anyone who really knows Americans knows what an untrue picture of us this is, but the unpleasant fact remains that if the agreement not to use poison gas is thrown into the discard it will be as the result of a campaign of propaganda which is being conducted by organizations whose members are largely financially interested in the profits to be made by preparation for chemical warfare. These points bear thinking of.

A VISIT TO MAHATMA GANDHI

Anna Rochester (U.S.)

We saw Mahatma Gandhi at the little town of Bettiah in northern Bihar. Ever since the Indian National Congress at Gauhati he has been speaking in villages and towns throughout northeastern India. He feels the urgency of the Hindu-Moslem conflict, always serious and rendered far more tense by the murder at Delhi a few weeks ago of the Hindu, Swami Shradannand. Intercommunal goodwill, the removal of untouchability, and the building up of home spinning have been his chief points of emphasis.

Our talk with Mahatmaji was in the late afternoon between his return from a motor trip of several hours to villages away from the railroad and his address to a great mass meeting of twelve thousand men on the open green at Bettiah. We were taken to the Ashram of the local Congress Committee and ushered into a stone room pleasantly bare, with an inner alcove raised three steps above the entrance. Mrs. Gandhi was preparing a simple evening meal and as we talked together Mahatmaji took the warm milk, raisins and sliced oranges, for time was short before the meeting and he does not take food after sunset.

We were especially interested in his searching analysis of the spirit and temper of non-violent resistance. It seems that Gandhi has turned to the campaign for the removal of untouchability not as a substitute for political interest but as a necessary preparation for renewing mass resistance. Until Indians become sensitive to the sufferings of the untouchables and break down the intolerable barriers within their own society he does not consider that they are spiritually ready to practise non-violent resistance. "When I am proud, or ruffled, I am essentially violent." And the quiet building up of a generous, well-disciplined spirit seemed to be, in Gandhi's opinion, one of the next most immediate tasks for pacifists.

We asked Mahatmaji whether he thought this spirit and temper could be developed apart from a religious basis. "That depends", he said, "on your definition of religion. For me personally, religion includes belief in God, but I count as religion any action undertaken in the service of Truth. And only in this broader sense would I say that a religious basis is essential for building up the life of non-violent resistance."

Le Jeu de l'Amour et de la Mort

Romain Rolland

This absorbing play of Romain Rolland now being played in Geneva, is causing great interest for this story of the French Revolution is the story of all revolutions. And today everywhere there is ferment and revolution. To pacifists the lesson of the play is easy to read. It is that the best cause won with violence brings tragedy.

It is an early day in spring during the French Revolution. Several friends have gathered at Madame Courvoisier's. They are enjoying the sunshine in the garden, trying to get joy out of life. Each one fears the future, that it may be his turn next for the guillotine. No one dares trust the other. Madame Courvoisier's husband is a famous scientist and a member of the Assembly. These facts have protected them so far. But now in the midst of the forced gaiety comes a knock on the door, and a man stumbles in and drops to the floor, exhausted. It is Claude Vallée, a Girondist, who has been judged a "proscrit". When Sophie Courvoisier sees who it is she rushes to Vallée's aid and it is plain that she loves him. Meanwhile her friends disappear, afraid to remain in the house with a "proscrit" and when she asks for help with Vallée there is none to respond.

Vallée, Don't you know I am dangerous for all who come near me?... Wherever I go, fear goes with me... For five months I have been wandering all over France, shut out of all houses. There were seven of us proscrits... We knocked at the doors of thirty friends. None of them let us in. The shadow of the guillotine hangs over us... I decided to come to Paris. My friends thought me crazy... But it was no longer a question of living but of seeing you.

When Sophie realizes Vallée loves her, she avows her love. Vallée wants to plan an escape with Sophie. But she protests, and speaks of her husband, says he is old and needs her, believes in her and she would be guilty to leave him. While they are discussing, stumbling steps are heard on the stairs. Sophie pushes Vallée into the adjoining room and as she does so Jérôme Courvoisier staggers in. He can hardly speak. He drops into a chair by the table and buries his head in his hands.

SOPHIE. — Jérôme! What's the matter? You are suffering! What has happened?... Where have you come from? JEROME. — The Convention...

SOPHIE. — What has happened? What new violence? Surely there is nothing that can surprise you? You know what men are.

JEROME. — They are no longer men! They are a herd of cattle, servile and cruel. All the worst and most ferocious instincts are uppermost... Six months ago the passions of opposite parties thundered like waves in that hall: the Girondins and the Montagnards like two attacking troops combated each other... Today it is a tomb... The motionless people tremble in ghastly expectation... Nobody knows whether his life will be demanded...

SOPHIE. — Be calm! Tell me what happened. I will try to understand... There were new proscriptions?... But against whom? They've already struck down all their enemies...

JEROME. — ...After killing all who were against the Republic they are killing the Republic. This morning at six o'clock they arrested —

SOPHIE. — Whom?

JEROME. — Danton. — We were not

friends. I didn't like the man. I was disgusted by his mad violence, his frenzy, his base instincts and his cunning... But who can forget the great service that his glorious daring rendered the Republic?... When the news came that he had been arrested, everyone was stunned. We all felt he was sacred, inviolable... There were few who had not personally experienced his rough kindness... The crowd gasped in horror and was silent. And I too kept silent.

Finally, one member of his clan... instinctively made a gesture... It was Legendre, a vulgar man... Fear gave him strength. He spoke; yelling, to give himself courage, he demanded liberty for Danton. Most of the crowd reassured by his cry, began to support him with murmurs. Some even dared applaud...

But suddenly, Robespierre entered. Hearts almost stopped... Once again there was silence... Legendre saw Robespierre. Carried away by emotion he continued... Then he lost himself, stopped, stuttered; struck the tribune with his fist, and then plunged on. Slowly Robespierre mounted the tribune... In his colorless voice he read the order of arrest drawn up the night before by the three Committees. He spoke vaguely of a great conspiracy. He congratulated the "powerful Senate" on having "rid itself of those base members who had betrayed the cause." And then brusquely, his voice becoming threatening, he turned towards Legendre who was crouching behind someone and... invoked the law against all... traitors... Then Legendre's cry rose again. But this time the dog had only one thought... to gain pardon by licking the foot that kicked him. Convulsively he excused himself... He protested he was eager to hand over his friend or his brother if they were criminals... All the while no one dared to stretch out a hand to help him and the silent menace of Robespierre did not lessen as he watched the drowning man...

Then one of the Assembly congratulated the Committees for their vigilance in having unearthed a new conspiracy. And people in different parts of the room agreed. But Robespierre... was not satisfied... He wished the Convention... to ratify the execution of Danton.

SOPHIE. — And you voted for it!

JEROME. — They all voted for it. They all rushed towards the Tribune... And Legendre voted, Legendre sold his master. There were five or six of us that looked on heartsick. Each one of us waited his turn to vote... When my turn came I got up and went away... I was near the door. They called my name... There was someone, I don't know whom, at the door. I pushed him away and went out. When I was in the street I became dizzy and almost fell. A passer-by who saw me totter, took my arm and took me into a café and made me drink. Then I gathered myself together... and came home. I should have liked to sink into the ground... I felt such contempt for myself and for all men. Humanity, Reason, Liberty, all is made ridiculous... What have I accomplished?...

SOPHIE. — Jérôme, my dear, dear hus-

band. Don't give way! I understand, I sympathise. I suffer all that you have undergone. I don't want you to lose your faith — our faith.

JEROME. — Our faith?

SOPHIE. — It is my faith, too. It is true men are base and cruel and deceitful. We know what monsters there are in ourselves... But it is because we know this that we began this Revolution, to free men and raise them. We didn't deceive ourselves as to the difficulties or the dangers. Our mistake was in thinking the battle could be won so soon... We shall never see the Promised Land. But is it not a great deal to know where it is and to show the way? My dear, you can find refuge from the awful things that oppress you in your personal work, your researches, your discoveries, all the realm of Science which is above the follies and wickedness of men and which, whether they wish it or not will set them free.

JEROME. — Ah! that does me good! To have those thoughts from your mouth. What faith! My lost faith comes back to me through you, my wife, You love me then? I thought perhaps...

But Sophie cannot tell her husband she loves him. He sees her doubt, her hesitancy, but he also sees solicitude for him. He confesses that he has become a suspect, that he is watched by one of their friends, Bayot. When Sophie hears the name she realizes with consternation that Bayot was in the room when Vallée arrived. She tells her husband about Vallée and fetches him. As they talk there is a noise in the street, they hurry to the window, neighboring houses are being searched, soon it will be their turn. In the excitement Courvoisier learns of the love between his wife and Vallée, and determines to give his life to save them. He tells Sophie to hide Vallée in a secret place in the wall, then he awaits the searchers. The searchers are a ragged lot, wearing on their heads the red handkerchief of the Revolution. They overturn furniture and destroy works of art. They do not find Vallée but arrest Courvoisier. Just at that moment Lazare Carnot of the Committee of Public Safety enters. He orders the searchers to release Courvoisier and to get out. Carnot then tells Courvoisier that through Bayot he knows all, knows that Vallée is concealed in the house, but Carnot has not come for that reason. Vallée can be put out and caught somewhere else. What Carnot wants is to talk about Courvoisier's conduct.

CARNOT. — You know you are under suspicion. It's not only your actions today. Your uncertain attitude for several months, your silent disapproval of the actions of the Committee... have shown you to be an enemy... There has just been a violent scene. The majority wants to have an end of this silent resistance which is more pernicious than open resistance. We give you this choice: either you can take a firm stand for the new decrees, against the exiles, or you can join them...

JEROME. — I refuse. I will keep silent no longer... I will speak out against the proscriptions and against the dictatorship of blood.

Le Jeu de l'Amour et de la Mort (Continued).

CARNOT. — Fool! Don't you see that we can't at this moment break up the Committee without ruining our handiwork — the Republic?... We must sacrifice the present to the future.

JEROME. — If we sacrifice truth, love, all human virtues and self-respect to the future, we shall sacrifice the future itself. Justice does not grow in rotten ground.

CARNOT. — Let us speak frankly, Courvoisier! We are both men of science. We know the inexorableness of nature's laws. Nature is not sentimental. And she tramples man's virtues under-foot in order to gain her ends. Virtue is the end. I wish the end. No matter what price I must pay.... I am disgusted with violence.... But I don't think I can refuse and back out, because I have soiled my hands. I think of the object of the battle we are waging. Human progress is worth a little nastiness — if necessary a few crimes.

JEROME. — I understand you Carnot. I don't condemn your lack of pity. As you said science has no pity. And like you, I mistrust sentimentality. But I also mistrust metaphysics.... I am too much a man of science to believe without reserve in our hypothesis.... I could never raise an alter to a god who is fed by blood sacrifices. There is nothing

sacred for me but life, the life of today.

CARNOT. — And you will give up your life?

JEROME. — Mine is not lost if it opposes to a vile age of tyranny and cowardice, an example of a free soul.

CARNOT. I care nothing for your soul! But I care a great deal for your life. We must have your work and your genius.... You are only thinking of yourself in sacrificing yourself! I, too, am ready, as far as I myself go. But I am not ready for you. I cannot be resigned. Courvoisier! In the name of our mutual esteem and of the community of work that binds us — accept the conditions of safety I bring you.

JEROME. — I cannot.

CARNOT. — Theorist! Blockhead! (He waits a moment, then takes a few steps towards Jerome handing him some papers.) There, take these! Do not let yourself be taken, you will never be forgiven.

After thrusting the papers in Courvoisier's hands Carnot leaves. The papers are passports which will take the bearer out of the country and out of danger. Sophie comes in and her husband tells her that he knows of her love for Vallée and understands. He says she and Vallée must leave at once, that he has passports for them. But Sophie is not

deceived. She realizes suddenly that Carnot's passports are for her husband and herself and that Courvoisier's life is in danger. She is overcome by his goodness and her old feeling for him returns. Meantime Vallée has come in. Courvoisier give him his passport but as he does this Sophie burns her own. She refuses to leave her husband but urges Vallée to go. At first he refuses. Then Courvoisier pictures the guillotine and Vallée, shaken with terror, leaves. Courvoisier and his wife are left alone to await their arrest and certain death.

SOPHIE. — I feel my mind at ease. No more decisions to make, no more struggles to be carried on.... My dear, good husband, who sacrifices himself for me so simply!

JEROME. — There is no sacrifice in desiring the happiness of the person one loves.

SOPHIE. — I am happy now.... Blessed be the hour that has helped us to find each other and ourselves again!

JEROME. — Listen! They are coming up the stairs.

SOPHIE. — If only we were leaving a child! Why is life given to us?

JEROME. — To conquer it.

SOPHIE. — To conquer. Farewell, my dear.

The door bursts open and the mob enters.

WORK OF THE W. I. L. NATIONAL SECTIONS

Austrian Section

Last month we published in "Pax" a Manifesto issued jointly by the German Section and the Political Group of the Austrian Section. This Manifesto dealt with the question of the union of Germany and Austria and was strongly against such a union. But it seems there is more than one opinion in the matter. The Social Group does not at all agree with the Political Group. In justice to both groups we wish to publish the opinions of both.

Social Group

A letter has been received from Dr. Christine Tonailon, the Vice President of the Social Group, who writes in regard to the above mentioned Manifesto, as follows:

"The Manifesto caused great indignation in Vienna and the Austrian provinces on account of its antagonism to the union of Austria with Germany... for a large majority of the Austrians are in favor of a union. Nearly all the newspapers except the monarchist ones met the Manifesto with disdain and criticism, the strongest displeasure being aroused by the passages which depreciated German character and culture as compared with that of Austria. Even from our own members we received letters of protest and even resignation from membership. Knowing the general trend of opinion and that the larger part of our group approved the union, we refused to sanction this Manifesto of the Political Group. We were all the more astonished therefore to find ourselves identified with the Political Group. We understood this when we had carefully read the Manifesto which said: 'Declaration of the Austrian and German Sections of the W.I.L.' Only at the end were the words 'Political Group' added. At best only those who read the Manifesto through, or those with intimate knowledge of the circumstances of two groups of the W.I.L. in Austria were likely to observe that the Social Group had not given their signatures.

We agree that the Political Group should have unlimited freedom in the expression of its opinion but we protest at the manner in which it was done so that the opinions of the Political Group could be taken for those of the Social Group....

Almost all the women's organizations of Austria have protested against the W.I.L. because of this affair and our whole League has suffered exceedingly and it will take long to regain our reputation so grievously hurt by this declaration."

Political Group

Olga Misar, speaking for the Political Group, says in an article in the February "Frau im Staat" in regard to the Manifesto:

"We have had a discouraging experience in the attitude taken by the papers, politicians and some groups of women in regard to the Manifesto.

"We were prepared for there being some people who would not agree with us, indeed that many people would be violently opposed, but we did expect more understanding and more independent judgement from the women....

"Almost all the individuals whom we talked to alone said they were against the union and it seemed to be only lack of self-confidence or indifference that

prevented them from opposing public opinion.

"I myself have often had the experience in speaking at meetings of finding that when I spoke against the union the crowd seemed to be relieved and agreed with me heartily. So I began to ask myself where all the friends of the union were. And I became more and more convinced that there was a great misconception as to the real feeling of the people....

"But we have found everyone united against us... No Viennese paper printed our Manifesto but almost all of them printed the protests against it....

"We were disappointed by the women not because they had different opinions from ours but because we had the impression that some of them were influenced by nationalistic prejudices, that many of them were merely agreeing officially with the general public opinion while others had neither the insight nor the courage to form independent opinions....

"It is most essential that not only revolutionary groups, but women, too, learn to speak their real opinion honestly and courageously so that a new direction may be given to politics and a new world order created. Our whole work and the hope of the future lies in our breaking away from tradition, prejudices and fear of authority, and in going our own way. For that reason it was such a great disappointment to see that many people who should be farther advanced, were still sticking in the mud."

Czecho-Slovakian Section

This group has also protested at the Manifesto against the union of Germany and Austria. They say:

"It has had a bad effect on our work. This is increased by the heading of the Manifesto: German and Austrian Sections. It only appears at the bottom of the Manifesto that it is the Political Group alone in Austria which has signed it."

Austrian Women's Clubs

The Bund Oesterreichischer Frauenvereine requests that we publish the following statement:

The Austrian and the German Sections of the W.I.L. declared in a manifesto that the "interests of German culture forbid" the union of Austria with Germany. The Bund Oesterreichischer Frauenvereine is not a political organization and therefore will not take a stand either for or against the Union. We must, however, state that this manifesto on the question of the Union is contrary to the almost unanimous opinion of Austrian women. From the point of view of the reconciliation of the peoples we oppose the untenable statement that the idea of the Union was created by the propaganda of political parties and chauvinists. But we most strongly condemn the statement that culture, individuality and character are lacking in Germany. Austrian culture is the result of having for a thousand years formed a part of the German nation and it would gain quite as much as it would give by being reunited to the Mother country of the north.

Herta Sprung, President: Margarete Minor, Ernestine Fürth, Gisela Urban, Marie Hoheisel.

Irish Section

This Section recently called a Conference of the League of Nations Society and kindred organizations with a view to discussing the position of the Irish Free

State in the matter of Defence, as defined in the Imperial Conference.

On February 18 a deputation from our Committee waited upon the Minister for External Affairs with reference to the situation in China. They asked that the Minister should make it clear that the Irish Free State dissociated itself as completely as possible from any responsibility for or sympathy with the British policy. The Minister in reply spoke of the present negotiations taking place in China and expressed great hope of their success.

A lecture was given on February 12th by one of our members on the subject of birth control, members only being present. Some of our Committee feel strongly that this subject is inextricably linked up with questions of war and peace, as well as health and economic progress, and are of the opinion that the attention of our Section might with advantage be given to its consideration.

Just as we go to press, a deputation has requested a hearing from the Minister of Justice to protest against the recent introduction of a bill to deprive the women in Saorstát Eireann of the right to serve on juries.

British Section

The following resolution on China was passed by the Executive Committee of the British Section on February 8th, 1927:

"The Women's International League recognises that the Christmas Manifesto of the British Government constituted an important step towards direct negotiation with the Chinese Nationalists and welcomes the fact that such negotiations are now proceeding.

It expresses the hope that Great Britain will pursue the policy of restoring to the Chinese complete control of their own laws and finances, whatever may be done by any other Power.

It should be the policy of the British Government to negotiate an agreement with the Chinese forces by which the Foreign Settlement in Shanghai should be spared in the civil conflict. The dispatch of extensive British forces is prejudicing such an Agreement and we urge the Government to recall them."

British and U. S. Sections

The U.S. Section has been in correspondence with the British Section in regard to a joint arbitration campaign. The U.S. Section had prepared a model arbitration treaty which it has sent to the British Section, and the sections in both countries are working for All-in-Arbitration treaties between the two countries. The British Section has passed the following resolution:

"Resolved that a campaign be prepared to bring pressure on the Government to express willingness to consider 'All-in-Arbitration Treaties with any countries willing to conclude them.

"And that in response to proposals received from pacifist organizations in the U.S.A., as preparatory work for such a campaign, the following should be undertaken immediately:

- (a) pamphlet and bibliography on Arbitration Treaties, with special reference to abortive Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty of 1893, and American and British attitude at The Hague Conference.
- (b) a popular leaflet, with special reference to U.S.A.
- (c) a draft Treaty providing for All-in-Arbitration, suitable for negotiation between Great Britain and any other country."

German Politics and the Reichstag Elections.

Lida Gustava Heymann

The following article by Lida Heymann was printed in the February "Frau im Staat" and is an appeal to the German people, whom she addresses under the popular title of Michael, to concentrate on the German elections for 1928.

Politically there can scarcely be two peoples who are more diametrically opposed to each other than the German and the English. This difference can be summed up in a few words: In England, constitution and laws limp on behind the people who compel the Parliament and the legislation to catch up; when this is accomplished the laws and the constitution are strictly obeyed by both Government and people. Laws and regulations are holy and woe unto to him who does not follow them. In Germany the people limp along miles behind their constitution. It is no trite saying that the German Republic has one of the most liberal constitutions. But of what use is the most liberal of constitutions if it is only a scrap of paper, and if it is treated by the Government, Parliament and state officials as merely this. Of what use is it if the majority of the people have not enough political and legal wisdom and independent consciousness to use it, and if they — from whom, according to the constitution, all power emanates — allow the constitution to be continually violated and look on tranquilly, their political night-caps pulled over their ears, without protesting. But even more to be blamed than the mass of the people is the German Reichstag. As composed today it lacks power, it is dead, unfit to take responsibility and act in critical moments. It side-steps the issue, as at the time of the law investing it with absolute power in 1925, or adjourns as at the time of the crisis in December 1926, when Christmas was coming and even big political children had to celebrate. And then when the Government by itself or with the leaders of some of the factions has struck a bargain behind the scenes and has had its festivities, the

Reichstag meets again, the majority of the representatives slide contentedly into their seats, take note of the result and ratify it by a formal vote.

The Reichstag more and more forfeits the respect of thinking politicians and German Republicans. Every year it seems more a place of idle chatter. Serious work is certainly done in the Reichstag Commissions, but the plenary meetings are steadily sinking to the level of a mass meeting. Too often the speakers merely resemble those at patriotic celebrations... What causes this low standard? The majority of the men who sit in the Reichstag today make a business of their office. The extreme Right openly admits that they enjoy getting free tickets to travel around the country, and their sustenance. Many of the representatives have been sitting there for years: the seat is comfortable. They make a good living without effort, so they stay. They never criticize themselves and don't notice when old age, ill health or general inability makes them unsuitable; they stick until death calls them away. And the voters are stupid enough to renew their sinecures.

There will be new elections in 1928, unless the Reichstag is dissolved before then and the Right know how to prevent this for they fear losing their seats. If the Assembly of the Reichstag is to regain respect there must be a general house-cleaning when the new elections take place so that the position of representatives may no longer provide a livelihood for mediocre officials.

If the Assembly is made up of men who realize their duties and have some degree of common sense, who have a certain amount of culture and some political knowledge, the whole level will immediately be raised. It will then be

impossible for speakers to give stupid, banal, chauvinistic orations, simply because there will be no audience who will listen to such stuff. In the long run it is the majority of the representatives and not the leaders who make decisions. It is they who set the level of the negotiations.

To a certain extent the same thing is true of politics as of art. If the audience appreciates art, the standard of the art is higher; the artists strive for excellence. A house of representatives where there is political maturity and a sense of responsibility cannot be treated by the Government as school boys who can be dismissed at will.

Wake up, German Michael! Wake up! Voters, don't sleep away the time! Get to work now and prepare for the elections of 1928. Recognize your power and let the parties feel it. It is still uncertain whether the next elections will be carried out by straight party ballots since some influences which cannot be controlled from outside, seem to be delaying the proposed election bill.

But that does not prevent the voters from informing themselves now as to the unfitness of the members of the Reichstag. Out with all senile, useless representatives. A seat is no sinecure. Only severe bleeding can help here. Put in young, active men and women, who take politics seriously and with dignity, who realize their responsibility and who intend to protect the Constitution. So that we can finally achieve a Reichstag in the German Republic which will have power inside the country and will be respected outside.

Michael, you're sleeping again! Wake up before it's too late. Realize that necessity will soon give you the chance of rebuilding the Reichstag.

American Arbitration Campaign

During the past three or four months an active campaign of arbitration has been going on in the United States. This campaign was started by William Floyd, editor of the little paper called "The Arbitrator". He has succeeded in uniting not only the peace forces, the W.I.L., the War Resisters and the Women's Peace Society, etc., but also educational and church groups in this campaign. The purpose of the crusade is to induce the U.S. Government to outlaw war by negotiating all-in-arbitration treaties with every other nation. To accomplish this it is necessary to educate public opinion; so the organizations in the crusade are securing all the publicity they can. They are flooding President Coolidge with letters on the subject and are having experts prepare resolutions and model draft treaties on arbitration. Twenty thousand leaflets describing the aim of the crusade and 25,000 petitions have been distributed. The petitions, when signed, are sent directly to President Coolidge. Every day more people are joining the crusade and sending in money.

Prizes have been offered for the best slogan. One, submitted by Lydia Wentworth, was:

"Banish war from every nation by the use of arbitration."

All sorts of means are used to call attention to this crusade. The other day in New York City a great St. Bernard dog was led up Fifth Avenue with a big sign fixed on his back, which read on one side: "Muzzle the dogs of war, arbitrate with Mexico" and on the other: "I won't fight Mexico. Arbitrate. Law muzzles war."

There is no doubt this arbitration crusade has done much to prevent war with Mexico, and had a great influence on the U.S. Senate which voted for arbitration.

A W.I.L. member in New York writes: "To show you the result of education for peace given by women and the effectiveness of organization let me say that in the recent difficulties with Mexico and Nicaragua, I had three telegrams urging me to wire the President. In no time all the peace forces were mobilized for concrete and constructive action."

Schools and Conferences

W.I.L. Summer School.

Time: Last ten days of August and beginning of September, 1927.

Place: Fellowship School at Gland on Lake Geneva.

Subject: Inter-Racial Problems.

Aim: To study the problems of modern colonization and claims of native populations and to show the latter that their claims are fairly considered by friends prepared to bring pressure to effect reforms.

Auspices: French Section, W.I.L.

Inquiries: Should be sent to Mlle. Yvonne Garreau, 2, rue Gaston-de-Saint-Paul, Paris, XVIIe.

World Conference on New Education.

At Locarno, August 3 to 15 inclusive, the New Education Fellowship will hold its 4th international conference. General subject: The True Meaning of Freedom in Education. Aim: An exchange of views between Europe and America. Details of progressive education on both continents will be given. Lectures: one every evening. Study groups: Every morning under leadership of experts in various departments. Recreation: Afternoons free for excursions, bathing, boating. Exhibitions: 1. Children's Art Work; 2. Educational Apparatus. Information: Miss Clare Soper, 11 Tavistock Square, London W.C.1.

World Church Conference.

The World Conference on Faith and Order will meet at Lausanne from August 3-21, with all churches but the Roman Catholic represented.

Program: 1. The Call to Unity; 2. The Nature of the Church; 3. Church Common Confession of Faith in God; 4. Church Ministry; 5. Sacraments; 6. Unity of Christendom and the place of different churches in it; 7. Suggestions for future work.

Further information may be had through the Secretariat of the Conciliation Committee of Stockholm, P.O. Box 226, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

Children's Peace School.

Inspired by last summer's Peace Camp at Bierville, France, Miss E.M. Gilpin, head of a large school in England, is organising a similar gathering for

children from 12 to 16 years, to be held at Bierville for 2 weeks next summer. She will bring 50 children from England and hopes that families and schools in Germany and France will cooperate to send French and German children. Program: Mornings, Language Study through lessons and games. Afternoons, Excursions. Evenings: Music, Plays. — Information: Address Miss E. M. Gilpin Hall School, Weybridge, England.

League of Nations Conferences

The Council of the League of Nations.

The League of Nations Council will hold its forty-fourth session at Geneva on March 7th. The Agenda is composed as follows: Budgetary and Administration questions; ratification of agreements and conventions concluded under the League; legal position of states which do not pay their contributions; system of the principle of proportional representation in connection with the election of non-permanent members of the Council; mandates; opium; report of special committees on the international traffic in women and children; settlement of Armenian refugees; reports from the Greek and Bulgarian Governments on the refugee scheme; report of Health Committee; the Saar; Danzig; loan for the settlement of Bulgarian refugees; report of the Finance Committee; report of the Economic Committee; the Economic Conference.

Committee of the Council for Disarmament.

The Committee of the Council for Disarmament will meet in Geneva on March 14th and will consider preparations for the Disarmament Conference which will probably meet in the spring of 1928.

International Economic Conference.

The League of Nations International Economic Conference will meet at Geneva on May 4, 1927. On the Agenda are problems connected with the world economic situation, and with commerce, industry and agriculture. The representatives to the Conference will be experts in economic questions. All the States members of the League and all other states of economic importance will be invited to attend.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Jane Addams, International President

International Headquarters 12, rue du Vieux-Collège, Geneva

Secretary: Madeleine Z. Doty

WHAT THE W. I. L. P. F. STANDS FOR:

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

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

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