

"Ethical religion today is grounded in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man... Its great vision and goal is the universal Kingdom of God to be established on earth in which all human relationships are determined by righteousness, truth, and love."



"We believe that war is the repudiation of all these sacred ideals. War denies the Fatherhood of God. War scorns the Brotherhood of Man. Indiscriminate human slaughter is the very essence of war."  
*Bishop W. F. McDowell.*

# PAX INTERNATIONAL

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## CONTENTS

### Current Events.

International Executive meets at Lyon.  
W. I. L. Conference at Honolulu.  
Pan-Pacific Women's Conference,  
Jane Addams.  
W. I. L. Deputation on Disarmament to  
the League of Nation.  
Work at International Headquarters.  
A Busy Month at Geneva.  
Two Public Meetings:  
(1) Kellogg Pact and Disarmament,  
(2) The New China.

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## CURRENT EVENTS

### Disarmament Commission of The League Hilda Clark

The debates in the Commission showed that there is not yet a strong enough popular demand for disarmament to break the traditional policy in which powerful instincts are so strongly entrenched.

The German delegation, supported by the other States which have been compulsorily disarmed and by a few governments of enlightened countries, kept up a steady pressure to demand that the Disarmament Conference should be held next year, whether a preliminary agreement should be achieved or not, as to the general lines of a Disarmament Convention. All they could get was a resolution promising that the Preparatory Commission should in any case be called together again.

The only references to the Russian disarmament proposals were contemptuous and the present attitude of many governments cannot be regarded as encouraging.

More hopeful was the work done on pacific methods for the settlement of disputes. A "General Act" was drawn for this purpose providing for the final settlement of disputes in various ways. It was passed by the Assembly and is open for signature by all States. As soon as two States sign it, it becomes a Convention or Treaty and comes into force between them, without waiting as

so many League Conventions have had to do till a certain number have ratified. This very interesting Treaty deserves most careful study by our W. I. L. Sections who will find it gives them a powerful instrument with which to rally public opinion to insist that our governments shall settle disputes by peaceful means.

### Opium Commission of The League

The Opium discussions in the Fifth Committee of the League this year aroused intense interest.

It was plain in the discussions that the unlimited manufacture of drugs, way beyond the amount needed for medical and scientific requirements, was the cause of the illicit traffic. But though this was so, the Fifth Committee was not presented with a proposal to enquire into the traffic in illicit drugs but only with the British proposal which was "an enquiry into the control of opium smoking in the Far East". To the British proposal the Chinese delegate made response by saying that on March 1st, 1929, the period of grace for opium smokers in China will expire; at the end of that time the deadly practice will be severely repressed. The Chinese delegate said they were in favour of the enquiry proposed by the British with one proviso, that the field of investigation shall not be restricted to the Far East, but extended to all countries, without exception, which either produce or manufacture opium, its derivatives and other drugs.

But Great Britain was not willing to enlarge the scope of enquiry, saying it would be too costly and take too much time and that it could wait until later.

One wonders a little what the British hope to accomplish by merely an enquiry into opium smoking in the Far East. They gave as their reason "the difficulties with which the British Government finds itself confronted in this attempt to carry out the undertaking into which it has entered in The Hague Convention in regard to the suppression of opium smoking."

It seems that in Hong Kong, for instance, a certain amount of opium may be sold and that this is a British Government monopoly. Now this British monopoly is badly interfered with by the illicit traffic in opium.

The British report says "The colony is inundated with smuggled opium which can be bought at a fraction of the price of Government opium." ... "The only

effective method of regaining control of the situation was by drastically reducing the price of Government opium with a view to driving the smugglers off the market." This kind of reasoning is a little like saying "We cannot reform our ways as long as Johnny is so bad."

If this is so the only effect of the enquiry would be to justify Great Britain in continuing its sale of Government opium.

A very interesting proposal for limiting the manufacture of narcotics has been made by Spain which has made it a law in that country.

Spain each year informs the League of the amount of narcotics needed for that country and the firm from which it intends to buy. In this way no other firm is justified in manufacturing narcotics for Spain. It is claimed that if all countries followed this plan, it would be possible to know just the amount of narcotics a given firm had the right to manufacture and that firm could then be restricted to that amount.

### Universal Religious Peace Conference

On September 12th in Geneva there was a gathering of men and women of all sorts of religious faith coming from East and West. There were Buddhists, Christians, Confucianists, Hindus, Jews, Moslems, Parsees, Shintoists and Taoists.

All the delegates who came agreed that concerted religious effort is needed to attain peace.

Hence it was resolved that a world-wide Universal Religious Peace Conference should be held in 1930 "to put in motion the joint spiritual resources of mankind". The Conference is to consist of devoted individuals holding or associated with recognised forms of religious belief. The specific objects are:

(1) To state the highest teachings of each religion of peace and the causes of war.

(2) To record the efforts of religious bodies in furtherance of peace.

(3) To devise means by which men of all religions faiths may work together to remove existing obstacles to peace; to stimulate international co-operation; to secure international justice and thus bring about the brotherhood of men.

(4) To seek opportunities for concerted action among the adherents of all religions against the spirit of violence and strife.

## THE INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE MEETS AT LYON

The Executive of the W. I. L. met at Lyon on September 25th, they were still sitting on the 30th as *Pax* goes to press. There is not space or time to give a full account of proceedings in this issue but next month we will do so.

The meeting was very successful. There were representatives from twelve countries, with a daily attendance of twenty-four members consisting of five Executive members, fourteen Consultative members and four or five visiting members.

The Lyon Branch of the French Section, which numbers a hundred and fifty members and of which Mme Wanner is chairman, had made splendid arrangements. The Sessions of the Committee were held in the Town Hall of the 3rd arrondissement of Lyon, one of the public officials making a little address of welcome to the W. I. L. on the first day.

On the first evening there was a public meeting on Opium at which Gertrude Seymour, a special student of the question, and Monsieur Blanco, formerly of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, spoke, both of them very generously coming over from Geneva for the purpose. Then there were two afternoon teas, and on Friday evening the Lyon Branch gave a reception at their headquarters. On Saturday evening there was a large public meeting at which several members of the International Executive spoke.

The principal subjects discussed by the Executive were the Kellogg Pact, Disarmament, Opium, and plans for the East European Conference, the Gas War Conference and the Congress.

### The Prague Congress

The date of the Congress was finally fixed for August 23rd-27th.

The subject of the Congress is "The Outlawry of War—What Next?" and under this heading, "Disarmament", "Changes in International Relations without Resort to War", "Pacific Settlement of Internal Disputes, Political, Social, and Racial", "Arbitration and Conciliation".

It is hoped that the far away Sections such as Japan, Australia and New Zealand will make a special effort to send delegates. We are hoping that China and India will also send representatives.

We urge every Section to begin now and save their pennies so that their Section may be well represented at the Congress. We want a bigger attendance than ever before.

For questions in regard to accommodations and hospitality write to M<sup>me</sup> Illova, Gregova 6, Prague 12, Czecho-Slovakia.

## THE W. I. L. CONFERENCE AT HONOLULU

An Interim Congress was called by Miss Jane Addams, President of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, for August 20th, 1928, to be held in Honolulu immediately following the Pan-Pacific Women's Conference. This meeting was called because certain members of the W.I.L. in the far East have been unable to attend the Congresses in Europe, but had planned to come to Honolulu for the Pan-Pacific Women's Conference.

The Honolulu Branch of the W. I. L. acted as host and the Community Hall of the Y. W. C. A. was secured as the

meeting-place. The Honolulu Branch has 100 members and about ninety attended the Conference. Miss Jane Addams presided, and in opening the Congress gave a brief history of the W. I. L.

Greetings and reports from the W.I.L. sections in Australia, Japan and the United States were presented at the morning session.

Miss Eleanor M. Moore, Secretary of the W. I. L. in Australia, stated that she attended the W. I. L. Congress at Zurich directly after the war. It took two months to make the trip from Melbourne. She said: "When I entered that hall there was not one person I had seen in my life before, but I had seen a photograph of Miss Addams, and there she was on the platform. From that conference I took back to Australia, 12,000 miles away, the news of the meeting and what was being done on the other side of the world. Ever since there has been an Australian delegate present at each congress of the W. I. L." Miss Moore then spoke about the work being done by the W. I. L. of Australia. She said they hold meetings regularly; send speakers to different places when necessary, send out printed matter, and at present they are taking part with the Society of Friends and other organisations to have a great demonstration on Disarmament Sunday the 11th of November, the tenth anniversary of Armistice Day.

Another speaker from Australia was Mrs. Marion Bryning who brought greetings from the peace societies of Melbourne and Sidney, which have been working for 100 years.

Mrs. H. Inoye, President of the W.I.L. Section of Japan, was next called upon, but as she does not speak English well, she asked to have Mrs. Tsine Gauntlett, Secretary of the Japanese Section, speak in her place. Mrs. Gauntlett told of the work of the W. I. L. in Japan; she said they had a general membership of 500, a board of directors consisting of fifteen ladies which board sends articles to newspapers telling what is done by the W. I. L.; they entertain tourists, which they feel helps considerably, showing them how the Japanese live, and telling them how the people of Japan feel about peace. She stated that they were trying to educate the children, teaching them constructive work as opposed to war and destruction, and that they were trying to change the text books and to teach children that war is not necessary to settle disputes. She said that some books of this character have already been published.

Mrs. Henry Castle, Vice-President of the Los Angeles Branch in California, who has been a member of the W. I. L. for ten years, was then called upon to give an outline of the national work of the United States Section. She said: "After the close of the war very much time was spent by our W. I. L. trying to reduce in every way the friction in our Pan-American relations. Miss Addams went to Mexico, Miss Amy Woods went to the South American countries, Miss Emily Balch and a party visited Haiti by a request of Haitian women; all obtained much authoritative first-hand information..."

"In 1928, the U. S. Section sent a member to Nicaragua with Nevin Sayre, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and

some Quakers, and later as a result of this visit a delegation of the W. I. L. visited the President of the United States and recommended that the President appoint a civilian commission to supervise the elections in Nicaragua, the commission to consist of representatives from the U. S. A. and Latin-American countries. The President, received the W.I.L. delegation most cordially and gave three times the amount of time scheduled to discussing this plan.

Mrs. Castle said that ever since 1923 the United States Section has worked steadily for the Outlawry of War. She said that the United States Section of the W. I. L. is now organised in more than 30 States and in Hawaii, that the day by day work of the United States Sections may be illustrated by telling of the work of the Branch in Los Angeles. Anne Martin organised this branch in March, 1927, and now in August, 1928, the Los Angeles Branch has 300 members; has sponsored 65 public meetings, and 10 public dinners, including one for Miss Addams the night she gave her great public lecture in Los Angeles on her way to Honolulu, when 200 people were turned away from the Patriotic Hall unable to secure even standing room."

Other speakers from the United States were Mrs. Amelia B. Moorfield, State-Chairman of the New Jersey Branch, and Mrs. Anna K. Hulburt, Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Chicago Branch.

After the morning session a luncheon was given by a member to all the delegates.

In the afternoon reports were heard by representatives from the League of Nations Union and the Non-Partisan Association.

Mrs. Denton Leech, a member of the League of Nations Union, New Zealand, made a splendid report on the work of the League there.

Mrs. A. V. Roberts, Justice of the Peace, New South Wales, brought greetings to the W. I. L. and told of some of the shocking difficulties which they had four years ago in working for the League of Nations, but that now there is a splendid spirit for world peace.

Mrs. Bretomarts James of Victoria, Australia, also gave an address on conditions during and immediately after the war.

Miss Florence Tys Jennison, U. S. A., executive secretary of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association of Illinois and a member of the W. I. L., in a fine account on the work of the Non-Partisan Association, said: "The programme of the association has been greatly aided by the reports of the U.S.A. representatives who have served on Commissions of the League of Nations, such as Miss Julia Lathrop, former director of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labour; Miss Grace Abbott, present director; Dr. Alice Hamilton, of the Harvard Medical School; and Edith Abbott, Immigration expert and advisor for the International Labour Office." (All W. I. L. members.)

Miss Addams then expressed the appreciation of the International W. I. L. to the Honolulu Branch for the local arrangements which had made the meeting such a success.

Mrs. W. D. Westerveld, the Chairman of the Honolulu Branch, responded.

# Address To The Pan-Pacific Women's Conference

Jane Addams.

Miss Addams went to Hawaii to serve as chairman of the Pan-Pacific Women's Conference which was held in Honolulu from August 9th-19th. There were delegates from Australia, New Zealand, the United States, China, Japan, the Philippines and Fiji. Directly after this Conference there was an Interim Congress of the W. I. L. at which Miss Addams also presided.

It is rather difficult to explain why women should come together in conference from the wide shores of the Pacific travelling twenty days from the Philippines, and almost as long from Australia and New Zealand, unless we go back somewhat into the variety of cultures such a conference represents and prove the advantage of viva voce intercourse...

Professor Gregory of Honolulu has pointed out that the first diffusion of culture through Eurasia, Africa, and the long looped archipelagos and continental islands of the Pacific was carried on by men who virtually walked all of the way; this was possible because this diffusion occurred before the last glacial period and the small dividing waters might have been crossed on rafts or logs... All this early diffusion of culture on three great continents did not, however, include the Polynesian islands, which were not reached by human beings until much later, after the islands had become widely separated from all of the continents and from each other...

These islands were separated by vast expanses of water, the nearest landing point, for instance, to the Hawaiian Islands, is 800 miles away.

The discovery and settlement of Polynesia was of necessity achieved by men who were not only adventurers and intelligent, but who were also in possession of the most advanced methods of seafaring known to their age. In their own outrigger boats these hardy mariners carried with them the accumulations of knowledge which their race had thus far acquired. Unhappily, in the long journeys over uncharted seas, doubtless marked by many shipwrecks, they lost some things out of their precious store of culture. Those landing on certain islands, for instance, had definitely lost all knowledge of the production of simple textiles and they could no longer make pottery, although it had been one of the earliest crafts; and in some instances they had even lost the use of the bow. Through the prolonged and difficult journeys some of the cultural cargo had slipped overboard...

Now may we for a moment contrast these early methods of communication with our modern ones. We may state, I think without fear of contradiction, that European civilisation as developed in Europe, the British Colonies and in the United States, is at present in the lead in the invention and use of means of communication—of modern diffusion, if you please—as the Polynesian mariners with their outrigger boats had led in the technical knowledge of their day. We have only to name steamships and ocean cables, railroads and airplanes, telegraphy and telephones, printing and photography, moving pictures and the radio, the wireless and television, to realize that these processes of communication have been largely created by men of European civilisation during the last two hundred years.

We say with great pride in this particular development that it may easily

be carried to different parts of the world; telephone poles may be set up in a jungle, a wireless operates as easily on sea as on land, although in our pride we do not realize that when that is done we have only installed a fine piece of mechanism—not necessarily European civilisation...

We have seen that the seafaring men who first reached Polynesia lost something of their cargo of culture through their preoccupation with the journey itself. May it not be possible for the bearers of this latest phase of European culture, through their very absorption in the methods of communication, to lose the cultural content which is alone worth communicating? Are these modern mariners allowing their cargo also to slip overboard? We forget that every mechanisation of life easily tends to belittle religion and philosophy, and that in our absorption in communicating it we may lose the patterns and customs which give any real value to our culture. I am sure that all of us recall seeing cinemas in foreign countries which exhibited a high degree of perfection so far as cinema production was concerned, but carried a message which had little to do with the higher values of life. "Chicago, oh yes! that is where they pursue the thief over the tops of the roofs!" was said to me in Tokyo. Some of us have blushed when we saw certain yellow journals displayed in European reading rooms and realized that a perusal of their contents could lead only to bewilderment.

Communicating our culture does not in itself make that culture worth while, but it quickly influences all peoples in all lands and may break down cultures which are older and more highly individualised. It becomes a sort of game to make one type of culture dominate, which is much easier than to be concerned that civilisation as a whole shall advance.

The women who have come to this Conference may well ask, why not use all these modern methods of communication and stay comfortably at home? Why should we come to listen to papers that may have been written weeks before the conference and could easily have been printed, translated, and then read by each woman in her own country? But this brings us to the crux of the situation. Every conference is in essence a protest against the mechanisation of communication. We not only meet to talk together but to discover topics of mutual concern which we could discover in no other way. We are so ambitious as to hope that we may be able to think together and this is being made more possible year by year, as the process called "creative discussion" is more highly developed...

There is, perhaps, a special reason why women should throw aside the mechanism of communication in favour of more direct methods, and why it may be wise for them to do so. Woman has always had to deal with the nurture of living and growing things. Primitive women became the first food producers in contra-distinction to the activities

of the men who had been merely food gatherers. The most important food plants give large yields only in climates which permit a relatively long-growing season. The bulk of the world's population is therefore found in the tropics and women's special contribution to agriculture has been given most lavishly in these regions. This Pacific area is nearer to this basic culture of women's founding than are the Occidental countries where the culture taken over from Europe has become so highly mechanised. I am sure that in this Conference we will find genuine issues arising from woman's contributions to our common store. Let us by all means use all the inventions which a mechanical age can give us, but let us not forget that women have a unique opportunity to stand free from the tyranny of mechanisation. In each generation every new-born individual of the widespread human race is laid in the arms of some woman. Each of these little creatures depends upon his mother to initiate him into the culture to which he has been born. If she fails in his earliest education it will never be made up to him, no matter how fine the educational processes to which he may later be subjected. As each child has a fresh start, so in a sense has each mother.

Throughout the suffrage campaign we were continually quoting the achievements of women in the Pacific area—notably New Zealand, where women had had the vote so much earlier than anywhere else and which presented the lowest infant mortality rate to be found in any part of the world... Long before we had the suffrage we used to quote the first Constitutional Convention in China, in which, under certain conditions, it was proposed to give a vote to the women.

I am sure the interchange of achievement and honest opinion in this women's conference of ours will give us all new courage and enthusiasm and that we shall realize as we go along, that many problems cannot possibly be solved by any one country, unless their solution is undertaken by other countries as well.

### The Honolulu D. A. R. Attacks Jane Addams

Local members of the "Daughters of the American Revolution" in Honolulu descended on the W. I. L. Convention there and challenged Jane Addams' patriotism as the President of the W. I. L. P. F.

They demanded Miss Addams' attitude towards defensive war and asked if membership in the W. I. L. did not conflict with her duty to uphold the constitution.

Miss Addams vigorously asserted her patriotism. She pointed out that she yearly swore allegiance when she took her oath of office as post mistress of the Hull House sub-station in Chicago.

At the same time she took occasion to make an appeal for tolerance and free speech.

# The W. I. L. Deputation On Disarmament To The League Of Nations

On Tuesday, September 11th, as announced last month in *Pax*, a deputation of the W. I. L. went to the Secretariat of the League of Nations to present the memorials on Disarmament received from the different national sections of the W. I. L.

An interview had been arranged with His Excellency, Mr. Herluf Zahle of Denmark, who was this year the President of the Ninth Assembly of the League of Nations and therefore acted as representative for the delegates to the Assembly.

The deputation of the W. I. L. consisted of fourteen women representing ten nationalities. They were Mme. Gabrielle Duchêne, France, Vice-President of the W. I. L., Mme. Teri Sasek, Czecho-Slovakia, Fröken Henni Forchhammer, Denmark, the Danish woman delegate to the League of Nations, Fräulein Gertrud Baer, Germany, Dr. Hilda Clark and Mrs. Edith Wilson, Great Britain, Mme. C. de Ligt, Holland, Mrs. Cousins, Ireland, Miss Mathilde Widegren, Sweden, Mme. Mathilde Rolli, Switzerland, Miss Emily Balch and Mrs. Hannah Hull, United States, Miss Madeleine Z. Doty, Editor *Pax International*, and Miss Mary Sheepshanks, International Secretary.

Monsieur Zahle received the deputation in one of the large Council rooms of the Secretariat. Miss Sheepshanks introduced the deputation and thanked the President for receiving us, and said we were especially glad to be received by a Minister of Denmark whose country has shown itself so essentially pacifist. She then said that the W. I. L. opposed uncompromisingly all war and preparations for war and stood for total universal disarmament; that this year we had carried on a campaign for disarmament in connection with the Kellogg Pact, that resolutions in favour of disarmament had been voted and signed by National Sections of the W. I. L. in fifteen countries, and that cables had been received from Australia and New Zealand asking to have their views represented on this deputation. She then presented the W. I. L. Memorial which reads in part as follows:

## Memorial

"The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom... believes that, unless immediate steps are taken to accomplish general disarmament, fresh wars are bound to ensue. The way for such disarmament has now been opened by the solemn act renouncing war signed by the representatives of fifteen nations on August 27th, to which it is hoped and expected that all nations will subscribe.

"The proposals for disarmament made by the U.S.S.R. have not been accepted and unless they or some alternative scheme are approved without further delay, a heavy responsibility will be incurred by the States Members of the League of Nations.

"To avoid the loss of faith in the League of Nations which would result among the peoples of the world if their hopes should be longer deferred, the W.I.L.P.F. urges that the Disarmament Conference should be convened without delay and that the

various governments should send to that Conference delegates instructed to make every sacrifice necessary for the transition from a state of organisation for war to a state of organisation for peace."

Miss Sheepshanks then called on members of the Deputation to speak. Short quotations from each follow.

## Emily Balch, U. S. A.

"Whether rightly or wrongly, the fact that chiefly prevents the United States from entering into full cooperation with other countries in the League is the military situation in Europe..."

"World-wide disarmament seems to us absolutely necessary if an unexampled catastrophe is to be avoided..."

The Paris Treaty for renunciation of war is understood by America as an effort to break down mutual distrust. That is a first step but it must be followed by a resolute act of courage, a genuine commencement of the demilitarising of the world."

## Dr. Hilda Clark, Great Britain:

"...This year on the initiative of the W. I. L., a British-American women's crusade was organised in support of Mr. Kellogg's proposal. In the course of this crusade we found all over the country, the question asked, 'will this Pact lead to disarmament?' and the belief expressed that if it is not followed by marked results in disarmament it cannot be expected to save us from another war. The delay in reducing armaments is creating scepticism as to the value of the League of Nations and arousing suspicions of the motives of other countries which poison the international atmosphere..."

"We therefore urge that every possible endeavour be made at this Assembly to secure that a further step forward be taken."

## Gertrud Baer, Germany:

"The German people have been greatly disappointed in the work of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission and it has been a great blow in those circles who had confidence in the League. From one sitting to another of the Commission the people have patiently waited for some solution and now their patience is about exhausted... Neither frontier nor minority problems can be settled until people have a feeling of security which can only be secured through disarmament."

"I urge you therefore, Mr. President, to bring all your influence to bear so that a world disarmament conference shall be called to consist of men and women who will represent the working people of the world, and not the interests of military technique, so that disarmament may be achieved, which will abolish not only the ancient but all modern forms of warfare."

## Gabrielle Duchêne, France:

"...The logical sequence to 'outlawry of war' can only be disarmament. All those who truly desire peace cannot think otherwise. The good sense of the masses will lead them to this opinion especially in countries, like France, where critical sense and logic are well developed..."

"As friends of peace—of internal peace as well as peace between the peoples—we beg you, Mr. President, to transmit our demands to the government delegates to this Assembly of the League of Nations and to bring your influence to bear so that they may be given serious consideration."

## Monsieur Zahle's Address

Monsieur Zahle listened attentively to what the W. I. L. representatives had to say and then replied at length. Only extracts can be given of his reply.

"In asking for an interview the delegates of the W. I. L. P. F. have conferred both an honour and pleasure upon me... I have long heard of the admirable work of this association which has spread its ramifications in all the countries of the world."

"Thanks to your League, women of all races speaking entirely different languages, are closely associated in a great effort to propagate the ideas of right and justice..."

"An association such as yours places itself in the advance guard of the League of Nations. It prepares the way..."

"...In 1915 great-hearted women founded the W. I. L. P. F. at the Hague whose immense and meritorious work we are glad to recognise today..."

"Each one of your Congresses marks a step in your development, each one of your demonstrations has been fruitful of result."

"By establishing your headquarters at Geneva, the seat of the League of Nations, where the foundations of a better world are being slowly but perseveringly laid, the W. I. L. has shown its confidence in the work we are carrying on and its earnest desire to collaborate where it can."

"In my quality of President of the Ninth Assembly I wish to congratulate you, ladies. I wish to thank you for all your generous efforts and to express our confidence in the further progress of your work..."

Without doubt, politicians will often disappoint generous persons like yourselves who advancing more rapidly than by the slow methods of evolution, seek quick but perhaps less effective means of accomplishing disarmament..."

"Please believe that the sentiments which inspire you are appreciated, but I fear ladies that in advocating solutions of a too positive character, too brusque, too imperfectly adapted to the present-day world you may add to the difficulties which the men who are responsible for their countries' destinies, are trying to smooth away by slow and loyal means..."

Such associations as yours can by their collaboration with politicians have a profound influence if you are always inspired by the desire to cooperate in the work already begun and if you remain ready to explain to the public opinion of different countries the loyalty of those who do not so much seek a resounding success as desire to attain a high but realizable goal..."

"Like you I am convinced that we shall realize further progress towards peace, to which serves you have devoted yourselves with such greatness of heart..."

## WORK AT INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

### A Busy Month at Geneva

September is always a busy month in Geneva, and this year was no exception. The W. I. L. arranged a series of interesting events, both at the Maison Internationale and elsewhere.

*Thursday, September 6th.* There was the regular Thursday "At Home". No special programme had been arranged but Miss Pearsons, a woman magistrate in England, very kindly gave a short informal talk on her work to an audience of about fifty.

*Friday, September 7th, 8 p.m.* There was a public meeting in the library of the Maison on "Disarmament in the light of the Kellogg-Briand Pact". This meeting was so well attended that some people had to be turned away. Miss Emily Balch presided. Prof. Wm. Hull, of Swathmore College, spoke on Disarmament in general.

Mr. Frederick J. Libby, Secretary of the "American National Council for Prevention of War", gave a very interesting account of the history of the Kellogg Pact from its beginning to the signing of the Treaty at Paris.

*Wednesday, September 12th, 5 p.m.* There was a small meeting again at the Maison which was addressed by Mr. John Harris who spoke of the colored people of Liberia, one of the three unannexed countries of Africa.

*Thursday, September 13th, 5 p.m.* Mrs. M. E. Cousins, President of the Women's Indian Association, spoke at the regular Thursday afternoon tea, on Indian womanhood. She described the large degree of equality which Indian women have already secured and said they were working steadily for greater emancipation. She gave a glowing picture of Indian life and Indian women.

*Thursday, September 13th, 7.30 p.m.* A dinner was given at the International Club by the Joint Standing Committee which consists of the Women's International League, the National Council of Women and the International Suffrage Alliance. This was a particularly brilliant occasion for the ten women delegates to the Assembly of the League of Nations, in whose honour the dinner was given, were present and made short speeches. A hundred and fifty people attended the dinner nearly all of whom were women.

*Friday, September 14th, 8.30 p.m.* A public meeting was held in the Salle Centrale on the Kellogg Pact and Disarmament. A further account of this meeting is given later on.

*Wednesday, September 19th, 9 p.m.* A reception was given in the Maison Internationale to the Women Delegates to the Ninth Assembly of the League of Nations. Mme. Ingeborg Aas, Dr. of Medicine and the delegate from Norway, and Mlle. Henni Forchhammer, President of the National Council of Danish women and delegate from Denmark, both members of the W. I. L., were present. Other delegates who attended were Mme. Tilma Hainari, President of the National Council of Finnish women and the delegate from Finland, Mlle. K. Hesselgren, a Senator of Sweden and a Swedish delegate to the Assembly, Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton,

D.B.E., a member of the British delegation, and the Comtesse Apponyi, wife of the former Minister of Hungary. Miss Sheepshanks received on this occasion and said a few words of welcome. Then there was a delightful programme of music. Mme. Tatiana Poberezki singing three charming Russian songs and Mrs. M. E. Cousins at the piano rendering some beautiful instrumental music.

*Thursday, September 20th, 5 p.m.* At the regular afternoon tea, Miss Gertrude Eaton spoke on prison reform and the horrors going on in prisons. She said she felt prison work should be international. She presented an International Prisoners Charter which, if adopted, would guarantee a minimum of fair treatment to prisoners all over the world. Miss Eaton urged the W. I. L. to take this matter up as part of its programme.

*Friday, September 21st, 8.30 p.m.* A public meeting was held in the Salle Centrale on "The New China", an account of which follows later on.

## PUBLIC MEETING

### The Kellogg Pact and Disarmament

In spite of the many meetings in Geneva, the Salle Centrale was crowded on Friday night, September 14th. Miss Emily Balch, of the United States, presided and the Deputation that had presented the memorial on Disarmament sat on the platform. The speakers were M. Salvador de Madariaga, Professor at Oxford and formerly director of the Disarmament Section of the League of Nations, and Prof. Wm. Rappard, Rector of the University of Geneva and member of the Mandates Commission of the League as well as a Swiss delegate to the Assembly.

Brief extracts from the speeches follow:

## Emily G. Balch

"...Very unexpectedly, very suddenly, the peoples of the world are facing the alternative of a war-less world or of destruction by war..."

"For the first time in all history, our race faces the possibility of suicide..."

"In the United States a struggle, peaceful in form but intense, is going on between those who advocate all the old conceptions of nationalism, imperialism, militarism, and those who are struggling toward the light, working for a new world..."

"A popular campaign for the outlawry of war was carried on in the U. S. A. for eight years. This led to the so-called Kellogg proposal or more properly to the Briand-Kellogg Pact which is a mutually binding obligation not merely to renounce war but to abandon violence as a means of solving any sort of dispute between the signatories..."

## Salvador de Madariaga:

"The Paris Treaty can be considered in several ways. First it is a contract; then it is a political action; and then it is an act of moral value which should not be underestimated..."

"As a contract, a treaty, we have to make a considerable distinction between its effect on the signatories who are already bound by the signing of the Covenant of the League of Nations and its effect on those who are not in the League..."

"As to its effect on the United States it means that the U. S. renounces war as an instrument of national policy..."

"As to the effect of the Treaty on the members of the League of Nations, they have not the right to go to war when they so desire, the right is so reduced that a war between the members of the League may not be possible at all. According to Article 15, paragraph 7 of the Covenant, it is only after a procedure which may last six months, and after three months' delay that the nations concerned having found that the Council has not been unanimous in its ruling, may resort to war. This is the only case in which members of the League of Nations may resort to war... The Pact closes whatever gaps there are in the Covenant..."

"But now as to the negative side of the Kellogg Treaty... I feel there are one or two reservations which are not satisfactory. First of all that concerning self-defence. In the correspondence which preceded the signing of the treaty... Mr. Kellogg made it plain that self-defence was an inherent right of every sovereign state. What legal value is there in a treaty in which each state says they will abolish war but reserve the right to self-defence, if we know that every nation that has engaged in war has always called it a war of self-defence?..."

"Then as to the British reservations... Great Britain has reserved certain regions of the world where they will have the right to wage war. The British do not like it if we interpret this as reserving the right to wage aggressive war in these places..."

"Also there is the question as to whether the Monroe Doctrine has been reserved by the United States... Mr. Kellogg has kept an absolute silence about this... The Monroe Doctrine was not mentioned in the former arbitration treaties of the United States with England, but when they were renewed then it was introduced. It seems to me that the line a Government takes in one direction it will also take in another..."

"Now as to the political aspect of the Kellogg Treaty... I should imagine the greatest political value of the pact is that it constitutes another step in the movement of the U. S. towards the world community. The League of Nations was born under their aegis and from it they withdrew in an evil hour. The value of the pact is in distinct proportion to the harm done by the withdrawal of the U. S. from the League of Nations... Since 1920 America has lost the art of working by round table discussion. It is no longer used to committee work. It has no elasticity, and has not been endeavouring to search for a common denominator in international work..."

"As to the moral value of the pact, it is not as great as its admirers say nor as small as its opponents say. It has some substantial weight because the big nations have thus engaged themselves not to resort to war, and sooner or later this is bound to have an effect on the Governments which are the real tyrants of modern life. But I believe the moral value is impaired by the reservations and that legal texts and treaties are only worth what the spirit and policy behind them is worth and that there is always some way to get round a treaty if one wants to do so..."

"What is the effect of this treaty on disarmament? I do not believe it is great. I believe it will not produce much in the way of disarmament because it does not alter fundamentally the great importance of armaments in the world: their use in time of peace. The value of an army or navy to-day is that it impresses other nations... And I believe the treaty will not give the people great faith that armies and navies will not be used..."

"To sum up: as a contract the pact presents difficulties because of the British reservations and the dubious status of the Monroe Doctrine. Politically the pact is important because it means the return of the Prodigal Uncle. Morally the importance of the pact is that it denotes a change in the morale of the world..."

"But the greatest value of the pact is that it is a first step toward the return of the United States to the world community. If it is a first step towards this end we cannot attach too great importance to it."

**William Rappard.**

In brief Mr. Rappard said that though we do not any longer need to fear dynastic or religious wars, the unequal numerical growth of the people can still lead to armed conflicts and these we must learn to prevent by pacific means. The Briand-Kellogg Pact signed at Paris did not seem to him to offer sufficient legal guaranties: it would not he felt have prevented the war in 1914. The Covenant of the League, he felt, would have had more chance of preventing it, because of the discussions it imposes on contending parties; but under Article 16 of the Covenant one state can spoil the unanimity necessary.

We must then not rest content with what we have, but realize that compulsory arbitration cannot be an effective instrument for peace without making sacrifices for the cause of justice, without

a moral revolution which will make the family and the school the sincere advocates of the cause of peace. He said:

"Durable peace is not impossible, but it can not be had automatically."

### Public Meeting

#### The New China

The meeting in the Salle Centrale on the night of September 21st was like the one of the week before, well attended. Miss Mary Sheepshanks presided. In brief she said:

"We have assembled tonight to welcome the return from China of our two delegates Camille Drevet and Edith Pye... They took with them from us many messages of sympathy and friendship and in return they have brought back many messages to us..."

"We also have the pleasure this evening of greeting two of our Chinese friends, Mademoiselle Wou Monpeng and Monsieur Hsia Chi-Feng."

Camille Drevet spoke first. She said China was so vast that in a three months visit it was only possible to get a glimpse of the great problems with which China is confronted. She spoke of China's cities—Pekin, the rich and magnificent city of the past; Shanghai, the international centre, the financial and economic capital; Canton, modern China intellectual and working class, and Nankin, the ancient city struggling to accept the new.

She said we admired the men and women in China who were fighting against ignorance and poverty to build a great democratic China. She said that China was like a great river whose stream full of spiritual and undeveloped material wealth, was now pouring into the International life.

Edith Pye when her turn came, spoke particularly of the women and of their rapid evolution. The government has accorded them in principle all the rights of men, and among the women whom

they met, were doctors, lawyers, professors, educators, and even an editor of a feminist paper, and the director of a bank. She said that women were very active in social welfare, that the activity of the National Anti-Opium Association was a proof of the development of public opinion along social lines. This Association is made up of 36 organisations and its Executive Committee is composed of people of utmost importance. One woman in this Association is especially making intensive propaganda against the production of opium and its derivatives and against the illicit traffic in manufactured opium (morphine, heroin, etc.). In one province opium was entirely stamped out, but then it became riddled with the illicit importation of morphine and allied drugs.

According to the opinion of the Anti-Opium Association, nothing but international action restricting the manufacture of opium to medical needs will prevent this evil, so dangerous to the moral and physical life of the whole world, and it is useless to consider the question of opium alone without taking into account the derivatives whose effect is even more terrible.

Mademoiselle Wou Monpeng affirmed what Miss Pye had said about the great advancement made by the women of China. She said, however, that even so of 230 millions only 25 thousand as yet have had higher education.

Monsieur Hsia Chi-Feng pointed out that the narcotics consumed in China were not manufactured in China, that the government could not control drugs manufactured in foreign countries, for foreigners in China do not come under Chinese law.

He said the only means of suppressing the two great evils—traffic in drugs and traffic in arms—was by abolishing the unequal treaties, and making new treaties based on the principles of international law.

## Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Jane Addams, International 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.

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