

These things shall be: a loftier race
 Than e'er the world hath known shall rise.
 With flame of freedom in their souls.
 And light of knowledge in their eyes,



Nation with nation, land with land,
 Unarmed shall live as comrades free:
 In every heart and brain shall throb
 The pulse of one fraternity.
 S. A. Symonds.

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DANGER SPOTS TO WATCH War in China?

A very dangerous situation has arisen in China. We have known for sometime that there was friction between the Great Powers and China. England, America and Japan have had cruisers and gun-boats in the Yangtze River.

That the situation is very critical was brought startlingly to the attention of the delegates to the Assembly of the League of Nations by an appeal from the chief Chinese delegate to that body. Mr. Chao-Hsin Chu, at a plenary session of the League on Sept. 24 after making an announcement that the Chinese Government intended to present the Library of the League of Nations with a complete set of the Chinese encyclopedia, suddenly changed the subject to affairs in his own country. He said he next desired to call the attention of the Assembly to an international incident which had occurred in China. Several British merchant ships had, on July 8th, August 2nd, and August 29th sailed up the Yangtze and wrecked a number of native wooden ships and small boats. Over 100 passengers, military officers and soldiers were drowned. The Chinese authorities were hindered from making an enquiry on board the British ships by a British cruiser which had threatened the villagers with a bombardment.

While the Chinese authorities were discussing the matter with the British

Consul in Chungking, a British gunboat arrived at Wanhsien on September 5th and opened fire on the town, killing over 100 police. Other British cruisers subsequently bombarded the town of Wanhsien and destroyed over 1,000 houses. More than 1,000 civilian lives had been lost.

The Chinese delegation had been instructed to bring these facts before the notice of the Assembly.

At the close of these remarks by Chao-Hsin Chu, the Viscount Cecil of Great Britain arose and said he had heard the statement of the Chinese delegate with some astonishment. The British Government had received no notice that the matter would be raised and he regretted that this very strange procedure prevented him from replying in detail to the allegations made. He was sufficiently acquainted with the facts, however, to say that the British delegation did not in any way agree with the statement of the Chinese delegate and that its view of the incident was entirely different.

The Assembly Journal, Sept. 25th.

U.S. Teaching South America to Fight.

In 1922, sixteen commissioned and nineteen petty officers were dispatched by the U.S. Government as a naval mission to Brazil.

This mission has spent four years teaching Brazilians naval tactics and helping to expand the Brazilian navy. Recently the State Department of the U.S. announced that Brazil had renewed the contract with the naval mission for another four years.

An American naval mission has also been in Peru more than two years helping to reorganize the Peruvian navy. Peru, it may be noted, is building part of her new navy in America. Two Peruvian submarines were recently launched at New London, Connecticut.

To all appearances the U.S. is helping Brazil to get ready for a war against Argentine and Peru to get ready for a war against Chili. If this happens perhaps the League of Nations will intervene. Peru and Chili are members of the League and Argentine has never actually resigned.

GLAD TIDINGS FOR PACIFISTS

Germany Enters the League.

On September 10th, 1926 at 10.30 A.M. the German delegation took their seats in the Assembly of the League. The President, M. Nintchitch of Jugoslavia said in welcoming them:

"This event marks a new step towards that universality to which the League is

inevitably progressing.... The admission of a great European Power is a happy omen for the peaceful future of the Continent which has suffered most from the war."

Mr. Stresemann Speaks for Germany.

"It cannot be the purpose of the Divine world-order that men should direct their supreme national energies against one another, thus ever thrusting back the general progress of civilisation. He will serve humanity best who, firmly rooted in the faith of his own people, develops his moral and intellectual gifts to the utmost, thus overstepping his own national boundaries, and serving the whole world.... Only on the basis of a community of all nations, without distinction and on a footing of perfect equality, can mutual assistance and justice become the true guiding stars of the destiny of mankind.

Briand Replies for France.

"Peace for Germany and for France: that means that we have done with the black veils of mourning for sufferings that can never be appeased, done with war.... Differences between us still exist, but henceforth it will be for the judge to declare the law....

"There are two spirits in which delegates may come to Geneva: the objective spirit and the fighting spirit. If we come here as champions to fight, with the desire to gain the perilous successes of prestige, then all will be spoilt. — That is the spirit of war; it is a spirit which must not exist — least of all in the League.... We shall win real greatness for our countries if we induce them to lay aside their pride, if we persuade them to sacrifice certain of their own desires in the service of world-peace. This sacrifice will not diminish, it will increase their prestige.... Away with rifles, machine guns, cannon! Clear the way for conciliation, arbitration, peace!

W.I.L. Members Delegates to League.

Mrs. Martha Larsen-Jahn, the head of the Norwegian Section of the W.I.L. and now on the International Executive Committee of the W.I.L., for the second time has been appointed an alternate delegate from Norway to the League of Nations. She has been in Geneva throughout the Assembly and has been doing active and important work in her delegation of which Dr. Nansen is the head. We are proud to say we also have another W.I.L. member who is a delegate to the League. Miss Henni Forchhammer of Denmark belongs to the Danish Section of the W.I.L. and is a delegate from her country to the Assembly for the 7th time.

GENEVA HEADQUARTERS

The 7th Assembly of the League of Nations is just over. The crowds of people that have filled the city have begun to stream out. The glorious days of sunshine are over, too, and the rain has begun. But the past month holds much of promise for the future.

First and foremost is the fact that Germany has entered the League of Nations. When the Assembly opened, Jane Addams was still in Geneva. In fact, the opening day was her birthday, a coincidence that was a happy omen. The hall where the Assembly meets was packed to overflowing. In the press gallery we were standing three deep. Tickets of admission were hard to get. It was said there were 50,000 visitors in and around Geneva and the Assembly hall holds only 2000. But Miss Addams had a place of honor in the first gallery. Her seat was directly behind that of Mrs. Woodrow Wilson.

The opening ceremonies were purely formal, it was not until Wednesday that the excitement began. Then the admission of Germany was brought up. It was a breathless moment when from Finland to Australia, straight around the globe, fifty five nations, black, yellow and white, were asked to give their vote. In every case the answer came clear and strong — "yes".

Not until two days later, Friday the 10th of September, were the German delegates formally admitted.

Then, not only the Assembly hall, but the streets outside, were crowded. The great lights in the hall shone, the cameras clicked, while the six German delegates listened to words of welcome from the President and took their seats beside the English delegation. Another thrill came when Mr. Stresemann, representing Germany, mounted to the platform and said: "Today Germany enters the circle of States, to some of which she has been attached by untroubled ties of friendship, whereas others were allied against her during the Great War. It is surely an event of historical importance that Germany and these latter states are now brought together within the League."

And when M. Briand, representing France, mounted the same platform and in his turn, stretching out his hand towards Germany, said:

"Peace for Germany and France: that means we have finished with all terrible and sanguinary conflicts which have stained the pages of history. No more war!"

Then indeed it seemed, as though a great day had dawned. The members of the W.L.L. present, inevitably thought back to that day in Zurich in 1919 when at our Congress, directly after the war, the German delegate and the French delegate stood side by side and hand in hand. What we women did six years ago men at last are doing today.

It was good to have Miss Addams sitting in the Assembly and seeing a little bit of the vision she had dreamed of come true.

On the opening day of the Assembly we had a tea for Miss Addams in the garden of the Maison. Eighty people came and our small place was the scene of busy chatter, and great pleasure expressed at seeing Miss Addams. We should have thought eighty people the limit of our capacity for tea, had we not, the Saturday before, invited the delegates from the Congrès universel de la Paix, and somehow managed to squeeze a hundred and fifty into our garden and library. During September the

Maison Internationale has really fulfilled its function. People have streamed in and out, members, visitors, and people connected with the League of Nations. Fortunately we have had sunshiny days. We have had our meals in the garden, both at noon and night, and now at the end of the month, when darkness comes earlier, by means of a long electric wire, we have brought the electric light into the garden and still continue to eat outside. It makes a fantastic little scene to turn in off the street where the automobiles are honking, climb the Roman wall, step into a dark little garden and see a bright light on the table and a group of people sitting around it under a tree. It is like a scene from a play and we only need an opera singer to stroll onto the stage and sing, to feel sure we have by mistake got on to the stage in a theatre and are behind the scenes.

But all our entertainments this month have not been in the Maison alone. On September 12th we combined with the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, the International Council of Women, the World Union of Women, the International Council of Nurses, the League of Jewish Women, the International Association of University Women, and gave a lunch in the Musée Rath, for the benefit of the World's Christian Student Federation. The subject we chose for the after lunch speeches was "Woman's Part in the League of Nations".

On this occasion we were very proud to have Mrs. Swanwick, the Honorary President of the British Section of the W.L.L. and the Editor of Foreign Affairs, preside. Mrs. Swanwick as substitute delegate for Great Britain to the 5th Assembly of the League was particularly qualified to speak on "Woman's Part in the League", as also our other W.L.L. Executive member, Mrs. Larsen-Jahn, who for the second time is a delegate to the Assembly. The other speakers were Mrs. Corbett-Ashby of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance and Madame Romniciano of the International Council of Women. It was a very interesting occasion, a luncheon of a hundred and twenty five people with many prominent women present.

It has done much for our cause to have had so many of our own prominent members with us during the past weeks. Some of those who have been here from the U.S. are: Jane Addams, Mary Smith, Ida Lovett, Katherine Blake, Maud Stockwell, Anne Martin, Bertha Poole Weyl, Ruth Baldwin, Louise Baldwin, Elizabeth Johnson, Flora Surlis, Florence Jennison, Anna Hulburd and Sybil Jane Moore; from the English group, Hilda Clark, Kathleen Courtney, Catherine Marshall, Mary Sheepshanks, Adela Coit, Ethel Woodall, Gertrude Eaton, and Mr. Frederik Pethick-Lawrence; while from other countries we have had Gertrud Baer, Germany, Tano Jodai, Japan, Gabrielle Duchêne, France, Martha Larsen-Jahn, Norway, Matilde Widegren, Sweden, Lucie Dejardin, Belgium, Helen Chenevix, Ireland and Anna Witham, Australia.

Henceforth I shall know my brother,

Black or brown or white his skin,

Be his creed mine own or other,

No ill-will shall enter in.

Nature's spacious law commanding,

Life evolves to conscious good.

With awakened understanding,

I affirm World Brotherhood.

Fanny B. Spencer.

THE BIERVILLE CONGRESS

Ruth Fry.

A Congress, — one thinks inevitably of indoor meetings, probably in some town or another, with grey heads predominating! Such was not the Vth International Democratic Congress of Bierville, it was something quite new! In the wonderful glory of a French forest, Marc Sangnier has caused to be cut out an open-air theatre, whose acoustic properties are better than those of most halls; and here, and in the glades near the Château, gathered the thousands who had come to this youth demonstration of peace. It must, I think, be confessed, that as a Congress, it lost by its size. Just as hundreds cannot have the intimacy of twos and threes, thousands cannot have the same kind of debates as hundreds, but weight comes from different sources — from the mere fact of the widespread interest evinced by the presence of such crowds, which was shown most markedly by the attention paid to the Congress by the Press.

"Le ciel est pacifiste" a Frenchman remarked to me, and indeed, so it seemed, as the sun shone down upon us with almost "trop de zèle". But the sun was a well-nigh essential attender!

The importance of the average age of the Congress can hardly be over estimated. The French family of six, who all except the baby in the pram were duly decked with Congress tickets, were a feature. Apart from them, however, the average age must have been very low. We older people were delighted, I am sure, to find ourselves not the Congress, but that the heart of the work was in the hands of the next generation, grappling with problems, resolutions and translations with a vigour that made our hearts rejoice.

Thirdly, I should note the emphasis laid upon Asiatic problems, which the few Eastern delegates stressed with power. They brought forward very forcibly the hopelessness of ever isolating Europe's problems, seeing that European rivalries and competitive instincts are mirrored in Asia, and aggravate already existing difficulties.

Much attention was given to the difficult economic position of youth at the present day, and the need for greater solidarity both of classes and nations.

But it will not be, I repeat, by its resolutions that I believe Bierville will be remembered, but by the fact of two or three thousand young Germans having come to France intent on finding, with as many French and other nationalities, the key to unlock the door to the new life which we know we must find if we are truly to live.

We shall all remember the wonderful open-air singing, in which the Germans excelled, and the English were at the opposite pole; the camp-fire we sat round in vast circles on the hill-top in the growing darkness; the torch-light procession from camp to theatre, with its forest of national flags, headed by the great League of Nations "Pax". We shall see in our minds' eye the "city of peace", the camp made of war-office tents actually turned to the service of peace by M. Painlevé's personal interest, and we shall remember Marc Sangnier's amazing oratory, ready at every second to delight us with powerful appeal, pathos, or enthusiasm. One cannot doubt that the force of "La Jeune République" will have been immensely strengthened by this splendid effort.

Colonial and Economic Imperialism

Mary Sheepshanks (Great Britain)

What Imperialism Means.

It means broadly the policy of acquiring great undeveloped territories or commercial concessions in backward countries, and exploiting them, not in the interest of the native inhabitants, but in that of either the European State which obtains control, or in that of private individuals in that State. This policy was developed during the 19th century, and the pace greatly accelerated between 1880 and 1914. Far from being outgrown or having exhausted itself, it is growing in strength and is one of the menaces to a good understanding between nations. It has led to many wars against natives and between great Powers including the great war. It led to the Egyptian war, the Boer wars, the Morocco wars, the Boxer Rebellion and suppression, the wars against the Zulus, Matabele, Mashonas and other African races, to the Italian wars in Tripoli and Abyssinia, the Russo-Japanese war and to many minor conflicts besides acute and dangerous crises, that nearly brought about war. Moreover as this policy is almost entirely regardless of native interests, it has broken up tribal life in vast areas of Africa and deprived great populations of their natural liberty and resources, reducing them in many instances to conditions of forced labour and even greatly reducing the population by cruel and oppressive treatment.

Until the middle of the last century, traders, missionaries and explorers carried on their activities at their own risk. Later on with the growth of nationalism, Governments intervened and supported them with the whole machinery of State. It is astonishing to find that the material advantages of this policy are questionable. Tropical and semi-tropical possessions have not provided outlets for surplus populations, which prefer to emigrate to rich settled countries, such as North and South America; neither do these countries, inhabited by self-supporting natives with simple needs, provide substantial markets for manufactured goods.

Thus, this policy, which has involved States in immense cost, has caused incalculable suffering to natives, and hostility between peoples, is of doubtful economic advantage. If nations continue to pursue it, it is partly due to desire for "prestige" and from fear and envy of rival States, partly due to the wire-pulling of financial and commercial companies.

History of Imperialism.

Perhaps the two earliest examples of economic imperialism were:—

The seizure of Algiers by France in 1830, and

The Opium Wars forced on China in the interest of the British Opium merchants in 1833.

The worst development came with the "scramble for Africa". Between 1880 and 1914 Africa was carved up. France acquired four million square miles, and domination over fifty million inhabitants; Britain three and a quarter million square miles and 46 million native inhabitants, Germany one million square miles and 15 million inhabitants; Belgium and Portugal also acquired large slices. Following on Stanley's discoveries, Leopold of Belgium founded the companies that in their rubber-collecting

methods turned the vast Congo territory into a hell upon earth and decimated its inhabitants.

Britain and France then entered upon a keen competition for African territory, each pushing forward from the Colonies they already possessed. Britain pushed north from Cape Colony, conquering Zulus, Mashonas, Matabele and finally the Boer Republics. The leading inspirers of this policy were Chamberlain and Rhodes. France, under the political leadership of Jules Ferry and Etienne, added millions of square miles to French Africa. Britain stood behind the financial interests of the South Africa Chartered Company which acquired immense concessions in Rhodesia, and took the lands and cattle of the natives.

The rival activities of France and Britain brought them into conflict with each other. In Nigeria and in the Nile Valley, Britain checked French ambitions, and when Colonel Marchand and Colonel Kitchener met at Fashoda, each with orders from his Government to plant the national flag there, war was with difficulty averted. Here, as throughout, commercial interests were dominant. The London Chamber of Commerce called on the Government to insure British control of the whole Nile Valley.

On the Mediterranean coast of Africa, France and Italy came into collision over the acquisition of Tunis and Tripoli and the conflict with Abyssinia. It was as a result of this collision that Italy joined the Triple Alliance.

The partition of Morocco and the secret treaties excluding Germany, roused natural resentment in Germany and were a contributing cause of the suspicion and hostility culminating in the Great War.

When rival imperialisms are not quarrelling over the spoil, they may occasionally combine to exploit the victim. Britain and France gave each other a free hand in Morocco and Egypt.

German action in South-West Africa showed similar features to that of other imperialism.

European imperialism in Asia adopted a somewhat different method, at any rate in the later decades of the 19th Century. The break-up of China began with the French expedition to Tonkin, and the annexation of Annam in 1883. China was too old, too highly developed, too homogeneous and densely populated to be carved up like Africa. The policy pursued here was to seek trading concessions. China wished to keep the ambitious Europeans out, but was forced to open her Ports and to admit traders. When she objected to the opium traffic, Britain forced it on her by war. Then came the struggle for spheres of influence and railway and mineral concessions. In 1897, Russia, Britain, France and Germany each seized a port: Port Arthur, Wei-hai-Wei and others, and in the same year, because a Belgian Company obtained the Hankow Railway Concessions, the British Government threatened war unless it were given railway concessions covering nearly three thousand miles. In all these transactions Chinese interests were sacrificed and Chinese revenues mortgaged up to the hilt to pay interest on foreign investments. When the Chinese rose in rebellion against this bleeding process, all the powers combined in ruthless reprisals, looting the country of its artistic

treasures and inflicting crushing indemnities of sixty seven million pounds. Foreigners now control Chinese communications and a large part of her minerals and have had a ruinous effect on its finance and economy.

In Persia the rivalry between Britain and Russia was acute until the two combined to strangle and partition Persia and prevent it reforming its administration. The Baghdad Railway opened another field for rival imperialism. Germany, seeking an outlet for trade to the east, projected the Baghdad Railway, but met with the opposition of Britain, France and Russia. The ill-feeling engendered by this rivalry was a factor in the hostility between Triple Alliance and Triple Entente.

The conflicting imperialism of Russia and Japan in the far east brought the Russo-Japanese war.

The aggressive nationalism of the new post-war States in Europe shows itself in the setting up of high tariff-walls, an economic policy closely akin to the policy of the "Self-sufficing Empire" of the imperialists, and will soon sow similar seeds of war.

Another aspect of economic imperialism has been shown:—

- 1) in the struggle within Europe itself for coal areas — the Ruhr, Upper Silesia, Lorraine, the Saar, have all been the subject of bitter dispute;
- 2) in the struggle for oil in other parts of the world.

At present one dangerous factor in economic imperialism is the protectionist policy adopted by the majority of States in Europe and America, the British Dominions and India.

This policy of tariff barriers throws each Nation back on its own resources.

It raises animosity, fear and envy between States, each being afraid of being cut off from markets and raw materials.

Remedies for Imperialism.

The remedies for the evils of economic imperialism are economic internationalism, free trade, and absolute prohibition of native forced labour or military service for European masters.

The granting of foreign loans to weak States should only be undertaken either:—

- 1) When they are purely private concerns, where the lender takes his own risk and is not supported by Government intervention or
- 2) When Governmental association is foreseen and precautions are taken.

The mandates are a very imperfect remedy, as they leave the dominant State in undisturbed possession, and no control is enforced; they provide some slight check by publicity; but at present the League of Nations is not strong enough to restrain its members.

If it should grow in strength and public confidence, it could insist on the "open door" in all tropical colonies, on the non-militarisation of natives, on abolition of all forms of forced labour, and on an international rationing of raw materials. International partnership and a code that would protect and restrain all impartially would solve the difficulties.

Unless States are prepared to adopt a more enlightened and generous policy in economic affairs, fresh conflicts and wars are bound to ensue.

Japan of Yesterday and Today

Tano Jodai

The following article is made up of extracts from a paper by Tano Jodai, which she delivered at the Dublin Congress.

Changing Japan.

Japan today is passing through a period of conflicting tendencies; autocracy and democracy, feudalism and industrialism, nationalism and internationalism. This is the chief reason why it is difficult to offer any clear cut statement concerning the present situation in Japan.

Since the Reformation about half a century ago, we have been too eager to develop along material, industrial and militaristic lines. But this first reformation was carried out by a few clever leaders, the nation meekly following their guidance. The coming reformation must be achieved by the people and for the people. We must unlearn our narrow nationalism and rid ourselves of fear and suspicion in international relations. We must learn to trust the moral and spiritual forces working in mankind.

Poverty in Japan.

Japan is an island country and for this reason her situation is similar to that of Great Britain. But Japan is worse off as regards her food supply than Great Britain. Only about 15 per cent of the total area of Japan is under cultivation and more than one half of the arable area is covered with rice fields. Rice is the chief diet of the people, but the supply meets only half the domestic demand. We must import the balance from India, Siam and China. With the landslide of the population into the cities which has accompanied the development of modern industry, more and more people must be fed with imported foodstuff. The very existence of the nation depends on regular and uninterrupted overseas trade. An effective blockade would starve Japan into submission.

Another aspect of the economic problem is that of over-population. Since 1900 the population of larger cities has leaped forward at the rate of 10 to 15 per cent a year. Japan cannot relieve this pressure by emigration. Consequently, in order to secure the money to feed Japan's increasing population, industries must be developed. But Japan has practically no raw materials. She has little coal, no fuel oil and little iron. Thus her factories must be fed from overseas. The situation is desperate.

Japan Needs Foreign Markets.

The argument is put forward that Japan is justified in acting in accordance with the existing state of international ethics and securing for herself free access to markets in neighboring countries more or less disregarding the interests and well-being of those countries. Four Great Powers have carried on their business in China on these principles.

This is the sort of argument often used to justify Japan's position in China. We are told China may be rejuvenated through the influence of America. And what, then, will be the fate of Japan?

America, since 1898, has become imperialistic, annexing Hawaii and the Philippine Islands, expanding her markets in China. Her Open Door Policy in China checked the advance of Japan.

Though for half a century there existed between Japan and America a warm and close friendship, this friendship is gone for America sees in Japan a barrier to her Oriental policy.

These are the things said by so-called nationalists. But there is an equally large number of people who are far-sighted enough to hold a higher ideal in regard to Japan's foreign relations. It is needless to say, however, that unless America and Japan do their utmost to maintain the right spirit, the feeling between them will grow strained.

Militarism in Japan.

Another disturbing factor in carrying out the second reformation in Japan is her Militarism. Within a short time Japan has fought independently two great wars, Chino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 and Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, to say nothing of her participation in the Boxer War and the Great War. By the Shimonoseki Treaty concluded after the first war, Japan made China recognize the independence and autonomy of Korea, and cede to Japan the Liaotung Peninsula, the Island of Formosa, and the Pescadores group of Islands, etc. But just at the moment of her brilliant triumph the Three Great Powers intervened and Japan had to withdraw her claim to the Liaotung Peninsula.

In our judgement, this event, far more than the purely military success, stimulated the military tendency in Japan, because the pride of the nation was hurt by foreign intervention, especially that of the military class who became convinced that right and justice were to be measured in terms of army and navy.

Russia forced Japan to give up a fortress, on the ground that Japan's occupation would be dangerous to Peking and the independence of Korea and within three years Russia had moved into that fortress.

It was in 1904 that the actual hostilities of the Russo-Japanese war broke out. The story of that war is known to everybody. Japan secured the recognition of her political, military and economic interests in Korea and pushed Russia out of South Manchuria, taking the leasehold and railway rights which Russia held there.

The effects of this war were far reaching. Japan won a place among the great military Powers of the world. She became the recognized leader of the Far East. The effect on the national spirit was even more significant. It was realized that if Japan had had no army and navy, she would have been crushed by the Russian forces. Hence the army and navy were worshipped as the saviours of the nation. The military leaders began to exercise great influence upon Government affairs. In 1910 Korea was annexed because, we were told, "condition and not a theory" confronted Japan in Korea. This tendency to militarism held sway over the nation for nearly ten years.

Swing to Anti-Militarism.

But excess invites reaction. The rise of anti-militarism was inevitable. During the World War sentiment grew against Prussian militarism and against the old military Imperialism of Japan.

1921 marks the formal entrance of a campaign of anti-militarism in Japanese politics when Mr. Ozaki introduced into the Diet a bill for disarmament. He was flatly defeated, but the foundation of liberalism versus militarism in politics was laid that year. The Washington

Conference came the next year, at which Japan made up her mind to curtail her naval forces and to live up to her pledge as to the Shantung Agreement. She had by this time fully realized that nothing was more valuable than friendship with China. The economic life of the two nations is so closely interwoven that it is in itself a strong argument for the maintenance of peace in the Far East....

No country will be more thankful for general disarmament than Japan. She is extremely poor, so poor that she stands below Portugal. This poverty is enhanced by natural catastrophes, — earthquakes, deluges, hurricanes and so forth. Unless we agree to general disarmament soon we shall be plunged into deadly competition. But to bring about an effective disarmament a change in the spirit of the nation is needed.

Education the Solution.

Education alone can bring about this change. The ground to be covered is extensive, and the depth of the problem far greater than any disarmament agreement.

In this work women must play the important part. Men are too much occupied with material welfare, while women's minds and hearts are still free from worldly affairs.

The women's movement in Japan is well under way. What we should do next is to bring about closer cooperation among the various organizations and form a united body with which to face the nation in the cause of peace.

Higher education for women has recently attracted special attention in Japan.

We have several private colleges for women, but the Government has so far failed to establish a university for women. The women's federation is now demanding of the Government that it spend more money on higher education for women instead of expending it on building up the army and navy. The Japanese Section of the W.I.L. took a leading part in this move and it is determined to compel the Government to make a radical change in its policy.

We must also organize women's forces in our effort to induce the Government to spend more money on social welfare work, especially for the welfare of women workers. A characteristic feature of Japanese industry is the predominance of female labour. Sixty per cent of the workers are women, and the conditions of women workers are far from satisfactory. We must work to extend compulsory education two years and so devise an effective means of checking child labour in Japan.

The second remedy for conditions in Japan is to educate the public to think and feel internationally. This is to be done through the press and lectures.

The third remedy is to put international education in the schools, by further improvement of text books and the training of teachers in internationalism.

We shall not have done anything towards the moral reconstruction of the country until we have reached the very soul of the people. We shall not be satisfied until the sense of loyalty and self-sacrifice cultivated in the Japanese for centuries be raised to loyalty and self-sacrifice to God and to the cause of Humanity.

WORK OF THE W. I. L. NATIONAL SECTIONS Scandinavian Sections.

Just before the Congress in Dublin Mrs. Larsen-Jahn sent in some news about the peace work of the Scandinavian Sections of the W.I.L. This was crowded out of "Pax" because of all the Congress material, but it is much too interesting not to print.

In June the Norwegian Nobel Committee gave the Swedish, Danish and Norwegian Sections of the W.I.L. a contribution of 1000 Norwegian crowns to arrange a lecture course on International questions similar to the Swedish "Peace Week" which the Swedish Section has conducted for the last two years. The three Scandinavian Sections felt this contribution as both an honour and a great encouragement to their work.

Another important piece of work, initiated by the Danish Section under the direction of Thora Daugaard and carried out by the three Scandinavian Sections, was the "Peace Radio" evening which was held in Copenhagen, Stockholm and Oslo on June first. The speeches from the capitals of Denmark, Sweden and Norway were transmitted to each of the other countries, and this exchange of peace messages went into thousands of homes. Dr. Nansen spoke for Norway and Mrs. Larsen-Jahn has received greetings from men and women all over saying how much they enjoyed that evening. While these messages were being sent, a social gathering was arranged at the Radio station in Oslo and prominent pacifists, members of the Nobel Committee, representatives from peace organizations, including the W.I.L. were present to listen to the Radio and to meet Dr. Nansen afterwards.

Another piece of work which the Scandinavian Sections of the W.I.L. worked hard for, was the ratification of the Arbitration Treaties between Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland. These treaties have been ratified by all the countries except Norway. The treaties are now before the Norwegian Parliament but the ratification has been postponed. Mrs. Larsen-Jahn sent in a petition to Parliament for their immediate ratification and secured the signature of fifteen Norwegian women's organizations to the petition.

Australian Section

Eleanor M. Moore, who is the Honorable Secretary of the Australian Section of the W.I.L. has written an interesting article for "Foreign Affairs" concerning her country, extracts from which are as follows:

"The attitude of the people of Australia towards the League of Nations is usually summed up by visitors in one word—apathy.... But there is probably no country where public opinion on world affairs is more absolutely at the mercy of the official newsmonger. The whole continent stands with one ear at the end of a speaking tube, ten thousand miles off, through which a voice from London says what it is thought well the listener should hear.... We have long since grown accustomed to regard ourselves as a member of that League of Nations called the British Empire and constant reference to its headquarters for guidance and sanction is the established habit of our lives....

"The first period of Australian political history dates from the early settlement of the country by the English until the middle of the nineteenth century when the several colonies were granted self-

government. The settlement period was, of course, a time of absolute dependence on Great Britain though with a growing sense of the need of freedom to legislate for local needs. This having been conceded very rapid growth took place and a series of measures then considered daringly original and democratic, one after another, received the sanction of Parliament and passed into law.... The foundations of our national life were laid solidly, broadly and well.... There was as little militarism as could be expected in communities of our race and tradition.... At the opening of exhibitions proud reference was always made to Australia's unique position as a nation cradled and nurtured in peace and destined for a glorious future untrammelled by militarism and war.

"A future when Australia should be quite independent of Great Britain was openly talked of.... There was no thought of rebellion by fighting; it was assumed that Britain which had freely granted self-government, would equally see the reasonableness of allowing a vigorous young country to stand entirely upon its own feet a little later on.

"Had the League of Nations arisen then, its appeal would not have fallen on dull ears. But the hour had not struck. The call that came was the call to imperialism with Joseph Chamberlain as its prophet and Rudyard Kipling as its poet. It seemed a fine concept, a widening of the horizons, both of time and place, and it captured the public imagination. Greatness, it appeared, was not a goal to be striven towards, but something already gained, an inheritance to be entered into, conserved, defended, perhaps added to, but if so, on traditional lines.

"Under this influence has passed a quarter of a century, barren of great original thought or action, living by the freedoms and privileges formerly won, but adding nothing notable to them.... A generation has grown up with a carefully inculcated loyalty.... The phrase 'more British than the British' was coined to describe this curious, false sentiment which has been alike the amazement and the amusement of the liberal-minded English who encounter it in its simplicity.... Defence became a live question, an up to date Australian navy was deemed necessary and military training was made compulsory for all boys at the age of fourteen....

"There is no "separation" movement now, even among the extreme radicals.... In such an atmosphere enthusiastic recognition of the fact, that Australia is no longer simply a dependency of Great Britain but signatory to the League of Nations, was not to be expected....

"The Australians are not in practice an apathetic people. They are great workers.... What is needed is some scheme launched by the League of Nations, making a direct appeal in terms that ordinary people can grasp to generosity, compassion, justice.... We could do with a little imported kindling of the right kind since our own efforts to produce it rather resemble those of the aborigines wandering in the bush, searching for suitable sticks to rub together."

Work During the 7th Assembly

Catherine E. Marshall, Referent for work in relation to the League of Nations.

We are unusually fortunate this year in the number of our members who have come to Geneva prepared to take an

active share in the work of our League in connection with the Assembly. Miss Addams was with us for the first few days, and also Gertrud Baer. They helped us in preparing our plan of action though they could not remain to take part in the further stages. Miss Forchhammer is here once more for the Danish Government — she has been at every Assembly. Mrs. Larsen-Jahn is here with the Norwegian Delegation and Mrs. Swanwick, who was a member of the British Delegation in the memorable Vth Assembly in 1924, is here as Editor of "Foreign Affairs". Mrs. Innes, who was appointed after the Dublin Congress as Joint Referent with myself for work in relation to the League of Nations, has been here for a week with a group of League of Nations students, and will be again for a few days later on when she will be free to give all her time to work for the W.I.L.P.F. Then we have Dr. Hilda Clark, member of our Standing Commission on Minorities, and Foreign Affairs Secretary of the British Section; Miss Courtney, Chairman of the British Section; and Miss Coit, its youngest and one of its most active members, all able to stay through the whole Assembly and prepared to undertake definite and responsible work on behalf of the W.I.L.P.F. Further, our Referent for Emigration, Madame Domska, has been representing the Polish Government at the International Conference on Migration which has just taken place in Geneva.

At a preliminary meeting held on September 7th we went over the Assembly Agenda considering carefully what opportunities it might afford for action on the lines of our various Congress Resolutions and our general policy. We decided to concentrate chiefly on watching the progress of the discussions on Arbitration and Conciliation; Disarmament; the proposed International Economic Conference; Mandates; and Minorities. The last two subjects are not at present on the Agenda, but there have been important activities — and no less important "inactivities" — in both these spheres in the course of the last year which certainly ought to be discussed by the Assembly.

In connection with the proposed Economic Conference I have looked up the memorandum which we sent to Mr. Lloyd George on this subject in the autumn of 1921, and it is interesting — and encouraging — to see how right and how practical our suggestions were. The questions that were occupying our thoughts and endeavours at that time are precisely the questions which the 2nd Committee of the Assembly will be considering these next two weeks, with the difference that five years have elapsed in the meantime and methods have to be adapted to meet changed conditions. But the ideas which we put forward in 1921 are going to become the concrete facts of 1926-7, just as the ideas embodied in the Resolutions of the First Hague Congress in 1915 became the facts round which the Peace Conference turned in 1919.

I give these instances simply as an encouragement to those of our members who are sometimes assailed by the criticism that the W.I.L.P.F. is "too idealist", "too theoretical", "not practical". The ideals of today are the parents of the acts of tomorrow.

In next month's Pax I hope to be able to record some hard work done and some concrete results achieved.

The Dublin Congress and the Unemployed

During the Dublin Congress a deputation of the unemployed was received and it was decided as a result to put unemployment on the W.I.L. program. Lucie Dejardin of Belgium was appointed Rapporteur for the Commission on Unemployment.

As a result of an appeal from the French Delegation £ 36 was collected from members of the Congress for the group of unemployed who had deputized the Congress. A further generous donation of £ 20 was given by an American friend to assist unemployed members of the Irish Women Workers' Union.

The Council of the Unemployed asked Louie Bennett, Chairman of the Irish Section of the W.I.L., to direct the distribution of the fund and it was decided to distribute the £ 36 by giving one pound each to 36 families in exceptionally severe distress. It is pleasant to record that this distribution was made without there being any jealousy or reproach. The remaining £ 20 was distributed to unemployed women who had been dependent on their own earnings. This action of the Congress was warmly appreciated by the working-class of Dublin.

Meanwhile the Irish Section of the W.I.L. are making a serious study of Unemployment as an International Problem.

Summer Club for Women Workers

Some of the Congress Delegations who came to Ireland became much interested in the St. Brigid's Club, Killiney, — a club on the sea coast for the entertainment of women workers — and wished to make some small contributions. The sum of £ 9.15.0 was handed to Louie Bennett, the Chairman of the Irish Section of the W.I.L., to buy something specially needed. At a meeting of Club members held on September 21st plans were made for a campaign to raise money for a Building Fund: the object being to clear off the remaining debt on the Club and build an addition to it so as to make a Holiday Home for women workers. The gift of the W.I.L. Congress delegates is earmarked as the first contribution to this Fund, and the interest shown in it by our visitors serves as an inspiration. It makes the Club a happy feature in Dublin working-class life.

In Memoriam

Emily Hobhouse was a great woman and a great pacifist.

It is very fitting that her last resting place on earth should be Bloemfontein in South Africa.

On June 9th at the age of 66 Emily Hobhouse died. Her relation to the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 was that of Florence Nightingale to the Crimean War. When the South African war broke out, she was strongly moved by the injustice of it.

In 1899 a regular system of farm-burning was begun in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, thousands of men, women and children were thrown out of their homes and left to starve on the wldt. The result of this was the creation of concentration camps. The refugees were herded into these and kept under armed guard. The conditions were indescribable, and mortality hideous.

News of these scandalous affairs began to creep into England and Miss Hobhouse was one of the first to be aroused. She started a relief fund in London and in December she went out to South Africa.

Her chief work was in Bloemfontein. In January 1901 she returned to England for more funds but her welcome was not cordial. She was met either with indifference or fierce attacks. Miss Hobhouse attempted to make a second trip to South Africa but she was not allowed to land at Capetown and was sent back to England. However, her work was beginning to have an effect. Mr. Chamberlain took the camps out of the hands of the War Office and a Ladies' Commission, after investigation, confirmed Miss Hobhouse's reports in February 1902.

There are people all over the world today who revere Emily Hobhouse's name. There are those in Bloemfontein who still raise their hats when her name is mentioned and certainly no spot could be found where her ashes will be cherished more reverently.

Communication

Published at the request of the Hungarian Section.

In last month's issue under this heading, we published a declaration concerning Rosika Schwimmer. The document was sent from Austria, and, through an unfortunate mistake, the signatures attached to the last clause were not also sent. We take this occasion to rectify the mistake and to print herewith the short statement concerning Rosika Schwimmer which was signed by many people. It reads as follows:

We are glad hereby to testify our great appreciation for Madame Schwimmer's activity and our full confidence in her unflinching honesty.

Signatures on this declaration in chronological order are:

Frederikke Mörck, President of the Norwegian Delegation in Paris; G. Duchêne, Paris, vice-présidente de la L.I.F.P.L.; Andrée Jouve, secrétaire de la section française de la L.I.F.P.L.; Helen Clay Pedersen, Holding, Denmark; Nelly Mansfeldt de Witt Huberts, Holland; Cedri Bleuland v. Oordt, Holland; M. Heering Brouwer, Holland; C. S. Groot, Holland; J. Koechlin James, Holland; Gisela Urban, Vienna; E. F. Rieder, U.S.A.; Alice Park, Palo Alto, California; Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, M. A., Member Dublin County Council; Mary Winsor, Haverford, Penn., U.S.A.; M. B. Thornton, London; Madeleine Rolland, Ville-neuve; Lucia Cosma, Roumania; Katherine D. Blake, New York City; Olga Misar, Wien; Lida G. Heymann, Dr. Anita Augspurg, München; Marguerite Gobat, Gland; Cl. Mulder van de Graaf, Holland; Clara Ragaz, im Auftrage von Klara Honegger, Clara Ragaz; Frida Perlen, Stuttgart; Lola Maverick Lloyd, Chicago; Amalie Hofer Jerome, Chicago; Jane Addams, Chicago; C. Despard; Gertrude Eaton, London; Henny Forchhammer, Copenhagen; Anna Wicksell, Stocksund, Sweden; R. v. Wulffton Palthe Broese v. Groenau, Holland; Catherine E. Marshall, London.

Arms or Culture?

The King of Prussia in 1807 laid down the rule that what was spent for armaments should be equalled by the expenditures for educational and cultural ends. In no country today is that rule followed. Every where twice as much is spent for arms as for cultural things.

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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