

For the first time in the long and bloody history of the race, the governments of the world are deliberately turning away from war. This is the first straight step towards peace.

John Haynes Holmes.



It is fear of war which does most to produce war, and the minds of peoples must be liberated from that obsession before they will prepare for peace.

Sir Philip Gibbs.

# PAX INTERNATIONAL

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Editor . . . . . Madeleine Z. DORÉ.  
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## CURRENT EVENTS

### War Outlawed

On Monday, August 27th, at the Quai d'Orsay, Paris, at 3 p.m., fifteen nations signed the Kellogg Pact renouncing war as an international policy. All the other nations including Russia are also invited to sign the Pact.

There is no doubt that this is an historic occasion. War has been made illegal. It is true that this may not mean the end of war, for some nations have signed and others will sign, the Pact with many mental reservations. They may lack sincerity but the fact remains that war is outlawed. Public opinion must now see to it that the Pact is lived up to without any reservations.

### Labour's Pledge Against War

At the Congress of the Labour and Socialist International on August 10th, a surprisingly realistic declaration against war and for disarmament, was passed. The declaration imposes two duties on socialist Labour parties:

"(1) To secure the adoption in all countries of a law forbidding any military or industrial mobilisations before an international conflict has been submitted to the League of Nations or to some other procedure of peaceful settlement.

"(2) The exercise of the strongest possible pressure, even the most revolutionary, by the masses against every Government which refuses to accept or to respect arbitration, but has recourse to war in the case of an international conflict."

### U. S. Presidential Candidate Wants Real Outlawry

Governor Smith, who is the Democratic nominee for President, has made some striking promises in regard to international policy. He says: "The U. S., after the Wilson régime enjoyed not only the friendship but the respectful admiration of the people of the world... To-day we see unmistakable evidence of widespread distrust and unfriendliness, particularly among our Latin-American neighbours." Mr. Smith then criticised the sending of troops to Nicaragua without the consent of Congress. He promised in case he was elected that the interference in the purely internal affairs of Latin-American countries should cease. He said: "The evil effects of the Administration's policy regarding Latin-America have extended to our relations with the remainder of the world... Our unwarranted intervention in internal affairs constitutes the basis on which other countries may seek to justify imperialistic policies which threaten world peace." In conclusion, Mr. Smith promised, if elected, to make a real endeavour to make the outlawry of war effective by the removal of causes of war, and the substitution of methods of conciliation, conference, arbitration, and judicial determination.

### Air Raids in the Next War

Recently the Air Ministry has been conducting a series of air manoeuvres in London to demonstrate England's strength if there should be another war. In the manoeuvres the defending and attacking forces were approximately equal. There were 120 attackers and 108 defenders, yet the net result was estimated to be that at least 300 tons of bombs were dropped on the London area. But local defense in air warfare is only a palliative. It is not a question, as in sea or land warfare, of defending a line but of defending an area of thousands of cubic miles.

The method of defence to be used is counter-attack upon the enemy's territory. Brigadier General Graves in speaking of this aspects says: "Each country

would instantly dispatch a fleet of bombers to the enemy's vital centres. There would be ruin and destruction in each country's capital. The people who would suffer most would be the civilian population. High explosive bombs and gas bombs will be used freely. It will be the aim of each side to terrorise the other's civilian population... In a short time the city's vital points would be ruin and gas would render the other parts uninhabitable."

The *Manchester Guardian* says:

"Let anyone imagine what Albert Square would look like if it were hit by only one of the bombs (gigantic compared with those used in the Great War) that would be used in the war of the future. Albert Square would be a huge pit, surrounded by a desolation of wrecked masonry, littered with torn and shattered bodies. Then let him imagine what London would look like if it were hit by a hundred—no impossible figure—of such bombs, and let him try to visualise the ruin and the carnage and to hear the screaming of wounded human beings..."

"Is it simply lack of imagination that is making Governments, particularly those of France and England, so extraordinarily slow and timid in proceeding with the abolition of war and so incredibly suspicious of every plan to make peace permanent? Outlawry, the last and most promising plan yet proposed, has been so weakened by reservations and explanations that it is only a shadow of what it was; there is a deepening disquiet amongst thinking people in England over the mishandling of outlawry—a disquiet no Government can afford to underrate."

### An Opium Inquiry

The Council of the League of Nations met just as *Pax* goes to press, and passed a recommendation from Great Britain that a commission of inquiry visit at once the Far East, to see what poppy countries have done to prevent opium from being smuggled into colonies and possessions, where smoking has long prevailed, and is difficult to control. At the Council meeting. China remarked that so good a plan should be extended—if the inquiry covered opium, certainly it should include also the various narcotics which now, far more than opium, constitute a menace to society and to progress in China and elsewhere. The coming Assembly will pass on the recommendation.

## W. I. L. P. F. ON THE KELLOGG PACT

The W. I. L. at the March Executive endorsed the Kellogg Pact renouncing war as an international policy, but felt it would not have great value if there were any reservations, if it were not signed by all the Powers, and if it were not followed up by steps towards disarmament. Therefore, the W. I. L., when it seemed as though Russia would not be allowed to sign the Pact, sent the following telegram to Secretary Kellogg at Washington:

"In interests universal peace this League urges United States Government to invite, before Paris Conference, Soviet Government to join in deliberations on Kellogg Pact."

Later on the following letter about Russia was sent to the fourteen Powers signing the Kellogg Pact at Paris:

"Dear Sir:

"The omission of a country as powerful as the U. S. S. R. from the list of original signatories to the Kellogg Pact appears to those who really desire peace a very grave matter.

"If it should happen that all of Russia's neighbours were included in the treaty while she was outside, a very serious menace to the peace of the world would, it seems to us, be created. It is obvious that Russia herself is very uneasy about such a situation, which may be and is already interpreted in some quarters, as showing that the Pact is directed against her.

"We therefore urgently beg the representatives of the Powers gathered at Paris for the signing of the Treaty for the Renunciation of War to make it clear to the U. S. S. R. that their immediate adherence to the treaty is cordially desired.

"I have the honour to remain,

Mary SHEEPSHANKS,  
International Secretary."

### W. I. L. Disarmament Campaign

It is with reluctance that Headquarters has had to postpone the elaborate plans for a Disarmament Demonstration until the fall. The Irish Section which originated the campaign has written asking for the postponement saying they have come to feel that there is not time enough to work up the demonstration in the big way planned.

But while the idea of a pageant or procession, with national costumes, and representatives bearing memorials from different countries on disarmament will be given up, Headquarters has decided that the work already done by the National Sections for disarmament must be used and also that the psychological moment of the signing of the Kellogg Pact must be seized. The plans therefore are these. During the Assembly a deputation of women representing as many National Sections of the W. I. L. as possible, will present the chairman of each League of Nations delegation with a copy of the letter printed below, and also with a copy of the memorial that was signed by the women of his country. That is, for example, the Czecho-Slovakian delegation of the League of Nations will receive a copy of Headquarters letter and also a copy of the memorial signed and sent to Headquarters by the Czecho-Slovakian

Section of the W. I. L. In this way the work of each section will be utilised. The Headquarters letter is as follows: "Dear Sir:

"The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, consisting of 45 nations working for international peace and conciliation, which has since its foundation in 1915, consistently worked for disarmament, 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 fourteen 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 other 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 your Government 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.

"I have the honour to remain,

Mary SHEEPSHANKS,  
International Secretary."

### August At The Maison Internationale

It is in summer that the tourists come flocking to Geneva, so that even though the citizen depart for the holidays, August is a busy month at the Maison.

This August there were several public functions. During the first days of the month the Woman's Christian Temperance Union met in Geneva, and the W. I. L. gave a tea to eighty of the delegates on the afternoon of August 1st.

Fortunately it was a lovely day and the tea and meeting were held in the garden, for the library could not have held such a number. On this occasion Madeleine Z. Doty told both of the work at Headquarters, and of the work of the National Sections.

On August 16th there was another large tea. This was given in honour of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence of England. On this occasion there were about seventy people present, many of them representative people of Geneva, besides several distinguished visitors. Miss Sheepshanks introduced Mrs. Lawrence and spoke of her splendid work as treasurer, in raising the funds for the recent British-American Women's Crusade in London, in favour of the Kellogg Pact. Mrs. Lawrence then told of the thrilling meeting of the women in Queen's Hall, London on the night of July 27th. She spoke of this as the expression of the bourgeois and middle-class women in favour of the renouncing and outlawing of war. She then told of the great demonstration of working women which occurred in Trafalgar Square a few days later. She said that the working women had decided to send 40 delegates from

among their members to Russia, to endorse the Russian proposals for disarmament and to express their thanks and congratulation for these proposals. At this demonstration, as it is unlawful to take up a collection at an open air meeting in Trafalgar Square, money was thrown up on the plinth. So enthusiastic was the crowd that £50 in pennies was tossed on the monument to help the women with the expenses of their trip. Mrs. Lawrence closed her informal talk at the Maison by referring to the resolution which had just been passed at the Socialist Labour Congress, in which the workers around the world, agreed that if the nations start another war they will combat it with revolution. Besides these two teas there was an evening meeting at the Maison on August 22nd when Prof. Bernolet-Moens, the distinguished Dutch anthropologist spoke on Race Prejudice.

In his talk Prof. Moens tried to show what little difference there really is between races, that we are none of us pure stock, that we are mixed one with another. He pointed out that we have 4 grandparents, 8 great-grandparents, and that if we go back twenty generations, we find we have something like a million four hundred thousand and more ancestors. Now it is hardly likely that all these millions of ancestors are of the same stock, that as a matter of fact there is probably mixing and mingling all down the line, and that as a result you find traces of the Mongolian in Anglo-Saxons or vice versa, and that among a dark-haired race such as the Spaniards, you will frequently find light haired people and all colors in eyes. Prof. Moens said in closing that he believed the time had come for a new division of mankind; that instead of dividing men into races we might make the following five great divisions: (1) uncivilised, (2) civilised, (3) humanised, (4) cultured, (5) perfected.

### Pacifist Meeting Broken Up

The War Resisters' International and the Gratz Branch of the W. I. L. P. F. arranged a big joint meeting for August 1st, at which the speakers announced were H. Runham Brown (England), A. de Jong (Holland), Rajendra Prasad (India) and General von Schönauich (Germany). Roused probably by the prospect of a peace speech by a former Prussian general, a band of nationalists gathered in the hall intending to break up the meeting. General Schönauich himself had been prevented from attending by private circumstances and the full brunt of mob violence fell upon the Indian guest who was brutally attacked with sticks and chairs and only escaped with his life by the protection of a student and the happy accident that this student had stuck his crumpled paper-ticket into his buttonhole and that the assailants mistook this for their white membership token.

The meeting was broken up, none of the large audience could hear the speeches they had come to hear, and a shameful outrage was offered to the Indian guest—all the more regrettable as Rajendra Prasad is a friend and follower of Gandhi, from whom he brought a message.

The group of misguided men guilty of this violence came from the Heimwehr, Heimatschutz and Wehrbund (nationalist militarist organisations).

# The World Community

Salvador de Madariaga.

The following article consists of extracts from a speech made by Prof. de Madariaga at Prof. Zimmern's School of International Studies in Geneva. This and other speeches of Prof. de Madariaga are later to be revised and published in book form.

"...The first point that I wish to emphasize is, that, at least in some cases if not in all, instinct can precede the intellect; that is to say, that the truth may sometimes be first felt, then asserted, and only in the end proved. That is perhaps what we can observe to-day in the field of international life, for here we find our instinct has already decided the main point; namely, that there is an international community..."

We have guessed or felt the world community, and we are now in the period of its creation, manifestation, and assertion, and yet we have not yet investigated what the world community is, what are its laws, what are its principles, how it is going to be built in our minds, although we are already building it in our institutions..."

I do not want to waste any time on the body of the new world. I shall not discuss minorities or mandates, or the procedure of the Council, or the Assembly... It is the spirit of the world community I wish to discuss; for the body of the world community as at present manifested, is transitory..."

The main point is not to bring before your eyes what the League of Nations is, although that is an important point... But to bring before your eyes what the League of Nations should be; for if enough people realise what it should be, that is what the League of Nations shall be. After all, we might formulate our task very much in the same terms in which Bernard Shaw formulates it in one of his comedies, "turn your oughts into shalls". There is a risk, that the urge towards a world community may miscarry through an excessive and premature creation of institutions... Nothing more fatal could befall mankind at this hopeful epoch than that the as yet scanty wine of its hopes should evaporate by being poured into too many earthy vessels, which would leave us, once the spirit gone, with but a melancholy row of dregs to contemplate. Institutions we certainly do want and must have, but we may trust the political world to concentrate on them... Politicians must have institutions to play with, and we may trust them to create as many as necessary, and a few more. But we want the world, founded on the spirit of the world community, to develop in such a way that the evolution of institutions, far from preceding, follows the evolution of the spirit which is to incarnate them. It may be argued that international institutions are the best centers for fostering a true international spirit... There is no doubt that the League is fostering an international spirit owing to whatever international spirit entered into its composition. But there is no doubt also that it is being used by national, and even by nationalistic, spirits to foster their own divergent ends; and therefore, if only on this first count, it is already necessary to stimulate the right world community feeling in order to help the side of the angels, which is somewhat depleted in Geneva. But even if the League were, to use a graphic American expression,

one hundred per cent international, the very fact of its being an organisation, an administration, a church, with its chapels and sacristies, committees and sub-committees, a machine with wheels revolving on wheels, and with panic-stricken feet pressed heavily on the brakes, this would in itself suffice to justify our warning. We must precede the phase of incarnation by a phase of inspiration.

Now, this work must be the task of individuals. We cannot expect it from national organisations, for national culture acts with overwhelming intensity on national organisations, and warps the most strongly constituted mind in such a way as to make it almost impervious to other than national values. We must rely on individuals, but not on any individuals. The individuals relied on must have both the world instinct and an international experience. What we are trying to build is no abstract theory... We want to develop a living philosophy, a force partaking of thought, of action, and of passion; a vision with a purpose and a faith... We must know nations and men. We shall be idealists, for we want to assert a higher form of life, so as to bring it into the world... But that does not mean that we should not be realists... What we propose to do is no empty Utopian construction, but a synthesis of realism and idealism, an investigation into the idea of our present day reality...

The dominant impression of our present day reality is chaos and disorder. We are just recovering from a world war, in which several hundreds of millions of Christians were engaged for several thousands of days in several millions of murders... The millions of murders of the world war were not committed as murder—nor, by murderers; they were committed as heroic actions by the flower of manhood. The highest principles of the heart, the most perfect methods of the intellect, were humbly put at their service, and, by a tragic inversion of its essential being, we have all seen mankind give over the purest pearls of its spirit to the filthiest swine of its flesh. That chaos, thank God, is over, but it has left the trail of chaos in our midst. Ideas of every kind and colour rush here and there in picturesque disorder, all sure of a hearing, particularly if they shout at the top of their voice, or hop, or jazz, or gambol upside down in the manner of clowns. In a general atmosphere of growing disbelief, beliefs and religions still linger stretching from commerce to sacrifice and from quackery to mysticism... Moods and modes of life, cultures and civilisations from the neolithic to the ultra-decadent, live side by side and influence each other, so that divine gospels are strewn over the ground in African huts while African rhythms resound on our polished dancing floors; political evolution, like modern mathematics, revolves on itself, and, having gone from tyranny to liberty, wheels round and back to dictatorship; twenty centuries after a prophet said that "man

liveth not by bread alone", political economy dreams itself the science of life, and, inverting the wise pronouncement of its founder, proclaims that there is no life but wealth... Nations sign a solemn pledge to abstain from war—and get ready to resist by arms whomsoever will cross the path which they have chosen. Some government departments ingeniously devise treaties to increase the feeling of confidence and security between them and their ex-enemies, while other government departments send spies to filch naval plans from their dear friends. People keep thinking of unthinkable wars until they can think of nothing else. Drink, prostitution, slavery and war, like four black hounds, follow everywhere the white hares of the Knight of Civilisation; the old hag of colonisation puts on a fig leaf and calls itself mandate; men are declared equals from the pulpit, but class and colour bars cut across their equality; millions of socialists call themselves pacifists and dream of class war; small nations are thought of and treated as markets; areas of the world are mapped out to trusts by a handful of obscure but powerful men; open diplomacy is controlled by secret finance; and the League of Nations becomes a kind of kriegspiel for diplomats. Chaos, in the minds, in material relations, in the drift of history. And yet there is one fact—only one—but that fact is all. We see that chaos as a unit, and we call it the world. We men of the twentieth century live in the world; our newspaper speaks to us not so much about our own little hive as about the whole world... Think what we will, wish what we may, we are all citizens of the world.

These are, then, the terms of our problem. On the one hand, we see the world in chaos; on the other, we see chaos as the world. The two ideas are but one. For if we had not reached the era of world vision, if our eyes were accommodated to the horizon of our national village—and nowadays every nation is but a village—we would not be able to realise that chaos in the midst of which we live. Let the pessimist whine at the sight of our present disorder. We optimists realise that the ability to see disorder as disorder is a hopeful sign. Our task shall be to build a world order in our head. Nothing can happen in the world of men that does not happen first in the mind of man... Our minds must be delivered not so much from the oppression of unenlightened autocracies—and democracies—but from the inner shackles which national and other prejudices have developed in them. Curiously enough, while our minds are above chaos, and see the world as such, they still remain rooted in a past in which confessional, national, racial, and class prejudices prevent a normal growth... There is no cure for this evil save time, patience, and goodwill. No one of us can throw stones at our brethren, for all have sinned, and we shall all sin again; but it must become clearer and clearer that it is sin, and that the mind owes no allegiance to aught but truth.

# The W. I. L. Summer School In England

Berta Kamm. (Germany)

In a leafy suburb of Birmingham lies Westhill College, the scene of this year's summer school. Representatives of ten nations — Australia, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, England, France, Germany, Indo-China, Poland, Tunis, U.S.A. — came there to study together.

The subjects treated were "New Theories of Government", Socialism, Bolshevism, Fascism, and their relations to international peace. The lecturers were all experts and a high level was maintained in lectures and discussions.

Miss Headlam Morley, lecturer of Somerville College, Oxford, gave a clear and well thought out exposition of the difficulties of democratic government. She recommended a greater participation by the people in the government (referendum) and the establishment of Economic Councils, such as the Reichswirtschaftsrat in Germany.

Mr. H. N. Brailsford, in a series of lectures, after giving a general survey of Europe to-day, developed the moral and economic bases of socialism. He advocated the nationalisation of banks, raw materials, and land, and a share by the workers in means of production, and in profits, and administration (workers councils). He also advocated international administration of such essentials as oil, coal, sugar; this to be done by a world-parliament on lines similar to that planned by the coal parliament of the Ruhr; a world parliament in place of the League of Nations, which would give a guaranty for world peace.

Mr. Marshall, a liberal Parliamentary candidate, spoke against a socialist state, but he too favoured nationalisation of railways, banks and mines and demanded high death duties in order to check the piling up of great inherited capital.

Mr. John Strachey and Mr. Wm. Goode lectured on Bolshevism. Mr.

Strachey examined the economic basis of Bolshevism; Mr. Goode described its historic development and actual practice. Both were convinced by study and practical observation in Russia that bolshevism was for Russia the only possible way of escape from chaos. Bolshevism had, however, come too suddenly; Russia had not been able to choose its time. This, in the opinion of both speakers, explained the faults of the system. Both were of opinion that bolshevism in Russia would in a few years develop into a serviceable form of government. Members of the W.I.L.P.F. considered that the chief argument against bolshevism was the danger it offered to peace through incitement to class war.

Only once was there a combative, almost hostile, attitude in the audience to the lecturer and that was when the Fascist Commandatore, Luigi Villari, spoke in favour of Fascism in Italy.

Questions and interruptions were showered on him with knife-like sharpness and restrained scorn. The Commandatore cleverly evaded the disagreeable questions. The Chairman of the Summer School, Miss Marshall, cast oil on the troubled waters and at the end assured the speaker that while condemning Fascism, the W. I. L. P. F. loved Italy.

Deep love for his native Italy breathed from the addresses of Professor Gaeto Salvemini, an exile in England who devotes himself to exposing the Fascist régime to the world.

In four lectures he proved from countless quotations from Mussolini's speeches and press utterances how Fascism is oppressing Italy and how impossible it is for a free man to live under such tyranny...

In the place of Mrs. Swanwick, who was prevented from coming to the summer school, Miss Balch (U.S.A.) opened the

final discussion on whether any one form of government more than another is likely to promote world peace. She came to the conclusion, that a liberal democracy which secures to all, besides a certain degree of material comfort, also a share in culture, beauty and art, would offer the best guaranty of peace. Miss Marshall added the proposals already made by Mr. Brailsford...

Besides the subjects on the programme, time was found to hear reports of the various countries on the work of our League in Australia, Denmark, Germany, France, Poland, Tunis, and the U. S. A.

Edith Pye and Camille Drevet gave very interesting accounts of their expedition to China and Indo-China.

But the best thing of all about the school was the personal relations established there, which were fostered by the intimate family life of Westhill College. The questions that interested us were discussed not only at table—with daily changed places!—but often until far into the night in rooms, staircases and passages.

Innumerable tea-parties in the neighbourhood gave us an opportunity to see different sides of English life...

We foreigners were particularly delighted to have an opportunity to visit Shakespeare's birthplace at Stratford-on-Avon, and the interesting old town of Warwick, and the ruins of Kenilworth Castle.

Our social evenings made us acquainted with folk songs and dances of various nations. The last evening a clever sketch by a member enabled us to enjoy all we had experienced in a new and humorous light.

We left hospitable England full of gratitude, and I think, if we know how to make full use of it we shall have learnt more in this fortnight in Westhill College than in years of ordinary life.

# War Resisters International Conference

Olgar Misar

The Conference of the War Resisters took place this time at Sonntagsberg, Austria, in order that the Balkan States, which specially need help, could more easily send their delegates... Out of 150 delegates nearly all were active members of the movement and hardly any mere visitors.

The reports from the various countries showed that in countries with conscription, individuals and small groups are subject to great dangers and difficulties in opposing militarism... From one of these countries not one single delegate was able to attend, or even send a written report, but an English friend travelling through the country, got verbal testimony as to the unspeakable difficulties in which work had to be done there in secret... France, too, belongs to the countries where only courageous skilful and unselfish men and women can undertake the dangers of radical anti-militarist work...

The strongest national movement is in England where there are many thousand members, a good monthly paper, and several members of Parliament. The practical political influence of the movement is so great that the leaders

hope in a few years to be able to prevent any war that might threaten, by their moral and numerical influence...

The speech of Dr. Hans Kohn of Palestine, was considered the climax of the Conference. He demanded that the movement should depart from its present limitations, and should form with all other peace organisations a mighty movement. "We must stand up for the weak and inarticulate", he said, "for those who cannot speak for themselves, for the small countries which are the greatest danger spots for war; and the idea of anti-militarism must be carried into these countries through publications in their own language..."

Another and very important point of view was put forward by Dr. Helene Stöcker. She pointed out that all efforts at tolerance come to a standstill before Russia, and that unjustifiable prejudices hold people back from entering into any sort of relations with that country...

The Conference did not forget the four hundred comrades who to-day languish in European prisons for their refusal of military service, but instead of the usual resolutions, it sent letters, with greetings

and the signatures of the delegates, to a large number of the prisoners.

In connection with the Conference a mass meeting was held in Rosenau, at the foot of the Sonntagsberg, at the request of the local workers there...

In Vienna too, in the Arbeiterheim of the largest workman's quarter, a mass meeting was held at which 1,400 people were present, and at which, besides the many speakers from different countries, the Catholic priest, Prof. Ude, and the anarchist, Pierre Ramus, spoke. This cooperation of representatives of such diametrically opposite views is a step forward in the drawing together of anti-militaristic forces from all camps as hoped for by the Conference. Unfortunately this meeting was extremely stormy and could hardly be carried through; but it was inspiring and must certainly have made a great impression on the heads and hearts of all present.

Things were even more stormy in a similar mass meeting arranged in Gratz...

But no violence will prevent us from continuing our work and when the future gives the verdict we have no doubt as to what that verdict will be.

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

Czecho-Slovakian Section

The two groups in Czecho-Slovakia, namely the German and Czech Groups, have been busy collecting signatures to the disarmament petition. By August 14th the German Group had collected 2,700 signatures from people of all classes. The Czech Group had secured about the same number, and on the appointed day the petition with signatures together with the following appeal, were delivered by Frau Clara Schmerber, of the German group, and Madame Hanauskova on behalf of the Czech Group, to the President and the Minister of War:

"The Czecho-Slovak Government has agreed to sign the Kellogg Pact, and has thus shown its desire to work for a peaceful and just solution of international relations, which alone will assure the undisturbed political and economic development of all nations. The Kellogg Pact is a very promising expression of a new orientation, which puts justice and order above might and violence. It does away with the out-worn method of settling by war, conflicts which can be settled by good-will and mutual understanding. At the same time the Kellogg Pact is the beginning of a new attitude in regard to provisions, made by the States to protect their independence and political interests. The freedom of individual people and of all nations will be guaranteed not by the sword but through just regulations, founded on a basis of justice for all. The logical consequence of this new attitude is a new opinion in regard to the military obligations of a State. The feverish increase in armaments was one of the principal causes of the World War and new armaments after the war threaten to drag humanity into a new war. If the Kellogg Pact for the renunciation of War is to be an effective instrument for peace and to frustrate every attempt to settle conflicts in blood, it is urgently necessary that it be followed by a period of technical and moral disarmament. The desire for peace and the opposition to war increase in proportion to the development of humanity in culture and civilisation; proof of this is given by spontaneous expressions of great masses of the people.

"During the last weeks a silent but effective campaign has been undertaken in all European states as well as in America and Asia, to give the masses opportunity to express their desire for peace. A proposal was made by the Irish Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and was then carried out by all sections of the League, that all those people who condemn war and violence and desire a peaceful settlement of all conflicts, between states as well as between individuals, should sign a resolution, the text of which in brief is as follows: 'We demand that our Government in agreement with the other governments take forthwith the necessary steps so that renunciation of war and immediate disarmament be realised.'

"The Ceska Censka Liga and the Deutsche Frauenliga send you a number of copies of this resolution, which they have given to be signed in all professional and social circles. This action

has so far only been undertaken in a limited way but we shall permit ourselves later on to report on the results of the whole silent and voluntary action, to show how lively and deep is the wish among all sections of the population of Czecho-Slovakia, regardless of nationality, religion, or social standing, for the peaceful development of the nations. The will of the people is and will always be an indication for political lines of action. We allow ourselves the justified hope, that our politicians will not let this appeal from the people pass unnoticed. The signing of the Kellogg Pact by Czecho-Slovakia gives us the moral obligation to work for its fulfilment. We beg the Czecho-Slovak Republic to put itself as usual in the first rank of those states, who after the war took up the demand for a new era in history."

French Section

The French Section, in accordance with the proposed Disarmament Campaign of the W. I. L., has recently sent the following letter to M. Poincaré, President of the Council, and to M. Briand, Minister for Foreign Affairs:

"In accordance with the principles of the W. I. L. P. F., the French Section has always declared itself to be in favour of general disarmament, and is cooperating in the international campaign being undertaken at present with that end in view, and has signed the international petition which is to be presented to the delegates of the different states to the League of Nations.

"The French Section is convinced that the race in armaments is leading all states to their ruin and if serious measures are not taken for immediate limitation of armaments nothing can prevent a new conflict breaking out.

"Detailed proposals on disarmament have been made since 1927 by the U. S. S. R.

"The Kellogg Pact has been signed by numerous states, and the logical consequence of the outlawry of war should be disarmament.

"All those who truly desire peace, can only believe in the sincerity of the Governments who have declared themselves for peace, if their delegates to the next Assembly of the League of Nations pronounce themselves as in favour of a date being fixed in the very near future for the Disarmament Conference.

"The French Section therefore urgently demands the French Government to give its delegations instructions so that they may be the first to demand that the date of the Conference be fixed at a time not far distant."

United States Section

This Section at the recent presidential nominations proposed that the following planks be included in the platforms adopted by the political parties:

Outlawry of War

"We endorse the United States' effort to secure a multilateral treaty renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, and further urge—

"The arbitration of all pecuniary claims and other legal issues arising out of alleged injury to person or property; and

"The submission to arbitration, conciliation, or mediation of all other disputes which diplomacy may fail to settle."

Intervention

"Believing that intervention either for the protection of investments of our nationals abroad, or for political or military strategy, is unethical in principle and ultimately unsound in practice, we advocate a permanent claims commission to deal with the complicated and difficult questions of property rights.

"Whenever conditions develop threatening the safety of our nationals in any country of the western hemisphere, we advocate that the issue arising therefrom should be dealt with by co-operative action of the nations of the American continents."

Demilitarisation of the Mexican Border

"We advocate the demilitarisation of the Mexican border and urge the negotiation of a treaty with Mexico such as the Rush-Bagot Treaty between this country and Canada to the end that we may perpetuate the present friendly relations now existing between the United States and Mexico.

Reduction of Armaments

"Recognising the fact that a race in armaments is one of the inevitable steps toward war, we urge the abandonment of any program for the increase of our naval establishment and advocate a declaration in favour of the greatest possible reduction of naval armaments at the coming International Naval Conference of 1931."

A leaflet with these proposals was printed and scattered far and wide just before the nominations.

Pennsylvania Branch

In the August issue of *Pax* it was wrongly stated that Mrs. Bessie Kind was Chairman of that group. Mrs. Lucy Biddle Lewis is Chairman. Mrs. Bessie Kind is on the National Board of the U. S. W. I. L.

German Section  
Dresden Branch

This branch of the German Section cooperated with the Peace Societies of Saxony in a peace exhibition held in Dresden from February 25th to March 26th. The main work of arranging for the exhibition was done by the Dresden group.

More than 30,000 people visited the peace exhibition and of these 10,000 were children. The various societies had different rooms where they exposed their pamphlets, etc. The Association of War-Veterans showed illustrations from a pamphlet recently sent to the Reichstag showing gruesome photographs of men wounded in the war. The Esperanto room showed various books translated into Esperanto, including the writings of Bertha von Suttner. There were reading rooms, lecture rooms with moving-picture apparatus. Most impressive of all was a great painting by Dix called "The Trenches", which was given a place of honour and was kindly lent by the Wierendorf Gallery in Berlin.

The League of Nations room showed an "armaments wall" with an immense enlargement of a cartoon in the "Labour Leader", showing the horrors of the next war. There were also statistics on armaments and pictures of all kinds of armaments. The public was much impressed by this part of the exhibit.

As a result of the exhibit the Dresden peace movement has gained 200 new members.

### German Section (cont.)

This Section has just issued the following manifesto signed by the Committee of Seven, and sent it to the Chancellor of the Reichstag, Herr Hermann Müller:

"The decision of the cabinet to appropriate money for armoured cruiser A, means that a start is to be made in building the first armoured cruiser; this decision has called forth justifiable resentment and anger in wide circles of the German people.

"The German Section of the W.I.L.P.F. protests energetically against this decision and declares:

"This first appropriation will necessarily be followed by further ones; when armoured cruiser A is built, it will be followed by B, C, etc.. The industrious savings of the taxpayers will be wasted on obsolete war toys, for it is well known that armoured cruisers are useless in modern warfare.

"So much for the material injury to the German people!

"Much more serious is the moral injury caused by this decision. A Government which in its foreign policy stands for outlawry of war, and at home builds armoured cruisers, discredits itself and can not be taken seriously at home or abroad. In a few months the increased reparation payments begin and the German government must raise money for them.

"The decision of the Cabinet is a betrayal of the electorate of May 20. The latter overthrew the government of the right and plainly expressed their will for a different policy both at home and abroad. There are few members in the present government parties, including the minister entrusted with the government, who do not partly owe their election to their promise to oppose the hated armoured cruiser, a promise that was reiterated in almost every election address. The breach of this pledge is a serious challenge to the electors; it will be the first nail in the coffin of this government.

"We recall these facts to the memory of the Cabinet and demand in the strongest terms, that the will of the electors of May 20 should be respected and that the decision to build an armoured cruiser should be rescinded without delay."

### Crystal Eastman

Madeleine Z. Doty

It is difficult for those of us who knew her to realize that Crystal Eastman has passed on. She was so alive, she seemed still so young, she was hardly more than forty. The W. I. L. may well feel her loss keenly. She was one of our bravest fighters. She was one of the American founders of the W. I. L. Ever since 1915 she has been a staunch member of the organisation. Throughout the war she was chairman of the New York Branch of the W. I. L. and never faltered or wavered even after the United States entered the World War and attacks against pacifists were most bitter.

Those who attended the W. I. L. Congress at Zurich directly after the end of the war will remember her brilliant, valiant personality. It is hard enough to lose our members when they grow old but to lose this one in the prime of her womanhood is tragic.

During the last months of her life Crystal Eastman was on the staff of the *American Nation*. That publication on August 8th printed an article about her. We quote from it here:

"Crystal Eastman is dead. And all over the world there are women and men who will feel touched with loss, who will look on a world that seems more sober, more subdued. In her short life Crystal Eastman brushed against many other lives, and wherever she moved she carried with her the breath of courage and a contagious belief in the coming triumph of freedom and decent human relations. These were her religion. She preached it in many places and in many forms.

"In the struggle for woman's suffrage and for equality between men and women; in her work for peace and the rule of reason among peoples; in the fight for social justice and human liberty—as feminist, pacifist, socialist—she fought for her faith. Her strength, her beauty, her vitality and enthusiasm, her rich and compelling personality—these she threw with reckless vigor into every cause that promised a finer life to the world. She spent herself wholly, and died—too young."

### Rosika Schwimmer wins Citizenship

In a former issue of *Pax* the story of Rosika Schwimmer's fight for American citizenship was given. It will be remembered that her citizenship was denied because when she was asked if she would use a gun in defense of her country, she said she would not.

The U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago has reversed the lower court and has ruled "the appellant's petition be granted". The Circuit Court says in its decision:

"We do not have before us the case of a male applicant for admission who is able to bear arms and is within the usual conscription age, but the case of a woman fifty years of age.

"Women are considered incapable of bearing arms. Male persons of the age of the appellant have not been compelled to do so. Appellant, if admitted, can not by any present law of the United States be compelled to bear arms. Judging by all the conscription acts of which we have knowledge, she never will be required to do so; yet she is denied admission to citizenship because she says she will not fight with her fists or carry a gun.

"In other words, there is put to her an hypothetical question—what would she do under circumstances that never have occurred and probably never will occur—and upon her answers to this supposed case her petition is denied. *A petitioner's rights are not to be determined by putting conundrums to her.*"

### Correction

In the June *Pax* in the article entitled "Slavs in the Balkans", by Mosa Anderson, the following line was omitted by error "Macedonia, in Southern Serbia or in the small bit of". The paragraph should have read:

"But the fact remains that thousands of men and women, born and bred in Greek Macedonia, in Southern Serbia or in the small bit of Macedonia that was incorporated in Bulgaria, regard themselves as Macedonians, and that a fire of nationalism burns in their hearts which I do not imagine could be easily extinguished."

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

Jane Addams, International President

International Headquarters, 12, rue du Vieux-Colège, 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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London S.E. 18.  
Woolwich  
71 Rectory Place  
Mr. C.H. Grinnings