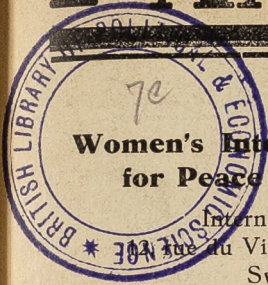


PAX INTERNATIONAL



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

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



"We have renounced war,
Why have we not also renounced
armaments?"

Sir Robert Borden (Canada).

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Editor Madeleine Z. Doty.
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11th ASSEMBLY OF LEAGUE The League As It Might Be

Dr. Chao-Chu-Wu, chief delegate from China in his address before the Assembly said: "I am tempted here to depict a possible future evolutionary development... Countries may form themselves into groups... then groups in time may coalesce into a union... And then, if we go a little further, does it take such a great stretch of imagination to envisage the amalgamation of these unions into a confederation of the world itself?"

"May I read to you a short translation of a passage in our Confucian classics? It is an ideal which was enunciated twenty-four centuries ago.

"When the Great Principle is realized, the world will belong to all. The virtuous and the able will be chosen into office. Mutual confidence and friendliness will prevail. In consequence, not only will everyone love his parents and his children, but the aged will have adequate care; the

able-bodied will have occupation; the young will be properly reared; widowers, the widows, the orphans, the disabled, and the sick will be provided for. Each man will have a wife; each woman a home. Natural wealth will not be left untouched underground, nor will it be exploited for the benefit of individuals. Everyone will work to the best of his ability, but not necessarily for himself. There will be neither intrigue nor conspiracy, neither theft nor treason; one may live with his door open. This is the idea of the Great Community."

The League Of Nations As It Is

M. Vittorio Scialoja (Italy) describes the League of Nations as follows: "It is *not a Super-State* which can handle forces of its own; it is *an association of States* based, in the last resort, on the forces which those States themselves place at its service. The possibility that the League has of exercising effective action depends on the assistance which the Member States are willing to give it..."

"The stronger States, the more powerful States, have the heavier duties and bear the heavier weight of responsibility in the League, and their active participation in its work is the foundation necessary to its existence in the interests of all. It is therefore logical that those States should participate in the direction of the executive organ of the League of Nations."

Disarmament

It was the representatives of the British Commonwealth that made the strongest plea in their speeches before the Assembly for disarmament. *Hon. J. B. M. Hertzog (South Africa):*

"It is observed in South Africa that while the League is busily engaged in securing the path of peace, nations are equally busy straining after power and hegemony, interpreting the triumphs of science and civilisation in terms of instruments of war... In its anxiety South Africa is beginning to think of asking Europe:

How much more armaments? and when the question is put I am afraid Europe will necessarily stand embarrassed, not knowing what answer to make..."

Mr. Frank Brennan (Australia):

"There is very general striving after peace without risk. Victories are not won without risk... For Australia, we reject the theory that preparedness for war is the best guarantee of peace: it may well be a strong incentive to war... In our own limited sphere in Australia we have given practical proof of our earnestness in this regard. We have drawn our pen through the schedule of military expenditure with unprecedented firmness as far as our country is concerned. We have reversed the policy, which has subsisted in Australia for a quarter of a century, of compelling the young to learn the arts of war..."

Mr. Henderson (Great Britain):

"We can never fulfil the purpose for which the League has been created unless we are prepared to carry through a scheme of general disarmament by international agreement. The authors of the Covenant never believed that international cooperation could succeed if national armaments should remain unrestricted, and if armament competition should revive. It was for that reason that they inserted in Article 8, the obligation to accept a general reduction and limitation of national forces by international treaties. That obligation has not yet been honored though incurred eleven years ago..."

"We who are gathered here are the custodians of the peace of the world and of the lives and happiness not only of the present generation but of our children and of generations still unborn... I appeal to all those Delegates of the nations represented here to join this Assembly in a strong and a united effort to achieve the great purpose for which this League of Nations stands."

TRIBUTE TO JANE ADDAMS

On September 6th to commemorate Miss Addams' seventieth birthday, Katherine Blake a member of the W. I. L. broadcast a message over the New York City radio (W. N. Y. C.) We give below extracts from her speech. "Today is the birthday of Jane Addams. She is receiving messages of love and congratulations from all the civilized nations of this earth. It is just seventy years since she came, a very fragile baby. Her indomitable courage conquered the frailty of her childhood and she came into womanhood with a spirit that met all difficulties with a smile and with a willingness to work that won for her in one of our great dailies last Sunday the headlines straight across the whole page, "Jane Addams, Tireless at Seventy"...

"Long ago she went to the slums of Chicago to give a vision of cleanliness and hope. So successful was her work there that President Roosevelt called her, "Chicago's Best, Most Useful Citizen", a title which she has richly earned and kept. Her work in Hull-House, the first settlement house in America, has been copied in every big city in this country. In that famous house many of our foremost women have had their training... Men too, were glad to help and learn there... That is why everywhere people today are vying with each other to do her honor, and blessing her for their hope of better things and for the simple and beautiful way that she has shown by her whole life that gentleness and love are the strongest forces in the world..."

"Because of her work in Hull-House with the people of so many different lands all meeting in friendly efforts when properly directed, her mind was led to work for the same friendship among nations, convinced that it is perfectly achievable, for nations are only large groups of persons and are swayed by the same feeling."

"In 1915, when the world war spirit had not yet caught us in its toils... Jane Addams called together at The Hague a convention of women of all countries to make an appeal for Peace. Then was born the *Women's International League for peace and freedom*, an organization of which Jane Addams was unanimously chosen Head. Under her leadership the W. I. L. has established branches in twenty-six countries and others have at least a correspondent who keeps in touch with the Geneva headquarters..."

"The latest work of this great organization started by her is to prepare a polyglot petition to the League of Nations at its coming international disarmament conference. This is being circulated in almost as many languages as there are countries under the sun."

Disarmament Campaign

News keeps coming in every day to Headquarters of the continued activity of the National Sections of the W. I. L. in securing signatures to the polyglot petition for disarmament.

The *British Section* reports that in spite of the summer holiday season, 31,000 forms have been circulated and hundreds of signatures are being received daily. All sorts and kinds of organizations such as "The Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers", "The Union of Post Office Workers", the "Iron and Steel Trades Confederation", "The Baptist Union", "The Society of Friends" etc. etc. are helping to collect signatures.

The "North Wales Women's Peace Council" reports that in four weeks 5,500 signatures have been secured. They said they consider this only a beginning for there are 600,000 persons over 18 years of age in the six North Wales Counties and they think more than half of these should sign.

The *United States Section* reports that it has already sent out 75,000 forms. It is now sending out forms in foreign languages as well as English and trying to reach the Hungarians, Swedish, Norwegians, Mexicans, Greeks and Bulgarians. One hundred organizations are being asked in the U. S. to help with this campaign. Splendid publicity has been secured. The *New York Times* printed a long article on the campaign on August 11th. The *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, a Wall Street publication which is extremely conservative printed a full page editorial on August 23rd speaking in the most favorable and glowing terms of the polyglot petition.

Women Delegates To The League

There were fifteen women sent this year to the Assembly of the League either as delegates or technical advisers. The three full women delegates were Mrs. Mary Irene Parly, Canada, Madame Sophie Ciurlionis, Lithuania, and Miss Susan Lawrence, Great Britain who became a full delegate after the departure of Mr. Graham. The substitute delegates were, Miss May Holman, Australia, Mme. Constance Liaptscheff, Bulgaria, Mlle. Henni Forchhammer, Denmark, Mme. Telma Hainari, Finland, Mrs. Mary Hamilton, Great Britain, Mme. La Comtesse Albert Apponyi, Hungary, Mme. Ingeborg Aas, Norway, and Mlle. Hélène Vacaresco, Rumania. The technical advisers were Frau Lang-Brumann, Germany, Dame Janet Campbell, Great Britain, Mme. C. A. Kluyver, Netherlands, Mlle. Kersten-Hesselgren, Sweden. It is interesting to note that all these women except the representative

from Bulgaria come from countries where women have the vote, or partially the vote while on the other hand France, Italy and Japan, three great powers which haven't yet woman suffrage haven't sent a single woman to the Assembly not even a secretary. This in spite of the fact that the personnel sent by France numbers 39, that of Italy 18 and that of Japan 25.

The women's organizations are far from satisfied with a representation of 15 women in the Assembly as contrasted with 400 men.

There is a growing feeling among women that the League is not sufficiently pushing disarmament and making secure the peace of the world.

This year the International Suffrage Alliance opened an office during the sessions of the Assembly directly across the street from the "Bâtiment Electoral" where the League sessions were held. A block away in the other direction the Women's Equal Rights International had a big show window in a perfumery shop and carried on an active campaign. At the same time the *Maison Internationale* was the scene of many meetings and luncheons where eager plans were laid. The chief interest of the women centred around the problems of Disarmament, Tariffs, Minorities, Opium Statelessness, Nationality, Traffic in Women and Children, and International Penal Reform.

On Wednesday evening the 17th of September at the International Club a dinner was given by the Joint Standing Committee of Women Organizations which comprised the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the International Council of Women, the Young Women's Christian Association, the International Council of Nurses, the International Suffrage Alliance, the W. I. L., the World Union of Women, and the University Women, to the women delegates of the League of Nations. On this occasion two hundred and fifty women from East and West met to do honor to the women delegates and discuss the affairs of the world. Madame Avril de Sainte-Croix presided. Interesting little speeches were made by the delegates giving their impressions of this Eleventh Assembly. On Tuesday evening the 23rd, a reception was given at the *Maison Internationale* to the women delegates. Unfortunately on the same evening the President of the Assembly gave a dinner to all the League delegates which prevented many from coming.

Nevertheless the *Maison party* was a gay one and very crowded. Devoted Frau Henni Forchhammer who has been sent as a delegate to the League of Nations ever since the beginning and is a faithful W. I. L. member managed to slip away from her dinner party and gave a delightful talk.

Appeal Of Women To The World's Statesmen



THE DEPUTATION OF WOMEN

How It Happened

CLARA GUTHRIE D'ARCIS

For years, for generations even, women's organisations have talked of associations, alliances, federations, leagues and unions, but united efforts have been limited to the confines of each separate organisation. For some reason we have been rather apt to preach of co-operation while considering one another as competitors.

We have been satisfied merely to talk about the oneness of humanity and the interdependence of nations, without really understanding the action that such convictions demand. To-day we have made a great step forward. Faced with a universal menace, we have joined forces in a common cause—that of safeguarding the peace of the world.

How did this joint manifestation come about?

Some four or five years ago, the six women's international organisations, whose names appear as signatories of the "Appeal", and two other organisations—The International Council of Nurses and the World's Women's Christian Temperance Union—were brought together by Lady Aberdeen, the President of the I. C. W., in a Joint Standing Committee, whose sole purpose was to suggest the names of women suitable for positions in the League of Nations.

Since the formation of this Committee, certain events of universal and vital importance have occurred, upon which women's opinions should have been expressed.

When the Kellogg-Briand Pact was first signed, some of us made an effort to have the women's organisations send a telegram to the authors of the pact. At that time, however, there was not the requisite medium of common expression and certain of the women's organisations had to content themselves with individual telegrams.

But the realisation of this long cherished dream of united action came about in the middle of September by the formation of the Liaison Committee of Women's International Organisations.

Appeal of Women

To the World's Statesmen

"The Undersigned Organisations, representing more than forty millions of women working in various ways in fifty-six different countries of the world to forward international understanding and co-operation, feel impelled to call attention to an increasing and ominous tendency of the Press, the general public and even Governmental circles to discuss, or admit in discussion, the possibility of another war; this in utter disregard of the sacred pact formally renouncing war, which has just been signed by fifty-seven civilised nations.

This constitutes a flagrant slur on the national honour of the signatories of the Briand-Kellogg Pact, a direct menace to the youth of the world and to humanity in general. *It cannot and must not be tolerated.*

We stagger under an unprecedented burden of armaments in the midst of commercial depression and economic warfare. We have come to a critical moment of upheaval and unrest and we demand the energetic action of every constructive force.

We declare the work for peace to be the most urgent task before the world to-day. We appeal, therefore, to every right-thinking person and, in particular to women, who pay the first cost of human life, to realise their responsibility and power. We ask every single individual to use his active influence to combat the idea of a recourse to violence of the solution of any problem; to work by word and deed for the eradication of the psychological causes of war: fear, ignorance and greed and to promote by every means the recognition of the oneness of humanity and the interdependence of nations.

We demand of our statesmen, elected by the people—if they value their privilege of service—to increase their efforts and henceforward to make the wholehearted observance of the Briand-Kellogg Pact the supreme charge of national honour and the safeguard of humanity.

The International Council of Women.

ISHBELL ABERDEEN AND TEMAIR.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

JANE ADDAMS.

The World's Young Women's Christian Association.

C. M. VAN ASCH VAN WYCK.

The International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship.

M. I. CORBETT ASHBY.

The World Union of Women for International Concord.

CLARA GUTHRIE D'ARCIS.

The International Federation of University Women.

WINIFRED CULLIS.

On the 19th of September, a delegation from the six women's international organisations (signatories of the Manifesto) presented the first printed copy of the appeal to Mr. N. Titulesco, President of the 11th Assembly of the League of Nations. Mrs. Clara Guthrie d'Arcis introduced the representatives of the women's organisations and thanked Mr. Titulesco for the honour he conferred upon them by receiving them.

She said that we were not presenting our appeal officially to the League of Nations; that we looked upon him as a symbol of the ear of the statesmen of the world and that we hoped he would see in us, also, a symbol—not only of the members of women's organisations, but of all the women in the world who were filled with anxiety for the future.

Mme. Malaterre-Sellier read the Manifesto to Mr. Titulesco, who was very deeply impressed. In his reply, he told the delegation, that their words had his full sympathy; that they came at the right moment. He reiterated what has been said by practically everyone of the great leaders who come to Geneva, that the League of Nations and all the institutions working for international understanding and peace had a vital need of the support of public opinion. He offered to help the delegation to make our Manifesto known and agreed to have it *delivered officially to all the 400 delegates in the same manner as are the regular documents of the League of Nations.*

Following the reception by Mr. Titulesco, the Deputation was received by Mr. Henderson, First Delegate of the British Empire. In presenting the Deputation, Miss Courtney pointed out the significance of the fact that the signatories represented nearly all the great women's international organisations, most of them not working for peace alone, but for various social and political objects. They might therefore say that Mr. Henderson had the support of the organised women of the world in the task he had undertaken.

Mr. Henderson said he believed that women had a great part to play. He believed that the women's organisations might make a real contribution to the success of the disarmament conference to be called next fall and he hoped that they would be both persistent and insistent in making their voices heard on the state of peace and disarmament.

The Deputation was also received by Dr. Curtius, head of the German Delegation, who welcomed it most sympathetically. He said that organisation for peace is as necessary as organisation for war.

Eleventh Assembly Of The League Of Nations

Madeleine Z. Doty

The key note of the 11th Assembly has undoubtedly been one of depression. The 10th Assembly was one of hope and the signing of the optional clause. But in this Assembly the sense of a world economic crisis was the dominating feature.

Said Mr. Paul Hymans, Belgium: "...Economic life in Europe is entirely upset. Remedies must be sought and sought without delay. Last year we appealed for co-operation in order to promote the welfare of nations. To-day we must appeal for co-operation in order to prevent the ruin of nations and in order to maintain the level of life which has been reached after such long and painful efforts in the nations of Europe..."

"Every State wishes to be master in its own house. The tendency is to shut out the products of other countries, but nevertheless to insist on sending out as far as possible their own products into other countries. These ideas are opposed to the direction of true evolution. We realise that nationalism is too narrow a basis for the economic construction of the world..."

The Assembly this year was held in the "Bâtiment électoral" which is much more spacious than the old "Salle de la Réformation". But in spite of the splendidly organized arrangements of this 11th Assembly and the large crowd that has flowed into Geneva it was impossible to conceal the feeling of uneasiness that prevailed and the sense of a world crisis. Most of the speeches in the Assembly dealt with three main points, economic distress, the need for disarmament and the problem of a European Federation. There is not space in this small paper to even enumerate all the topics dealt with. The work carried on in the Commissions and particularly the work of the Disarmament and Opium Commissions must be reserved for another "Pax". In this issue it is only possible to give a few extracts from some of the speeches in regard to the economic situation and European Federation.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

Mr. Brennan (Australia) said:

"...Since the last Assembly, the economic situation has presented similar features of crises all over the world. Every Government is faced with the difficult task of finding remedies for the economic depression prevailing in their country. ...To-day, the world is so closely knit together in economic relations that we cannot expect the stabilization of the economic condition of one part of the globe, except perhaps for a very short duration, unless other parts of the world equally stabilize."

Dr. Julius Curtius (Germany) said:

"...Save for a few exceptions, almost every country is suffering at the present moment from most serious depression, the general economic causes of this depression are over-production, and the fall in prices of raw materials. Its effect is found in an alarming increase in unemployment, in a most serious agricultural crisis, and in a shaking of the social structure..."

Mr. Zaunius (Lithuania) said:

"There is a very serious unrest due to overproduction, and a crisis in the general markets. All countries in Europe are suffering from that state of things... The customs barriers, instead of being lowered, have, in many States, become even higher and more difficult to surmount than before."

EUROPEAN FEDERATION

Mr. Briand's presentation of the idea of a European Federation was not effective. Perhaps he was conscious of much opposition to the idea, though there were many who clung to his plan as the only method of salvation. We give extracts from speeches both pro and con.

Mr. Briand said:

"Any union between the neighbouring countries, any union between countries in the same continent, and any union between countries which have the same civilisation can only succeed with the assistance and with the collaboration, and very close collaboration, of the League of Nations... Surely it is natural and proper that the people of those countries who suffered most, and suffered terribly, during the war should be the first to unite together to remove the consequences of that war..."

"I come before you in the name of twenty-seven nations who have agreed unanimously that a union for peace would be of capital importance and would assist the League of Nations in its work... There are many different problems to consider. We cannot hurry too much in this matter, but we are agreed that the great thing is that we have officially undertaken this work and that the union of Europe is at last becoming a practical fact..."

Dr. Johann Schober (Austria) said:

"Among the great ideas championed by Mr. Briand I venture to select the programme of an economic rapprochement between the countries of Europe. ...No State is better able to appreciate this point of view than Austria, because Austria formerly belonged to the same economic unit as ten other nations, and suffered most as a result of the partition of that economic unit..."

Two methods can be adopted to attain the aim in view. The first is to endeavour to blend into a common

whole the political economics of all, or nearly all, the countries of Europe, for example, by abolishing import and export prohibitions, establishing a customs truce and reducing customs tariffs. I have no doubt whatever that this method would lead to the desired end, but it would take too long..."

"What then is the second method?"

In the Austrian Government's opinion, an attempt should be made, if the new methods cannot be adopted immediately by the whole of Europe, to apply them in the countries which urgently desire them owing to the similarity of their conditions and the vital need of mutual supplement. If such action in the sphere of commercial policy is successful in several groups of different States the fusion of all the groups will become possible..."

Mr. Politis (Greece) said:

"...As regards the European Union, there have been certain misgivings. If it is to succeed it must be placed within the framework of the international organisation and must also be made to harmonise with national sovereignties..."

Mr. G. Motta (Switzerland) said:

"It seems to be the idea of the public that the League can, by some magic process, change the nature of peoples and governments... There seems to be a belief among the public that the States which come to the League meet there with the maximum spirit of co-operation and a maximum desire for international results. The problem of a Federation of Europe does require that desire for international co-operation... In my view the co-operation of Europe is rather a state of mind than an autonomous structure, and those who have proposed definite schemes of European organization may perhaps have done a dis-service rather than a service to the idea because we can only have cooperation between the nations of Europe provided it is understood that national sovereignty will be respected."

"Therefore I think it is very ill-advised to speak of anything in the nature of a European Confederation..."

"...I think that it is necessary for Europe to provide for better economic co-operation... I think that that work, continental as it is, is a true preparation for universal peace, but there are problems which are necessarily world-wide problems—the problem of security and disarmament, the problem of setting up a system of judicial procedure which will stand between us and war..."

"If that is so, would it not be rational to say that any European union should be set up not merely within the framework of the League but in such a way as to utilize League machinery?"

The Problem Of American Imperialism

Mr. Bellegarde is the chief delegate of Haiti to the League of Nations. We give below extracts from his speech before the Assembly of the League. That Mr. Bellegarde is right in his idea that American financial interests are looking for good investments is borne out by the following statement of Mr. Calvin Coolidge in the *New York (Paris) Herald*, September 16th,

"The financial strength of the United States has just been demonstrated in the eagerness of the public to invest about \$1,250,000,000 in 2:3/8 per cent. treasury notes. The offering has been nearly four times oversubscribed. Our great increase in wealth and ready money is indicated in the ease wherewith this was done, as compared with the tremendous effort required thirteen years ago to sell \$2,000,000,000 worth of 3 1/2 per cent., Liberty loan bonds... No other government in the world has ever been able to raise such large sums at such a low rate. The credit of the United States commands confidence. Our enormous amount of capital wants to go to work; it is the chief of all the unemployed."

The Situation In Haïti

Dantès Bellegarde

The representative of a tiny State, far away, badly understood... now comes and addresses you from this platform. The sufferings of such a State are all too little known to most of us here, but we remember that we are not great and small nations here; that is the great merit of the League of Nations, that here all the voices are listened to with equal attention provided those voices are sincere... To-day I speak no diplomatic language; I wish to express myself frankly, sincerely, loyally...

I would like to explain as far as I am able the view held in Latin-America with regard to the position of the United States, and I would like to emphasize that I am doing this in the most sincere fashion. There is such a thing as a world economy... the whole of the world is interdependent, one country is bound to live by what it draws from and what it supplies to another country. Therefore there can be no excuse for that competition which takes the form of tariff races and which is really as dangerous as the race of armaments. For such an attitude we have to substitute an attitude of cooperation which shall be based upon a more rational and more just foundation... It has been pointed out both here today and previously that M. Briand's scheme is not in any way directed against countries outside Europe or indeed against anyone, but it is quite clear that there is underlying such a policy

a desire to free Europe from the economic imperialism which is now in the hands of the States of North America. It is undoubtedly recognised that the United States has the power to control the whole of the world from the financial and economic point of view. A book on this subject was well entitled "The Imperial Dollar". In "The Times" of December 1st, 1929 similar lessons were preached. It was pointed out that 13 million tons of shipping crossed the sea every year directed to England with supplies for that country. If those supplies were lost, then the economic life of England would be paralysed. English life would be at a standstill as during the most complete of general strikes...

We all know the United States is now the depository of the greatest supply of gold in the world. The United States is ready to part with its gold resources, but it will do so only on terms, and those terms are that the manufactured products of the United States shall be given free entrance to the countries benefited by the gold supplied by the United States. This represents, therefore, a sort of threat to other countries which have relations with the U. S.

If Europe, therefore, by such a scheme (as Briand's of Federation) as is now proposed, in any way threatens the freedom of output enjoyed by the United States, the United States will be bound to turn to the countries of South America, where the powers of consumption seem to be almost unlimited...

The United States, formerly debtors, are now the lenders of the world... North American lenders naturally fear to put their money into weak undertakings, but only too often borrowers see behind the capital that is provided the shadow of the United States' Dreadnoughts. A policy of cooperation must be substituted for the attitude that prevails at present...

On Armistice Day 1929 President Hoover said that fear is the most dangerous of all the emotions. It is undoubtedly true that there is a spirit of fear in Latin America, and until there is no possibility of false interpretation of the economic policy that is being pursued, such a state of fear cannot be overcome...

American international law should recognise that non-intervention is essential, or rather I would say international law should recognise this, because international law cannot be continental...

In Haiti we have an earnest desire to be prosperous. We wish to develop our country to the fullest possible extent. In that we adopt the same attitude as all the other countries of Latin America, but we say clearly that we are not prepared to accept wealth if with it it brings dishonour.

Peace and happiness are needed by all, but to attain them international cooperation is needed. First of all, we must have cooperation between the individuals of a nation; then we must have cooperation between the various social classes; we must have cooperation between nations, and we must have cooperation between races...

International Penal Reform

The Howard League for Penal Reform as represented by Miss Gertrude Eaton was able to get the matter of International Penal Reform before the Assembly, by persuading the British delegates to move as a country to have it placed on the agenda.

Miss Susan Lawrence M. P., Great Britain introduced the matter by bringing forward a resolution on Penal Administration in the 5th Commission. She made a most effective speech and carried on the debate with skill. Amendments were suggested by the Italian and Irish delegates and after animated discussion the following resolution was passed

unanimously: First that the Secretary General forward a copy of the Standard Minimum Rules for the treatment of prisoners by the International Prison Commission to the Governments of the Members of the League for their consideration, and invite the Governments to submit in due course reports on these Standard Minimum Rules with reference to penal administration in their own countries.

Second, that the Secretary General of the League send the memorandums of the International Prison Commission and that of the Howard League for Penal Reform to the three following Commissions, Health, Child Welfare, and Economics, and

to the International Labor Office and after receiving the observations of those Commissions submit a further report on the question to the Assembly.

It is earnestly hoped that after the intensive study outlined in the resolution, that next year the Assembly will be able to set up a Committee competent to deal with the question.

The support given by the different sections of the W. I. L. has done much to forward this movement and it is hoped the sections will continue the work by arousing public opinion in their countries particularly in the matter of the treatment of political prisoners.

People Without Nationality

Anna Aszkanazy

At the Prague Congress of the W. I. L. in 1929, Rosika Schwimmer suggested that the members of the W. I. L. should study the burning problem of statelessness. A Committee was then formed consisting of Ellen Wilkinson, Regine Havas and Anna Aszkanazy, and Mrs. Schwimmer, as adviser. As a result of their investigations it became apparent that a Conference was needed.

The W. I. L. approached other associations and asked them to participate in a conference. On September 8th in the Maison Internationale there assembled besides the members of the W. I. L. prominent representatives from the following associations, International Council of Women, Society of Friends, International Suffrage Alliance, League for the Rights of Man, League of Nations Union, W. I. L. representatives from Austria, Germany, Hungary, Great Britain.

Mary Sheepshanks, who presided during the forenoon, opened the conference with some telling comments. Then Frau Aszkanazy, Vienna gave a survey of the condition of the stateless residing in the territory of the former Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy. At the time of the collapse of the Monarchy the old structure of this state with its many intermingling nationalities resulted in creating many stateless people who did not know at all to which nation they belonged. Those who did not quickly choose their nationality or, on account of their political or religious opinions were not pleasing to the governments were not accepted as citizens by any of the newly formed states and became stateless.

To be stateless means death by starvation; for, the stateless cannot secure work anywhere without permission of the authorities. The authorities rarely grant this permission on the ground that hundreds of thousands of their own subjects are without work! Nor can the stateless enjoy the government institutions for the unemployed. He has no consular protection anywhere, he cannot get a passport or a visa, and on the other hand he may be expelled from a country at any time without any reason.

The laws of the peace treaties (§ 65, 70 of the peace treaty of St. Germain) and those of the treaties for minority protection, especially art. 1, 4 and 6, which aim at an absorption of the stateless by the various newly formed states, are simply violated by the governments of these countries whenever they deem the applicants undesirable. As the stateless are mostly very poor and those who are entitled to pensions, widows

and orphans of former government employees, they are entirely at the mercy of the different governments.

The League of Nations which is the only body with power to control the situation has shown its incapacity by never addressing one word of reproach or warning to the newly formed states and thus leaving hundreds of thousands of people unnecessarily exposed to the greatest misery.

At the close of Frau Aszkanazy's report there was a lively discussion.

Regine Havas then pictured most impressively the misery of the innocent victims of these post-war conditions; the stateless children who, without protection from any state perish mentally and physically.

Professor Ruysen told of the attempts made by the League of Nations Union to abolish statelessness. Unfortunately the results are very unsatisfactory. He suggested that the League of Nations should create new and more effective laws.

Dr. Egidio Reale of the League for the Rights of Man, during the vivid discussion that resulted from Prof. Ruysen's report, argued that the collapse of the monarchy not only created the stateless but also a new class of persons who on account of their opinions would be deprived by the government of their own country if they had one, of their undoubted right to citizenship. Prof. Ruysen was of the opinion that such cases as these were the *internal concern* of the countries involved.

In his excellent address in the afternoon, Dr. Reale pointed to the Russian refugees, who had fled before the bolshevik rulers and yet were supported most effectively by the League of Nations and received Nansen-passports. Was this not an interference in the internal matters of Russia? But if so, what is right for the Russian bourgeois refugees, must also be right for the Italian and Hungarian socialist refugees!...

Lord Dickinson said, this problem was one of the worst postwar problems and must be solved. But it could only be accomplished if the nations declared categorically that statelessness is absolutely inadmissible and that everybody must have a nationality; further the nations must define the exact rights of these people and create laws that cannot be evaded... He said the League of Nations Union demanded a research commission and he advised the W. I. L. to support this demand. He also advised that we should try to bring the question before the Fifth Commission of the League of Nations.

The last speaker of the forenoon was Miss Emma Cadbury of the

Society of Friends. She told about individual cases of statelessness with which she had come in contact through her activity, and it was with the most profound emotion that the audience listened to her report. Miss van Eeghen of the International Council of Women said, the problem was of such vital importance that the I. C. W. wished most earnestly to cooperate.

The Conference continued in the afternoon presided over by Clara Ragaz. A message from Romain Rolland was read as well as a warm letter of support from Albert Einstein.

Suggestions by Dr. Lilla Wagner, who could not come in person, for the abolition of statelessness, were read, and Mrs. Miskolczy-Meller from Budapest, gave a survey of the propositions which it was suggested to submit to the League of Nations.

Dr. Zellweger of Zurich spoke of the Swiss laws which before the war had almost abolished statelessness. Since the war, even this tolerant country has become conservative on this delicate problem and is now trying to get rid of the stateless and not to absorb them.

Frau Blanck of the International Council of Women told of the situation in Germany which could be termed humane in so far as there the stateless can get work and also derive aid from public institutions. The stateless there receive an identity paper and an interim passport. However they are obliged to pay a rather high tax, and the interim passport is not recognized by many governments, so that the liberty of the stateless is very limited.

Several members made excellent practical suggestions, for instance Dr. Hilda Clark, Mosa Anderson, Mme. Hauchmann, Mme. Aberson.

A resolution was then passed calling for a deputation of six members of the committee to the British Delegation of the League of Nations in order to arouse interest for this problem.

Deputation On Statelessness

On September 10th a deputation of W. I. L. members consisting of Miss Mary Sheepshanks, Miss Emma Cadbury, Dr. Hilda Clark, Mme. Regine Havas, Mme. Eugénie Meller and Mme. Anna Aszkanazy was received in the Assembly Hall of the League of Nations by the following members of the Delegation from Great Britain; Mr. Charles Rodin Buxton, Mrs. Hamilton and Miss Ellen Wilkinson. The problem of statelessness was then presented by the various speakers, and the resolution asking that a commission be appointed by the League of Nations to take this matter up.

THE W. I. L. P. F. SUMMER SCHOOL IN BULGARIA

My Impressions Dorothy Woodman

The summer school in Bulgaria was so crowded with impressions, and with experiences, that it is very difficult to describe it within the limits of *Pax International*. A summer school separate from the problems of the country in which it is held might be possible in England or in America or in France, but in Bulgaria the problems of the country became those of the school and outsiders temporarily were members of a family seeking a solution. I use the word "family" deliberately: the Bulgarian section was so kind, so hospitable, so considerate that it was impossible not to feel at home.

The summer school was particularly interesting because nearly every event, whether a lecture, or a social gathering, or an excursion gave the students opportunities of studying the problems of Bulgaria, especially those concerning Minorities. The school was formally opened by the Archbishop of Sofia who is also President of the Bulgarian Section of the World Alliance for promoting Peace among the Churches, and by the Mayor of Sofia, M. Detchev. Professor Dr. Kirov, President of the League of Nations Society gave the first lecture on ways of perfecting the League of Nations. Madame Chichmanova, Vice-President of the Bulgarian Section, lectured on "Esperanto and Peace". Political problems and humanitarian problems facing the nations today, and the work of the W. I. L. in attempting to contribute towards their solution, formed the subject of a particularly interesting lecture by Miss Sheepshanks.

An issue of *Pax International* would not be enough to give an adequate survey of the brilliant lectures containing mines of information and which will be available in a report of the school to be published shortly by the Bulgarian Section. But no account of the school can be complete without reference to such interesting lectures as those on the subject of the Minorities problems in general and particularly those of the Macedonians by M. Ivan Gheorgov, Professor of Philosophy, and member of the Bulgarian Academy of Science, by Dr. Stanishev, the President of the National Union of Macedonians, and by M. Yordan Tkatrof who undoubtedly is destined to make a great contribution to the cause of Macedonia. Dr. Ivan Penakov gave a lecture full of valuable statistics and information concerning the Bulgarian minority in the Dobrudja.

Another subject of great interest to the school was, "The Balkan

Federation" discussed by M. Boris Petkov a well known Bulgarian publicist. One afternoon, we were able to hear M. D. Michev who has written the most interesting of all histories on Bulgaria. Other lectures included one by Mme. Aruskov, the Danish delegate who spoke on pacifist education in her country, another by Dr. André Stoyanov on music and life, and yet another by Mlle. Patiana Kirchof who gave a brilliant discourse on the economic reorganisation of the world.

Apart from these lectures, the Bulgarian Section arranged several extremely successful public meetings. And what public meetings they were! Halls were crowded out, and hundreds of people listened attentively for hours to speeches which, generally, were translated. Speakers included representatives from several W. I. L. Sections: Mme. Drevet from France, Frau Schwangart from Germany, Mme. Arnskov from Denmark, Frau Woker from Switzerland, Mme. Hrdlickova from Czechoslovakia, and Miss Woodman from Great Britain. Such meetings must have resulted in a good deal of publicity for the Bulgarian Section, and there are hopes that they will lead to a considerable increase in membership and activities...

"I left Bulgaria with a deep sense of gratitude to the W. I. L. Section for all its hospitality and kindness, and for all that was done by Madame Karavelova and her splendid committee to make the Summer School a success.

My Impressions Mary Sheepshanks

The School met from August 24th till September 9th. The preparations and organisation by the Bulgarian Section were admirable. Everything imaginable was foreseen and prepared for in the practical working of the School. Programmes were printed and a second and final edition was ready at the beginning of the course. Rooms for the foreign visitors were taken for them beforehand, every train was met, every student at the school was escorted to her hotel during the first days and escorted to the building where the school was held. Excellent meals at moderate prices were provided at the school, in short nothing was left undone for the comfort of those who came from foreign countries...

As the lectures at the Summer School have already been dealt with I wish to deal with the interesting excursions organized. A visit was arranged to the distant monastery of Rilo that those attending from other countries might be shown a large part of Bulgaria and in particular a monument which since the 9th century has been the centre of Bulgarian religious and social life, and has been main-

tained intact during the Turkish rule. As a great popular pilgrimage for the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin was taking place on August 28th, it was arranged for our party to make the journey to Rilo on the 26th. In a fleet of motor cars we made the journey from Sofia to Rilo passing through a number of towns and villages on the way which gave a fair idea of both country and town life in Bulgaria. Rilo lies hidden far up a mountain gorge and our motor car for several hours passed little parties of peasants proceeding either on foot or in their country carts, whole families together, with blankets, pots and pans and hay for the horses, all wending their way to the monastery. These peasants had come from all over, some from the Danube, others from the neighbourhood of Philipopolis. To Westerners it was a strange and unforgettable sight. The vast monastery with its great courtyard and arcaded buildings, the Byzantine church covered with frescoes and the great crowds of people all in their national costumes... The following afternoon after our arrival we walked out to a quiet field and a delightful lecture on folk music was given with illustrations...

On Thursday the 28th, the festal day, mass began in the church from three a.m. and as one mass ended, another began. In consequence of the great heat, our party made an early start. At six a.m. we left the monastery with regrets and started for our second drive through beautiful country which led through Samakov to the mountain resort of Tchankoria, where we were hospitably entertained by Mme. Malinov and many other kind friends. Return was made to Sofia on the following day.

Among the various entertainments arranged by the Bulgarian Section was a gala performance at the Opera of the Bulgarian opera "The Flower" which pictures life in Macedoia under the Turks.

It must be said in brief that the two objects chiefly in view in holding this Summer School were not achieved. One object was the bringing together of the women of Rumania, and Yugoslavia but unfortunately no women attended either from Rumania or from Yugoslavia. In the second place, it had been hoped to bring lectures and speakers from Western Europe to show fresh aspects of the work of our League to the Balkan countries, but very few were present...

In conclusion a most hearty tribute must be paid to the extraordinary hospitality and generosity shown by the Bulgarian Section and their friends and to the enormous amount of devoted work which they put into the organisation of the school. Mme. Karaveloff herself was in this respect a model for all.

Danger Of Monarchy In Hungary ?

OLGA MISAR

On the 31st of August the "Neue Freie Presse", Vienna, published a very interesting article by its Hungarian correspondent on this subject, saying that Hungarian Aristocrats are aiming at the restoration of Monarchy and intend to crown Otto Hapsburg, who will be of age in October, King. These preparations are a danger for the peace of Central Europe because a return of the Hapsburgs would mean a revision of the Peace Treaties and an intensifying of the monarchistic propaganda in the neighboring countries.

For foreign readers it will seem strange that a country which has been oppressed by this very house of Hapsburg and whose fight for liberty, for instance under the popular leader Kossuth, has been frustrated in blood, should now work persistently for the Hapsburg restoration. The fact is, however, that the powerful Hungarian Aristocrats do not desire the return of Monarchy from love of the "legitimate" heir, but in order to strengthen their position and render secure their power over the starving agricultural proletariat and the destitute industrial workers. Just at present a monarchist insurrection would be a venture, because of the inner difficulties and the economic crisis, particularly as the unemployed receive no doles, but the Hungarian Aristocrats are continually working to remove these difficulties and are trying most cleverly to put off their solution until they have conquered the difficulties which face Hungary from outside. The "Neue Freie Presse" writes on this subject,

"Every foreign intervention to prevent the crowning of Otto must be avoided. It seems certain that Rumania will not protest, that England is indifferent with regard to the throne of Hungary, that France will keep silent. People think that

all will depend on the position Italy takes up. Mussolini is supposed to be of the opinion that Otto Hapsburg would be the right king for Hungary. If he should one day declare this in the council of the powers and say that the question of the throne of Hungary is only an inner political question of that country, then Hungary would no more have to fear foreign complications. In this way it is safe to say that the question of a Hungarian King depends on when Mussolini will see fit to give the cue."

Seeing that Mussolini is trying to become the leading power in Central Europe by his attitude toward this question, it does not seem likely that English foreign policy will help him. But in any case it seems very necessary to observe the further development of this question with great attention.

W. I. L. Executive Meeting

The meeting place of the international Executive has been unavoidably changed and is now to be Amsterdam on the 10th of October. The Standing Committees will meet on the two preceding days.

Chemical Warfare

An abridged report of the papers on chemical warfare read at a conference of the W. I. L. at Frankfurt-am-Main in 1929 is now printed in English. It is very effective material to use in making speeches on disarmament. No member of the W. I. L. should be without it. Chemical Warfare, Williams and Nargate Ltd., London, price 2 shillings, copies may also be had from Geneva Headquarters.

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