Papers Rosa Manus
Inventarismnummer: 0036
SALLE DE LA RÉFORMATION

Dimanche 15 Octobre 1933

Grande Manifestation
pour le DÉSARMEMENT

Le Groupe consultatif International pour le Désarmement sous les auspices duquel a lieu ce grand meeting était également représenté dans la députation qui a remis les pétitions couvertes de 12 millions de signatures à M. Henderson, le 6 février 1932.

Ce groupe comprend les organisations suivantes:
- Union Interparlementaire.
- Union des Associations pour la Société des Nations.
- Comité du Désarmement des Organisations chrétiennes internationales.
- Comité du Désarmement des Organisations féminines internationales.
- Conseil Britannique pour le Désarmement.
- Conseil Américain pour le Désarmement.
- Comité de Désarmement des Organisations internationales d'étudiants C.I.A.M.A.C.

The International Consultative Group for Disarmament which is responsible for this great Public Meeting was also fully represented in the Deputation which presented the twelve million Petitions to Mr. Henderson on the 6th February, 1932.

The Group consists of the following Societies:
- The Inter-Parliamentary Union.
- The Federation of League of Nations Societies.
- Disarmament Committee, Christian International Organisations.
- Disarmament Committee, Women's International Organisations.
- British Council on Disarmament.
- American Council on Disarmament.
- Disarmament Committee, Students' International Organisations.
- C. I. A. M. A. C.

Die Internationale beratende Gruppe für Abrüstung, die diese grosse Versammlung veranstaltet, war auch in der Delegation vertreten, die am 6. Februar 1932 Mr. Henderson die 12 Millionen Unterschriften überreichte.

Die Gruppe umfasst folgende Organisationen:
- Die Interparlamentarische Union.
- Den Verband der Völkerbundvereinigungen.
- Das Abrüstungskomitee des Internationalen Frauenorganisationen.
- Den Britischen Abrüstungsrat.
- Den Amerikanischen Abrüstungsrat.
- Das Abrüstungskomitee der Internationalen Studentenorganisationen.
LA MANIFESTATION EN FAVEUR DU DÉSARMEMENT
Le 15 octobre 1933 - Salle de la Réformation

LE TEXTE DE LA RÉSOLUTION :

L’Assemblée

Exprime ses vœux les plus ardents pour le succès final de la Conférence mondiale du Désarmement et pour la conclusion d’une convention assurant l’égalité de statut et la sécurité à tous les États, et la co-opération des États pour éduquer leur opinion publique dans l’esprit et les méthodes de la Paix, et comprenant au moins les mesures suivantes :

Abolition, dans un délai donné, des « armements agressifs », y compris les armements aériens.

Réduction substantielle des armements, et la limitation des dépenses militaires.

Organisation permanente assurant un contrôle rigoureux des armements, de leur fabrication et de leur commerce, prévenant le réarmer de tout État et continuant l’action pour le désarmement.

DISARMAMENT - DEMONSTRATION
October 15th, 1933 - Salle de la Réformation

TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION :

This Meeting

Expresses its earnest desire for the successful issue of the World Disarmament Conference and the conclusion of a Convention assuring equality of status and security for all nations and the co-operation of states to educate their public opinion in the spirit and methods of peace, and embodying at least the following points :

Abolition within a specified period of “aggressive weapons”, including the air weapon.

Substantial reduction of armaments and limitation of expenditure.

A permanent organisation to exercise a strict supervision of existing armaments including their manufacture and sale, to prevent re-armament by any State, and to prepare for further disarmament.

ABRÜSTUNGSKUNDGEGBUNG
15. Oktober 1933 - Salle de la Réformation

WORTLAUT DER ENTSCHLIESSUNG :

Diese Versammlung

Spricht den brennenden Wunsch aus nach einem erfolgreichen Ausgang der Abrüstungskonferenz und dem Abschluss eines Vertrages, der Gleichberechtigung und Sicherheit für alle Völker gewährleistet, die Zusammenarbeit der Regierungen zur Erziehung der öffentlichen Meinung im Geist des Friedens und seiner Förderung sichert, und mindestens die folgenden Bedingungen in sich schliesst :

Die Abschaffung der «Angriffswaffen» einschliesslich der Luftwaffe, innerhalb einer bestimmten Zeitspanne.

Eine bedeutende Einschränkung der Rüstungen und eine Begrenzung der Rüstungsausgaben.

Ein ständiges Organ zur strengen Kontrolle vorhandener Rüstungen, einschliesslich der Herstellung und des Handels, zur Vorbeugung der Aufrüstung bei allen Staaten und zur Vorbereitung weiterer Abrüstung.
COOPERATE

COOPERATE! cries our NRA. "Competitors, get together! Capital and labor, get together! Farmers and manufacturers, producers and consumers, employers and employed, cooperate with one another and with your President! This is the way to Recovery. Now, all together!"

COOPERATE! cries Mussolini to his people. "Why should Italians fight each other?" COOPERATE! cries Stalin to the Russians. COOPERATE! cries Hitler to the Germans. COOPERATE! cry the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations to one another. And still their anxiously awaited prosperity lingers just around the corner.

Planned National Economies Not Enough

Why are the nations that have preceded us on the road of nationally planned economies not basking in the sunshine of economic recovery? The answer is obvious in every case. Italy is not, and cannot be, a self-contained economic unit. "Seventy-five per cent of the essentials of life come to us by sea," Dino Grandi declared at the London Naval Conference. Russia is not a self-contained unit. She wants a billion dollars' worth of our products today. Germany is not a self-contained unit. Her vast economic machine requires world markets and a world to feed it. The British Empire is not a self-contained unit despite its size. The British Dominions cannot reduce their production of wheat and wool to the Empire's needs nor can England live on the Empire's trade.

Three Possible Roads

Then what are they to do? Three possible courses lie before them. They may, like Japan, seek a balanced national economy by conquest. They may, as we are now doing, undertake to build an economic empire by tariff agreements. Or they may extend the application of this universal slogan COOPERATE to include in realistic fashion the actual economic unit, the world.

Japan's example is not likely at present to inspire Italy or Germany with the desire of emulation. She has temporarily taken from China the political control of the raw materials that she wanted, but has she achieved the coveted economic security? Far from it! Unless China buys her cotton goods, unless the United States buys her silk, she still faces economic ruin. Her trade diminishes; her debts pile up. She is morally isolated. The withdrawal of the United States marines from Nicaragua and Haiti is a lesson in the failure of military occupation to create goodwill which she would do well to profit by.

Nor is our present effort to build a Pan-American economic empire likely to turn out any more successfully than Japan's military adventure. Our Latin American neighbors have shown no enthusiasm hitherto over becoming the tail of our kite. To become economically dependent upon the United States market as the Philippines have done means eventual ruin when withdrawal is contemplated. Besides, the exports of several Latin American countries, and particularly Argentina, are competitive with ours and reciprocal tariff agreements become far more artificial in consequence than similar agreements with various of the European countries.

Only World Planning Will Suffice

The third possible course of action, frank acceptance of the world as the actual economic unit and the shaping of our national planning towards eventual world planning is the only course that offers solid hope of permanent recovery to any nation or group of nations. If cooperation is a sound slogan within a nation, why is it not sound between nations? On what principle do our nationalists exclude our best customer, Great Britain, from cooperation with us? Do we not admittedly need Russia's trade? Then why throw away England's? or Germany's? Or Japan's? And why should Japan or Germany or Great Britain throw away our trade?
Before our 15,000,000 unemployed are back at work we shall find, the best we can do nationally, that we require a policy of international market.

Tariffs to Guard Living Standards Justified

But, so the nationalistic purist runs, we are regarding our manufactures to enforce wages and cut working hours. They must be fair, he believes, by tariffs to lower living standards abroad. Very well! No one denies it except the theoretical free traders. International cooperation will be furthered, rather than retarded, by intelligent national planning. We were unable to limit wheat production internationally until we could limit our own. But as we have limited our own production we faced the necessity of limiting world production by international cooperation. Secrecy hall has examined throughout the Economic Conference that world planning is supplementary to national planning and not inconsistent with it.

Calumnous Disregard of Others’ Welfare Stupid

Tariffs doubtless have their place in a world in which living standards vary widely, but international cooperation can and should in time raise the living standards of backward states. The International Labor Organizatio at Geneva was founded with the purest of purposes and before long our labor leaders will come to realize its importance as a protection to the standards of advanced nations, and that the issue between the extreme nationalist of certain groups and the voice of internationalism with respect to tariffs concerns particularly the manner and spirit in which the program is pursued. When calumnous disregard of the welfare of other nations governs tariff measures, nepotism follow and property fails to materialize. Nationalism, in the sense of being anti-everybody, is as stupid and as unprofitable as cut-throat competition and labor wars have been. Just as Prince and Great Britain have come to recognize their need of a peacetime Germany, so, we all need to realize that in the present interdependent world general prosperity is advantageous to all and should be sought by all.

Stagnation of Sea Ports Follows Loss of World Trade

The argument sometimes heard that we do not need foreign trade because it represents only ten per cent of our trade. The price paid for the stagnation of our great sea ports that would follow (as is the ruling of our ships at their docks, the lack to our railways, and the idleness of the 2,000,000 families that normally depend on our foreign trade for their means of livelihood) is greater than the loss of the present rearmament, a power-conscious Europe would solve half our problems.

WHOM SHALL WE BOYCOTT TODAY?

It is significant of the spirit of our times that on the same day that our country announced an impending boycott for all who do not accept the NRA Program and Samuel Untermyer summoned us to boy-cott the policies of the Great Britain and the United States as traitors with the Germans. A little while ago it was Japan. Before that it was Russia. It is the hangover of our past for the present dispensing of those ex-foreigners who do not conform with one’s wishes. "Off with their heads!"

Most of us are cooperating with the President in this great experiment to restore prosperity. It is common interest to do so. We need at the same time to cooperate with him in guarding the experiment from becoming a massacre to our liberties. We are traveling a road of the end of which is likely to be favorable if we adopt the methods of mass coercion. The President has laws enough for dealing with recalcitrants without using mob psychology. War hysteria running riot in every village would do the nation more harm than the depression.

New York Rejects Coercive Policies

New York City has rejected coercion as a part of its program. Mr. Whalen’s Committee, according to the New York Times of August 8, has announced that there will be no rent controls, no secession, no embargo, no national service law; any sort and the words “boycott” and “blacklist” will be ruled out entirely. As that there is real danger of wrecking the whole great experiment on the rocks of illusory coercion is re- vealed in the New York Times of August 8 that General Johnson has made Mary E. Hughes commander of an army of 15,000 women, more less a "masselin." To form our districts and children who cheat on General Hugh S. Johnson’s "masselin." While Miss Hughes denied to the Post reporter that an "organ" was contemplated in her organization, filling the country with spies organized in military fashion would be a long step in that direction. As the "organ" is real danger of wrecking the whole great experiment.

POST OFFICES MAY DISPLAY PACT POSTER

The Kellogg Pact is being displayed again in our post offices. Dr. Charles M. Sheldon of Topinka, Kansas, is advising the Postmaster General to have the Kellogg Pact displayed in the Post Office Department and the Treasury Department, and with the aid of the women of the United States, the poster is displayed in a trim white standard size. Sandburg has secured a metal in front of the new Federal Building of Topinka beside the army and navy recruiting posters.

The Hoover Administration, in the summer of 1929, authorized the display of the Kellogg Pact in all the post offices of the United States. More than 60,000 copies were sent from our office to all our post offices with the cooperation of the Postmaster General.

The W. T. L. is urging the observance of August 27 again this year as "Peace Pact Day." It is the 16th anniversary of the signing of the Pact. Should not your post office, particularly right now, promote the idea that the United States and the world should keep the sins of the War and Navy Departments? And is our policy of diplomacy to be represented by the "Peace Pact Day"? A post office at least 10 cents, postpaid. It includes a Pact poster.

SUGGESTED FORM OF REQUEST TO

The National Council for Prevention of War

I request the sum of $ for the National Council for Prevention of War, an organization incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia.

Number 8

National Council for Prevention of War News Bulletin

AUGUST, 1934

President Wilson launched in 1916 a naval program designed to give us control of the sea. He continued it with in 1919 after the war was over, partly as a result of his personal opponents that either we must join the League of Nations or be prepared to fight. By 1921 the relations between the United States and Japan, which ended at that time an alliance with Great Britain, had become so strained that our highest naval officials regarded war as inevitable while Japan’s public opinion was firmly convinced that we were about to attack her. The Washington Treaties of 1922 so lim-

ized the three great navies of the United States, Great Britain, and Japan, that an attack upon any of the three nations by any of the others practically impossible. Each was made supreme in its own waters. President Roosevelt, in 1932, proposed another huge naval building program which has precipitated another naval arms race. This year’s New Year’s resolution is to spend $75,000,000 in order to start construction of four more big cruisers while seven are still in process of building, two aircraft carriers, twenty destroyers, four submarines and two gunboats for Chinese waters. Secretary Stimson, not content with this, asked the President to divert from construction use $11,000,000 more of borrowed money, with which to recondition our latest battleships and other war vessels and construct two new naval bases on the Pacific Coast.

The whole world knows that this program is an answer to Japan’s building up to the London Treaty limits and her announcement that she will ask for parity at the 1935 Conference.

Japan has met our challenge with the greatest army and navy budget in her history, just as our naval budget is the greatest peace-time budget in our history. Reports from Japan, I think it is safe to say, are not likely to be passing by that Japan’s leaders regard this program as forced on her by our program; that again her military propaganda is to the effect that the United States is going to attack her and that she must be prepared.

Great Britain has naturally not failed to take note of our program. Already it is obvious, even properly to solve an opportunity to add to the British fleet, are demanding appropriations that shall prevent Great Britain from falling behind us in the race.

In any case, outside military circles, as naive as to the effect that this would be the development of military education. It creates fear and suspicion, excites hate and leads to increased war propaganda in the moving picture theatres and the propaganda press on both sides of the water. An in- deed, might be escalated into a crisis. A grave situation has arisen, that makes arms reduction more difficult and yet more imperative. As far as the present Disarmament Conference is concerned, our Government’s announcement of a constructive agreement antagonizes in importance this naval building program. But let us not deceive ourselves as to the tendency of a naval race like this.

What Can You Do About It?

The diversion of the additional $11,000,000 has not yet occurred. Write THE PRESIDENT, THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C., at once, if you have not already done so, to prevent that. Then read the plans for disarmament meetings described on pages 7 and 8 of this News Bulletin. Why not make your own campaign of meetings in October.
BOOKS IN A CHANGING WORLD
FLORENCE BRENNER BOEKELK

This period of reunion in the public activities of the two great world conferences is by no means a period of actual reunion, yet it leads at least in part to our new pact. The delegates have gathered here to enter into the second session of the Disarmament Conference described on the last two pages of this Bulletin. In the matter of the Economic Conference, you probably felt the need of doing some reading.

There is nothing better by a way of a guide for your own reading or as a basis for a library display than the pamphlet just published by the American Library Association, "World Depression and World Recovery," by Harry D. Grosone of the University of Chicago. His discussion and the ten books which he recommends touch each to the very quick of the problems that confront the country as a whole and the peace movement in particular.

To begin with the magazines, among the articles in this month's issues is one on the "Manikins Traffic" by Constance Srull in the North American Review, which is a very intelligent and interesting summary of what has been done up to date to control what was recognized in the League of Nations Covenant as the "evil of the private manufacture of munitions and implements of war." The arms embargo resolution, waiting for action when Congress reconvenes, and the importance of this topic in the discussions at the Disarmament Conference, gives this article special interest. The "Manikins Traffic," the "Manikins Weekly" is a small weekly with profound advice as to the necessity for planning a new world society, granted that we are to have any society at all, needs no further recommendation than the name of its author, Sir Arthur Selier. The relation of the world economic system to political world organization is set forth in rich detail for the student of world affairs in "World Prosperity" by Wallace McCharen, a member of the State Department and formerly its economic advisor. The volume deals specifically with the economic work of the League of Nations and is the first comprehensive account of just what this has been. More generally, the League has been completed by C. K. Webster, a British authority on world affairs, under the title of "The League of Nations and World Practice" which concludes with a particularly interesting section on the extent of present attempts by Sidney Herbert. For those who are seeking a thoroughgoing understanding of monetary problems a new publication by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, "Monetary Problems and the Depression," is of importance.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR. Edited by Lawrence Steiglitz. 297 pp. N. Y. : Simon & Schuster. 1931. 1.50


THE FRAMEWORK OF AN OVERSEAS ORDER, by Arthur Aylward. 80 pp. N. Y. : Macmillan. 1931. 75 c.

WORLD PROSPERITY. Wallace McCharen. 431 pp. N. Y. : Macmillan. 1931. 8.50


The above telegram from Paul Harris comes from a farm stand off the coast of Maine where he has gone for a rest at the doctor's orders.

Even when living on an isolated island twenty miles off the coast, Paul apparently can't stop thinking about the Youth Movement for World Recovery and the work for peace. Read this letter into which he has put part of the thoughts that come to him as he rambles on the pine-fragrant woods or listens to the study serenade of the island birds.

"Here finds a place for rest and thought. I think it is. I am staying on the chosen location on the island, only a hundred yards from the beach. It directly overlooks the harbor and commands a portion of the ocean. The proceedings are being unusually kind and are making me feel so at home I don't want to leave.

Lighthouses for Peace!

"Here the transatlantic flyers have at times come over. The lighthouse speaks to the great ships, and they feel that it is on the highway of the planet. Men's attempts to reach their fellows in spots of danger and distance are very real here. As I sit here, looking at this beauty and enjoying this friendship of these people, I think of the outreaching of men to find friends of other men and to show themselves friendly. The lighthouses speak of dangers and try to avoid them. The keepers are carefully charted and none strive to enter in.

My thoughts go back almost twenty years to the young men and the young women of 1914. Nineteen years ago they went to war and with high hopes. But their elders had built no lighthouses or perhaps wrong ones, and the war that began on August 1, 1914, has drained those ten million youth onto the rocks and killed them. What a need for lighthouses to be built! With ten million killed in the last World War, three million lost, six million wounded seriously, fourteen million more wounded somewhat less seriously but left as definite casualties, thirteen million civilians killed, nine million orphans left and five million widows—surely, we in August, 1933, must think of the eternal lighthouses that say, 'Here is death! War is death! Steer clear of these rocks!'"

"My thoughts go back, too, to 1934. For August 27 of that year, just two years ago, the nations had the foundations for a safe harbor. They signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact that recognized war and pledged pacific settlement of disputes. Here is our hope of a lighthouseed world's coast. Here must we chart the channel better. Here must we find the alternatives to war."

"I wish I could tell all the readers of this page, 'Come to me with this month of August. Sit down with me in this outlook of our nation and look out across the sea to the other lands. Think with me of lighthouses and the building of channels and harbors. Plan with me this month to work next fall and winter for a safe world."

"We must lay the world's paths in ways of safety and friendship."

The Thought is Mightier Than the Knife!

Now, all of you who promised not to be hot weather shut-ins, have you made plans for a social need to communicatng the signing of the Kellogg-Briand Pact of August 27? If you haven't, get busy. You have just time to do it. And before you go off to school, or organize your new camp or friends for a whirling big disarmament meeting in October, read (see pages 7 and 8 of this issue), so that you'll know they're on the band wagon before you leave them to their own devices.

In this "month for thinking" sit down long enough to outline your own plans for peace action for the fall and winter. This world situation requires a deal of thinking. And remember, we have suggestions on that for you at 317 Seventeenth Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C.

RUTH SARKEL, "Punch-Hitter for Paul Harris, Jr."
BRIEF NOTES

Mrs. Laura Fuller Morgan is born a year after and in all at Geneva following the Disarmament Conference. It is unnecessary to tell readers of this News Bulletin that Mrs. Morgan is an expert on the problems of Disarmament. After September 3 and until September 27 Mrs. Morgan will be available for a limited number of speaking engagements. She would ask only a fee to cover expenses. Please communicate with this office.

The Annual Meeting of the N. C. P. W. will be held this year in Washington, September 30, October 1 and 2. The week-end has been chosen to encourage a larger out-of-town attendance which might otherwise be impossible. No sessions will be held Sunday afternoon. Mrs. Morgan's presence will contribute greatly to the program, which will center about the main themes of the Disarmament Conference, our naval race with Japan, and internation political cooperation. Details of the program may be obtained by writing this office.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation will hold its Annual Conference October 13-15 at Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, in cooperation with the W. L. L. The general topic is "Facsimile in the World Crisis."

The militaristic forces of Wisconsin introduced a bill in the Wisconsin Assembly this spring to restore the compulsory status of military training at the State University. For several years this university has been the only land grant college with optional military training. It is the belief of the Committee on disarmament that everything was going against the militarists until a radical student, so we are told, frightened the legislators into thinking that such views had held a dominant position in the defense of discipline. But the Wisconsin legislature passed the bill making military training compulsory. Governor "Spedding" vetoed it.

If you are at the Chicago Fair between September 12 and 16, you will have opportunity to attend a great allegorical drama of world brotherhood written by Marion Craig Werner under the title "The Song of the Globe." The fair is sponsored by the Chicago Church Federation in cooperation with the peace organizations of the city. It will be staged in the open air Playland Theater.

It was in 1929 that Zangara, who would assassinate President Roosevelt and murderer of Mayor Cermak, was naturalized, and it was in 1919 that Reich Schimmmer was denied citizenship because she refused to pledge herself to take up arms. Zangara had no such victim; Schimmmer and therefore was worthy of a different point of view. Is it not time to put American citizenship on a different and higher level than this of being willfully to

SINCE "MANCHUKUO" DOES NOT EXIST, WHAT THEN?

On June 19 the circular letter addressed to Government by the Agency for the success of the Disarmament Conference has been launched during the last weeks by an international group in Geneva. It should not be in the least surprising to read the following paragraph: "The proposal of the Agency for the success of the Disarmament Conference is to launch a project to frame the agencies through the disarming the Plenipotentiary Conference. This is a project to govern the Conference: the necessary machinery for overtaking obstacles and quickly reaching decisions when it meets again on October 16th. For while the Conference has adjourned its public sessions, it has not postponed its activities but is proceeding to another phase, with the responsibility, for the first time, transferred from the General Commission to its President, Mr. Henderson, who, by mandate of the Commission, is conducting negotiations in the various European capitals. These preliminary conversations seem to have made satisfactory progress and will be followed, it is expected, by negotiations between the great powers, especially those of the Great Powers, when their representatives gather in Geneva in September for the annual League Assembly, three weeks before the reconvening of the Conference itself.

"Success" Means a Treaty France and Germany Will Sign

No one can deny that many controversial questions are still at issue and that only by mutual concessions can the obstacles be removed, but that does not in the least prevent each country from seeing in this movement a hope of success. What does it mean? Is it to the present tenseness of the world political situation, it cannot be that the two conflicting sides will be able to agree in a way through, away from the glare of full publicity. Many expect that the French government will believe that it has not been for the interruption of the World Economic Conference, which not only took the leading delegates to London but diverted their attention from disarmament for a considerable period, the way to success might have already been found. Considerable progress has already been made towards agreement on many difficult points and if these gains registered are not lost, the Conference has a better chance of success than it has ever had before. "Success" means a treaty both that Germany and France will sign. Such a result is of the utmost importance to all peoples, as anyone can see.

Importance Concessions Agreed Upon

It was a concession of the first importance, for example, when Chancellor Hitler announced that the German Government would agree to the transformation of the German army from a 12-year professional system to an annual militia system which should be fulfilled throughout Europe and again that the government would accept the present restrictions for Germany in the next aggressor war. Moreover the other Powers would agree to their abolition within a definite period.

WORLDWIDE MOBILIZATION FOR DISARMAMENT

A worldwide intensive effort towards a fresh mobilization of public opinion for the success of the Disarmament Conference has been launched during the last weeks by an international group in Geneva. It should not be in the least surprising to read the following paragraph: "The proposal of the Agency for the success of the Disarmament Conference is to launch a project to frame the agencies through the disarming the Plenipotentiary Conference. This is a project to govern the Conference: the necessary machinery for overtaking obstacles and quickly reaching decisions when it meets again on October 16th. For while the Conference has adjourned its public sessions, it has not postponed its activities but is proceeding to another phase, with the responsibility, for the first time, transferred from the General Commission to its President, Mr. Henderson, who, by mandate of the Commission, is conducting negotiations in the various European capitals. These preliminary conversations seem to have made satisfactory progress and will be followed, it is expected, by negotiations between the great powers, especially those of the Great Powers, when their representatives gather in Geneva in September for the annual League Assembly, three weeks before the reconvening of the Conference itself.

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Henderson Worries Because Success Possible

Mr. Henderson himself, replying to a message of confidence from the representatives of one of the U.S. forces for disarmament, frankly admitted the difficulties of the situation but showed no lack of confidence: "I think you know me sufficiently well to believe me when I say that I have insisted all the time that the world armed for peace can be defended against the armies of the next generation. I would frankly have said that. But like your Group I continue to believe in the possibility of success and today I beg the negotiations in Paris with confidence without harboring any illusions as to the difficulties which I must face."

The three months' interval between Conference sessions affords an opportunity for public opinion to re-formulate itself on the issues of the Conference; it may form a line of attack, to borrow a military analogy, and
to insist again that the Governments shall come to an agreement upon the points which shall make a Disarmament Treaty possible. It is preeminently a time to mobilize a great intensive effort by the organizations that favor disarmament.

Great Public Meeting in Geneva Planned

Such a plan for a worldwide mobilization of public opinion has been launched by a group of individuals in Geneva, known as the International Consultative Group, which is representative of practically all of the world’s voluntary peace forces, such as the Women’s International Organizations, the International Students Organizations, the Christian International Organizations, the Federation of League of Nations Societies, the International Organization of Ex-Service Men (C.I.A.M.A.C.), and the Interparliamentary Union. With all of the above organizations behind it, the project should be assured of support of public opinion throughout the world. It centers in a great meeting to be held in Geneva on Sunday, October 15, the eve of the reopening of the Disarmament Conference. Here once more, as on February 6, 1932, a solemn demonstration will be made of the desire of the peoples for real measures of disarmament. Viscount Cecil has agreed to act as organizing chairman and to be one of the principal speakers.

This meeting in Geneva is conceived, however, only as the climax and focus of a worldwide movement. The addresses at the meeting delivered by a few outstanding authorities on disarmament will be internationally broadcast. Spoken messages will be received from government and church heads.

Preliminary Meetings Throughout World

An integral part of the plan as conceived by the International Group is the setting up of preliminary meetings in every country and, so far as possible, in each center of public opinion which shall send messages to the central meeting in Geneva. Plans for such meetings are already under way in England launched by the League of Nations Union and by the Women’s Peace Crusade, which unites the efforts of some twenty or thirty national organizations. In the United States at least a thousand meetings should be held covering every section of the country. The National Council for Prevention of War has set itself the goal of at least one meeting in every Congressional District, with the responsibility of seeing that every Congressman shall be informed of this meeting and of the resolutions passed, even if he himself is not able to be present. These meetings in the United States would probably have to cover the first two weeks in October in order to enable speakers on disarmament to be used to their full capacity, and each meeting should be presided over by the mayor of the town or some equally outstanding political figure, who should send the message to the great meeting in Geneva.

Another feature planned is the collection of individual messages from eminent men and women of every profession and of every interest. This is a work upon which the organizations can be busy even during the holiday season.

Six-Point Minimum Necessary if Germany and France to Sign

But it is of little use for the public to demand real measures of disarmament without expressing in a sufficiently concrete form the measures which it will be willing to support. Absolutely essential points for a successful Disarmament Treaty should everywhere be pressed with all the Governments. Such a minimum program for the Disarmament Conference has been agreed upon in substance by the International Group which consists of individuals representing within themselves a number of the countries concerned, and will doubtless be used as the focal point for both the preliminary and the central meetings. It consists of the following six points:

1. Substantial reduction of existing armaments.
2. No re-armament.
3. Abolition of aggressive weapons within a definite period and with the immediate elimination of all bombing from the air, of the air weapon in general and of poison gas.
4. Limitation of expenditure to prevent rivalries in armaments.
5. Effective supervision of existing armaments and of armaments manufacture and trade.
6. A permanent organization to carry out the above provisions and to carry on the work begun by the Disarmament Conference.

These six points are so simple that they need no further elucidation. In the words of a member of the International Group,

If in the course of the next two months real agreements could be reached upon at least these six points, there would be little difficulty about forming a Disarmament Convention in the autumn.

It cannot be too often repeated that the choice before us is not disarmament or the status quo. We have to make a sterner decision. “It must be either controlled disarmament or uncontrolled competition in armaments. World order or world anarchy.”

LAURA PUFFER MORGAN.
By arrangement with the International Consultative Group, we are issuing copies of the Group Survey No. 5 "A Note on the Basis and Nature of Sanctions". It should be noted that this Survey, issued on January 15th, while prepared as the result of discussions by the Group, does not necessarily represent the views of all constituent organisations associated with the Group.

Geneva 15/1/36

A NOTE ON THE BASIS AND NATURE OF SANCTIONS

The action of the League since the Italian aggression of October 3, 1935 seems to call for some analysis for a proper understanding of the problem of sanctions, especially in view of impending developments. The fate of the Laval-Hoare proposal has shown:

1) that Art. XVI of the Covenant is becoming a living reality, and
2) that the Italo-Ethiopian dispute is likely to be dealt with by League procedure rather than by Great Power Diplomacy, at least in the immediate future.

The following is an attempt
1) to explain briefly the reasons which seem to determine the attitudes of sanctionist Governments, and
2) to deal with some larger aspects of the sanctions problem.*

I. SANCTIONIST ATTITUDES EXPLAINED.

1) Pro-Sanctionist Public Opinion.

It will be remembered that in the Sino-Japanese dispute sanctions were not applied, professedly because leading statesmen in some of the key-countries judged that public opinion was not ready for them. The resulting failure has perhaps been one of the main reasons for a growing public opinion that Art. XVI must be kept ready as an instrument of international order.

The British Peace Ballot showed that there are increasing numbers of people who desire international order to be maintained irrespective of imperial or diplomatic situations. The idealistic groundswell which later forced Sir Samuel Hoare out of office, and swept Mr Eden in, irrespective of party allegiance, is proof of the same attitude.

* No attempt will be made here to state the Italian Case. This, as well as the underlying issues of colonies and raw materials, will be dealt with in future statements.
In other countries also, similar forces of enlightened self-interest in collective defence against the aggressor became more and more demonstrative during the eight months (December 1934 to August 1935) when the Italo-Ethiopian dispute was being dealt with by Great Power diplomacy rather than by League procedure. Three particularly impressive manifestations may be mentioned:

1) The sanctions resolution of the Second Labor International passed at Brussels on August 19, 1935;
2) The Montreux Appeal of the Executive of the Universal Christian Council issued on August 24, 1935; and
3) The resolutions of eleven national League of Nations and Peace Societies in favor of an honest application of League principles passed mostly during August, and submitted on September 10, 1935.

These forces of public opinion have operated to a greater or lesser degree in all the sanctionist countries: it should be kept in mind that they underlie the more immediate and specialized sanctionist policies analysed below.

2) Great Britain (and the Dominions).

As for the British position there are two aspects to be considered. That there have been active, in London, influences desiring anti-Italian action for imperialistic reasons no one can deny, nor can it be asserted that such influences have had no effect. That these influences were not, even in the beginning, the decisive ones is, however, suggested by the fact that Mussolini's open offer to make a mutually profitable colonial deal with England at the expense of Ethiopia was not accepted. More than that: when Sir Samuel Hoare put forward, jointly with Monsieur Laval, proposals well calculated to protect British interests in Ethiopia, the British Government disowned his policy.

On the other side the positive evidence for the British position is too clear to leave any doubt: growing conviction that collective security constitutes the only solution of the war problem, and the expression of all of this in the spectacular results of the Peace Ballot. The British position has changed since (and perhaps because!) Japan was allowed to work her will in Manchuria - and, in addition, the practicability of sanctions action in the Mediterranean is infinitely greater than it was felt to be in the Far East. Finally, there is much labor and liberal opposition to Fascism and its glorification of war. In any

* growing fear of increased nationalism in Europe,
case the British action, in support of the League, is sound whatever its motivation may be.

Great Britain having chosen her ground, the Dominions ranged themselves behind her for reasons of both Imperial and League solidarity.

3) France. The position of France is much more ambiguous. France has been the leading advocate of League sanctions ever since 1919, but her insistence on developing Arts. XV and XVI into automatic obligations for League members, envisaged generally only one hypothetical case: an attack by Germany on the status quo in Europe. In addition to the League system, France has come to rely on a far-flung network of alliances and ententes, and an important milestone along this road had been the Laval-Mussolini entente of January 1935. France, therefore, found herself in the unenviable position where two choices were asked of her:

1) between the League system and an important member of her alliance system;
2) between her two Locarno and Stresa friends at a moment when the British navy and the Italian army seem almost equally indispensable to her.

Add to this the fact that Laval's Cabinet is based on a parliamentary block which includes both anti-fascists and friends of fascism - and M. Laval's carefully balancing attitude finds its natural explanation.

His policy has clearly followed one main line: to avoid any choice and to retard any decision as long as possible, but to cast France's decision with Britain and the League whenever a decision became inevitable.

This attitude has, perhaps, not been without advantages for the League. It has made the League advance cautiously, after the pros and cons had been thoroughly canvassed at each move. It has moderated what might otherwise have become excessive zeal on the part of some pro-sanctionist countries.

4) The USSR.
Since the beginning of September 1935, the USSR has taken a decided stand in favor of the strict application of the whole Covenant to the "dispute". This seems natural in view of the following considerations:
The USSR is resolutely anti-Fascist, and any action calculated to weaken Fascism is bound to find her hearty support;
The USSR is opposed to any manifestation of capitalistic imperialism;
Since the rise of Hitlerism in Germany and the German-
Polish arrangement, the Soviets have come to regard revisionism as threatening their own state, and have therefore changed over into the status quo camp:

Finally, any but the League method would exclude the USSR from participation in the Italo-Ethiopian settlement.

5) The Little Entente and the Balkan League.
The pro-sanctionist policy of these five states is determined partly by the fact Italy has appeared in Central and Balkan Europe as the protagonist of revisionism and of imperialist domination, whereas these states believe their very existence to depend on anti-revisionism and the maintenance of their own preponderance in that part of Europe. These States are further convinced that the Covenant, as applied up to now, offers the only existing juridical defence of the status quo, particularly in its Arts. X and XVI. Since the practical value of both these articles has been called in question by Italy's aggression, these five States cannot but stand behind them with all their energy.

6) The Scandinavian States (and other European Neutrals).
The pro-sanctionist attitude of the four Scandinavian countries (and a few other European neutrals, such as the Netherlands and Spain) deserves particular notice, since these countries are not directly involved in any game of power politics, and cannot be said to have any selfish interests to defend in the present conflict. Hence, their decision to uphold international law and order was made with speed and ease.

This policy is governed by the consideration that national security should be achieved by truly collective means. On August 30, 1935, the Foreign Ministers of the four Scandinavian countries, assembled in conference at Oslo, issued a communiqué expressing the hope "that this conflict will be dealt with in complete accordance with the stipulations of the Covenant, and they intend to support all the actions which may serve to preserve peace and maintain the League's principles of Law".

7) The United States.
Under the Constitution of the United States only Congress, and not the President, has power to regulate foreign commerce. The President could not have, by his own powers, restricted trade with Italy even if cooperation with the League in this matter had been in accord with American foreign policy. Furthermore, American policy on this point has been in a condition of evolution and uncertainty. In May 1933, the delegate of the United States in the Disarmament Conference, acting on Presidential instructions, pledged the United States not to interfere with League sanctions, and this position has since been maintained; the President could carry out such a
pledge himself because it would be he who would have to make (or not make) diplomatic protest over interference with American commerce. Further than this, both Department of State and White House have given evidence of desiring to use trade restriction to restrain or stop international aggression, either alone or in cooperation with League States, under the Briand-Kellogg Pact if not under the Covenant. But opponents of cooperation with the League, and of the organization of peace by designation of and application of restraint against the aggressor, as well as advocates of complete neutrality even in presence of League sanctions against an aggressor, and isolationists generally had refused to grant such powers to the President. They had instead, on August 31, 1935, required the President to cut off exports of arms and ammuni-
tion to both parties. It is this command which the Administra-
tion has been carrying out by its embargo legislation and by administrative pressure since October 5, 1935. In the present situation this results almost entirely in restrictions upon exports to Italy.

8) Germany.
The stand taken by Germany offers analogies both to the French and the American attitudes:

To the American in the underlying political theory and in the action flowing from it: a desire "to keep out of it" arising from strong isolationist tendencies; hence a policy of technical neutrality, of refusal officially to consider the question of aggression, and of far-reaching embargoes toward both belligerents which, in the present case, happen to favor the sanctionist cause. This policy finds its popular background in a strong sentiment against war-profiteering, and in sympathy for a practically unarmed people attacked by the most modern machinery.

The similarity to the French position results from the necessity of making choices between the two guarantor partners of the Locarno Treaty. Like the Laval Cabinet, the Hitler Government hesitate to take sides any more than indispensable, and similarly, any choice is likely to be on the more powerful, i.e., the British side. An important consideration for this tendency relates also to Austria: self-determination for Austria, one of the cardinal points of German policy, has been opposed much more ruthlessly by Italy than by Great Britain.

9) Other Hesitant States.
Certain member-states have adopted policies more or less divergent from the action of the League.

Switzerland has refused to join the boycott, and only undertaken not to increase its existing trade with the aggressor. This attitude has been motivated by two factors peculiar to Switzerland:
1) the existence of an Italian speaking Canton and 
2) the fact that, for over a century, neutrality 
has been the chief principle of Swiss foreign 
policy.

Chile and one or two minor Latin American League Members 
seem likewise to apply the League's four sanctions "Proposals" 
in only a mitigated fashion - the effect of distance from the 
centres of the conflict.

Then, there are the three "disloyal" members: Albania, 
Austria, and Hungary. The attitude of the first two results 
from the fact that theirs are minority governments holding 
power largely through Mussolini's support. Hungary, on the 
other hand, is not prepared to help defend the existing 
international order as long as no revision procedure permits 
its peaceful change.

Certain seceding States, Brazil, Paraguay, and Japan 
seem to have imitated the three "disloyal" members.

10) Résumé.

The preceding outline shows the great variety of 
forces which have rallied to the defense of the Covenant, 
finding dramatic expression in the significant Assembly 
debate of September 1935: imperial security and international 
solidarity; internal and external influences; genuine concern 
for justice and status quo policies; considerations of polit- 
cical expediency and peace principles; material and spiritual 
impulses; Lofty ideals and vested interests - and, behind all 
these motives, a strong and steady pressure of public opinion, 
avive to the fundamental issue at stake, has increasingly 
strengthened the truly international impulses. This complex 
of forces seems to us a cause for satisfaction rather than 
embarrassments: does it not show that the League has become an 
organic institution which has gathered around it all the forces 
that vigorous institutions do attract? Does it not show that the 
defense of the Covenant is no longer in the well-intentioned but 
too often politically impotent hands of pacifists and idealists 
alone? We would not think a government worth supporting which was 
unable to rally substantial interests around it: one should 
perhaps apply the same reasoning to the existing rudimentary 
international government, and commend it, not despite, but also 
because of the many interests which are beginning to rely on it.

II. SANCTIONS

The true nature of sanctions both in theory and practice 
has been widely misunderstood and misrepresented.

In principle, they differ from war in that they consti- 
tute police action by the community for social order as against
anarchical action by the individual state for selfish ag-
gression. They constitute public war for defense of the
community against private war for advantage of one state at
another's expense. Even if, at the very worst, this involved
some form of military or naval action that would be preferable,
in a world where armed force rules, to allowing the aggressor
to work his will freely, for this would mean repeated warfare
of the old anarchic type, and total disruption of the League.

In practice, sanctions action would ordinarily be ne-
cessary only in the first instances of the aggression which
it is desired to repress and prevent, for thereafter the
effect would be obtained by the threat of sanctions, without
their actual application; and, even where they have to be
used, in any particular case, they should, if applied prompt-
ly and vigorously, operate to render their extension or even
continued operation unnecessary. Sanctions differ from war
precisely in that success in war encourages a repetition of
aggression, while success of sanctions would render unneces-
sary their repetition.

This is assuming that sanctions are in fact effective
and do not merely lead to inconclusive warfare between the
aggressor and the other powers. Such effectiveness must
always result whenever the international community is united
against aggression. No system of law and organisation can be
devised which will work in the absence of such unity; a counsel
of neutrality would be equally useless in such cases.

In the present dispute, the resort to sanctions by the
League may well have prevented resort to war by Italy and
Great Britain. Indeed, the moment of greatest tension was
reached when Great Britain began to concentrate her home
fleet in the Mediterranean at the end of August, and tension
began to relax when the League assumed collective responsibility
early in September. When militarists or navalists are turned
into sanctionists, control over them by moderating influences
increases.

It must also be insisted that sanctions are not to be
punitive in character. They are to be used to prevent one
nation from resolving an international dispute in its own
favor by use of force; the solution of that dispute, on its
merits is to be sought later by peaceful means. They are to
prevent or halt a violent breach of world peace and order,
but are not meant to punish even a violent effort made at
national aggrandizement. Finally they are to be organized in
such form as to bear, as far as possible, upon military
resources rather than civilian life; and even where directed
against national economic life, they are not punitive im-
purpose but designed to compel the nation to cease its
aggressive action.

Moreover, the opponents of sanctions must face the
problem of how to stop the current aggression and prevent
others without giving the aggressor what he demands. Con-
stant revision or at least revisability is essential for
the health of international relations, but not revision at
the dictation of one demanding state.
After taking her degree at Columbia University, Miss Dingman taught History and Economics in a Secondary School until 1914, when her deep interest in Industrial and Economic problems led her to accept an appointment as industrial secretary to the National Board of the American Y.W.C.A., in which capacity she served until sent by the American Association to France in 1917.

From 1917 - 21 Miss Dingman was engaged in War Work in France, where she established foyers or clubs in connection with the munitions factories. Her work was recognised by the French Government and she was given two decorations.

After becoming the Industrial Secretary for the Y.W.C.A. in 1921, Miss Dingman travelled in Europe, the Far East, Australia and New Zealand.

At the request of the Chinese Y.W.C.A. she spent almost two years working on the Child Labour Commission appointed by the Shanghai Municipal Council. In 1925, she was a delegate to the first meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations in Honolulu.

Miss Dingman is an inspiring speaker. Since her return to London in 1926, she has visited many countries in Europe, as well as Egypt, the Near East and South America, obtaining international recognition as a lecturer on social, economic and peace problems.

Because of her intimate knowledge of international affairs and her experience in the study of religious problems, Miss Dingman was invited to attend the International Missionary Council as an advisor, and again in 1937 was given the honour of being a coopted delegate to the Great Church Conference at Oxford.

When the Peace and Disarmament Committee of the Women's International Organisations was formed, Miss Dingman was elected chairman, and has held that position ever since.

Because of her official position, and because of the high esteem in which she was held for her experience in Women's International Work, Miss Dingman was chosen to speak for women on the memorable occasion of the presentation of 12 million petitions for Disarmament, to the President and delegates of the Disarmament Conference, on Feb. 6, 1932. Again, on October 1, 1936, Miss Dingman was the spokesman for women, when the President and delegates of the 17th Assembly received a large deputation of men and women.

* * * *
Continuing the family tradition of artistic talent and Scholarship, Madame Dreyfus-Barney, besides being a well-known sculptor, has devoted much time and interest to racial and philosophic research, in connection with which she has made several world tours.

During the Great War she was active in hospital organisation and various branches of social welfare work, including refugee and repatriation problems, for which services she received the title of Knight of the Legion of Honor. In 1937, she was made Officer of the Legion for Peace Work.

As expert to the League of Nations International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, Mme. Dreyfus-Barney was the only woman appointed by the League Council to the sub-committee of Experts in Education, from 1926 - 1934. Since that time, she has been a member not only of the Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching, but also of the French Committee on Intellectual Cooperation.

Mme. Dreyfus-Barney and the Director of the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation founded in 1925 the Liaison Committee of the Major International Organisations, of which she is a permanent member. When the International Council of Women established a Committee on Cinematograph and Broadcasting, the first time women had organized in this field, Madame Dreyfus-Barney was made Convener, a post she held from 1926 - 1933. Later, she accepted the Chairmanship of the Peace and Arbitration Committee of the International Council of Women.

Her work in the field of Intellectual Cooperation has been outstanding. In 1931, she organized in Rome, under the auspices of the Institute of Educational Cinematography of the League of Nations, the first Congress of Women specialists in the dissemination of Peace Educational material by means of motion pictures.

When the first International Congress of Educational and Instructional Cinematography met at the Roman Institute in 1934, bringing together governmental delegates teachers and technicians of world renown, Mme. Dreyfus-Barney was the only woman of the Bureau among the six elected vice-presidents.

In 1937, Mme. Dreyfus-Barney was appointed by the Minister of Commerce, as a Member of the Cinematograph Sections of the International Exposition held in Paris, and served on the Receiving Committee of distinguished people during the "Month of Intellectual Cooperation" held in July 1937, under the auspices of the League of Nations Organisations of Intellectual Cooperation.
Miss Rosa Manus of Amsterdam, Holland, has been active in the International Feminist Movement for more than 30 years.

Among other things, she is Vice-President of the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship and Vice-President of the Dutch Suffrage Organisation and President of her local branch in Amsterdam.

She was one of the founders of the Amsterdam Women's Club and served on its board for many years.

Her vast activities include the following varied interests: - Vice-Convenor of the Suffrage Committee of the International Council of Women; General Organizer of the International Suffrage Alliance Congresses at Budapest, Stockholm, Rome, Paris, Berlin, Istanbul, etc; organizer of the Study-Conferences held in Amsterdam, Dresden and Belgrade; association with Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, with whom she travelled through North and South America, Central Europe and other countries on behalf of the Women's Movement; Vice-President of the Peace and Disarmament Committee of the Women's International Organisations; Chairman of the Committee for presentation to the Disarmament Conference of the Petitions in 1932; was Chairman of a temporary Clubhouse for Refugees in Amsterdam in 1933-1935; Extraordinary Member of the Amsterdam Soroptimist Club and Founder of an International Archives and Library for the Women's Movement, in Amsterdam in 1935.

At the Paris Congress in 1926, Miss Manus was elected a Member of the Board of the International Alliance for Suffrage and Secretary to the Peace Commission of this Organisation.

Organising Secretary under the leadership of Lord Cecil of the International Peace Campaign Congress at Brussels September 1936. In August 1936, Miss Manus was decorated by the Queen of Holland and nominated Officer in the Order of 'Oranje-Nassau' in acknowledgement of her feminist and peace work.
Peace and Disarmament Committee of the Women's International Organisations
Palais Wilson - Geneva

Needed!

AN ANNUAL BUDGET of
Sw. Francs 40,000.— £ 2,000.— $ 10,000 from
September 1st 1937 to August 31st 1938
### I. Estimated Expenditures

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Swiss Francs</th>
<th>Approximate amount in English Pounds</th>
<th>Approximate amount in American Dollars</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Rent, Light, Heat, Cleaning</td>
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<td>Salaries</td>
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<tr>
<td>Training Courses for Peace Leaders</td>
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<td>Additional amount necessary in order to undertake the following projects:</td>
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<td>(a) Promotion of the International Economic Peace Roll</td>
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<td>(b) Creation of a Fund towards the expenses of an International Peace Conference on Economic Peace Problems to be organized in connection with the World's Fair, New York, 1939</td>
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<td>(c) Creation of a Fund for Scholarships enabling Peace Workers to come to Headquarters for a period of Study on Peace Problems</td>
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### II. Estimated Income

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<td>Fees from Member Organisations</td>
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### Important Note

This Annual Budget for the work of the Committee makes no provision for the salary of an executive officer. Up to the present time it has not been necessary to budget for this item as, dating from January 1st 1936, the necessary amount has been donated through the generosity of certain persons who wish to remain anonymous.

This donation has only been made provisionally for a period of three years, however, in order to allow sufficient time for the Peace and Disarmament Committee to secure the funds necessary to maintain its work adequately.

These three years will come to an end on December 31st 1938, and it must therefore be foreseen that the Annual Budget for 1938-1939 will have to be increased by an amount of some 10,000 Swiss Francs (£500 — or $1,250) if the Committee wishes to retain the services of an executive direct office for its work.
PEACE AND DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE
OF THE WOMEN’S INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

Constituent members:
International Council of Women
World’s Young Women’s Christian Association
International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship
Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom
World Union of Women for International Concord.
League of Mothers and Educators For Peace

International Federation of Business and Professional Women
League of Jewish Women
European Federation of Soroptimist Clubs
World’s Women’s Christian Temperance Union
International Co-operative Women’s Guild (Observer)
International Federation of University Women (Observer)

Associate Members:
National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War (U.S.A.)
Women’s Polish Organizations
Association of Slavic Women
Women’s Peace Crusade (Great Britain)
Federation of American Women’s Clubs Overseas

Officers:
Mary A. Dingman, President
Kathleen Courtney, Vice-President
L. Dreyfus-Barney, Vice-President
Rosa Manus, Vice-President
Dorothy A. Heneker, Secretary
Laura Puffer Morgan

Technical Adviser
On all sides to-day, thinking people are asking, "What can we do to help to promote an understanding of the great issues underlying the establishment of Peace?" To achieve this purpose, it is necessary to have a programme of education and action, thus helping to develop a sound, informed and effective public opinion within every country.

We therefore publish the following suggestions, which have been compiled for the purpose of furthering the cause of a positive and lasting Peace, and which we believe are varied enough for each individual and organisation to find in them something of special interest and assistance.

Note. — We have based our suggestions on the outline programme (1938-1937) recommended by the New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs.

Individual action

1. Become informed: do not accept ready-made opinions: do your own right thinking. Do your part in helping to create an informed public opinion. To accomplish this, subscribe to a NEWS BULLETIN on INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

2. Cultivate the discussion method in your home. Convert your dining tables into ROUND TABLES for free discussion of the political, economic and social problems which are perplexing the world to-day. Discuss not only to impose your own point of view, but also to understand that which is opposite to yours.

3. Read newspapers expressing divergent points of view, but avoid those which teach the inevitability of War. Endeavour to educate your family and friends away from belief in the old war system.

4. Listen to radio programmes on World Affairs. Urge that these be given by able and impartial speakers.

5. Vote for candidates who will work against War, and thus support Peace with your ballot.

6. Write letters from time to time, to your representatives in the Government, expressing your appreciation of their stand (a) in broadening national policies and (b) in condemning evils. Your letters will help to indicate the trend of public opinion.

7. Write letters to the Press about questions relating to Peace and War, to be used in the Letters-to-the-Editor Column. Express appreciation for articles giving a constructive point of view.

8. Suggest to your organization that a study group be started in your neighborhood, to explore the various aspects and implications of the policy of your government.

9. Use the facilities of your libraries and request additional books from your library board, which have a bearing on International Relations; interest your Sunday School in pageants and tableaus which depict the religious and social life and customs of the people of other lands.

10. When there is undue emphasis placed on the military in the news reels, or screen dramas, register your disapproval with the Motion Picture Companies. Express appreciation when there is a balance between the civic and the military.
Education of the child

1. Teach children that to LIVE nobly and usefully for their country is a requisite of patriotism to-day.
2. Develop a sense of social consciousness and responsibility in your children, and teach them to take an intelligent interest in preventing war.
3. Glorify for your children, the heroes of peace, science, art and education.
4. Emphasize to children the common humanity, the universal interests and needs of all peoples — food, security, work, love, sorrow and joy.
5. Encourage your children to join a youth organization for Peace.
6. Interest the children in stamp collecting, and in correspondence with children of other countries.
7. Take an interest in the type of instruction given to your children in the schools. Urgy educational authorities to accept only textbooks with emphasis world interdependence, and which make for better international relations.
8. Encourage your children in the study of foreign languages, not only because these can be of practical use in life, but also because the study of a foreign language leads to greater understanding of the customs, problems and psychology of other nations.

Group activity

1. Emphasize special days during the year as occasions for stressing World Friendship and Understanding.
   Ex. : ARMISTICE DAY . . . . Nov. 11th
   CHRISTMAS . . . . . . Dec. 25th
   WORLD GOOD WILL DAY May 18th
2. Analyse the international news briefly and tersely at every group meeting, and in your departmental activities try to awaken interest in work for Peace, by an animated presentation of world affairs. Urge group members to examine the literature table and bulletin board. Let your group know that the work for peace is real and effective.
3. Dedicate one meeting of your group to International Relations. Whenever possible, relate international cooperation to the programmes of other departments in your organisation.
4. Subscribe to a Journal on International Relations.
5. Send delegates to the conferences and study groups for peace, in your own and other countries.
6. Visit centres where constructive social work is being done.
7. Share the responsibility of your organisation projects with your Juniors. Such an effort will stimulate interest in and action for Peace.
8. Make a thorough study of your National Economic Policy in order to acquire a clearer understanding of the economic policies of other nations. Study your city and country governments.
9. Organize dinner, tea and luncheon discussions; Forums and Panel discussions, or a World Affairs Institute.
10. The Peace movement needs dramatic expression. At a meeting open to the public, offer dramatizations on some phase of Peace and War.
11. Hold an international festival or an international arts and crafts exhibit in your district. Invite all ages to participate in a programme of folk songs and folk-lure, dances, art and music, which make up the cultural legacy of other countries other than your own.
12. Study the basic policies of the leading peace organisations in your country. These policies offer suggestions for a unified programme, essential to the maintenance of peace.
13. Suggest to the school authorities in your district that student speaking on World Affairs be encouraged in High School Assemblies. Assign a speaker with sane and sound views, to speak at one high school assembly a year. Make suggestions for reading courses and projects in connection with the school curriculum.

Individual and collective action

Put Peace in your budget. Make financial sacrifices to aid the Peace Movement. Nearly all countries have a well-known and well-administered organization which is working for Peace. Subscribe to its bulletin and follow its work.

Women may be assisted in the Study of International Affairs, and may aid the work of women throughout the world for Peace, by becoming « Friends of the Peace and Disarmament Committee » in Geneva, Switzerland.

PEACE AND DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE
OF THE
WOMEN’S INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Officers:
Mary A. Dingman, President
Kathleen Courtney, Vice-President
L. Dreyfus-Barnes, Vice-President
Rosa Manns, Vice-President
Dorothy A. Heneker, Secretary
Laura Puffer Morgan, Technical Advisor

Members:
International Council of Women
World’s Young Women’s Christian Association
International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship
Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom
World Union of Women for International Co-operation
League of Mothers and Educators For Peace
International Federation of Business and Professional Women
European Federation of Soroptomist Clubs
World’s Women’s Christian Temperance Union
International Co-operative Women’s Guild (Observer)
International Federation of University Women (Observer)

Associated Consultative Members:
National Committee on the Cause and Care of War (U.S.A.)
Women’s Polish Organizations
Association of Slavie Women
Women’s Peace Crusade (Great Britain)
Federation of American Women’s Clubs Overseas

Office: PALAIS WILSON
GENEVA
Switzerland
Cable Address: DISCOM Geneva

AIMS
To spread knowledge and understanding of the great issues underlying the organization of peace.
To enlist the support of women in all parts of the world in the service of peace.
To give expression in Geneva to the world-wide desire for peace and disarmament.
ORIGIN

The Women's Disarmament Committee was brought into being September 1931, to focus the pressure of Public Opinion upon the Disarmament Conference. It is the voice of 12 Women's International Organizations and 5 National Organizations in 56 countries, which has been speaking in Geneva for 45,000,000 women during these past years. This is the greatest concerted action for peace ever undertaken by women. Through the channels of these organizations their members all over the world have been constantly informed on the great issues involved in the effort for Peace.

ACTIVITIES

I. Information Centre in Geneva. — unremitting effort to create an enlightened public opinion — a well-known centre for conference and cooperation with the representatives of many other voluntary international organisations.

II. Correspondence and Visits — to establish contact with national and local groups all over the world.

III. News Service — bulletins — press releases — reports — to provide a valuable commentary on international issues of the moment. Mailing list of over 700 readers.

IV. Study Conferences for Peace Leaders — to spread knowledge and understanding of
   a) the underlying barriers to Peace;
   b) the practical ways of promoting Peace.

V. Travel and Lectures by Committee members, in the interests of education for Peace.

VI. Attempt through Women's organizations all over the world, to arouse public opinion to take action when critical situations arise.

FINANCE

The work of the Peace and Disarmament Committee has always been financed, not by a few large contributions from Member Organizations, groups and individuals, but by thousands of small gifts from women all over the world, who care and who realize vividly the world community and sense keenly the necessity for the continuation, on an international scale, of the work of Women for Peace.

We need funds. If the work is to go on, we must have the help and support of thousands more of such women, to guarantee our modest budget of

$ 5000 — £ 1000 — Swiss francs 20,000

Will you be one of these?

You, as an individual, may become «A Friend of Peace and Disarmament» by sending the equivalent of 5 Swiss francs to our office in Geneva. In return, your name will be placed on the mailing list, to receive the useful information prepared and sent out.

An Unusual Opportunity

for

Every woman who dreads the thought of another War
to

Assist in the advancement of the Work of Women for Peace

Women of the World — give your support to the Organization which speaks for you in Geneva.
Miss Rosa Manus
c/o Mrs. Chapman Catt

My dear Rosa,

We sent you the other day a copy of the letter which we sent to Miss Welborn so as to bring you up to date. I do not know whether you have had any opportunity of seeing her but expect you have been too busy. We are now exceedingly busy setting up the Brochure which I think will be most attractive and will serve many useful purposes.

Miss Dingman has asked me to write and tell you that at the last Meeting of the Bureau it was decided to try and have our next Bureau meeting in Amsterdam some time next February if you felt this would be useful. It would be very central and it would be simply splendid to have you there to help us organise it. She would so much like to know what you feel about this in order to make some plans.

Is there any chance of your passing through Geneva on your way home? There are so many important schemes to think out this year that we should greatly appreciate having you here if even for a day. I shall be here until October 31st, and then go over to England for two months to prepare my lectures for the United States as I sail on the 30th of December for New York and my first lecture is on the 12th of January. My address in England will be RUSHBROOK, MILL ROAD, WORTHING, SUSSEX. My cousin is going to New Zealand and has given me her house for two months with her maid. Will you be there in November as after the 6th, I shall be alone and should love to put you up for a few days if you were staying any time.

I don't think your formal letter re the Alliance Peace Committee has ever reached me - several of my letters went astray this summer as I was moving about so much. I frankly cannot see any time available for me to work for the Peace Committee before I sail. Had you and Miss Schain any special plans in view?

Hoping you have had a delightful holiday with Mrs. Catt and so looking forward to seeing you soon,

Affectionately,

October 4, 1937

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Of course this plan for Amsterdam is entirely dependent on your own feelings and wishes as the Bureau did not wish to make any decisions until they heard from you.
INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATIVE GROUP
(for Peace and Disarmament)

(Approved, for circulation to constituents, at a
meeting of the I.C.G. held November 3th, 1937,
but not engaging the responsibility of the
associated organisations.)

- Memorandum -

on

PRIVATE BOYCOTT AGAINST JAPAN

Analysis of arguments For and Against

Since the outbreak of hostilities between China and Japan there has been
wide-spread discussion in at least seventeen countries of private boycott against
Japan as a method of bringing pressure on her to end the war. There has been formal
action by numerous private organisations; labor, cooperatives, peace societies,
women's organisations, and manufacturers groups calling on their members to stop
buying Japanese goods. This action has occurred in more than a dozen countries.
The International Consultative Group does not wish at this time to affirm the
private boycott as desirable or undesirable. This outline will therefore be confined
to a consideration of some of the complexities of the problem as a guide to clear
thinking on the issue.

Definition of private Boycott -

A private or popular boycott is the voluntary action of people in a given
state to refuse to purchase goods originating in another state on which it is
desired thus to bring pressure to effect public policy. (The present movement may
also in some cases involve refusal to sell goods and services or to extend credit,
but in general it is a consumer's boycott aimed at both raw materials and manufac
tured articles). A private boycott is distinct from an official boycott, which
arises from government action either by individual governments or through collective
government action. For the present, we are considering only the private boycott.

Reasons for the boycott -

Doubtless the boycott against Japan was originally an almost spontaneous
expression of indignation and horror at the extensive bombing of civilian popula
tions and the destruction of hospitals and educational institutions which marked
the outbreak of hostilities in the Far East. It was motivated by the desire of
ordinary citizens to "do something" to check the relentless spread of war. However,
there are more considered reasons and a more definite strategy behind the actions
taken by many large and responsible national and international organisations.
The following may be briefly cited:

1. Economic Reasons -

   a) By cutting off the foreign market for Japanese goods, a private
      boycott would make it difficult for Japan to continue conducting the war. Japan
      depends upon her exports to secure the foreign exchange with which to purchase the
      raw materials necessary to keep her war industries operating. The peculiar economic
      situation of Japan makes her especially susceptible to boycott. Japan is dependent
      entirely on her import trade for securing essential raw materials. She imports all
      of her cotton, wool, tin, rubber, nickel and almost all of her petroleum, lead
      and pig-iron. (Burton Crane, New York Times, October 1937). Foreign exchange for
      the purchase of these is dependent on her sale abroad of raw materials and manufactu
      red goods: silk, cotton, textiles and other commodities. An effective boycott
      by the United States and the British Empire alone would close the markets to 40,7
      % of Japanese exports. Since the only other large purchasers from Japan is China
      (23 %) including Kwang-Tung (12 %) * and since these purchases will be seriously
      curtailed by the war, a private boycott might have very disastrous results for Japan**

* For statistical purposes Kwang Tung is reported separately in the International
  Trade Statistics.
Moreover Japan is already operating under an unfavourable trade balance which would probably be aggravated by a consumer's boycott in the U.S.A. and the British Empire.

b) An effective boycott against Japan is relatively simple to organize, e.g. since the U.S.A. buys 100% of its raw silk from Japan (accounting for $100,000,000 of its $172,000,000 of imports from Japan) a refusal of the organized silk textile workers to manufacture Japanese silk would at once close the market. Since the bulk of the value of Japanese exports is centered in a few commodities, and she has but few competitors it is relatively easy to conduct a producer's and consumer's boycott against these products.

2. Humanitarian Reasons

a) In a highly industrialized country like Japan the loss of work to millions through the loss of foreign markets would inflict serious suffering on the Japanese people. Nevertheless, because Japan is not dependent on foreign trade for foodstuffs (and can even feed her population without drawing on the bean and cereal crop of Manchukuo, the suffering of the civilian population would not entail starvation. ** It is argued that the loss of income in the silk and cotton manufacturing industries would not inflict as much hardship on the Japanese people as her planes and bombardments are inflicting on the civilian population of China. Thus, since the object of the boycott is to win the earliest possible cessation of hostilities the net human suffering would be lessened, if the boycott were successful.

b) There are also those who question the wisdom of a purely ameliorative program, i.e. raising relief funds for the Chinese victims without at the same time taking some action to prevent the continuing of the war.

3. Political Reasons

Finally, the private boycott is urged as one of the best methods to bring effective pressure on governments to take action to bring the war to an end.

* * * * * *

The following is a summary of some of the main difficulties inherent in the private boycott:

1. Strategic

a) The arguments in favor of the boycott depend upon the relatively quick achievement of an almost completely successful boycott in order to be effective arguments. It may be doubted whether such a boycott would be completely effective in a sufficiently short time because in all probability Japan has large reserve stocks of raw materials **. Under a law passed in 1934, oil refiners are obliged to carry six month's supply in stock and by rationing of commodities for domestic use, supplies of raw materials can be stretched. (Burton Crane "New York Times" October 10, 1937). Thus even a successful "quarantine" may not have an immediately adverse effect upon the ability of Japan to prosecute the war. Meanwhile such a boycott could be used by the Japanese government to unite the people more solidly behind its military policy, and it could thus add fuel to the intensity of the Japanese attack.

b) A boycott by large numbers of consumers is always slow and difficult to organize. Even if immediately effective, a private boycott against Japan raises other serious problems:

2. Economic

a) The boycott would add to the already dangerous tendency toward national autarky by further curtailing international trade. The resolution passed by the American Federation of Labor indicated that this boycott was the beginning of a campaign against "all foreign manufactured articles". A permanent dislocation in international trade may result.

b) The boycott may cause a serious dislocation in the domestic economy of the nations conducting the boycott e.g. though rayon may be a substitute for silk, the immediate effect of the boycott would be unemployment for those workers who

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* See Monthly Review of the Foreign Trade of Japan, July 1937 - The Department of Finance, Tokyo.
** Foodstuffs represented 7.7% of Japan's imports and 8% of her exports in 1935. "International Trade Statistics" 1935, Geneva, pp.167 and 162.
*** In the period January-July 1937, Japan's imports of iron and copper each increased 300%, while rubber imports increased 250% over the same period in 1936. (Monthly Return of Foreign Trade of Japan, July 1937).
produce full-fashioned silk hose. The same machines cannot be used for producing lisle and cheap grades of rayon stockings that are used for silk.

c) The boycott designed to cause an immediate and temporary dislocation in the Japanese economy, may cause a permanent one, e.g. if India purchases cotton from the U.S.A. and manufactures her own cotton textiles, Japan may never regain her Indian cotton cloth market.

3. Psychological

a) Such a campaign among producers and consumers might ultimately have to be kept going by increasing public animosity and hatred for Japan in the countries conducting the boycott. This may prove a permanent source of animosity between nations.

4. Humanitarian

Just as those who believe in the effectiveness of the boycott tend to minimize the total suffering by effecting a speedy end to the war, those who are opposed feel that unless the boycott is almost completely effective, it would have no other effect than to add to the total of suffering inherent in the war. Those least responsible for the war in Japan (the farmers and workers) will suffer most, while the military group will suffer least.

5. Moral

In this category of reasons the following arguments are used:

a) A voluntary boycott by private citizens and organisations carries with it the responsibility for certain results of this action which such groups are not in a position to assume: i.e. if the boycott is successful, the result would be to cause the economic and social collapse of Japan.

b) A private boycott with the purpose of affecting the public policy of the Japanese government entails the assumption by private organisations of responsibility for foreign policy in their own country as well as in Japan.

c) Those who now undertake to "quarantine" Japan, are assuming no responsibility, it is said, for securing to Japan the possibilities of expansion necessary to support her population. Japan has invaded China because she claims that she must have opportunities for expansion, economic as well as geographical. It is argued that if the boycott is now applied the Japanese feeling of being discriminated against in the world of nations would only be increased.

* * * * * *

In conclusion we wish to repeat that in offering these implications of the private boycott for consideration we do not imply that they necessarily make the boycott desirable or undesirable. They are offered to indicate the complexity of the policy embarked upon in the boycott.

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POSTPONEMENT OF THE INTERCONTINENTAL CONFERENCE

It is with much regret that we have to announce that the Intercontinental Conference of Peace Leaders which was to have taken place at Washington D.C. from January 26-28, 1939, has been postponed.

This decision was regrettfully reached, after many consultations with Miss Josephine Schain and the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, when at the last moment possible for decision none of the leading European women had notified the organisers of the Conference that they found it possible to leave their countries at this critical moment in international affairs. The continuing tension in Europe and the insistent demands upon the time and services of women leaders in their own countries, has made it practically impossible for those who had originally planned to attend this Conference to travel to the United States at the present time.

After much correspondence with the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War in which the many issues involved were thoroughly surveyed and discussed, it was decided to postpone the Conference for the moment as even should other delegates accept at this late date the Conference would not have that representative and intercontinental character so essential for the accomplishment of any practical and constructive work.

Consultations with the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War will be held during the next few weeks with a view to arranging the most appropriate date for the Conference to be held, and a further notification will be sent you as soon as definite plans have been proposed.

It is felt that in spite of the great difficulty of securing responsible women leaders owing to present circumstances, nevertheless there is an urgent need for such a Conference to be held in order that some real advance may be made along the road of practical world co-operation and we are keenly anxious that no time may be lost in arranging such a conference at the most effective time and place.

** **
INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF WOMEN

Some General Information

More than 700 delegates followed the debates of the Conference.

23 countries were represented: Australia - China - India - Cuba -
Mexico - Egypt - Germany - Austria - Belgium - Spain - United States - Finland -
France - and her North African Colonies - Great Britain - Holland - Ireland -
Italy - Lithuania - Sweden - Switzerland - Czecho-Slovakia - Yugoslavia.

The Czechoslovak delegation was composed of 49 delegates, that of
Switzerland 23.

45 National and International organizations sent delegates.

A great number of messages of sympathy and of encouragement were received
from all over the world, even from countries where Liberty no longer exists.

Many were sent by the national sections of organizations that were not
represented internationally. The International Council of Women, the Y.W.C.A.,
the Society of Friends, the League of the Rights of Man and others.

The atmosphere during the conference was excellent and the resolutions
and proposals were passed unanimously thanks to the spirit of mutual under-
standing and tolerance shown by all the delegates present.

General Resolution

In an hour of gravest tension the women of all nationalities, of all
races, of all social circles, of different political and religious convictions
have come together here in Marseilles to examine how they can best use their
power in the service of Peace, Liberty and Democracy.

The work that has been carried on during these three days in a spirit
of wide and fraternal understanding, has made it clear how efficacious the
actions of women could be, if they would unite to defend human rights and
fundamental principles of moral law.

They have borne witness that wars grow more and more frequent and more
and more cruel, that the audacity of the aggressors increases with every fresh
concession. Already Ethiopia and Austria have lost their independence. China
and Spain are fighting heroically to preserve theirs. Czecho-Slovakia is
gravely menaced - the small states are in danger. Almost all the frontiers of
France as well as her Mediterranean sea-routes are threatened - as are the com-
 munications of Great-Britain to Australia, India, Egypt and Palestine. They are
convinced that what is called the exigency of war is merely the acceptance of
what energy and perseverance could prevent.

They proclaim their indefeasible faith in the final triumph of the
forces of Justice, Progress and Peace.

They implore women to realise at last the power they possess and to
demand their proper place in both National and International affairs. The
women here assembled in Conference at Marseilles affirm their adherence:

To democratic principles which imply a belief in
equality of race and sex.
To principles of solidarity and of political,
economic and intellectual co-operation among
the peoples.
To the League of Nations which is weak only when the
various governments are untrue to its spirit and
its rules.

They declare that the maintenance of Peace demands respect for interna-
tional law and respect for treaties and pacts voluntarily signed. They demand
that all modifications necessitated by new situations shall only be put into
force by mutual consent and pacific means.

They recognise that the spiritual and religious forces placed at the
service of Peace and Democracy are a powerful factor of success.

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They appeal most urgently to the women of all countries and beg them to join in the campaign to save Peace and Liberty while it is still possible. They urge all the women who have taken part in this conference, to organise a national action on the basis of the principles and resolutions of the conference.

**Resolutions Passed**

I. **SOLIDARITY and CO-OPERATION between the NATIONS**

The International Conference, assembled at Marseilles, protests emphatically against the policy of isolation which is incompatible with the fundamental principles of the League of Nations.

It urges all women the world over including women of the great democracies of China and India to do their utmost to increase the feeling of solidarity and to further the spirit of co-operation and to bring the greatest pressure to bear upon their respective governments to induce them to find some method of "concerted action".

II. **ETHIOPIA**

The International Conference assembled at Marseilles, wishes to express its indignation at the betrayal of the principles of the League of Nations by those member States of the League that have recognised the conquest of Ethiopia by Italy, a conquest which is still very far from being complete.

III. **SPAIN**

The International Conference of Women assembled at Marseilles, condemns the Council of the League of Nations for continuing the so-called Non-intervention policy which in effect favours the semi-lateral intervention of Germany and Italy.

This Conference demands once again the withdrawal of the troops of the invaders, the restoration of international law, and the facilitating of the carrying into effect of the 13 points laid down by President Negrin on the 1st May 1938.

IV. **CHINA**

The International Conference of women assembled at Marseilles expresses solidarity with the Chinese women in their fight for Peace and the liberty of the world.

It appeals to all women and asks them to increase the material help for the suffering Chinese people and above all to women and children by sending them money, provisions, ambulances, etc.

It further begs them to boycott all Japanese products and to bring pressure upon their respective governments to induce them not to give any support to Japanese aggression.

V. **BOYCOTT of AGGRESSORS**

The International Conference of Women assembled at Marseilles urges upon all men and women to pledge themselves to boycott the goods and services of the aggressor Nations and to use their influence to prevent their respective governments from granting them loans or credits.

VI. **CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

The International Conference of Women assembled at Marseilles is of opinion that the territorial integrity and the political independence of Czechoslovakia are an essential factor for the maintenance of Peace and Democracy in Europe and considers that all the democratic and peaceful forces including the women of all nations should take an active part in this fight for Peace and Democracy.

VII. **FASCIST PROPAGANDA**

The International Conference of Women assembled at Marseilles recalls the attention of all to the menace to Peace caused by the intensive propaganda of the totalitarian States in a number of countries particularly in the *between the nations.*
Mediterranean Basin: Tunis, Algeria, Morocco, etc.

VIII. VICTIMS of FASCISM

The International Conference of Women assembled at Marseilles demands the release from prison of all those victims of Fascism arrested for their political views; and particularly of all women held as hostages in the prisons and concentration camps for no misdeeds of their own, but for the so-called misdemeanours of their menfolk.

It specially demands the lifting of the death sentence on Liselotte Hermann.

IX. REFUGEES

The International Conference of Women assembled at Marseilles demand their governments to solve immediately the problem of refugees of all countries by ensuring them a legal status and the right to work.

It further asks the governments to grant them shelter temporarily at least, until their final settling in over-seas countries.

X. PROTECTION of CHILDREN

In the name of the free people of the world the International Conference of Women assembled at Marseilles demands that an immediate solution be found for the urgent problem of the protection of children in time of war.

XI. ECONOMICS

The International Women's Conference assembled at Marseilles having received a report on the international economic situation and being convinced that the primary causes of war are to be found in the present economic and financial confusion, request those present:

1. To collaborate in all countries for the unity of all the democratic forces and particularly of the workers and peasants, in order to put an end to the political confusion created by economic and financial instability.

2. To organize in all countries public opinion to oppose the granting of any economic or financial concessions to the aggressor States which would strengthen their policies of rearmament, of armed intervention, of intimidation and of war.

3. To intensify in all countries the propaganda campaign to compel their governments.
   a) to resume normal economic relations with the legal Government of Spain.
   b) to resume normal economic assistance to Czechoslovakia.
   c) to organize the boycott of aggressor nations,
   d) to re-establish among the democratic and peaceful nations economic equilibrium and financial stability.
   e) to render to the still independent democratic States such economic assistance as will allow them to fulfil their political engagements and to resist every effort at annexation by the totalitarian powers.
   f) to encourage economic agreements between the small and threatened Powers whilst allowing them to participate in the wider agreements between the three great democratic European forces: France, Great Britain and the Soviet Union as well as the United States and Mexico.
   g) to revive on the basis of these economic arrangements which are preliminary to political rapprochement, the principles of the League of Nations in order that it should become an organization with renewed and definite although possibly limited powers.

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XII. SPIRITUAL FORCES

The International Conference of Women assembled at Marseilles considering that the question of Peace is not simply a political, economic and juridical but also a moral problem; considering that all religions and all philosophies instill a hatred of violence and preach the dignity of human personality, affirm their belief in the support which moral and religious forces can bring to bear upon the solution of differences between peoples and in a spirit of mutual understanding and respect appeal to the religious and philosophical forces for their collaboration.

XIII. CITIZENSHIP

The International Conference of Women assembled at Marseilles appeals to the women of those countries where they have already acquired their political rights to use their influence in the service of Peace and Democracy. It equally appeals to those women who are neither electors nor eligible to work energetically to obtain their political rights, because these are amongst the most efficacious means of influencing their governments.

XIV. EDUCATION

The International Conference of Women assembled at Marseilles begs all women and educators to fight against any kind of education that aims at accepting servitude and war.

It asks them to fight for a democratic education that develops individuality in children and makes them clear-sighted defenders of Peace, Democracy and Culture.

** * **
Important Notice

INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR AID TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Palais Wilson – Geneva (Room 305)

The hearts of the people of many nations have been deeply stirred by the suffering caused to hundreds of thousands of people in Czechoslovakia as the result of recent events.

While the Government and the people of Czechoslovakia are doing all in their power to meet the need, help from outside is indispensable. The Czechoslovak Red Cross is the distributing organisation appointed by the Government and they have sent an urgent request that all money sent by friends of Czechoslovakia shall be put in a Central Fund in Switzerland and then be transferred as requested by them.

To carry out this desire the International Center for Aid to Czechoslovakia has been constituted and the Société de Banque Suisse, 2 rue de la Confédération, Geneva (postal number I. 172) is ready to receive and hold gifts destined for Czechoslovakia.

Joint Treasurers:

MADAME OLGA MASARYK-REVILLIOD  MONSIEUR GUILLAUME PATIO

P.S. Personal checks may also be sent.
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM -

The Executive Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which under the presidency of Jane Addams, was formed during the world war and which has its Headquarters at Geneva, held an Extraordinary Meeting at Basle in January to shape its policy and take action in connection with the serious international situation.

It was recommended to W.I.L.P.F. members in 52 countries to support the organisation of a private consumers' boycott of Japanese goods, the application of Governments' diplomatic, economic and financial measures against the Aggressor State having been urged since the beginning of the Japanese war in China.

Germany's colonial claims were examined, their true motives discussed, and the internationalisation of all existing Mandates and the extension of the Mandate System to all Colonies were proposed as a peaceful transition solution.

The Anti Comintern Pact signed by Germany, Japan and Italy was unmasked as an Alliance which pretends to fight communism but which, in reality, is directed against Democracy and World Peace.

After interesting reports by the American, Belgian, Dutch, Swiss, Austrian and Scandinavian Sections, a Statement on Neutrality proposed by the Swedish Section was adopted. Neutrality in the pre-war sense was declared an outlived idea, since such a policy would necessarily lead to isolation and autarchy and would paralyse a collective policy of peace through the pursuit of national profit-seeking interests which are contradictory to the principle of solidarity.

Since the Rearmament of all States makes the peaceful co-operation of Nations more and more difficult, decisive measures for universal disarmament were once more urged, and, following a recommendation from the Danish Section, a Governments' Conference was proposed to examine the question of Neutrality in relation to Disarmament.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE CAMPAIGN -

"Save China - Save Peace" - A World Conference for the Boycott of Japan and Aid to China will be held in London, Feb. 12th - 13th, 1938 at the British Industries House, Oxford St. London W.1. An interesting Memorandum has been prepared for this Conference and is available in English and French. The 13 appendices give valuable statistics in tabular form.

All organisations are urged to send delegates.

I.P.C. Peasant Conference - Lord Cecil has recently sent an invitation to leaders of agricultural organisations to attend a preparatory meeting that will be held in Geneva on 5th and 6th February to discuss a specific programme of peasant action for peace. "Such a programme, "Lord Cecil said in his letter, "can only be worked out and put into practice with the support of the agricultural organisations themselves. It must be adapted to the life of the peasants and its methods of propaganda must correspond to the habits of the countryside."

The preparatory meeting will consider the methods of education of the agricultural population and the methods of information that are available in agricultural circles. It will examine the so-called "isolation" of peasants and
and agricultural workers and discuss what should be done to bring them more in touch with other sections of the community and their fellows in other countries. The meeting will discuss the causes of war as seen from the point of view of agriculture, debating the often quoted remark that "the prosperity of agriculture is a guarantee for peace".

SECOND WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

25 August 1938.

Invitation - The Youth Organisations of the World - all who wish to work for peace - are invited to send representatives to meet for the study and discussion of:

- The Political and Economic Bases of Peace.
- The Economic and Cultural Status of Youth and its relations to Peace.
- The Religious and Philosophical Bases of Peace.
- Projects of Peace Education and Action.

and to plan methods of collaboration to enable the Youth of the World to fulfil its responsibility in contributing towards World Peace.

The purpose of the Congress is to bring the youth of all nations into closer bonds of friendship and to develop mutual understanding between the Youth of different opinions. No organisation participating in the Congress will be bound by its findings. These findings will be in the form of reports on the basis of which future work will be planned.

Special emphasis will be laid on the formulation of constructive plans for peace education and action, and on a study of the responsibilities that face youth in the present international situation.

WORLD DAY OF PRAYER - March 4th 1938.

This annual Day of prayer is widely observed by women in all continents. Further information can be obtained from Miss Florence G. Tyler, 166 Fifth Ave., New York City.

A CALL TO PRAYER

Let us pray for a sense of brotherhood among peoples and nations of the world.

PEACE AND DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE ACTIVITIES

Active preparations are going forward for the Meeting of the Committee at the Hotel de Twee Steden in The Hague, March 1, 2 and 3. The programme for the Women's Peace Congress in the United States in 1939 will be one of the main items on the Agenda.

The Study Conference on "Economic Factors in the Relation of Nations" (March 2, The Hague) led by Mrs. Barbara Wootton will attract many who see the great importance of trying to understand the economic causes of political unrest.

The Committee is extending its contacts in various countries by translating its documents into the language of the country. 165 envelopes containing Spanish material has gone to addresses in all South American countries. A Dutch leaflet is being widely distributed in Holland and an interesting article about the work of the Committee the past year has been written in Swedish.
THE AIMS, METHODS AND ACTIVITY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. 1)

Edition revised in 1935.

A new edition of the well-known publication "The Aims, Methods and Activity of the League of Nations" has just been published by the League Secretariat.

This work originated in the requests made by a large number of international organisations who wished for a handbook on the League of wide popular appeal. The first edition appeared in 1935.

The book, which was written in a very simple and readable style, had a large sale in the old world and the new, and both the French and English editions had to be reprinted several times. In the last three years the history of the League has been as eventful as that of the world in general and on this account it has been decided to revise the whole work.

In its present form the book is divided into four parts.

The first part contains considerations of a general character and, in particular, an account of international organisation before the existence of the League, the origin of the Covenant, the nature and aims of the League, its instruments and methods.

The second part describes the activities of the League. Its political and legal work includes in particular the efforts made for the improvement of the organisation of peace, for the reduction and limitation of armaments and for the settlement of political disputes; the control and administration of territories under mandate; the protection of minorities. Its technical work covers such wide fields as those of economics and finance, communications and transport and intellectual cooperation, without forgetting certain problems of a social and humanitarian nature.

In the third part information is given on the work of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, which was created by the League, and the International Labour Office.

The fourth and last part gives the text of the League Covenant, an extract from the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and an extract from the Constitution of International Labour Office.

1) Geneva, publications of the League of Nations; 221 pages; price 2 Swiss francs (2/-, £0.50). French and Arabic editions are issued by the same publishers, and a Serbo-Croat edition is in preparation.

P.T.O.
An entirely new feature of the present edition is the important chapter recapitulating the political questions dealt with by the League since 1920. The concluding Chapter is also new.

This book on "The Aims, Methods and Activity of the League of Nations" has been prepared in an impartial spirit and is of great topical interest. No attempt has been made to conceal the crisis through which the League is now passing. At the same time its future potentialities are brought out and that these are implicitly recognised even by its enemies is shown by the very vigour and tenacity of their attacks on it.
FOR INFORMATION

WOMEN'S PEACE CRUSADE

17th MARCH 1938

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

The blow has fallen and though it has long seemed inevitable its effects can hardly yet be fully estimated. The extreme gravity of the situation lies not so much in the actual annexation of Austria by Germany, though this in itself, however it had been brought about, would have had serious consequences in the present situation, but in the open and brutal threat of armed force with which Hitler has accomplished it in face of the obvious opposition of a majority of the Austrian people. The fact that Hitler has made his coup to prevent a plebiscite from being held as to Austria's wishes is sufficient proof of his knowledge of this opposition. The plebiscite which Hitler is arranging for April 10th can be no more than a mockery under the well-known Nazi methods of terrorism and the menace of troops, tanks and warplanes.

The Attitude of Austria to Voluntary Union

There are many who hold that the provision in the Versailles Treaty against the union of Germany with Austria was wholly indefensible and that if Austria, left by the break-up of the Austrian Empire in an almost hopeless economic position, wished to join with her great neighbour of kindred race and the same language, she should be allowed to do so. When in the critical early days of the great financial breakdown and world slump, before Hitler secured power, Brüning, then Chancellor, proposed an Austro-German Customs Union, the majority of the Austrian people welcomed this degree of co-operation. If it had been permitted by the League Council, to the Versailles Treaty gave the right to permit even the full union of the two countries, such a triumph would almost certainly have enabled the German Chancellor to keep in power, and most likely Hitler would never have won his position of Dictator. The South German people were very slow to be forced over to his side and the addition of the highly cultured, kindly hearted Austrians to their ranks would have greatly strengthened their resistance. The establishment of National Socialism in Germany changed the issue; since then the majority of Austrians have not wished to come under the German Dictatorship and even those who were attracted to National Socialism looked to developing it in an independent Austria.

The Threefold Gravity of Hitler's Action

In order to annex Austria, Hitler has had to rely on sending his troops into the country and compelling its submission to a minority of Nazi sympathisers. The gravity of this action is threefold. First the obvious implications of the open resort to force by a Great Power to subdue and annex a weak neighbour; second, the influence of the success of the threat of military action on the increasing militarisation of the German nation. Such an object lesson must make it easier for Hitler to keep his people behind him in further use of this threat. Thirdly, and most important, is the confirmation in this action and in Hitler's speeches of his designs for the absorption into Germany, by force if necessary, of all German-speaking districts and for aggression against Czechoslovakia and other countries as described in "Mein Kampf".

Austria's Struggle for Existence

The story of Austria's economic struggle since the war is too long to tell in full. It must be remembered that in the tangle of conflicting policies which prevented trade between her and her neighbours, she received financial help, largely from Great Britain, through the League of Nations and that Italy who recognised the importance of her independence as a buffer state between herself and Germany also assisted her. Czechoslovakia and the other members of the Little Entente, although finding it difficult to treat fairly the people whose domination they had resented in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, laid as much stress on the necessity for
Austrian independence. Then came the world economic crisis of 1929 and Austria's position grew desperate. When Hitler came into power and, by wireless broadcasts and other means, began a campaign of violent Nazi propaganda in Austria, fresh anxiety arose lest this should lead to the much feared Austro-German union. It is held by many that the League of Nations ought to have made clear that the protection of Austria was its concern, but Great Britain and France chose to deal with the matter outside the League and left it to Italy to support Austria against both the economic difficulties and the Nazi menace.

The Price of Italian Support

The price of Italy's help was the suppression of the Social Democrat party, and the Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Dollfuss, found himself unable to prevent the attack made by his supporters upon them in February 1934, which resulted in the defeat of the working classes and the complete suppression of the Social Democrat Party. This left the Government much weakened in face of the growing strength of the Austrian Nazi movement; Dr. Dollfuss himself was murdered by Nazis in an unsuccessful attempt, instigated from Germany, to seize power, and Dr. von Schuschnigg who became Chancellor did not bring himself to make it possible for the working class socialist population to support him even though the danger of a Nazi coup could hardly otherwise be arrested. It is easy to blame Schuschnigg for this, but it must be realised that to restore the position of the socialists and to allow them to help in preventing the Austrian Nazis from seizing power and from bringing about the union with Germany would have given Hitler an excuse for intervention on the plea of opposing Bolshevism. Schuschnigg had no hope for support from the democratic countries and the Italians had already shown signs of changing their policy of opposition to Germany's interest in Austria.

The Austro-German Agreement of 1936 and the Changing Attitude of Italy

The Austrian Chancellor certainly did his best by peaceful means to stave off the dreaded annexation. In 1936 he made an agreement with Hitler in which Austria recognised itself to be a "free" state, while Germany undertook not to interfere in her internal politics by supporting the Austrian Nazis.

The situation was then changed by the establishment of the "Rome-Berlin Axis", a virtual alliance between Mussolini and Hitler which altered Mussolini's attitude to the independence of Austria. It may be supposed that this change was more due to Mussolini's commitments in Abyssinia and Spain than to any profound trust of Germany as a neighbour on Italy's Brenner frontier, but whatever the cause, the result was that instead of moving troops to the Brenner as he had done on the occasion when Dollfuss was murdered, Mussolini has acquiesced in the recent annexation of Austria by Germany. He has now stated definitely that this is his policy.

The Present Attitude of the Austrians.

A study of the events of the last months cannot be included here but it is important to meet the chief point made in the present pro-Hitler propaganda, namely that the majority of Austrians are now in favour of the annexation. The fact of the immense display of German troops, tanks and aircraft which entered Austria at a moment's notice disposes of the claim that they were sent in response to an Austrian demand. It is perfectly clear that preparations must have been made weeks before for such an orderly mass movement of troops.

There is plenty of evidence to refute the reports of disorder in Austria and also the reports of any general welcome of the Germans by the Austrians.

There are, no doubt, sufficient young supporters of the Nazis in Austria to make a considerable show and it should be obvious to all who consider the situation with which the population was confronted that the presence of overwhelming German troops would prevent any counter demonstration.

It must be remembered that the Austrians were disarmed by the Peace Treaty and that although some increase has been made in the size of the army, there are no heavy armaments to withstand a German invasion if the Austrians had wished to do so.

HILDA CLARK
Preliminary announcement of an

INTERCONTINENTAL PEACE CONFERENCE of WOMEN LEADERS

Called by
THE PEACE AND DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE OF THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS, GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

Place
WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A.

Time
JANUARY 26th — 28th, 1939
Following the annual National Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, January 21st—25th, 1939

Object
Consultation between women leaders from all countries in order to promote close co-operation between their organisations in future peace policies and plans of work

Subject of Discussions
These will probably include:—
(a) ECONOMIC POLICIES AND WORLD PEACE
(b) THE MORAL AND SPIRITUAL BASES OF PEACE
(c) SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF AN INTERNATIONAL PEACE ORGANISATION
Round table discussions will also be held on questions of current importance

Please note that:—
This Conference will be primarily a working conference of experienced leaders from all continents, but opportunity will also be given to the foreign visitors to participate in the

ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE on the CAUSE & CURE of WAR

This well planned and interesting Conference brings together some eight or nine hundred delegates from all parts of the United States representing eleven important national women's organisations

For further information please apply to:—
MISS MARY DINGMAN
President Peace and Disarmament Committee of the Women's International Organisations, Palais Wilson, Geneva, Switzerland

Watford Printers Limited, 58 Vicarage Road, Watford, Herts.
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Remarques du traducteur :

Berne, ce 26 février 1939.

Madame Georges Thélain,
25 Route de Florissant,
Genève

......

Comme je te l'ai déjà fait entendre, je n'ai pas cru devoir suivre en tous points l'ordre du texte anglais qui m'a paru lui-même laisser beaucoup à désirer; j'ai également cherché à éviter dans la traduction certaines répétitions superflus du texte anglais. Par contre, j'ai soigneusement pris soin de conserver dans le texte français certaines incertitudes qui m'ont semblé appartenir à l'esprit de ces statuts. Elles ont certainement leur utilité en vue de les rendre plus souples à l'usage. .........

Je dis "transposer", parce que je chargerai à éviter de travail en traduisant.

Le texte en question, que je viens de lire, est en effet un magnifique exemple de l'empirisme anglo-saxon, qui a fait de bien grandes choses, mais qui n'a pas d'expression appropriée en français. En outre, même en anglais, il manque dans une forte mesure de rigueur juridique. C'est donc un texte aussi distrayant que difficile à traduire.

Pour tourner la difficulté et rendre le sens ou l'intention aussi exactement que possible, je pense donc être obligé de préparer un texte français extrêmement analytique. Celà entraînera un groupement un peu différent des dispositions de ces statuts; mais cela te permettra également de supprimer ou modifier dans les moindres détails ma traduction, selon l'interprétation plus exacte que tu peux donner au texte anglais, connaissant le Comité en question mieux que moi. J'ajoute que ce Comité, bien qu'il ne semble pas l'avoir prévu, est régi par les art. 60 et suits du Code Civil Suisse, - ce qui d'ailleurs ne change rien.

.........

A.R.
By arrangement with the International Consultative Group, we are issuing copies of the Group Survey No. 15 "The Future of the League of Nations". It should be noted that this Survey, issued January 23, 1939, while prepared as the result of discussions by the Group, does not necessarily represent the views of all the constituent organisations associated with the Group.

No. 15

January 23, 1939.

THE FUTURE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

I. INTRODUCTION

There is a widespread feeling nowadays that the League of Nations, regarded as a factor in international politics, if not actually dead, is moribund. The political eclipse of Geneva, though it may be only temporary, is evident.

Furthermore, the withdrawal of three Great Powers - Japan, Germany and Italy - has tended to slow down and handicap the non-political activities carried on, at Geneva and elsewhere, under the League's auspices. At the same time such diminution in volume and extent of work as has taken place for the above reasons has been compensated, on the one hand, by the entry of the United States into the International Labour Organisation, and, on the other, by the development of certain new fields of activity, in such socio-economic questions as Nutrition, Rural hygiene and Housing for example.

This somewhat paradoxical contrast between political eclipse and relative non-political success is not so difficult to understand when it is remembered that were two distinct motives behind the creation of the League at the close of the War. On the one hand, there was a need to coordinate and develop the many intergovernmental activities, progressively necessitated in a shrinking world on account of economic and technical interdependence, which before the War had called forth many ad hoc conferences and even numerous permanent agencies (e.g. the International Postal Union). On the other hand, it was natural that the suffering of four long years of war should have resulted in a Covenant the purpose of which, as the Preamble shows, was not only "to promote international cooperation" but also to "achieve international peace and security."

Indeed, it was, naturally enough, the war-preventive rather than the creative and social aspect of the League which struck popular imagination. It was this aspect, moreover, which gave to Geneva its particular importance.

Over
through fifteen years of post-war history, and which turned
meetings of the League's Council and Assembly into major
political events.

This is not the place to discuss in any detail the
reasons for the political decline and eclipse of Geneva.
But, since any judgments concerning the League's future must
take carefully into account past experience, a few general
observations upon the so-called 'Collective System' will
be appropriate.

* * * * *

The war-preventive aspects of the Covenant, supplemented
by the Pact of Paris in 1928, may be said to comprise a balanced
system of the following elements:-

1/ Renunciation of war, or the threat of war, as an
instruments of policy;
2/ Pacific settlement of disputes;
3/ Peaceful change of the status quo;
4/ General limitation and reduction of armaments;
5/ Joint responsibility for combating 'aggression'.

Unfortunately, as we tried to show in considerable
detail in an earlier Survey (No. 8 Essentials of a Collective
System, July 3, 1936) none of these elements were developed
as they should have been, and the proper balance between
them was not maintained.

The responsibility for this is hard to apportion,
though the prejudicial effects upon the League of a Peace
Settlement which in many of its provisions was palpably
unjust, are clear.

Some lay the blame chiefly at the door of the United
States on account of its failure to enter that very League
which without President Wilson would never have come to birth.
Others blame especially the shortsighted policy of the two
predominant countries in the League and under the Peace
Treaties (i.e. Great Britain and France) which was too
much directed towards holding as long as possible on to the
gains and advantages of victory. For example, from 1918 to
the breakdown of the Disarmament Conference the victors insisted
on retaining both a qualitative and quantitative effective
superiority of armament, as though by right.

Others contend that, although the foregoing allegations
may be true in large measure, nevertheless the vanquished
states (notably Germany) never gave any proofs of desiring
to operate a 'collective system' either; but instead
revealed unmistakably by their attitude and acts at Geneva
the determination to rehabilitate themselves in power and prestige at the first opportunity.

It is not profitable, we think, to attempt to assess the relative degrees of responsibility resting upon various countries. We can say, however, without fear of contradiction that the main burden of responsibility must be shared by the governments of the Great Powers, since the danger to the peace of the world arises very largely from the conflicts of will and of interest that arise between them.

At the same time, there are doubtless deeper causes of failure than the sins of commission, or omission, of post-war governments. It was not to be expected that the hoary institution of war and the deep-rooted conception of national sovereignty could be overthrown in a generation; or that peoples, despite the growing fear of war, would easily pay the heavy price of peace involved by the acceptance of third-party awards where conciliation fails, and the willingness to forego national might in favour of a wider conception of the enforcement of international law.

If the privileged Great Powers (notably Great Britain and France) had pursued a different policy after the war, it is just conceivable that public opinion in Germany, Italy and Japan could have been effectively won for the League. However, this was not to be. What actually happened was that powerful arguments against Geneva were placed in the hands of ultra-nationalistic and also of sincerely patriotic elements in these three countries which, once in power, did not fail to ridicule and attack not only the League, but its underlying principles.

Whether these elements would have come into power anyway is a matter for speculation. It is certain, however, that in each of the three countries in question the fact of being underprivileged vis-à-vis other Great Powers in the matter of control of territory and resources was used as a powerful lever for the organisation of the State upon a veritable war basis. In Germany and Japan, the Economic Crisis of 1924-31 was also a powerful factor - perhaps the most powerful - in bringing to the fore extremist groups.

The Anti-League philosophy of these countries is most frankly and unambiguously expressed by Signor Mussolini in the course of his classic description of Fascism in the Encyclopaedia Italiana: He writes:-

"And thus hostile to the spirit of Fascism, though accepted for what use they can be in dealing with particular situations, are all the international leagues and societies which, as history will show, can be scattered to the winds when once strong national feeling is aroused by any motive - sentimental, ideal or practical".
II. POSSIBLE LINES OF DEVELOPMENT.

Following this summary of the causes underlying the present political eclipse of Geneva let us now enumerate some of the possible ways in which the League might develop in the future. The many proposals made by governments, organisations, or individuals, may be grouped for purposes of discussion under five broad categories, as follows:

1/ The League as Peace Bloc;
2/ Federalism, or Union, of the Democratic States;
3/ Development of an exclusively non-political League;
4/ A new League of Nations;
5/ The policy of 'Wait and See'.

1/ The League as Peace Bloc.

There is one school of thought which, while admitting the need for peaceful change, stresses still more strongly the necessity of enforcing respect for law. It is suggested that the present membership of the League represents substantially a peace-loving group of States. Furthermore, that under the combined leadership of Great Britain, France and Soviet Russia the League could and should function as a 'Peace Bloc' to resist the present aggressions of the Fascist or anti-League Powers in various parts of the world.

2/ Federalism, or Union, of the Democratic States.

Some international thinkers, who are also concerned to oppose the influence of Fascism in the world, go a step further in the same direction. They suggest that in order to assure the victory of democratic principles an immediate move should be made towards federalism and even the pooling of power and resources - political, economic and cultural.

For example, Mr. J. M. Keynes in an article entitled 'A British Peace Program' which appeared some months ago in the New Statesman and Nation proposes a European League, within the present League, in which the members would "give definite undertakings to one another and have the power to act by the voice of the majority".

Or again, Mr. Clarence Streit, until recently Geneva Correspondent of the New York Times, is suggesting in a book entitled 'Union Now' that salvation would best be sought through a rapid union of the democratic states around the Atlantic Ocean (notably the United States, Great Britain and France) involving a thorough-going pooling of military, economic and cultural resources, and the sinking of national sovereignty within a wider loyalty.


Another school, noting the breakdown of the political League and the relative success of the I.L.O. and the League's technical and humanitarian services, proposes that the present
Geneva institutions (League and I.L.O.) should be consecrated exclusively to non-political activities. The idea is that there would be a series of autonomous international bodies with their respective Assemblies and Councils, including the I.L.O., but covering as well the fields of Health, Social Welfare, Economics and Finance, Transits and Intellectual Co-operation. These organisations would probably need to be coordinated in a General Assembly which would control a common budget.

Under such a plan the assumption is that the political League would cease to exist and that for a long time to come problems of war-prevention and political co-operation generally would be dealt with regionally. It is suggested that the Pan-American Union might function for the Americas; that a Four-Power Pact might be the germ of European political collaboration; and that a revised Nine Power Treaty might be worked out for the Pacific Ocean region.


Yet another school of thought insists that the present Covenant having proved unworkable what is needed is a fresh start, a special attempt being made to bring into the fold those states that, for one reason or another, have left it; as well as the United States.

Several governments, for example those of Chile and Switzerland, have urged that the best means of promoting universality and a new beginning would be to cut out of the Covenant the 'sanctions' obligations (i.e. Articles 10, 16 and 17). The assumption is that the Geneva League should still form the basis of a new experiment.

At least one staunch supporter of the League, namely Lord Allen of Hurtwood, has declared himself in favour of any new League in which the United States would be willing to associate itself with the present members, even if the constitution of such a League was of the simplest kind, involving no other written obligation than that of consultation on all matters of common interest and concern.

5/ The Policy of 'Wait and See'.

Finally there is a school that believes the best plan is to "wait and see" and avoid, so far as possible, any basic reorganisation, on the grounds that it is still too soon to judge whether the Geneva machinery - political as well as technical - is invalidated or not. The assumption is that the future may hold great surprises in store; and that the best policy is to improvise solutions for problems as they arise, even if the result is highly illogical and unsystematic. Such a view is not opposed to the coming into being of a new Four Power Concert of Europe (even away from Geneva), but neither is it opposed to the idea that the Council and Assembly
of the League should continue to function so far as their regular routine work is concerned; and for dealing with such political questions as prove to be amenable to political negotiation in Geneva.

III. SOME TENTATIVE COMMENT AND CONCLUSIONS

In attempting to reach at least some tentative conclusions in the present tangled situation, it will be convenient to comment briefly upon each of the five possible international developments outlined in the preceding section.

1. The League as Peace Bloc.

Despite all that can be said about the injustice of the Peace Treaties and the difficulties of a League deprived of American participation, we believe that had the British and United States Governments been willing and able to co-operate with one another over the Manchurian question; or had the former Government been ready to play a more positive role in the earlier phases of the Abyssinian affair, "Collective Security" as envisaged under the Covenant might have been made to work; in which case other elements in the collective system might have developed too.

How near or how far we really were from such a result can never be proved. In any case it is wholly an academic discussion now; for with Japan and Italy alienated but not restrained, and the Rome-Berlin-Tokio triangle cemented as a result, the possibility of forcefully restraining any or all of these States now seems quite chimerical except at the grave risk of a general conflagration.

Opinions are sharply divided as to whether it would be right to take that risk, assuming the present members of the Council (notably Great Britain, France and Soviet Russia) were agreed. In any case, the question is not an immediate issue so long as the "policy of appeasement" practised at Munich and elsewhere remains in force.

2. Federalism, or Union, of the Democratic States.

But, if the willingness to operate Arts. 10 and 16 of the Covenant is lacking, still less do we observe the will amongst the League Powers to carry the voluntary limitation of national sovereignty to a point where a policy of federalism, or union, might be considered.

It is true, the French and British Governments have recently taken some steps in the direction of pooling power. But, it is so obvious that the motive is one of mutual imperial defence, rather than any wider concept of general security in Europe. The moment thus is hardly propitious for the kind of European League, within the wider League, envisaged by Mr. Keynes.
Nor, does the prospect for the far-reaching kind of union proposed by Mr. Streit seem favourable. Anglo-American rapprochement would have to be the basis of any such development. On the face of it, political developments both in Europe and the Far East would seem to necessitate such rapprochement. Yet the slowness with which the recent Anglo-American Commercial Treaty was negotiated, together with its relatively narrow scope, reveal clearly enough the long distance that would have to be travelled before union, or anything like it, could be practically envisaged.

3/ Development of an Exclusively Non-political League.

At first sight the plan to develop the non-political aspects of Geneva activities is attractive. Such a development was in fact actually mooted at Geneva, at least so far as the establishment of a semi-autonomous World Economic Organisation is concerned.

But there are obvious difficulties. The I.L.O. might survive if the League disappeared; but the survival of the League’s technical services in the absence of any political functions is more problematical.

Furthermore, it would be a serious matter definitely to destroy such political co-operation as still exists between the Continents, since there are grave dangers to be apprehended if once the political organisation of the world takes a continental form. Inter-continental strife is by no means an impossible outcome of the political regrouping of States on a regional basis.

4/ A New League of Nations.

There is in our view no need to regard the Geneva League or its Covenant, as sacrosanct. So far as we are concerned, if anyone could show us a better nucleus around which to evolve permanent peace and the elements of world government, we would be only too ready to welcome such alternative.

On the other hand, we believe we were right in our Survey on the “Essentials of a Collective System”, following a careful analysis both of the theory of the ‘Collective’ idea and the practice of the League, when we stated “that the trouble is not so much with the Covenant as with the Covenanters who have failed to apply both its letter and its spirit”.

It seems extremely doubtful whether, at the present juncture, any new initiative coming either from Europe or America would be more successful in promoting world-wide international cooperation than the League has been.
Hence, except upon a hypothesis which we believe quite untenable – namely that it would be preferable to have no organised centre for universal international collaboration rather than the present League, it follows that it is important to conserve such machinery as exists. It is important from two points of view: in the first place, so that the many invaluable services which Geneva performs may be continued; in the second place, so that an instrument may be ready to hand if, and when, the situation requires once again a centre for world-wide consultation and decision.

5/ The Policy of 'Wait and See'.

If a policy of 'wait and see' should be nothing more than a policy of drift, it would be disastrous. But, if 'wait and see' were to be interpreted in terms of constructive international opportunism, there is much to be said for it. Indeed, the balance of the League system having been so seriously upset, the only hope of establishing a situation in which the principles underlying the system might operate is by seizing every opportunity for partial application.

Some Conclusions.

Since, in essence, the 'Collective System' is a combination between procedures for changing the status quo by agreement, on the one hand, and common action for resisting illegal violence, on the other, it follows that progress towards a real Society of Nations may be made in both these general directions.

So far as peaceful change is concerned, there are two major problems that cry for solution.

The first is the Colonial problem which today is still acute as it was when we issued our Survey No. 6 entitled 'Colonial Rivalries and International Control' in March 1936. We are more convinced than ever we were "that the only peaceful way out of the impasse" represented by the clash of imperialistic interest "is the steady transfer, by one means or another, of special privilege, or power, from the single States to the international community of States". Clearly there is little sign at the moment that either the 'Satisfied' or 'Unsatisfied' Powers are thinking in these terms. Regarding short-distance adjustments we cannot do better than refer our readers to the final section of Survey No. 6, in which we deal briefly with questions of Raw Materials, Markets, various aspects of the Mandates System, and the calling of a Conference on Colonial Policy.

The second major issue is that of closer economic collaboration between those states which roughly speaking are still following the 'most-favoured-Nation' policy, and those which have adopted an autarchic system.
Without doubt the chief Democracies with their predominant control of credit, raw materials and markets have things to offer which might well form one element in reaching political settlements, wherein limitation and reduction of armaments would form, presumably, an essential part.

This brings us to the other major element in the 'Collective System' namely, Security. Defence is of two kinds, moral as well as material. One of the outstanding weaknesses of the members of the League (notably the Great Powers) has been their inability, or unwillingness may be, to unite either world opinion, or the opinion of their respective peoples, for some larger purpose than that of narrow national self-interest. It is surely absurd to pursue policies which at one and the same time ask peoples to arm to the teeth, and on no account to use such arms for questions of principle, but only for such matters of national interest as are likely to leave each state to fight its own battles without friends.

If the present League members are unable, or unwilling, to promote as between themselves the sort of policies that the various elements in the Collective System imply, they are lost.

If they are not ready to unite in the sense in which the States of the American Union did, then at least they must demonstrate their willingness to move in the direction of Covenant conceptions.

They should mean what they say in the Pact of Paris. They should carry third-party settlement much further than they have to include peaceful change of the status quo when necessitated. They should progressively free between members of the League the movement of capital, of men and of goods. They should confer, regionally at least, on the best use to be made of their joint material defences, so that armaments would become increasingly a function of common interests, and not a hopeless scramble for individual superiority over everybody else 'friends' and 'enemies' alike! Last, but not least, they should press forward socio-economic reforms, e.g. better Nutrition and Health through enlightened national and international policies.

It is not suggested the League should form a closed system. It should always be open to any state willing to follow the general principles of the Society, but this does not mean that no special privileges should attach to membership in the Society: they should.
The assumption underlying the Covenant and the Fact of Paris is that war under modern conditions is a crime against humanity.

Unless this basic assumption be true in the sense that the majority of peoples becomes convinced that war cannot be tolerated, permanent peace, still less a League to assure it, is impossible.

January 1939,
An Intercontinental Conference

on

How can War be avoided?
How can Security be retrieved?

The Intercontinental Conference is being organized in Washington by the Anti-War and Disarmament Committee of the Women's International Organizations in response to an invitation from its member organization in the United States, The National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War.

This group of women's organizations in America has for fourteen years been studying the cause of war and its cure. It has arrived at the conviction that war as an instrument of national policy will not be abolished until all nations cooperate in setting up permanent machinery whereby the common concerns of national states can be dealt with on a basis of law and justice.

The Intercontinental Conference now offers to the women of Europe, of Asia and of Australasia the opportunity of discussing among themselves and with the women of America how such cooperation is to be achieved.

The Conference will be primarily a working conference of experienced women from different continents. Large national delegations are not desired, but it is hoped that representative women from all parts of the world will be present, so that definite plans for closer cooperation in pursuit of a common end may be carried on between the women's organizations which are carrying on steady work for peace. A detailed programme will be drawn up nearer the time.

In general, it is planned to discuss the essentials of international cooperation, and what united action can be taken to avoid war and to organize peace. In particular, the actual international situation in the light of recent events will be considered. The Conference will decide on various questions, and the Conference will have the advantage of hearing the point of view of women from different countries.

In these times, when every month brings a new crisis, when world politics is constantly impaired, and when personal liberty is secure, the significance of such an invitation need not be emphasized. National unity would be more important than to secure a closer relationship between the women who care for peace and for liberty in the Old World and those who are working for it in the New.
The Value of the Annual Conferences on the Cause and Cure of War

Lady LAXTON of England says:—

"... I have recently had the great privilege of attending the Cause and Cure of War Women's Daily Demonstration in Washington and was tremendously interested by the efficiency of its organization and the large number of its delegates from all the forty-eight states, who took a really active part in it. The very efficiency of their program— slate, stimulate and direct the views of American women— with the different outlook which one finds in the West, South, East and Middle West has taught them to evolve a democratic philosophy from which we in Europe might learn a great deal.

At this time, when the cooperation of the United States is of vital importance to world peace, I am convinced that it is of the utmost importance to us not to lose this golden opportunity of bringing all races together and would urge all who possibly can to go next year with the conviction that they are not helping in whatever the direction of time and money involved."

Senator CARRIE WILSON of Canada says:—

"... The Conference of the National Committees on the Cause and Cure of War at Washington was most inspiring, and the urge which I felt all through the session was that there had not been a larger representation from Canada. I know the delegates of interest and anxiety in advance international cooperation in every way possible, and ready to make sacrifices which all felt were necessary for us all."

Miss CHOIA BENG of China says:—

"It was a great privilege for me to attend the 22nd Conference on the Cause and Cure of War organized by the American Women. Many conferences I have attended before, but none of this character. It is unique in the following ways. In the first place, it gathers women from all parts of the U.S.A. with different points of view. In the second place, it is international and educational in a patient and thorough way. The American women through these educational conferences are helping intelligent women to understand their responsibility about public affairs.

In the third place, this conference is the new way of democracy. The opportunity of presenting different points of view, the freedom of thinking, talking, and then all aspects being considered to reach agreement on certain things that the different national points of view will do in the coming year to attend for further action, all this is democratic in process."

Miss COURTNEY, Vice-President of the Peace and Disarmament Committee says:

"This Conference is an unique gathering of women. There is nothing like it in Europe or in any other part of the world, and European women who know what can be done by organized women in the cause of international understanding will find a stimulating and inspiring experience. It is above all an opportunity for getting into touch with Leaders of the American Peace Movement at a time when it is of crucial importance that there should be understanding and unity of purpose between those who are working for the organization of peace in the New World and in the Old."

Tentative Programme of the Intercontinental Conference

The subjects to be discussed will include the essentials of international situation and new problems arising from it; collective responsibility and what it implies; the need for collective responsibility in the political field and the methods for achieving this.

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On the first day of the Conference it will be open to all the American delegates from the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War. On the second and third days the sessions will be limited to the appointed delegates from the various organizations and countries represented.

Arrangements for meetings or social events outside the Conferences will be in the hands of the American National Committee. It is hoped that a certain amount of hospitality may be available for delegates.

A call for representative delegations from all countries

These two Conferences offer to all who attend an unusual opportunity not only for the enrichment of personal life but also the enrichment of the organizations from which the delegates come.

Begin now to arrange for a representative delegation from your country. The value and far-reaching effects of this Conference depend almost entirely on the personality and the experience of the women who will take part in it and the influence they exert in their respective countries and in the organizations in which they are active.

An autumn bulletin will give more details as to the programme of both Conferences and also include list of ballots and approximate cost. Keep the dates for both Conferences clearly in mind—January 22nd to 28th, 1910.

For further information please apply to:

Miss C. A. PRUISEMAN
President, Peace and Disarmament Committee of the Women's International Organizations
Palais Wilson, Geneva, Switzerland.

The Peace and Disarmament Committee comprising
Eleven International Organizations of Women Calls an Intercontinental Conference to discuss
How can War be avoided?
How can Security be achieved?

HOTEL WASHINGTON
Washington, D.C.
January 26th to January 28th 1910.

The American National Committee invites all delegates to attend The Fifteenth Annual Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, Hotel Washington, Washington, D.C.
January 22nd to 28th 1910.