

PERAINE

DR. MADIA SURANZONA.

Vice-President of the Ukrainian Section of the W. I. L. One of its founders. Took active part at the Vienna Congress where she protested against the programs in her own country. Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Petersburg. She was the only woman who passed into the Consular-Academy of Kiev. Worked in the Ukrainian Foreign Office as chief of one of the political departments. Vice-President of a union of thirty peasant clubs.

Journalist. Member of the Ukrainian club of Writers and Journalists. Published a volume of Ukrainian Fairy Tales and has been a lecturer in Russian at the High School for Agriculture in Vienna.

O. KUFARAO DRAGONANOWA

President Ukrainian Section, W. I. L. Degree in law Imperial University of St. Petersburg. Active as a student in student pacifist organizations. One of five first women lawyers who were admitted to the bar in St. Petersburg. Instructor in night schools for working people.

1918- Secretary in Department Foreign Affairs

1919- Member Ukrainian delegation to the Peace Conference in Franco.

1920- Member of the staff Ukrainian legation at Vienna.
Writer and translator.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER,

I. THE PRINCIPLES. International Rights and Duties.

War between nations is only one aspect of universal violence against which it is humanity's duty to fight. The world is not organized for Peace. Politically, international entities of more or less recent formation come into contact with one another with their selfish and even aggressive demands. Economically, there is competition between nations with the consequent war and waste, and at the same time the exploitation in old countries of the middle classes, the industrial workers and the peasants by capitalism. The complexity and the interdependence of the mechanisms which regulate the life of human society are such that one cannot touch one part without disorganizing the whole. Therefore, a new international order demands a complete re-organizing of the world, and Peace can come only as the result of such re-organization. We desire to set out here the minimum conditions which will make Peace possible. The technicians and the specialists will have to find the methods of application of these various principles.

In order that this re-organization should be properly understood and effective, the rights of human beings to live and to develop, either as individuals or spontaneous groups, must be considered in the first place. National groups are only transitory. As long as nations exist as such it is necessary that certain personalities similar to the "Rights of Man" be recognized by world opinion. These personalities are not new, but they remain a dead letter notwithstanding the benefits events offer of their truth.

1. Nations are equal in rights. Whether they are rich and powerful, or small, each nation without exception should be accorded her just rights and the respect due to her.

2. "All nations are interdependent". That which injures one injures all. That which benefits one benefits all. At first glance this principle seems to be opposed to facts. To be a nationalist is precisely to deny it. I think we affirm that the history of the past few years corroborates it. The prosperity of its neighbors based on the misery of its people can only be superficial and ephemeral. Such is the interdependence of peoples that except for a short-sighted political view. It can be said that the interest of each nation is identical with the common interest.

A certain limitation of national liberty necessarily follows the principle of international solidarity, just as the individual finds his liberty limited by the interests of his neighbors. So the particular interests of a

nation will find themselves limited by interests of other nations. The general interest will be best safe-guarded by the just and reciprocal balance of particular interests. It is the duty, as it is to the advantage of Nations, to help each other until the time when they unite to a single federation. The advantage of mutual helpfulness is a consequence of their actual interdependence. The day of mutual help is born of faith in human brotherhood, which cannot be limited by frontiers. National entities have no interest in harming each other, and further, it is their advantage and their duty to collaborate. Their common aim is to fight together against the scourges of nature and the evils which man has brought upon the earth, and to establish the conditions of life most favorable to the highest human development.

II. THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ORDER.

An international political order can only be peacefully established if each nation consents to restrain little by little its absolute and jealous sovereignty and to remain interdependent only in those questions which do not concern the entire human community.

Nations - peoples as well as governments - must acquire the habit of working together with control. The cooperation must be positive and identical; and there must be a real international organization.

Without this essential condition an International Court of Justice, no matter how powerful or impartial as between nations it might be, would not suffice to secure a permanent peace, because it would not abolish the innumerable causes of conflict that are constantly springing from imperialistic rivalries.

Whatever may be the form of this international government it must not become either autocratic or tyrannical, but must always remain, as must the international governments, under democratic control. The disadvantages of Bureaucracy could be minimized or even avoided by a frequent selection of competent and active men and by the possibility of the frequent recall of representatives and officers.

A. - ORGANIZATION. In order to distinguish the central international organism of which we desire from the existing League of Nations, which is neither universal nor democratic, either in its representation or its constitution, we will name it the "League of Peoples". It is possible that this League of Peoples will result in the transformation from the present League of Nations.

B. - COMPOSITION. All peoples will be represented without exception not merely a few nations. Then peoples will be directly represented, not merely by their governments; governments will always be more or less temporary and can be changed by reaction, using force or surprise. Women as well as men will be represented without distinction of sex.

In order to really represent the people in assembly -- no matter what may be its name -- all will have to include, not only the representatives of governments and parliaments, majorities and minorities, but the representatives of different groups of workers, manual and intellectual, this for two reasons:

First: A central organization cannot persist without the confidence of the workers, since it has to defend their rights as men as well as producers:

Second: This central organization cannot in the complex conditions of modern life limit itself to a political action because the causes of war are now more economic than political.

It is, therefore, essential that both producers and consumers, men and women, should be directly represented and have a direct control so that no special class of producers may obtain an authority which they can abuse. They are already organized into trade unions, employers' organizations and different organizations of manual and intellectual workers, economic groups, cooperative manufacturing and distributive organizations, representing the interests of housekeepers; in the International Commissions for the distribution of raw materials and the regulation of transportation and world finance, etc. These groups, especially the last, still in a very elementary stage, should develop largely and their delegates would form the economic section of the League of Peoples where production, distribution of commodities, and world finance will be regulated and controlled. So, production, national and international distribution of commodities, will not be dependent on the profit of individuals but upon the needs of the human community.

In order that the international political order may function most effectively it is necessary that the internal organization of the states should be as free and just as possible. Citizens, when liberated from the tyranny and bureaucracy must control the acts of their delegates, who can be recalled at any moment. This result can be obtained by a mode of representation just outlined for the League of Peoples.

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POWERS. Legislative Powers:

a. The assembly really representative of the Peoples will have the power to elaborate a code of world laws. There must be first of all a liquidation of the past:

1. A revision of all treaties in force and the alteration of those, which, as they stand, are incompatible with the covenant of the Society of Peoples.

2. Revision and making public of secret treaties.

3. Control of the application of treaties and the right of Peoples to live and to develop according to justice shall be curtailed, even if these peoples consist of minorities incorporated at the moment in foreign national states.

At the head of this code of world laws which will have to be built up, the outlawry of war shall be inscribed. It must declare that war is no longer recognized as a method of settling disputes between peoples, to decree the total disarmament of all nations under strict, impartial international control.

b. Executive power. Executive power will be in the hands of a council directly named by the different bodies represented in the Assembly. That is to say that this council is not to be representative merely of the governments of some of the great powers but of the different categories of manual and intellectual workers, of consumers, and of men and women. Special Departments of Labor (agricultural, industrial, and intellectual), a Department of World Finance and Trade, a Department of Posts and Transports, Department of Public Health, etc. will be charged to organize a state of peace.

c. The judicial power shall be vested in the Court of Justice empowered to adjust the differences between nations. This court will not be composed of merely officials and jurists, but in addition to the representatives of the state and the law, will have representatives of the various material and moral interests of the public.

d. A League of Peoples so composed representing the concrete economic forces of the world and not abstract personalities, such as nations, must have new power. It is necessary to have not only a political government but a financial and economic one, the functions of which we shall speak of below.

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SANCTIONS.

The League of Peoples will not have any armed forces to enforce its laws. Having disarmed the nations and supervised their disarmament, it cannot be armed itself. It will not make use of hunger blockade or any blockade as a means of pressure on a nation opposed to the new order, for it is the innocent who always pay with their misery and death for the fruit of the few, and the innocent will be represented as they are a part of the mass of consumers directly represented.

As the ties of world solidarity will become stronger and stronger, rebellious peoples will hesitate before placing themselves outside the concert of Peoples, since they will suffer so much by isolation.

LIMITATIONS.

The power of the League of Peoples will be limited by that concerns the general interest. It will not touch the innumerable and varied interest of ethnical, linguistic, cultural, professional, and other groups which make the world so rich and varied. In all these domains on which are dependent the maintenance and progress of diverse civilizations, among whose concrete realities men move, a new international order, far from tending to tyrannical centralization and uniformity, will be able to give to more or less widely divided groups an autonomy far greater than the national governments of our day.

Therefore, it is not a question of weakening the character nor suppressing the differences which gave birth to the love of one's country and give it its value as a matter of feeling. This sentiment, purified of every element of politics and hatred, would develop more freely and fruitfully, if the small and large countries ceased to be either threatened or aggressive as they are under the present order.

III. THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER.

The League of Peoples will represent the economic forces of the world. It will comprise an economic section, and will add to the three ordinary divisions of powers; legislative, executive, and judicial, the fourth, the economic. In this field as in the political, the Society of Peoples must first liquidate the past.

III. THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER.

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1- It must first solve the question of reparations and of interallied debts by an international agreement based on justice and general interest.

2- Institute an international currency which will end the exchange crisis, facilitate business, and regenerate international finances.

3- Abolish customs barriers and frontiers, formalities for travellers, and tariff-war between nations.

All this is possible only if the economic section of the Society of Peoples is empowered by its constituents to take over the direction of the economic system from the small, irresponsible, and varied groups, in which power is now vested. Only an international authority can accomplish this, since most of the big trusts have international ramifications and international power. A systematic organization of production and trade, to which they will be compelled to submit, will alone eliminate the rivalries, the present waste, and state of anarchy.

In order to realize this organization it will be necessary to determine:

1- The needs of each country in food stuffs and the agricultural production of the world, in order to keep the peoples from famine and want, from which some parts of the European, African, and Asiatic peoples are now suffering.

2- The needs of each country in manufactured products and it must maintain statistical studies of world production in order to avoid, on one hand, a rise in prices, and on the other, to prevent over-production, undercutting, lock-outs, and unemployment.

This would make possible a more complete and judicious use of the world's natural resources, and a fairer distribution. In order to avoid hoarding and speculation, it may be necessary to protect from the fluctuations of supply and demand, essential food products, as well as the sources of power and raw materials necessary to maintain and advance civilization. The Economic Section of the Society of Peoples will be empowered to investigate how far it

may be necessary to internationalize these two sources of wealth, and under what conditions every country may have free access to them.

No customs-barriers, no prohibitive tariff, no export bounties should prevent the equitable circulation and distribution of products necessary to human welfare. Money saved by the suppression of war legats should permit States to neglect this source of revenue.

To internationalize the means of transport is the logical consequence of these measures. These will result in a much more homogenous organization and standardise, improve, and complete all railways and waterways. It will be the same for the Postal Service, for weights and measures, and in general, in all materials domains where it proves to be advantageous.

This transformation of the economic order in the evolution now going on tends to limit State sovereignty of States on behalf of the common interest, implies a general reorganization of labor on a fairer basis - a uniform organization controlled by the economic section of the Society of Peoples.

The new World Charter of labor would obtain the application of the following principles:

All workers, whether in their own country, or in any other, and without distinction of sex, nationality or race, should have free access to work. In all countries, the workers will have legal protection, the same laws applying to nationals and foreigners. Judicious vocational guidance and adequate vocational training will be recognized. The conditions of work, pay, health, insurance, and safety measures; co-ordinated duration of seasonal work in order to do away with periodic un-employment, a working schedule arranged with obligatory weekly and annual rest periods, adapted to the age and the individual case, shall be standardized, in order that all workers may lead a healthy life and satisfy, not only their material necessities, but also their moral and intellectual needs. The object is not to obtain from the worker the maximum output he is capable of, but after a deep scientific study of his physiological and moral requirements, to utilize his aptitudes rationally, with a minimum of fatigue and a maximum of profit for the community.

These minimum conditions will be obligatory upon all employers, individual or corporate, and will be under the supervision of the economic section of the Society of Peoples. Until the time comes when the sources of

labor (soil and sub-soil, industrial and commercial machinery) shall be owned directly by those who work them.

This will outlaw, not only political wars between nations, but also the economic conflict, which is at the same time domestic and inter-state, and the costs of which are borne entirely by the workers. Boycotting inferior products, bonuses offered for excellence of production, will be enough to give back to labor a dignity which neither capitalism nor protection prevented it from losing.

IV. THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER AND THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

The ultimate object of every political or economic organization is the security and improvement of the individual life. The only real units whose suffering and joy, action and thought, make up the life of the world.

It is only in a new international order, suppressing political and economic wars that individual life can be respected. Guarantees of liberty (individual liberty, liberty of a conscience and opinion) limited only by the liberty of others, should be secured to the citizens of the Society of Peoples as well as to the citizens of national units, guarantees connected with the political order, above defined, and long ago set out in various acts of habeas corpus and "Declarations of the Rights of Man" of civilized peoples.

The collaborations of peoples united in one community should help to increase the forces which are at the disposal of man to struggle against the scourges of nature and disease and to protect the sick.

It will be the duty of the League of Peoples to organize an International Public Health Service. It will be the duty of this service to organize systems with all possible speed in case of earthquakes, floods, and other catastrophes. It will have to study the causes of epidemics in order to limit and do away with them, using the most efficient methods of modern science. It will take measures to bring about improvement of sanitary conditions in cities and villages. It will increase comfort, improve hygiene, will suppress slums and will construct garden cities with healthy and comfortable houses; will set up large centers where visitors will have at their disposal a specialized staff and all the necessary supplies for the treatment and cure of disease.

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In all countries there is a minority of internationally minded people. They are the guardians of the new ideal. In order that they should increase in number they must know one another, they must cooperate, and radiate influence with ever increasing strength. They would be helped by the international development of large cultural and scientific associations, by the establishment of laboratories, research centers, libraries, international exhibitions, etc. for scientists, thinkers, and artists, where they could become acquainted with each other and unite the result of their personal work. There would be a control over inventions, placing them at the service of the entire community and forbidding their application for the production of instruments of destruction. All this work in common would unite the pioneers and one can foresee the birth of an International City.

The venal press which spreads in all countries the lies and falsehoods would collapse with the fall of the political and economic organizations supporting it. One can foresee then side by side with a local press treating the cultural and material interests of the various countries, a vast press to spread information that would not be the slavish organ of a world government, but would expose or examine the events and problems according to the point of view of the League of People and the general interests of humanity. Although it is necessary to prevent the dissemination of one-sided information, it would be dangerous to limit the freedom of opinion, without which there would be no progress in the world. Severe penalties, however, would be inflicted and public withdrawals insisted from journalists responsible for false news and calumnies. Yet the growth of a new International Spirit cannot be accomplished in one generation, only a new method of education can create it, little by little. The form of education already begun in action educational groups must be applied to all countries.

The child should be brought up for himself and not to be an instrument in the hands of a political, religious, or even a pedagogic power. His intellectual and moral growth must follow the needs and progressive interests of his physical, moral, and mental development, in accordance with the most recent discoveries of physiology and psychology of the child. "Active Schools," where the pupil does not passively receive knowledge, but has opportunities of freely exercising his faculties and living in a healthy and harmonious envi-

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ment, will be benefitted gratuitously by boys and girls until the age for vocational training. These schools will have no other aim than that of giving to the human body and soul the surroundings and nourishment for their complete development.

It is only by overstepping the narrow limits of present day education that one can produce individuals with the true culture of their race, and endowed with spirit, free from all prejudices, curious of all that exists, and happens in the world, fraternal souls, world citizens.

The child will be taught that love of one's neighbor is not limited to his own race, his own nation, his own class; no more than is the duty to actively serve the community. That in social life, as well as in individual life, aggressive pride, destructive selfishness, violence of all kinds, are enemies to be met with kindness and righteousness, there is no public or political morality, distinct or opposed, to a high human morality.

There are only eternal truths, unanimously reported by the sages of all times and all countries.

As long as men do not recognize that all are subject to this law of disinterestedness and generosity, which surpasses strict justice; as long as they will not work for its realization in their personal and private life, as well as in their public life, the exterior transformation of the world will not bring the expected well-being of mankind.

Human ideas are constantly changing and evolving and in order that human progress may be accomplished, institutions must also change and develop. The things of the spirit must develop alongside material things so that the hope of a lasting Peace may be born amongst reconciled humanity.

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MANIFESTO

ATTENTION.

In the tenth year of its existence, the F. I. L. P. F. affirms that its first principles remain unshaken and that the course of events since 1914 and the present position in Europe are the inevitable result of the violation of those principles.

CONDITION OF EUROPE.

Since the Armistice of 1918, Europe has continued to live under conditions essentially those of war. We have seen economic chaos, pestilence and famine, immense military preparations on the part of the victorious Allies and the new States set up by them, the continuance of the outrage of the Armies of Occupation, the invasion of disarmed Germany, the renewal of actual war in the Near East, the oppression of minorities, the crippling and defiance of the League of Nations, the steady creation of international hatred and a universal sense of insecurity. These are the bitter fruits of Man's own acts.

INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

We affirm again our conviction that a civilised world can be based upon the principles of international justice from which will develop international cooperation; that the use of armed force for offensive or defensive purposes and the economic blockade by States against one another must be replaced by the universal adoption of arbitration and conciliation together with complete disarmament by land, sea, air, and the willing abandonment of non-moral ideas of sovereignty or prestige which must necessarily be subversive of international goodwill.

DICTATED TREATIES.

We declare that the principle of international justice is transgressed by the enforcement of the Right of Conquest in the dictated treaties which terminated the world-war and we renew our demand that all nations should...

It will undertake the organization of treatment in each epidemic, apart from the period of epidemics, the hospitals and visiting staff for the sick and incurable, will be used for chronic illness, including nervous and mental illness.

Physicians and nurses, hygienists, and constructors of all kinds and volunteers may be recruited for urgent and temporary work from the forces of a new international social service, to which men and women of good will will be willing to devote a year of their youth. This organization for preventative medicine will be connected with the institutions for the protection of mothers and children, maternity being considered as a social service. The rights of the mother will be safeguarded and considered as equal to the rights of the father. She will be assisted in the accomplishment of her task, whether she is self-supporting or not.

The principle of the International Save the Children organization - "The human community recognizes its duty towards every child. Every child must be put into a position to develop physically and morally." This shall be accepted and applied by the League of Peoples wherever a general improvement of politic and economic conditions has not yet given to the children what they need in preparation for life. Thanks to a complete system of social insurance the rights of all workers, men and women, to rest and nursing under the most normal conditions when they are no longer able to work, will be recognized.

A League of Peoples would not last long if it were only a business association. The organization of the world requires moral forces.

The politic and economic community of humanity will not really exist until and unless a new spirit of mutual comprehension of good will, active collaboration in the service of the common ideals, replaces the ignorance, chauvinism, and the spirit of rivalry and hatred which stands between peoples.

demand that all nations shall be treated as equals. New agreements must, therefore, supersede the old and the vanquished must have the same rights as all the other States.

DEMOCRATIC CONTROL.

Because of the close connection between internal and foreign politics and because international co-operation depends in the last resort upon peoples, we will continue appealing to the peoples to insist upon controlling their relations with other peoples and in particular to women that they may build up the civilization upon which their freedom and the good of their children depends.

SOCIAL PEACE.

We also condemn all violence in civil and class wars, but because they are most commonly the direct consequence of social injustice and we cannot condemn the violence and not the causes. It is not enough to condemn, however, we must devote ourselves to abolishing these causes. The first step towards this end must be to bring about the organization of economic life, not for individual or class profit, but for the highest possible development of every human being.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

Once more we reaffirm our belief that an international organization is essential-

- 1- To organize international co-operation to weld the scattered moral forces of the world into an effective political instrument.
- 2- To serve as a mediator in the settlement of disputes and to pronounce judgment with the utmost impartiality possible to human beings upon the merits of all matters in dispute.

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Such a body should be so constituted as to comprise all the nations of the world on a basis of genuine equality and so make domination by any State or group of States impossible. It should derive its power from no sanctions of force but from the deterrent and persuasive power of world opinion as expressed in its assemblies. Thus constituted it could exercise so many beneficent functions in protecting minorities, in raising the conditions of labour, in promoting international education and health, the welfare of backward races, in establishing free trade, and in controlling the equitable distribution of food supplies and raw materials among the nations and in bringing about the total disarmament of its members.

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WHO'S WHO - FOURTH BIENNIAL INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS, MAY 1 - 7, 1924.

AUSTRALIA

EDITH WATFORD.

English by birth, she lived most of her life in Australia, Tasmania. She is a splendid social worker, interested in education and child welfare. She takes great interest in politics, is vice-president of the Women's Non-Party League (equal citizenship), and in the League's interest contested a seat for the House of Assembly during the last several elections, this being the first time women were eligible for election. She put up a splendid fight and just missed being elected by a small margin.

AUSTRIA

LOTTE HELLER.

A Viennese, who, after she married, went to Brunn, an Austrian provincial town. Her interests became centered in the Women's Movement. Her lectures stirred the middle class provincial minds to a more independent thought. She combined with her lecturing some journalistic work.

She was the first member of the "Suffrage Committee" to realize the importance of women to put an end to war and propagated the meeting of women at The Hague in 1915.

The Austrian revolution had the happy effect of granting to women the possibility of having meetings of their own, and at the first great meeting of women, Lotte Heller spoke to over three thousand people.

YELLA HERTZEL.

Founder of the new Women's Clubs in Vienna. Founder of the first Austrian School of Agriculture for women. Since 1914, pacifist worker for International Peace.

BELGIUM

LOUIS DEJARDIN.

Supplementary member of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies, at present actively engaged in organizing relief for Germany.

Mlle. Dejardin was made a Chevalier of the Order of Leopold II in recognition of her war services.

During the war, because of her activities, she was taken prisoner and sentenced to death with six civilians charged with espionage. With them she was marched out to be shot early one morning and saw them drop before her one by one. It was only at the last moment that she learned that her sentence had been commuted to an indefinite sentence in a military prison. After three years of terrible hardships she was freed and immediately organized a society consisting of former soldiers and of women sufferers from the war, with the object of relieving the children of the Central Empires.

BULGARIA

CATHERINE L. JEWELSON

A member of many Civic and Beneficent Societies and President of the oldest Bulgarian Society. The first to open a professional school for women in her country.

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HN:JWM
61-1533 -47

May 14, 1924.

The Director,
Military Intelligence Division,
War Department,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

There are transmitted herewith copies of reports of Agent Davidson of the Washington Field Office covering meetings of the Fourth International Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, dated May 5, 6, and 7, 1924. The documents referred to in the report of May 7th are in the possession of the Bureau.

The above is for your information.

Very truly yours,

Acting Director.

encl. 19607

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MAY 13 1924

Deleted Copy Sent *Bessie D. Jackson*
by letter *10-24-75 Perry L. Baker*

Instructions received from Agent in Charge E.R. Bohner.
 THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **Washington, D. C.** JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

REPORT MADE AT: Washington, D.C.	DATE WHEN MADE: 5/6/24	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 5/6/24	REPORT MADE BY: A. P. Davidson
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: RE: WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE and FREEDOM.			Report of Fourth International Congress.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At Washington, D.C.

File #287

The meeting convened at 9:30 A.M. May 5th at the Washington Hotel, Jane Adams, Chairman, and remained in session until 12:30 P.M.

Before formal session was opened, Dr. Woker, of Switzerland, had a letter read, which she had sent to the Press to be published, concerning her previous statement that 700 men were in a hospital at Edgewood Arsenal, Md., as a result of chemical warfare experiments. Letter stated her visit with Dr. Sahlbom, of Sweden, to Edgewood Arsenal and mentioned the great danger to men employed in gaseous experiments. She stated the men themselves were victims of some tear gas when the wind changed during one of the experiments. After letter was submitted, a resolution was read to abolish chemical warfare and oppose it to warfare.

Meeting opened - Subject - **A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER AND ITS PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS.**

First speaker - **DR. ANITA AUGSBURG** of Germany.

She stated our whole life was founded upon violence. From early youth we hear words of command, obey, prohibit, compulsion and punishment. We try by violence in the schoolrooms to form the mind of the child. Parents have taken

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 by Letter 10-24-25

A.P. Davidson - May 6, 1924.

Women's
Intl. League -

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upon themselves the right to choose whatever profession their child must follow regardless of whether the child wants that one of their choice or not.

All of our laws are based upon this principle of violence.

War is want of reason; is brutal violence. The intervals between wars are a state of suspended and latent violence.

ANTIDOTES AGAINST WAR

States must give up secret diplomacy and system of spying on each other. Future states must not lower themselves to the uses of such means against each other. The masses have always been ready to go out and fight for those who order them to because they throw one word of national violence, of danger of national honor, and it breaks out among the people in a most dangerous state of mind and they are ready to go to war.

The best remedy against war is to strengthen the personality of the individual, thru education and social life. There are very few people who have the courage to be what they really are. If there were only more there would be a better, franker world today. It is a sad aspect to see among humanity so few real persons; to meet almost nothing but uniformity. All humanity seems to submit to any style of fashion dictated to them by unseen forces. In war we give up not only our personality but expend vast sums of money, which would employ millions of poor people, who today are working for almost nothing, ruined in health and of no real worth to the nation, themselves or mankind.

We must abolish Hero-Worship, to ensure peace. -- the warlike type of Hero-Worship.

Second speaker - MME. ARIEZE JOWE.

Today we are living in a material social life, where the end is not of the society but of individuality. We must liberate in man the spirit of materialism. Does youth know the triumph of spirit? No. Today is purely materialistic. Nowadays men and women work monotonously and hours a day. No matter what kind of work. After work, women have all the work at home to do, an especially heavy task in France, and generally with insufficient food. The child comes home from school - the father reads his newspaper - and the mother goes to church when she can. Very few divertissements to make life worth living. The Church does not bring a liberating message to man and stimulate his life. It brings commands, authority of State, and of partisanship. Vulgarization kills the good intention, good feelings and good will of man. The modern world is the most tiresome of worlds. War is occasion of satisfying adventurous spirit and need of serving and showing off of heroism, but we soon saw war as a savage ravage of soul and body. It liberated the bestial cruelty in man. How can an international order help us to find ourselves if those who fought do not see that war killed all their noble faculties and set their own base feelings in motion?

There can be no mental progress until we are separated from material development. There are some few great souls who have found this. We must give to all the chance to live, regardless of race, nationality, the right of mankind to enjoy nature's benefits. Man wants no longer to be bathed in the immoral aspect of politics of today. He wants a material life that shall free the mind from spiritual worry. Education must be awakened to its new duties. It must no longer dispense old doctrines.

We need a moral force to establish an international order. We must put our ideals as high as the highest minds of the time. The respect of the child should be at the foot of education. Do not edify prejudicial barriers around the child. Let him know that the world is the pasture of the child. Give him a concrete vision of this. Teach him deep and not superficial understanding. Make no more need of pardoning a superior attitude. Teach him a respect for equality. Teach him also to serve his fellow man, putting no limit to his services, and do justice by all.

Edify the religion of our own souls and make us really a Republic of Comrades.

Third speaker - MRS. WATERWORTH - of Australia.

Faulty human nature is at the root of war.--the failure of socialist ideals was not because Socialist ideals were wrong, but because of faulty human nature at the bottom. Temptation for more power and territorial acquisitions means a precipitation into war.

The working machinery is still in the hands of man ~~power~~ - should be in the hands of both sexes - women are still thinking - they think, "What the men think they ought to think."

There should be inclusion of women in every phase of life.

Peace should be put more on the way by women writers, who write for the daily press.

We should have women in public speaking before Women's Societies.

Introduced resolution for schools in the world to study peace and new ethical standards.

Fourth speaker - MAE. BUDINSKA-TYLICKA - of Poland.

Pacifists should all be of accord. There are very few text books for

studying the psychological basis of the war.

The complete disappearance of Imperialism from Poland is a Pacifistic result. It means a big development of National Democracy. We must have the cooperation of the nations vs. capitalism.

- Feminine franchisement imperative for success of Pacifism. The Women's International League does not put enough importance on feminist question. There are 10 to 25% more women in the world than men. The moral force of women - they are more sensible - they are the mother of humanity, with the greatest realization of what is human life. There is greater emancipation and franchisement of women in Europe than in the United States of America. The aim of Pacifism is to give all political and social rights to women. We can't advance until all women are emancipated. Put responsibility of franchisement in the hands of women.

Fifth speaker - LADY CLAUDE ANNESLEY - of England.

We must stop the old belief in exploitation of one group vs. another.

In war the persecutor loses his own soul. To win a war is a far greater disaster than to lose it. War includes all struggle for domination. Peace is the cooperation for equality and tranquillity. We must replace the animal claws of war by thinking minds. Any limitation of love is a limitation of intelligence. War has been put in a Heroic disguise and is seen not as murder but service and bravery. The only real way to put into practice the real Peace is to put in practice the "Sermon on the Mount". The highest law of life is the law of love. All belief in inequality is treacherous to the progress of mankind. As is the kingdom of Heaven within us - so also is the material world around us.

(Here the Chair read an invitation from the Women's Press Club to the Press people among the delegates.)

Sixth speaker - MISS EVA MACHAGTEN - of England.

This speaker told of the reaction of the older generation to the Youth Movement - a tribute to Youth.

Seventh speaker - M^LL^E. GORAT - of France.

Defined Radicalism as coming from Latin word meaning "root of things."

She stated the trouble nowadays is that people claim to be against violence up to a certain point and then cede violence to gain their end - We must stand against that. We are inefficient if we limit ourselves in work. We must be radical - get to the root of things. We cannot be too radical.

Eighth speaker - M^ME. DOUKE WERNER - of Austria.

She praised the Women's International League summer schools - there being something of especial good to Europe in its pictures. The outlook of the people has been enlarged by the Summer school. She stated the wonderful work of the Summer school in England.

Ninth speaker - GERTRUDE BAER - of Germany.

We must get into the minds of foreign offices that they must send the right people in ^{Diplomatic} ~~Administrative~~ Service. Women must be sent in the Diplomatic Service. There is question of International tact lacking in many of our foreign offices.

Tenth speaker - MRS. HULL - U. S. A.

Attended a meeting at a U. S. University that had a visit from many foreign students touring the United States. Filled with pride at the list of youth movements in Europe. Recommended that Women's International League members read "Non violent Coercion" by Clarence Marsh Case.

Eleventh speaker - MISS LILLIAN HOLBY - of Norway.

Stated youth is eager to change the psychological aspect of the world. Go to the people to vote on questions raised by public opinion in the world.

Twelfth speaker - MRS. LUCIA AMES MEADE - U.S.A.

Complimentary speech for Youth movement.

Report of meeting from 2:00 P.M. to 4:00 P.M. May 5th - Women's Intl. League at Washington Hotel.

First speaker - GERTRUDE BAER - of Germany on Cahiers de la Paix.

We must obtain the necessary pressure to bring about goal desired. Many nations are working together on principles of Peace. Socialists, Christian bodies, Pacifists, etc. in France have all begun to work out principles.

Mme. Angsburg of Germany, Mme. Jouve of France and Gertrude Baer or helped prepare "Cahier de la Paix."

Every section make propaganda for "Cahier de la Paix" in their own country. Letters were sent to all sections, urging suggestions to be put in the Cahier.

Many distinguished people in Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, etc. interested in the Cahier. French section forced to do the work of formulating a Cahier alone. Tried to formulate the doctrine of the League. Hungarian Cahier received too late to be incorporated into the League Cahier.

Received Austrian Cahier a few days ago, which will be studied very carefully. They want nations to have equal rights.- Creation of an effective International

Power, which will insure an active Economic Cooperation between Nations.

Abolition of Customs - Internationalism of Communications - a new International

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Labor Charter on new equality of rights - Social, Political and Economical
Reforms can only be made lasting when individuals change International attitude.

Cahier to be sent to all division sections of all branches of the Women's
International League.

Practical suggestions wanted from technical experts and everybody expressing
an opinion on the Cahier in their own particular line, as it may be for the
betterment of the "Cahier Movement."

Instructions received from Agent in Charge E. R. Bohner.

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT Washington, D. C.

JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

REPORT MADE AT: Washington, D. C.	DATE WHEN MADE: 5-3-24	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 4-30 to 5-2-24	REPORT MADE BY: A. P. Davidson
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: RE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM			REPORT OF FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
FACTS DEVELOPED: At Washington, D. C.			File 887. 61-1538

The Fourth International Congress of the League convened in the auditorium of the Washington Hotel on May 1, 1924, at 9 am.

For information, Agent will state that prior to the present time the league held its first meeting at The Hague in 1915 to protest against war, and formulated plans to inaugurate a campaign for permanent world peace.

The second congress was held in Zurich in 1919, which was at the end of the European War, and at which meeting the delegates took up and criticized the Versailles Treaty, reporting back to the "Peace Conference" then sitting in Paris.

The third congress of the League was held in Vienna in 1921 and began an active campaign of peace propaganda in Southeastern Europe. The League held an "Emergency Conference" in December, 1922, at The Hague, at which time it laid plans to work "unremittingly" for a world congress to be called by the League of Nations for the purpose of forcing peace. The League has held a number of annual conventions of its United States section, and convened in 1922 and 1923 at the Grace Dodge Hotel, in this city, all of which meetings were covered by Agents of this office and made subject of a report to which Agent respectfully refers.

It was with some difficulty that they found it possible to secure a place to

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APPROVED AND FORWARDED:	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	61-1538-48	RECORDED AND INDEXED MAY 8 - 1924
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meet in this city, but they finally secured the Auditorium in the Washington Hotel. A preliminary meeting was held there at 8 pm. on April 30, 1924. Miss Jane Addams presided and opened the meeting, making an address of welcome to America of the foreign delegates.

Hannah Clothier Hull, who styles herself as the leader of the "Friends Service Committee," and of "No More Wars" fame, delivered an address, stating that we should have government through the people rather than through the individual.

Mrs. Johnson, head of the "Women's Peace League," then addressed the meeting, saying that the cause of peace was the ultimate end of all organizations of the peace nature. She made special mention of those of the Women's Peace League, who she said had the courage to stand up for their principles during the war and who dared to say then what anyone can say now.

The meeting was then addressed by Honorable Isacc Sherwood, Member of Congress from Ohio, who stated that he had been in the Civil War and had from that time on resolved never to expouse the cause of another war. He made the statement that General Grant had, after the war, reduced the Army to 25,000 men and 300 officers, and that now we had 125,000 men in the standing Army, with more than 13,000 officers. He deplored this condition and declared that "we have become a military autocracy."

The next speaker introduced by Mrs. Addams was Count Graf H. Kessler of Germany. He seemed to be a temporary visitor passing through the city. He made a short speech stating that he believed in and appreciated the efforts of the League, and said that all women wanted peace and that no great, noble woman in all the world had ever espouse the cause of war, but had always preached, worked, and striven for peace.

The Chairman then presented a number of young delegates who, she said, were from Japan, China, Philippines, and Ceylon. The meeting then adjourned to meet Thursday morning, May 1, 1924, at 9 am.

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THURSDAY MAY 1, 1924

The meeting convened at 9 am., Jane Addams, International President of the League, presiding. After the roll call of delegates, the first speaker was Edith Wharton, of Australia, who read a statement of the work carried on by the League in that country. She said the territory was large and the population scattered, making it difficult to "spread propaganda," but that great progress had been made within the last year, and that there was a large pacifist sentiment in Australia at the present time.

The next speaker introduced was Yella Hertsa, of ^{Austria} Russia, who styles herself as the "founder of the new women's clubs in Russia." She addressed the meeting for two minutes, urging a clearer and more comprehensive international cooperation between working classes of all countries, and advocated a "spirit of peaceful resistance" as the means of bringing pressure to bear upon proposed legislation.

The next speaker was Lucie Degardin, of Belgium, who described herself as "Supplementary Member of the Belgium Chamber of Deputies" and "Chevalier of the Order of Leopold the Second," says that during the war, because of her activities, she was taken prisoner and sentenced to death with six civilians charged with espionage. She says that with these civilians she was marched out to be shot early one morning and saw them drop one by one before her, and at the last moment she learned that her own sentence had been commuted to an indefinite sentence in a military prison. After three years of what she described as "terrible hardships", she was freed and immediately organized a society consisting of former soldiers of the war, for the purpose of extending relief to the children of the Central Empire. She read her report in French, stating that women pacifists, braving to be called traitors, banded together and sent food and supplies to the sufferers in Austria. She claims that her connections with the peace movement has been the means of the reconstruction of a large part of "Old Belgium."

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The next speaker introduced was Catherine Karavelowa, who claims to be a member of many civic and beneficent societies in Bulgaria, and the first person to open a professional school in that country. She opened her address by paying tribute to Woodrow Wilson in his efforts to establish peace; said that Bulgaria only wanted to be allowed to live in peace. She further stated that the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was getting on a solid basis in Bulgaria.

The next speaker introduced was Milena Illova^a, described as being a "member of the Social Democratic Party of Czecho-Slovakia and a Sociologist", followed by Maria Anll, secretary of the Czecho-Slovakia section of the Women's International League. Both women spoke of the growth of socialism in their country and the valuable assistance rendered that cause by the Women's International League.

The next speaker introduced was Gabrielle Duchene, who is described as being a worker for many years against the "sweat shop system", and who in 1918, with co-workers, founded what is known as the French Committee, and, assisted by Andree Jouve, started the movement known as "Cahiers de la paix," which is said to be a society of the "New International Order." Madam Duchene gave a resume of the work of reconstruction in the devastated areas of the Rhur district. She further said that a new and pacifist France was arising to help the poor.

The next speaker introduced was Lida Gustava Heymann, from Germany. She made a brief talk, but said practically nothing that had not already been said by previous speakers.

The next speaker introduced was Dorothy Evans, described as a lecturer in hygiene, anatomy, and psychology, is a militant suffragist and claims to have been in prison nine times in England, Scotland, and Ireland. She further claims to be the organizer of what is known as the "Land Naturalization Society," and a member of the executive committee of the "Fabian Women's Group." She said that the Women's International League was gaining a strong foothold in her country, and said they wanted

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to do two things in England: first, to compel recognition of Soviet Russia, and, second, to take the indemnity paid by China, and is still being paid, for the Boxer Rebellion, and use it in China for the betterment of the people and for the furtherance of peace.

The next speaker, Miss Marguerite Gobat, of Switzerland, told of the efforts of the League in Switzerland to establish citizens' training instead of military training, and stated that the Swiss people were a peace loving nation and interested in the maintenance of peace in the world.

O. Khrapko Dragomanowa, of Ukraine, described the sufferings of her fellow countrymen during the past war, and spoke of their present condition. She explained how pacifism was being spread in her country as a remedy for the throes of military domination.

The next speaker was Lucy Biddle Lewis, who holds the office of National Chairman Women's International League, Section for the United States, and who claims to be a native of the United States. She gave a brief resume of the work of the League in America. Miss Lewis stated that the League had succeeded in abolishing the "Compulsory Clause" from Wisconsin University, that it had been instrumental in having the budget for the National Guard reduced from \$9,000,000 to \$2,550,000, and said that the League was now gaining great strides among the students in America, and that they were doing their utmost to have military training lessened in American schools. She further stated that an active campaign was now being conducted to make war illegal, such as spreading circulars, etc., and they were trying to arouse the public opinion of the Versailles Treaty. She stated that the League sent three delegates into the State of Pennsylvania in the "Peace Auto" to make a tour of that State, speaking at various schools, colleges, and halls.

The next speaker, Epaish Youssoff, of Turkey, told of the newly found happiness of the women of Turkey in their freedom. She said that she wanted to make it clear

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that the Turks were "neither fierce and savage, nor living the life of an 'Arabian Night' fable."

Grace Paul, of Ceylon, was the next speaker, and she represented both Ceylon and India. She spoke of the Ghandi movement of "passive resistance" in India, and of Ghandi's belief in a revolution through "spiritual effort in soul cooperation." She further said that she welcomed this chance to bring the hopes of India before the Conference.

The next speaker was Rie-Djeu-Tang, of China, who stated that China is really a pacifist nation, although active very little. Most of China's troubles, the speaker stated, are internal, and China is striving for National Peace first, but will co-operate heartily with any international movement for a firm establishment of peace in this world.

The next speaker, Mathilde Widegren, read a report on the "Commission to Finland, to Schleswig, and to the Rhur, of the Women's International League." She explained ~~the~~ the efforts being made by the populace of those places for world peace. She further spoke of the success of the "passive resistance movement" by the people of the Rhur district.

Carolena Wood, of the United States, spoke next on "Passive Resistance." She endeavored to show how a passive resistance movement can be brought to bear, and make itself felt, as in the Ghandi movement in India, also the movement in the Rhur district.

Andree Jouvee, of France, who spoke once previous to this, again spoke on the "Child Movement" and the "Société des enfants". She referred particularly to correspondence had between children in France and children in the Rhur district, and their feeling toward each other, and stated that German laborers had offered to help reconstruct the devastated area of France.

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Lida Gustava Heymann, of Germany, was the next speaker to address the Congress. Miss Heymann gave a brief history of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which, she stated began in 1915, and gave praise to the women opposed to war who had stood by their cause during the war. She said that the women must make their cause felt, and addressed the following warning to the members:

"Don't believe your Government. Don't stick to your laws when they are wrong. Don't admire physical force. Trust your own feelings and make yourself free, and give freedom to others. For, until freedom of the world is obtained, there can be no peace, for peace is neighborliness and freedom."

The meeting was then adjourned until 8.30 pm., May 1, 1924, at which time the "Pan American Problem in relation to World Peace" was discussed, Chairman Zonia Baber presiding.

Mrs. Ida Perry Johnson (colored), of the Antilles, opened the session with an address, stating that Universal Peace was dependent on Individual Peace, best exemplified in the Home Element. The people of the Antilles, she says, are a peace loving group and have this element in their private life. She said that the main things which stand in the way there to Universal Peace are: 1. Bitterness caused by the capitalization of their resources by outsiders who don't re-invest in their country, nor try to benefit the working man; that the capitalist has taken for his axiom, "To him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away and given to him that hath." 2. Need of closer representation with their Mother country to establish World Peace. 3. That at home the man learns that intellect and refinement are the A B C of existence, whereas, when he goes abroad he learns that the world has turned the order of A B C and made it C B A, Color Before Ability. She further stated that to have World Peace, racial relations between countries must be built upon truth and justice, and that then only can there be a New Order that embraces not color and race, but Intellectuality and Ability.

The next speaker was Elena Calderon, of Bolivia, but she spoke so indistinctly and so low that Agent could not hear a word she said.

Agnes McPhail, M. P., of Canada, was the next speaker. She stated that Canada was not exactly in a mind for a passive resistance movement, for everywhere one saw evidence of war psychology. The country, she said, had not yet been awakened to the seriousness of the problem for real peace, and that they still cherish old fallacies and old foolishnesses of war. They have not studied constructively the art of making peace, and because of the large area over which the population extends, it was very hard to organize people to the cause of peace. She further stated that the schools use textbooks of war and warriors, putting fighters above all others and eulogizing the spirit of War, therefore, she said, to secure peace in Canada they must first disarm the textbooks. Military training in Canadian schools has increased from 10,000 to 105,000 boys, and this whole system will have to be changed, a new spirit must prevail, of giving self to fellowmen. Miss McPhail said that there are two new elements in Canada, the Farm and the Labor element. Each works in the spirit of cooperation and service, and, though they are against overwhelming odds, their voices are felt. She further said that there were people in Parliament who apparently belong to no Party, yet who stand definitely for something.

Miss Pastoriza Flores, of Ecuador, was the next speaker, and the subject of her address was the cause of the disturbing element between world peace and Spanish American Countries. There are three causes, she said, the first cause being internal troubles and large aboriginal population, and inadequate training of the minds of such. The second cause was controversies over boundaries, some of which are now being settled by arbitration. The third cause was the existing relations between the United States and Pan America. She further stated that the Monroe Doctrine seems to be in principle a policy of selfdefense on the part of the United States, not a device for peace in the United States, and intervened in their internal affairs. According to the speaker,

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the Caribbean, under existing conditions, may be interfered with by the United States, and its policies suspended. Mexico may be classed by South America as a sphere of "Potential Menace", where the United States insists on settling its internal affairs. South America seems to be ascended by the sphere of potentialism. Their question is, "How to attain the ideals of Pan Americanism, of League of Nations, of Regional Understanding." The speaker stated that they must resort to patience and education, and must try to learn the cause and meaning of disturbances and to administer aid impartially. They must also study the historical and economic conditions and must face the facts and educate, by private or public schools, the man of the streets, who is public opinion. Only then will there be a permanent peace. She says that men fight not because they want to, but because they have been prepared and trained for war, and that there has been no genuine effort or preparation for peace; that they must educate the nations; that unless the human race abolishes war, war will abolish the human race, and we must prevent another competitive annihilation like the last war.

The next speaker was Marie C. Moulum, of Guatemala, but she spoke so indistinctly and so low that Agent could not understand her.

Josefa Slaveo, of the Philippines, the next speaker, said that women in the Philippines have the same ideals as women elsewhere, and that the Women's International League can count on them. The speaker said that the Philippines Islands are politically free, but financially bound, that private and unscrupulous exploitation of their resources by outsiders causes grave resentment among the people, and that to have World Peace they must remove the "Economic Imperialism" that prevails today.

Mabel Powers, of the ^{our}Irish Indians spoke of the Indian Peace League of 1459, then they burned their weapons under an old tree. She said that the Indians lived the Democracy, while we talk Democracy. The Indians today are without social or legal status, a deplorable condition, and she registered protest, and asked the Women's International League to do the same, against the effort to destroy the spirit

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of the Indian, and help restore them to their rightful racial place.

Miss Baber, presiding Chairman, then adjourned the meeting.

FRIDAY, MAY 2, 1924

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The meeting convened on this date at 9.30 am., in the auditorium of the Washington Hotel, with Chairman Jane Addams presiding. The subject of the meeting was the disarmament of the textbooks being used in the schools today.

The first speaker to address the meeting was Mme. Scheu Riefs, who stated that the new pacifist wants all textbooks abolished that make heroes out of warriors, and books of real poets and literati put in their place. She stated that an attempt to alter the minds of the elder people would be practically useless, and that such an alteration should be brought about in the minds of the children as early as possible. Mme. Scheu Riefs suggested that the schoolroom be turned into a big library and that each child be given ten books of his own choice. She said that in France the children were given a chance to choose the books they liked best, and the first three choices were, first, Gretchen, a German book, second, American stories, and third, Italian stories.

Dr. Ethel Williams of England was the next speaker, the subject of her address being the "Political Aspect of a New International Order." Dr. Williams expressed the opinion that the Versailles Treaty was a "child of fear," and that its use is cruel and false. She declared that all post war activities are such that all nations are afraid of each other, that the reason for a military alliance with Poland was fear, that the nations refuse to recognize Russia because of fear, that Britain is afraid to recognize and make trade with Russia because she fears war would result. She then gave an account of England's record in Egypt, stating that she refused freedom to Egyptians because she was afraid her road to the East would be barred, and in this fear she had broken her national word of honor. That three times had

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England exiled Egypt's patriot and that each time it had been necessary to call him back again. The Egyptians, she stated, were forced into a policy of courage and understanding of their fear. Dr. Williams then gave an account of England's great problem in India, which was made through fear of Britian to give India self-government. She said that India must have self-government, that 1919 was a small crisis of courage. England then passed an act to have a commission meet within ten years to decide on the policy to be continued in India. She closed her address by saying that in order to have World Peace the atmosphere must be cleared of fear.

Vilma Glucklich, International Secretary, then continued with the headquarter's report of the Congress. She gave a resume of the work done by the League during the past year, stating that people from all over the world were coming into the headquarters. The subject of the printing problem in Geneva was said to be one of uncertainty. At this point a discussion arose as to whether they should abolish the present form of bulletin and substitute mimeographed news letters and frequent pamphlets. This was hotly discussed and was finally laid aside to be voted upon later. The final question to be voted on was "Shall we, or shall we not, abolish the bulletin, substituting in its place an occasional bulletin, a yearly report, and news letters?"

C. Ramondt-Hirschmann, of Holland, Assistant Secretary of the League, made a plea for 2,000 new International Members, needed to keep up the fund in the treasury which at present contained enough money to carry them over until May, 1925.

C. Ramondt-Hirschmann then gave a report as Chairman of the Credentials Committee, saying that thirty-two countries were present, consisting of nearly one hundred delegates and alternates combined.

Marie Johnson, of Ireland, who is for the "abolition of conscription" then spoke of the cruel effects brought on by militarism in Ireland today.

The next speaker, Eugenie Miskolczy Meller, of Hungary, stated that disarmament

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of the world could be made very simple by the participation of the women, who can bear pressure upon politicians. The Disarmament Conference recently held in Washington, she said, was a great disappointment to most of the world, and the defeated countries cannot understand non-disarmament. She further stated that conscription should be abolished in all allied countries, also that there should be an organization for the effective resistance of taxes, and urges that some means be taken to prohibit the production of cannon and of all munitions.

Miss Gladys Rinder, of England, the next speaker, welcomed the idea of a League, said that it is an urgent need, that the present League of Nations has great faults, that the thing to do was to choose a League then send the right representatives to the League. The League of Nations as it exists today can never go further than the Governments will let it, and a new "all inclusive and impersonal League" should be formed, not only to deal in War, but in Economics. She further stated that the League of Nations' actions on Economics are wrong, and that Free Trade Tariff is a hinderance to International Good Will and creates a monopoly in countries, also causes a crisis in the smaller countries in which the Tariff is imposed. The League's actions in these matters, she said, create a war atmosphere and a spirit of "International Rivalry." Also tariffs are the weapons against peace. Miss Rinder further declared herself against treaties (existing ones) of mutual guarantee, as they form groups of nations who agree to protect one another from attack. In order to make the present mutual guarantees effective, the world would have to be in a state of perpetual preparation. She closed her address by saying that our only security is a "constructive cooperative society."

The next speaker was Dr. Anita Augspurg, of Germany, whose subject was "The United States of Europe." Europe, the speaker said, is a history of wars, and a union would reduce the opportunities for war. The United States of America owes its prosperity to its union. Further, that Europe is now an example of unrivaled dis-

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union, and that such disunion in Europe is a great danger for the League of Nations.

Dorothy Evans, of England, was the next person to address the meeting, and she spoke against the idea of a "United States of Europe", because Europe was not strong enough for such a union and it would cause loss of prestige and authority in small countries, as well as large. She stated that the whole of Europe wants a Federation of States, or a World Federation of States, to include all on a basis of perfect equality, and that partial alliances are not always on an equal basis. Further, that a "United States of Europe" would cause confusion, people would think it meant a Government similar to that of the United States of America and their constitution, which may be all very well for the United States, but not for Europe, as it would make a "Super State" and would cause a War Policy.

The next speaker, Mme. Lotte Heller, of Austria, spoke of efforts to establish Chairs at universities for the study of Peace.

Madame Illova, of Czecho-Slovakia, next to address the meeting, told of how the President of her country gave 2,000,000 kroven for a Museum of Peace.

Mme. C. Ramondt-Hirschmann, of Holland, then spoke on the University of International Law, which is now called the International Law School.

The next speaker was Rosika Schwimmer, of Hungary, who claims to be the first woman ambassador to any country, and who was ambassador of Hungary to Switzerland. She said she would not waste time telling what she thought of the Press, but would speak a few truths about it. The Press, she stated, above any other factor, is the maker of war. People like to blame kings, diplomats, kaisers, living and dead, capitalists and capitalism, for war, but the Press is also responsible. She further said that no diplomat, king, etc., can make war if the Press is not supporting him and serving him to poison the people and to inject into us all the lies through which they get us up to an emotional pitch, and we become so wrought up we want to go to war and kill each other. The speaker stated that the Press has prostituted

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itself, as has Art, Music, Literature, and Science, in favor of War, and we must line up Art, Music, Science, Literature, and the Press, and make them the decent factors we want them to be. She said that, perhaps it is not the fault of the editors who are told to have reporters being back false reports, but if the editors have not been told to do this, then it is even worse, for then they are lying of their own accord. Here a Washington newspaper reporter objected to the statements and Mme. Schwimmer apologized. She continued by stating that machinery must be set up which will furnish truthfully facts about truth, that will bring the good news that men and women have to say to the world, that will correct news about nations and will discredit untruthful reports of nations and individuals, and that will have a committee on training Press Legislation for the honour of nations and individuals who are left utterly at the mercy of the Press.

CONTINUED

Transmitted from Agent in Charge, W. R. Bohner.

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TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

RE: WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

FACTS DEVELOPED:

Washington, D. C.

File #287.

Continuing investigation in this case the Congress of the subject organization convened again at 8:30 p. m., May 2, 1924. Gabrielle Duchene, of France presided. The first speaker was the Honorable O. J. Kyle, of Minnesota; a synopsis of his address is as follows:

(1) "I am in hearty accord with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and am also opposed to war.

(2) If Churches would unite to oppose war - war would cease in less than a year.

(3) I was ashamed at the cowardly attitude of the pulpit during the last great war; because so few men rose up and opposed the war. We must drive out the spirit of hatred from the churches.

(4) We must make it come to pass that the people of the world will look upon the peacemakers as the "Children of God" and those of war aspirations as "Children of the Devil."

Miss Gladys Rinder, of England, was the next speaker, her remarks were as follows:

(1) The present existing Treaties are causing wide suffering among the Oppressed people of the European

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Nations.

(2) The Peace Treaty of 1919, was a ram-rod in the economic machinery of the world; it was drawn up by interests who wanted the raw materials of their rivals.

(3) Conditions in Austria were terrible because she was without her foreign trade, great economic disorder because her coal mines were not working.

(4) The past Trade Treaties were like rows of trees in a street, each country nipped off a branch, pruned the roots, and again took out a few trees, saying we will leave the trees in the middle because they are what we can use for our own use.

The Women's International League must exert its views of unfair economic practice to a wider sphere, they must not keep their minds in water-tight compartments any more, it has come to a point where the world must cooperate or perish.

The next speaker was Lucie Dejardin, of Belgium, whose address was in French; she said:

The world must be awakened to the sovereign right of the people to live in Freedom, they recognize the sacred respect for life. Youth asks of Society "What have you done for your fellow man? have you found him? have you taken him as something for exploitation, or as a man?" The world has assumed the attitude of "The richer you are the more shall you be our master." We must refuse to be fodder for the mouths of cannon, all must adopt and study "Books of Peace" we must have legislation making war a crime, Nations must be assured of this, we must all walk in the light of true Democracy.

"The world must be brought to respect human life, protest against organized syndicates and "Privileged Classes". We must insure ourselves against them, Russia has. We are an International Fraternity, if the world goes on as it has, without helping to equalize society, there must come a terrible disaster; the Women's International League must stand to prevent any blood shedding.

The next speaker was Yella Hertzka, of Austria, she spoke as follows:

The Socialists in Austria are the only ones in that Country who have given voice, or tried to help the oppressed; the women, now that they have the vote in certain countries, must be made to feel their responsibilities and to vote legislation for their cause, we must abolish profit to insure a world Peace. Abolish wanton profit at the cost of starvation for the oppressed; educate the workingman to the needs of the day; give more to the budget for education, and take away from the Military.

The next speaker was Gertrude Baer, of Germany, her subject was "Cooperation" with youth in various countries."

"There is the realization of youth to its right to beauty and peace in life; we must fight evidence of Militaristic effects upon the youth, the great educational effect of the youth movement. They have the cooperation of trained Industrial Workers, we use no violent constructive methods; emancipation of political parties is the aim of the youth. Youths thruout Europe are holding no more "War Demonstzations", in the Ruhr they want to rebuild the devastated area of France.

School children of the Ruhr are being adopted by the French, the youth of the world want a better knowledge of each other; the "Possessive Complex" is the driving force of civilization. Youth wants to make War a crime.

May 3rd, 9:30 a.m.

Subject: A new International Order; its economic effects:

First speaker was Mlle Dumont, of France, she spoke as follows:

(1) The Ruhr question is one of the iron and steel industry.

(2) Oil in Europe; oil concessions under government control and private enterprises bringing pressure upon the Government to obtain concessions they want.

Ex-Teapot Dome in America: We must have a new economic order in different countries for a new International Order.

(3) We must have large economic independence, we must have tolerance for the experiments of other lands along this line.

Protective Tariffs: cost of one at the expense of another, commerce dominated by politics, example: Hugo Stinnes, who sent his money abroad and let the work drop in Germany. The Press makes public opinion and it is in the hands of industrialism. There is something wrong with Democracy as it now stands. Are the people willing to be killed for international business? Cooperation must come between consumer and producer. We are against Justice by violence and Munitions.

The next speaker was Emily Balch, U. S. A., she formerly held Economic Chair at Wellesley College, was once International Secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She said:

"We must make transportation easier; this business of being held up by Customs Officials at every Frontier is foolish. Waterways should be under International control, for instance, the Panama Canal and the Suez Canal. We should have "co-national control", there should be a regulation of supplies that are scarce, and also of raw materials. Famine help should be regulated internationally. The world uses materialism and greed of possession as a source of prestige; there is an element of jealousy and inequality among nations that should be done away with. "Mars" is the God of steel, of oil and of passports. Lucie Dejardin of Belgium, appearing for second time, said:

"Reject the old idea that "might is right" Belgium complained of her lack of laborers to uphold her competition in trade; yet she took for four months out of every year, the youth the strength and flower of the land away from the fields and factories and put them into military service. The government expended enough money during those four months to feed and clothe the starving children of Belgium.

May 3rd, 8:30 p. m.
Washington Hotel.

Jane Adams, Chairman.

The first speaker was Judge Florence ^{C.} Adams, U. S. Supreme Court of Ohio, she said:

War arises from lack of understanding between nations, war is a legalized institution and must be abolished for the perpetuation of humanity. The first step to do this is to make war as a means of settling international controversies disreputable and a crime. There is no law existing today against war; a controversy between nations is

settled by Diplomats, arbitration, Judiciary or war. Is it academic whether we abolish aggressive war or defensive war? no for when we have abolished aggressive war we have abolished defensive war.

Relations of criminal violence between individuals and Nations. Example: A man pleads self defence in court for murder; legal definition of self defence is; "I can only use violence upon a person when I believe I am in imminent danger of great bodily hindrance". No war should be ever sanctioned unless in case of actual attack, as in Criminal Code between individuals. A Nation that makes war when not actually attacked is an aggressor, no matter what the cause. There is no law for war as a crime and yet there are laws determining how a war should be conducted. If you kill a man you must pay the penalty, hang! but if you lay plans that bring about the killing of ten millions of men you go scot free, because it is legal. Laws about war - you are told you must kill a man so and so - for instance; you must not use dum-dum bullets; you must not kill the young and old; the women and children; and yet when war comes all these laws are forgotten and they use dum-dum bullets, kill young and old, women and children, and it is not the young who make the war. When war comes all these rules are discarded because there is no law against war. We shall have no progress until we learn that "Thou shalt not kill" means every one.

The speech of Dr. Woker, was read by Gertrude Baer of Germany because Dr. Woker could not speak loud enough to be heard.

The terrible gases used in the past war - cyanide at first, which fixed the people in the positions they were found in.

The production of gases has increased instead of decreasing since the war, example: The work at Edgewood Arsenal, seven hundred (700) victims in hospital as a result of Chemical Warfare Experiments. When methods were first found to counteract gases in war Chemists discovered how to make liquidification and solidification of gases. Hatred in the war was spurred by nothing else so much as by the victims of gas.

The next speaker was Mme. Beskov, of Sweden, who spoke on the present conditions in the Ruhr (disturbance in the audience by a woman) (Mrs. Noble N. Fotts, later identified) she was ruled out of order by Miss Adams, and requested to present her questions at a business session of the Congress.

"Mme. Beskov said: "The present misery in the Ruhr, the terrible situation in the mines, very little food, traffic out of order, unemployment, the terrible lack of solidarity among the Germans, new suffering as the result of the "Separatist" movement, shooting and endangering of life; the troops and Separatists have guns, the people have none, some in despair find life not worth living. She attended a meeting of Physicians who had to select those who had to die in the hospitals as they did not have the wherewithal to take care of everybody. The amazing thing to her was that the W. I. L., there did not feel any hatred against France or any nation. Her second visit found conditions unimproved. The people were not so nervous over the distablization of the mark as before. She went to France to see their side of the question as the greatest means to an