

understanding was to know both sides. I found many people in France with sympathy for German people, also sixty children of Germany adopted by the French W. I. L., From France Mme. Beskov, went to Belgium, where she made the acquaintance of Lucie Dejardin (now here at Conference) the spirit of reconciliation was very apparent in Belgium. Back in France found the workingmen unhappy; because of poor wages, some working for the equivalent of five cents per day American money, many of the people seemed to be filled with a fear of Germany. Returned to the Ruhr and found hatred increased after the Separatist movement. It appears to W. I. L., the occupation of the Ruhr the greatest mistake that could have been made. The women of the Ruhr look forward to this W. I. L. Conference; have great faith in their power. Do not fail them. We humanized war so effectively that we lost 10,000,000 ten million men in the last one. The women of the world tried to hold back this last disaster. Now is the time for action, we can achieve liberation without killing each other and destroying private property. We have no excuse left for killing, we must now become active pacifists. It has even come to pass that we have mounted Theology in the Army.

May 4th, 2:30 p. m.  
Washington Hotel.

Chairman Annalee Stewart:

First speaker Dorothy Evans, of England, Subject, What The Next War Will Mean: Speaking of War she said: We must have the solidarity of the youth of the world to prevent another war. She said that no country engaged in the last war was innocent of planning terrible

scientific methods of destruction of human life since then. She mentioned the invention of a "ray" in England which kill everything in its path.

The next speaker was Miss Thelleyampalam, of India, a student at Columbia University, she said: How much are the youth of today going to accept and how much are they going to reject towards world peace? A great many women in India are trying to better social and educational conditions; there is a great economic problem in India, materialism, the effect of modern machinery tends to make materialists of the youth there. Ghandi (Great applause) is looking with anxiety at the actions of the youth there, trying to take them away from the modern materialism. When asked why he was not a christian he said; when the Western Christian world who call themselves Christians, take the armies away from his country he would turn Christian on the morrow. (much applause). She told the audience not to look with alarm upon any new movements in India as it was simply an outgrowth of an earnest desire of the youth of the land for a greater mental growth and understanding.

The next speaker was Mr. Herberto Sein, of Mexico, he supported the radical actions of Chilean students in the Chilean-Peruvian Council, and protested against young men fighting out the blunders and injudiciousness of governments. He said the youth of today demands a voice in they be killed or not. He condemned all acts of territorial conquest and imperialism. He said war is a commercial enterprise that profiteers prepare it, the State makes it, the soldiers fight it and the taxpayers pay for it and the poor suffer for it. The press lauds it, the law permits it, the people stand for it and the Church sanctions it.

The next speaker was Miss Hiro Ohashi, of Japan, a student of the University of Chicago, her remarks were as follows: The exclusion of a race is wrong, to take away the right of american citizenship of american born Japanese is against the ideas of civilization.

The next speaker was Sen. Wm. Borah, of Idaho, his remarks were as follows:

A radical is a man or woman holding extreme views as to the laws and constitution of the United States. The constitutional right of free speech turn the cause of Peace into a fight for free speech. Any utterance, no matter by whom, that there is immorality in the Constitution of the United States, is Anarchy, pure and simple. No propaganda brought from Europe could be more destructive than to teach that any part of the Constitution of the United States is immoral or unworthy of support. He concedes our right to change any part of the Constitution. A radical is a man who believes in a clean government, he said there was report out that all the exposes in Washington were hatched in Petrograd, that the men investigating are Agents of Russia. If any one in the United States should rise up against the government he would be a traitor and as such punished and disposed of according to law. But if any nation does the same thing it is not condemned by any nation in the world because war is a legitimized Institution. We shall never succeed in abolishing war as long as we control the methods by which war must be fought. The Armistice destroyed obsolete warships, that was because the nations realized that the submarines, airplanes and poison gases had arrived, therefore they dealt only in those weapons, which were in a large way becoming obsolete.

After the Disarmament Conference there was another Conference not well advertised with reference to perfecting poison gases. We must make it so that any nation that trespasses on another is a criminal in the International Code. The world must disarm together; not one country to leave itself prey to the others, but all together. To do this, to abolish war, you must call upon the people, not the rulers or diplomats but those who fight and die when war comes. Put the question of Peace or war out of the heads of Diplomats and Chancellors and put it in the masses; make it so that no war shall be begun except in absolute defense, unless it be by vote of those who must fight or pay the taxes for the fighting. There can be no Peace until the economic problems are settled; until the Russian problem is settled. (If there are any Department of Justice Agents here he may speak.)

He mentioned that in April 1793, Washington wrote a letter to his Cabinet calling a meeting to determine whether the United States Government should recognize the improvised government of the French Revolution; without one dissenting vote they favored its recognition, not because they favored the bloody strife leading up to it, but because they recognized the French people's right to have whatever kind of government they wanted. Some people in the United States are indifferent to Russian Recognition because of our little trade with Russia. Alexander Hamilton, in Washington's Cabinet did not ask "how much trade have we with France"? when he voted French recognition. Jefferson did not ask whether other nations would make war or not when we recognized France. Abraham Lincoln recognized the government

of Mexico. We must get back to the principles of our forefathers. (Sen. Borah, favors Russian recognition.) Not because of our trade relations, but because he recognizes the right of Russia to have whatever kind of government she wants.

Also to have Peace we must settle the Ruhr situation, and the "Dawes" report will be one step along this line. We can never settle the question of reparations until a definite sum is established that Germany must pay; this sum must be determined by France, or rather by an impartial international Court. There can be no recovery, no reestablishment in Europe until France gets out of the Ruhr. Her ostensible reason for going into the Ruhr was for reparations; Germany, as a result is less able to pay now than then. Reconstruction can mean no less to France than Germany; it can never be settled thru Chancellors and Army Officers; a world Conference, (Economic) must be called for a just settlement. There is no power in the world equal to public opinion. Public opinion drove the Japanese out of Shantung; for the great principle of Justice give him Public Opinion.

The next speaker was Gertrude Baer: She speaks for those who were near the war in its worst form, hunger, pestilence; those who have learned the lesson "It must not be again". Youth lacks knowledge of each other, youth must organize a press service for youth. The World must allow youth to live in it and not to vegetate it. We are taught "Thou shalt not kill" and we "Will not kill" any more is the cry of youth.

Europe can do nothing without the youth of America, we are all part of one great organization.

No violence, and personal refusal of youth to violence.

Eugene Carbie (Colored) College of New York City, one time on executive staff of the "Student Forum" and active in the "New Student" publication spoke of national "bigotism" we need education that will transcend into internationalism. He said that recently Congress in an unguarded moment insulted a whole nation. How can we be sane in judgment, if, because of his color a man is refused a trial. There can be no Peace until there is a full understanding of all races.

Germany is wasting away, Russia is filled with starving children, there is even a spirit of unrest in our own country. England wanting to put a Naval base at Singapore, Egypt, fighting for freedom. This racial unrest in the east is due to the sordid attitude of the white man's idea of superiority, an epoch of white man's dominance. It is our duty to learn to overcome our prejudices, learn that men are men, and conciliate.

Allan Hunter, U. S. A., of Union Seminary, Said:

War sets loose new forces of bitterness and hatred, war neither punishes the guilty nor protects the innocent; we don't want any one to drop bombs on homes or destroy the bodies of little children, or to make them starve. The money expended on war would educate nearly all the children of the globe; to overthrow war we must first outlaw it in ourselves. Non-violent cooperation has succeeded in India, and it can succeed everywhere else. Students of China took their stand in face of persecution to force the Japs out of Shantung; now has arisen a fellowship of youth and peace. The youth are the greatest sufferers because they have to fight the war. They now say we are thru with it, we want and will have no more war. (Meeting adjourned.)

JEH/LMB

May 1, 1924.

61-1 15-38  
MAY 13 1924

Lieutenant Commander E. K. Lang,  
Office of Naval Intelligence,  
Navy Department,  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Commander Lang:

Replying to your communication of the 23rd instant, with which you were kind enough to enclose a list of the delegates to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, I am enclosing herewith for your confidential information a memorandum giving the information contained in our files upon three of the delegates; Gertrude Baer, Yella Hertska and Rosika Schwimmer. There is no information upon the remaining delegates listed in your letter of the 23rd instant.

I am also enclosing for your information a copy of a memorandum covering the contents of our files upon the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Very truly yours,

Special Assistant to the  
Attorney General.

Encl.

RECORDED & INDEXED

137.

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NAVY DEPARTMENT  
OFFICE OF NAVAL INTELLIGENCE  
WASHINGTON

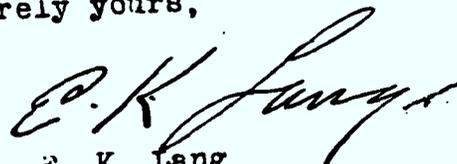
In reply refer to No.  
Op-16-B  
EKL:JC

23 April 1924

My dear Mr. Hoover:

Enclosed is the list about which I spoke to you over the telephone this morning. I would be glad to receive the high lights on any of these people that you may have, and if you will tell me of any particular information concerning the convention in general or any one person in particular that you want I may be able to help.

Sincerely yours,



E. K. Lang  
Lieut. Comdr., U.S. Navy.

J. E. Hoover, Esq.,  
Special Assistant to  
the Attorney General,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D.C.

MAY 13 1924

RECORDED & INDEXED

61-1538-5

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
MAY 10 1924 P. M.	
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
HOOVER	FILE

*File*  
*MS*

PAX SPECIAL.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom .....  
(From following list twenty-five Pax Special guests will be taken).

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Australia	Edith Waterworth (E)
Austria	Lotto Hellor (E-G) Yella Hertzka (E-G)
Belgium	Lucie Dejardin (E-F)
Bulgaria	Jenny Bokilowa Pattoff (F)
Canada	Agnes MacPhail, M.P. (E)
Czecho-Slovakia	Maria Aull (E-G)
Denmark	Thora Daugaard (E-D†)
France	Marcelle Capy (F) Andree Jouve (F) Madame Dumont (F)
Germany	Schwinner, Rosipa ** Dr. Anita Augspurg (E-G-F-I) Gertrud Baer (E-G-F) Lida Gustava Beymann (E-G-F-I)
Great Britain	<del>Dorothy Evans (E)</del> Picton Tuberville (E) Dr. Ethel Williams (E)
Holland	Madame Ramondt-Hirschmann (E-G-F-)
Hungary	Eugenia M. Meller (E-G-H)
Ireland	Mrs. Johnson (E)
Japan	Tomi Wada (E-J)
Mexico	Miss Landazzari (E)
New Zealand	Margaret Bloomfield (E)
Norway	Dr. Gleditsch (E-N)
Poland	Madame Budzinska (F-G-P)

61-1212  
T. S. F. B.  
L. S.

PAX SPECIAL (Continued)

Sweden	Matilde Widegren	(E-S)
Switzerland	Dr. Gertrud Woker	(E-G)
	Vilma Glucklich	(E-G-F-H)
Ukraine	Dr. Nadja Surowzowa	(E-G)
Italy	Virginia Piatti Tango	

\*\* German radical expected to attend W.I.L. meeting but not on official list.

Language is indicated by letter after name.

JEM

April 28, 1924.

MEMORANDUM

in re:

DELEGATES TO WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE  
FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM.

GERTRUDE BAER

In the Spring of 1922, it was reported that Subject, an alleged German Communist, was expected to arrive in the United States, for the purpose of delivering a series of lectures here, and that she was to be met in New York by Rose Weiss, well known communist lawyer. According to the manifest of the S.S. "George Washington" which arrived in New York from Bremen on April 29, 1922, after Subject's name, there appeared the following: "Age, 32; occupation, student; birthplace, Halberstadt, Germany; father's name, Gustav Baer; address, Hansaster No. 76, Hamburg, Germany; going to Miss Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago, Ill. to stay for two months; final destination Munchen, Germany; height 5'5"; hair, brown; eyes, brown."

Subject was interviewed by the Immigration Inspector. She stated that she was coming here to lecture and that a committee of the W.I.L. (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom) was to meet her at the pier; that she had never been in the United States; that her passage to this country was paid by the above-named committee, who would also pay her expenses to Chicago. She was held for the Board of Special Inquiry at Ellis Island. Prior to her examination before this Board, three attempts were made by delegates to the W.I.L. to assist Subject to land, in violation of the Immigration Laws, so that a special guard had to be posted by the ship's officers to prevent further interference.

After Subject had been admitted to this country, she, in company with Mrs. Arnot Robinson of Manchester, England and Mlle. Therese-Pottecher-Arnold of Paris, also sent to this country to attend the convention of the W.I.L. spoke at various places in the East, including Boston, Pittsburgh, Wellesley College, Smith College and others,

Gertrude Baer speaks French, German and English. She is especially interested in International Citizenship and Education, and in this country endeavored to explain

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the objects, aims and aspirations of "The Youth Movement in Germany", of which organization she is the Secretary.

Yella Hertzka

Subject, who is the Austrian member of the W.I.L. Committee, was in the United States in 1920 working for the repatriation of prisoners through the International Red Cross. She gave addresses in several cities, including Boston, Philadelphia, Cincinnati and Milwaukee.

Rozika (Rosa, Rosita or Rosica) Schwimmer.

Subject, a Hungarian suffragist and pacifist was reported to be in this country, in the fall of 1921, when she was staying at the home of Lola Lloyd (wife of William Bross Lloyd) Winnetka, Ill. She then stated that although she arrived through the Port of New York, on a passport under her own name, it was not generally known that she was here. She has also said that she was in this country in 1914 when she was working in behalf of Peace and speaking throughout the country in favor of Suffragists and Pacifists. She further stated that upon her return to Hungary she was appointed ambassador to Switzerland by the Hungarian Károlyi regime, but that upon the overthrow of this government she left Hungary, having been branded as ultra-conservative and charged with spreading propaganda against the Bela-Kun Bolshevik regime.

The files of the Bureau contain no information relative to any other of the Special Guests to the Conference of the W.I.L.

TFB:JWM

April 25, 1924.

M E M O R A N D U M

in re:

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE  
AND FREEDOM.

Shortly after the outbreak of the World War, in 1914, agitation was begun for the calling of a convention in the interest of early peace, and in January 1915, Miss Jane Addams and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt were active in calling a convention which was held in Washington. At this convention the Women's Peace Party was organized. Among the demands in the preamble of this organization were (1) the immediate calling of a convention of neutral nations in the interest of early peace; (2) limitation of armaments and the nationalization of their manufacture; \* \* \* (6) the removal of the economic causes of war.

Miss Jane Addams was elected National Chairman of the organization. Following the formation of the Women's Peace Party an international congress of women was held at The Hague on April 25, 1915, Miss Addams attending this Conference with about 40 women from the United States. In January 1916 there was held in Washington, a meeting of members of the International Congress of Women at which it was decided that the Women's Peace Party should become the United States Section of the Women's Inter-

national Committee for Permanent Peace.

A congressional program was adopted in 1916 including measures to oppose universal and compulsory military service \* \* \* and to formulate the principle that foreign investments should be made without claim to military protection.

Under an arrangement made at The Hague Congress, delegates were appointed to attend the Second Peace Conference which was held in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1919. At the Zurich Congress the name of the organization was changed to "Women's International League for Peace and Freedom". Miss Addams was reelected International President of the organization.

In January 1920, a delegation was sent to Washington from the United States Section of the W.I.L. (this being the abbreviation adopted by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, to designate their organization) to present in person to the State Department protest against "the blockade" and the deportation of those designated as "reds"; against "compulsory military training as a feature in the plans for reorganization of the United States Army"; and an "appeal for the release of political offenders and conscientious objectors and an appeal for the release and return to their homes of all prisoners of war in all countries".

In April 1920 a meeting of the organization was held in Chicago at which there was adopted a resolution urging that the government of the United States recognize the "de facto government of Russia".

In April 1921 an annual meeting of the W.I.L. was held at which it was decided by unanimous vote to adopt the program which included an intensive campaign for disarmament.

(All of the foregoing is taken from a circular issued by the W.I.L. and entitled an "Outline History of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom".)

The organization has been active since its formation in advocating opposition to military training and advocating disarmament. It has also advocated recognition of the Soviet Government politically, as well as the establishing of trade relations with that country.

On April 28, 29 and 30, 1922, a meeting of the United States Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was held in Washington at the Grace Dodge Hotel. At this meeting a resolution was introduced for the purpose of incorporating in their constitution an oath or vow, the taking of which oath would be a pre-requisite to membership. The oath was as follows: "In case my country is at war, I will not work for the Red Cross, nor make hospital supplies; I will not urge food conservation;

In re: W.I.L.

#4

4/25/24

"I will not buy Liberty Bonds nor any similar war loans; I will not make munitions; I will not take a man's place in order to let him go to war." The reading of this resolution and vow elicited much applause, though when a vote was taken, the Winsor amendment was defeated by a vote of about 15 to 21. This vote, be it noted, was merely upon the matter of requiring the taking of this oath as a pre-requisite to membership.

A pamphlet entitled "America Menaced by Militarism" an appeal to women circulated by the W.I.L. contains in its back the following: "Go to war if you want to, but know this: we have pledged ourselves not to give you our children; not to encourage or nurse your soldiers; not to knit a sock, or roll a bandage, or drive a truck, or make a war speech, or buy a bond".

The purposes of the organization continue to be a fight against "militarism" in any form and the abolishment of the army and navy, national guard, civilians training camps and, in fact, anything relating to national defense, as well as a very active campaign for the repeal of the army reorganization act of 1920.

At the meeting of the W.I.L. in Washington in April 1922, heretofore mentioned, there was unanimously adopted a resolution urging the President to release all "political prisoners" held under the espionage act.

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re: W.I.L.

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4/25/24

The W.I.L. has been active in conducting meetings throughout the country through which its speakers have endeavored to arouse sentiment for the purpose of abrogating the Versailles Treaty.

It may be noted in closing that the National Headquarters are located at 1403 H St., N.W., Washington D.C. and that Miss Amy Wood is the National Secretary.



WHERE YOUR INCOME TAX GOES.  
REPRINT FROM NEW YORK WORLD

Estimated Net Expenditures of the Federal Government for the Fiscal Year 1924

Past Wars	1,779,056,303	65.6%
Future Wars	547,946,364	20.2%
Non-Military	386,569,219	14.2%
	<u>2,713,571,886</u>	<u>100%</u>

**THIS IS YOUR CONCERN**  
**WILL YOU HELP TO CHANGE THESE FIGURES?**

Become a Member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

**FILL OUT THE BLANK BELOW.**

I hereby enclose  one dollar for membership in the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom for the year 1924

Date .....

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

Please make checks payable to

Sophia H. Dulles, National Treas., 1403 H Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.  
(If you have a state branch send your check there)



Information to be added to "WHO'S WHO - FOURTH BIENNIAL CONGRESS, May 1-7

1924, recently mailed from National Headquarters:

YELLA HERTZKA (Page 1)

In 1919 she went with Emmeline Pethwick Lawrence to America, lecturing for the release of all war prisoners detained in Siberia and succeeded splendidly. She is a fine speaker full of spirit and humor.

LIDA GUSTAVA HEYMANN (Page 3)

In her youth she was a social worker; founded in her native town, Hamburg, a sort of settlement house, where children found a home, baths, food, toys, and occupation and where every woman could find advice and help. She organized the Bureau girls; founded and conducted for ten years a girls' school for commercial training and was one of the first women in Germany to work in the style of Josephine Butler for the abolition of state regulation of vice.  
(Editor of the Magazine "Frau in Staat" (Women in State))

ROSIKA SCHWILMER (Page 5)

Went afterwards to different governments to present the resolutions of the Congress of the Hague. She is a splendid speaker, full of spirit and humor, and has lectured all over Europe and the United States.

In 1919 the Government of Hungary sent her as ambassador to Bern, Switzerland; she was the first woman ambassador in Europe.

Dr. GERTRUD WOKER (Page 6)

SHE STRUGGLED VERY HARD HER WHOLE LIFE for equal rights of women, took a prominent position during the war for Peace and is an expert opponent of the new methods of war by gas poison.

Substitute the following for information given :

THORA DAUGAARD (Page 2)

Thora Daugaard is a journalist and one of the best known women in Denmark. She stood her whole life for equal rights for women, was a leader in the Women's Suffrage movement. She is a good speaker and a splendid organizer. During the world war she went in for peace and organized women all over her country. Even in the smallest cities in Denmark there are today women's peace organizations. She is a member of the International Board of the W. I. L.

DR. ANITA AUGSPURC (Page 3)

Most prominent pioneer for political rights of German women. Having been an actress in her youth, she turned to the women's movement for equal rights and was the first woman in Germany who took the degree of LL. D. Later she studied agriculture, cultivating a big farm of her own.

She was founder of the Women's Suffrage movement in Germany and took part in the foundation of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance in Berlin in 1904 as well as of the W. I. L. at the Hague in 1915. She was an eager pacifist during war time. The Revolution gave her an active part in politics. She was a member of the National Assembly in Bavaria without belonging to any political party, but simply because of her great popularity in Bavaria.  
Editor of a political magazine "Die Frau im Staat" (Women in State) the

AUGUSTE KIRCHOFF (Page 3)

Worker for Women's Suffrage, for protection of unmarried mothers and illegitimate children.

During the war she firmly stood for Peace. As wife of a man who had the prominent position of Senator in Bremen she had to struggle for her conviction under doubled difficulties. She was watched and censored for years. Today she is a member of the Executive Committee of the German Section of the W. I. F.

## LOTTE HELLER

Frau Lotte Heller is a Viennese, who - when still very young - concentrated her thoughts on literature and gave lectures to working women.

She married and 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.

Leader of Press Bureau of W.I.L., only delegate of the Austrian Section to the Hague in 1922. As a member of the Executive Committee she is continually furthering the cause of women's ideals towards peace and freedom.

## YELLA HERTZKA

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

## LUCIE DEJARDIN

Supplementary member of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies, Federal Secretary of the Women's Socialist Party, and 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

## MME. JENNY BOGILOVA-PATTEFF

Renowned national and international woman. Journalist and a woman of letters of the new spirit. From an early age she has been a fighter for the emancipation of woman, and is now a member of the Women's International League. She is often called "the Apostle of the New Society".

Secretary of the Czech-Slovakian Section of the Women's International League. Descended from the ancient nobility of her mother's side, and her father was Privy Counsellor of the Austrian Emperor.

While at the Horticultural School for women in Vienna, she met Yella Herzka who interested her in the Women's International League.

In 1922, she worked with Frau A. H. Wischowski and other like-minded women to found a Section of the W. I. L. which has now more than three hundred members.

DENMARK

TEORA DAUGAARD

Member of International Board of the W. I. L. Identified with woman movement in Denmark and great worker for peace.

FRANCE

GABRIELLE DUCHENE

Founder and President of the French Section of the W. I. L. For many years worker against the sweat shop system and for equal salaries for working women.

In 1918, with co-workers, founded French Committee for aid for poor children. With Andree Jouve she started the movement "Cahiers de la Paix" for a New International Order.

ANDEE JOUVE

Secretary French Section of the W. I. L. Teacher in State College for young girls. In Switzerland in 1915, with her husband, P. J. Jouve, one of the group of faithful friends of Romain Rolland, made protest against war.

She made a special study of the principles of the new education in relation to pacifism and internationalism. Took part in the preliminary conference at Berne and at the Zurich Congress of the W. I. L. as a delegate from the French Section.

MARCELLE CAPY

Writer, Journalist, Lecturer.

As a young woman making a lecture tour, she saw the misery of the people and then devoted herself to bettering conditions for the working women.

Journalist - "La Bataille Syndicate" - a popular daily paper. Published reports on working women. Lived among them and as one of them.

When the war came, she joined the group of young intellectuals with Romain Rolland.

Published articles in the papers showing the cruel absurdity of violence. In 1918, with Pierre Brizon, founded a paper, "La Vogue", which has been fighting for five years, war and violence.

In 1922, French delegate to The Hague Conference, and on her return to the French Section of the W. I. L.

DR. ANITA AUGSPURG

Most prominent pioneer for political rights of German women. She was a teacher, an actress, cultivated a big farm of her own, and at last became a lawyer - the first woman lawyer in Germany.

An eager pacifist. The Revolution gave her an active part in politics. She was a candidate for the National Assembly without belonging to any political party, but simply because of her great popularity among Bavarian peasants and workers.

Editor, "Women in the State", the only pacifist magazine in Germany.

GERTRUD ALER

Secretary and organizer of the German Section of the W. I. L. During the revolution in Bavaria, she held the first position as a woman Under-State Secretary in the Ministry of Social Welfare. Since the Armistice, she is devoting all her time to political and international work, especially interested in forming a link between women and young people of all countries.

LIDA GUSTAVA HEIMANN

Vice President of the W. I. L. Peace worker, writer, speaker, and organizer. She is the motor power of the radical political women's movement in Germany since its existence. Enthusiastic and persistent advocate for Women's Suffrage.

She foresaw all the cruelty and consequences of the war; stood through all the experiences of being expelled, watched and censured. Hers was the idea of voluntary Reconstruction of German Women and Youth in the devastated areas of North France.

FRIJA AUGUSTE KIRCHHOFF

Member Executive Committee of the W. I. L. Worker for protection of unmarried mothers and illegitimate children.

GREAT BRITAIN

DOROTHY EVANS

Secretary of the British Section of the Women's International League. Gymnastic teacher and lecturer in hygiene, anatomy and psychology. Militant suffragist, 1909-1919. Organizer for W. S. P. U. Imprisoned nine times in England, Scotland and Ireland. Organizer Land Nationalization Society 1919. Member of Executive Committee of Fabian Women's Group.

EVA MACNAGHTEN

Member Executive Committee British Section, W. I. L. Great worker for suffrage.

ISABELLA O. FORD

Member Executive Committee British Section, W. I. L. Life member. Leeds Trades Council. Parish Councillor, delegate to several International Trade Union Conferences in Europe.

#### EMILY LEAF

Member of the Executive Committee, British Section, Women's International League. Newnham College, Cambridge. Social and philanthropic work in Herefordshire and Westmorland. Joined Labor Party in 1917. Member Executive Committee, National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Worked for relief of famine on Committee of Fight and Famine Council.

#### ELTHELEN COURTNEY

Member of the Executive Committee, British Section, Women's International League. L.M.L. Oxford. Honour - Modern Languages. Social work in Lambeth and Dublin. Secretary to Manchester Suffrage Society. Attended Hague Congress in 1915. Member of Council for Family Endowment. Worked with Friends Relief Mission in Vienna after the war. In 1922 went to Greece to report on conditions of Greek Refugees from Asia Minor.

#### DR. HEIDA CLARK

Member of the Executive Committee, British Section, Women's International League. Medical degree - M.B., B.S., London. Tuberculosis Medical Officer at Portsmouth before the War. In 1914, organized Friends Relief Mission to the civilian and refugee population in the devastated districts of the Marne and Meuse in France. Chairman of the Near and Far East Committee of the Friends' Council for International Service, and Honorable Secretary of the British Appeal for Relief in Germany.

#### GLADYS RINDER

Organizer and active worker, European Reconstruction.

#### DR. ETHEL WILLIAMS

Degrees of M.D. (London) and D.Ph. (Cantab.) Took leading part in Women's Suffrage movement. One of original members of the Women's International League. One of delegates who was refused passport to the Hague in 1915. Attended Congresses in Zurich in 1915 and Vienna in 1921.

#### HOLLAND

#### DR. ALETTA H. JACOBUS

First woman doctor in the Netherlands. Studied at the University of Groningen after having obtained the right to study medicine at the State Universities of the Netherlands from the Thorbecke Cabinet.

1879 - began practice as physician for women and children.

1882 - opened clinic for poor women to advise them in matters of birth-control. First clinic for that purpose in the world.

1883 - petitioned Government to be admitted as a voter and was refused.

Began afterwards to arouse the people for Women's Suffrage question, and is president of the National Society for Women's Suffrage. In 1911, she gave up medical practice and went with Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt for a trip around the world to study the position of the women in different countries, and to organize for the uplifting of the women of South Africa, British India, Java, Sumatra, China, Japan, and the Philippines.

Since 1912, has given all of her time to the woman movement in her own country. Sent out call for International Congress of women in 1915 at

COR RABONDI-SIECHENANT

President, French Section of the Women's International League. Financial Secretary. Active worker in social movements for many years. Former president, Hague Committee for Education of Mothers and Girls of the Labour Class. Hon. Corresponding Secretary, National Council of Women. Helped Dr. Jacobs in organizing Hague Congress in 1915. Organized International Conference for A New Peace in December, 1921, at the Hague.

Attended all Congresses of the Women's International League. Interested in Youth Movement. Member of Committee for the Reconstruction of Europe and for a World League of Cities.

HUNGARY

EUGENIE MUSKOLCZY MELLER

Editor of the *Nok Lapja*, official organ of Feministak Egyesulete for working women.

One of the most ardent fighters for woman suffrage, and a peace worker since 1914. Lectured all over Hungary. Was the delegate of Feministak Egyesulete at Congresses in London, 1909, in Budapest, 1913, in Geneva, 1920, and consultative member in Dresden at the Executive meeting in 1923.

ROSIIKA SCHWILLER

Leader of the movement for woman suffrage in Hungary. Among the first pioneers of women's work for Peace. Helped in foundation of the Woman Suffrage Alliance in 1904 and in that of the Women's International League in 1915.

Known in Hungary as a famous speaker and writer and organizer.

ITALY

VIRGINIA PIATTI TANGO

Writer and journalist at Florence, writing under the pseudonym "Agar". In 1917, she published "The Diary of a Nurse" of pacifistic tendency. Took part in the publication of "Coenobium" edited in Lugano by Bignami and attended a meeting of the League of neutral countries at Lugano in 1914. Wrote for the review "Giovine Europa" (Young Europe) and a weekly pacifistic article for the magazine "Buon Consigliere" (Good Adviser) edited at Rome. Published a series of pacifistic novels under the heading "Sotto la Tempesta" (During the Storm) recently. She was one of the Italian delegates at the Vienna Congress, 1924.

(Italian delegate instead of Dr. Vassalini, who has fallen ill.)

SWEDEN

MATHILDE WIDEGREN

President of Swedish Section, W.I.L., since 1919. Graduated at the Royal Training College, Stockholm. Teacher for a great many years, now Assistant Headmistress at the State Normal School for Girls. Member Swedish Commission of the World's Fair, St. Louis, 1904.

SWEDEN (Continued)

HILMA SÄHLBOM

One of foremost mineralogists of Europe. Delegate at the Women's Peace Congress at The Hague in 1915, Zurich in 1919, and The Hague in 1922.  
Editor of the Peace periodical "Nya Vagar" (New Paths). Lecturer.

SWITZERLAND

VILMA GLUCKLICH

Secretary, Women's International League at Geneva headquarters. One of the founders and since President of Feministek Egyesulete - the Hungarian Section of both the W.I.L. and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

For twenty-five years a teacher of mathematics and physics in public schools, after having been the first woman student at a Hungarian University.

Lecturer - as an advocate of women's rights, of peace and modern education - all over Hungary and represented the Association at several Congresses.  
Lectured at the Summer School of Lugano in 1922.

DR. GERTHOLD WOKER

Noted scientist - chemistry, physics and biology.

State of Bern founded a chair for Dr. Woker at the University of Bern that she might carry on her experimental work.

Author of many scientific treatises, and of a book "die Katalyse".  
Lecturer on scientific subjects. Writer for feminist paper on the woman movement.

UKRAINE

DR NADJA SUROWZOWA

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 pogroms 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.

OLEKSA KHRAPKO DRAGOMANOWA

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 France.

1920 - Member of the staff Ukrainian legation at Vienna.

Writer and translator.

MARIEKA DONSOVA

Secretary of the East Galician group of the Women's International League

1908 - graduated at Przemysl

1909 - University at Vienna, then took a course at the Commercial University. Active in co-operative organization,

1919 - 20 - Press secretary of the Ukrainian diplomatic committee in Copenhagen.

1921 - Attended Women's International Congress in Vienna, later at the Hague.

Member of the Ukrainian Woman's Party.



## A Challenge to the Youth of America

What was responsible for the War and the breakdown of civilization?  
Economic Exploitation, Secret Diplomacy, Rival Armaments, Balance of Power.

Who was responsible?  
No one under 28 years of age.

What threatens the progress of the world?  
Prejudice, Hatred, and Ignorance.

Who is responsible for building the world as it ought to be?  
THE YOUTH OF THE WORLD.

Are you preparing yourself to build National and International relations on Good Will, Justice, and Faith?

Are you working for a better world based on free development of the individual through responsibility?

Do you believe education for war prevents this?

Do you think the method of war ever really solves differences between peoples?

Are you in touch with young people in America and other lands who are thinking along these lines?

The Junior International Leagues send a call to young men and women everywhere:

To unite in their efforts for Peace

To register their stand { For International Justice and Good Will  
Against War

To send us their aims and resolutions.

Correspondence cordially invited.

RACHEL DAVIS DuBOIS, Secretary,  
Junior International Leagues Department,  
1403 H Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

## What Some Young People Believe

### FOLLOW THE LEAD OF VASSAR

"We, the students of Vassar College, believe that the settlement of international differences by War is fundamentally wrong. We pledge ourselves to work for Peace by every means within our power."

### THE NATIONAL STUDENT FORUM

Says, "The object of this organization is the untrammelled pursuit of truth."

### THE LEAGUE OF YOUTH IN AMERICA

Advocates:

1. State and country-wide conferences of youth to discuss any "next war."
2. An annual pilgrimage to foreign countries to foster education and promote concord.
3. An International Conference of Youth.

### THE WORLD LEAGUE OF YOUTH

"Wishes to examine the deeper political, economic, and spiritual causes of war in order to fight against privilege in the present social system and to work for an education that will awaken a wider understanding of the unity of mankind."—Resolution passed by Second Congress of World's League of Youth held in Hamburg, Germany, September, 1922.

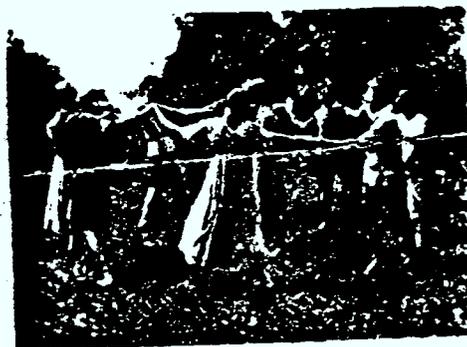
### WORLD STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION CONFERENCE PEKING, APRIL, 1922

"We, representing Christian students from all parts of the world, believe in the fundamental equality of all the races and nations of mankind and consider it as part of our Christian vocation to express this reality in all our relationships.

"We consider it our absolute duty to do all in our power to fight the causes leading to war and war itself as a means of settling international disputes."

### CAMP FIRE GIRLS

"To look upon ourselves as world citizens, to have for the girls of other countries a feeling of sisterhood has been a Camp Fire ideal."—1922 Annual Report of Camp Fire Girls.



Join Hands Around the World

**THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM**

Section for the United States

**CONSTITUTION**

**ARTICLE I**

**Name**

The name of this organization shall be "The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom: The Section for the United States."

**ARTICLE II**

**Object**

The object of this organization shall be to promote that peace between nations, races and classes, which is based on justice and good-will, to outlaw war, to institute law for war, and to cooperate with women from other countries who are working for the same ends.

**ARTICLE III**

**Membership**

The membership shall consist of all women who support the object of the organization and pay the prescribed dues.

**ARTICLE IV**

**Organization**

The affairs of the national organization shall be administered, subject to instructions from the membership, by a National Board of Directors.

The National Board shall have power to organize State branches and to recognize State branches organized independently. State branches shall be encouraged to organize local branches.

**ARTICLE V**

**Officers**

The National Board of Directors shall consist of eleven members elected by the Annual Meeting and such other members, not exceeding seven (7) in all, whom the Board may at its discretion add to its number at any time.

The National Board may appoint from its own number an Executive Committee to which it may delegate such powers as it considers advisable.

The National Board shall appoint a National Chairman, not more than five Vice-Chairmen, representing as well as possible all sections of the country, a National Secretary and a National Treasurer.

These officers, together with the International Chairman of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the two representatives from the United States on the International Consultative Committee, the State Chairman, and the chairman of national standing committees shall form an Advisory Council. Members of the Advisory Council who are not members of the National Board shall have the privilege of attending all meetings of the Board and taking part in discussion, but without vote.

PUBLICATION FILE

## ARTICLE VI

### Duties and Powers of the National Board

Subject to instructions from the membership, and to the provisions of this Constitution, the National Board shall have entire control of the organization's affairs and shall adopt such methods for furthering the purpose of the organization as seem to it desirable.

It may engage such salaried staff and appoint such standing committees as the work requires, and may, at its discretion, appoint other officers and committees in addition to those provided for specifically in this Constitution.

It may organize State branches and appoint State Chairmen pending their election.

It shall call an Annual Meeting for the entire membership and as many other general meetings as seem desirable.

It shall have sole authority to issue printed matter in the name of the national organization.

It shall have power to fill all vacancies.

It shall act authoritatively in all emergencies as the voice of the national organization.

## ARTICLE VII

### State Branches

State branches when organized shall elect their own officers and have complete local autonomy subject to the provisions of this Constitution. In every organized State there shall be a State Chairman and a State Executive Board. There shall be such local organization as may be deemed effective for propaganda, but for political action a chairman shall be elected or appointed in each Congressional District.

## ARTICLE VIII

### Dues

State branches shall have power to fix their own dues and to create auxiliary or popular memberships on such conditions and with such dues as seem to them desirable.

Every State branch shall send to the National Treasurer for the use of the national organization fifty per cent (50%) of all dues paid in the State.

Annual dues for members in unorganized States shall be one dollar.

Any member may become a member of the international organization of the W. I. L. by paying five dollars annually in addition to State and National dues. Members of the international organization will receive the monthly journal published at the Geneva headquarters.

## ARTICLE IX

### Meetings and Voting

Voting at the Annual Meeting and at special national meetings shall be confined to regularly elected delegates.

Each State branch and the District of Columbia shall be entitled to one delegate and to one additional delegate for every twenty members beyond the first twenty.

Before each Annual Meeting or special national meeting a Credentials Committee shall be appointed by the National Board to pass on the eligibility of all who present themselves as delegates.

## ARTICLE X

### Nominations and Elections

All elections shall be held under the supervision of the National Board by the Hare system of proportional representation.

At the Annual Meeting a nominating committee of five shall be elected to present at the following Annual Meeting candidates for the Board of Directors and (if delegates to an International Congress are to be elected the following year) candidates for twenty delegates and ten alternates, to represent the United States at such Congress. This committee shall receive nominating petitions throughout the year, shall file all valid petitions with the Annual Meeting not later than its first session, and shall include among the candidates whose names are placed on the ballot all candidates for whom valid petitions have been filed.

Every nominating petition shall contain the signatures of at least five members in good standing who have been members for at least three months and a statement that every candidate nominated has consented to serve if elected.

There may be nominations from the floor provided that the consent of every member so nominated is obtained.

## ARTICLE XI

### International Relations

This organization shall be the Section for the United States of The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

The National Board shall appoint annually two persons to represent the United States Section in the Consultative Committee of the International League. It shall appoint also twenty delegates and ten alternates to represent the United States at each International Congress.

## ARTICLE XII

### Amendments

This Constitution may be amended by majority vote at any Annual Meeting. But no amendment shall be voted on unless it is sent to the National Board at least six weeks before the Annual Meeting. The National Board shall send out with the call for the Annual Meeting a statement of all proposed amendments whose submission has been requested by five or more members.

## ARTICLE XIII

This Constitution shall take effect immediately upon adoption except as to its provisions for nomination of members of the National Board, which provisions shall become effective only upon the close of the Annual Meeting of the year of nineteen hundred twenty-two. The method of nomination of members of the National Board to be elected at the Annual Meeting of the year nineteen hundred and twenty-two shall be that formerly prescribed in Article VIII for nomination of national officers.

Adopted April, 1922, Washington, D. C.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS  
1403 H STREET  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

# THE NATIONAL DEFENSE ACT

## Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

### SECTION FOR THE UNITED STATES

APRIL, 1923

BULLETIN No. 4

AN ANALYSIS BY AMY WOODS, NATIONAL SECRETARY

Presented at the Annual Conference of the W. I. L., Washington, D. C., March 1923

#### Provisions of the Constitution

According to the Constitution of the United States the President is Commander in Chief of the Army, Navy, and the Militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States.

Power is given Congress to declare war, to raise and support armies, to appropriate money for a term not exceeding two years, to provide and maintain a navy, and to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces. All bills of appropriation must originate in the House. Custom prescribes that the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy shall be civilians. Thus our Government was planned to safeguard us from military domination by placing the responsibility for the preparation and maintenance of the military and for the ultimate declaration of war upon those who must render a personal account to the people at comparatively short intervals.

From very early days of the Army and up to two and a half years ago Congress has jealously guarded this power and has prescribed the organization and the commissioned and enlisted strength of the component parts of the Army.

#### The Change

With the passage of the National Defense Act, June 4, 1920, it yielded this prerogative. The controlling power of Congress now rests solely in the annual appropriation. The only way in which Congress may limit the development of a militaristic regime, comparable if not similar to the pre-war German military system, is by pulling the federal purse strings tighter.

This is so radical a change of system that every citizen of the United States should know the outstanding features of this law.

What will be its effect upon the United States?  
How will it affect the rest of the World?

#### Criticisms From the Senate

The original bill upon which the National Defense Act is based was before Congress in September, 1919. Senator George E. Chamberlain, who in a previous session advocated universal compulsory military training, in his analysis of it before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, said: "This bill was framed by military advisers of the Secretary of War. Sections are radical and even revolutionary in their nature and if rejected now are likely again to be urged upon Congress, possibly in other forms.

"Nearly all of the control heretofore exercised by Congress over the Army is to be transferred theoretically to the President, but practically to the Chief of Staff; however, Congress is still to be permitted to foot the bills." It specifically gives to the President unlimited authority "as he may deem necessary," to prescribe the number, character, nomenclature, and strength of the many different organizations into which the four arms of the service are or may be divided—Infantry, Cavalry, Field Artillery, and Coast Artillery.

"It spells one-man dominance, staff despotism, and militarism to a degree never surpassed in the palmiest days of the great General Staff of the German Army." He speaks of the Army as being made "top-heavy with military ranks of the highest grades," and in regard to the appointment of officers he says "The Czar of all the Russians never had more despotic control over his armies in these respects."

The final bill which passed in 1920 and is known as the National Defense Act, differs in some respects from this original bill, but the purpose and the outstanding features are the same.

It is a substitute for Universal Military Training, to which the War Department was previously opposed.

Footnote: The original National Defense Act was passed in 1916. In June 1920 this army organization act was amended and with the amendments is now generally known as the National Defense Act (Public-No. 242-66th Congress, "An Act to amend an Act, etc."—Approved, June 4, 1920.)

#### Purpose of the Bill

Quotations from the Special Report of the Secretary of War to the President on the "Conference on Training for Citizenship and National Defense," issued February, 1923, show, at the same time, the purpose of the bill and the plans that are being promoted under it.

General Pershing, Chief of Staff, says: "Following the lessons of the Revolution, a law was passed in 1792 which presented universal military training and service. It undertook to draft every able-bodied man in case of war, and required that each State should be divided into districts according to population. Through differences of opinion and lack of interest the law was generally disregarded and little was ever accomplished in the way of training or organization as a preparation for war.

"That we have not adopted the principle of universal military service renders it highly essential that training which leads up to, and as far as possible includes preparation for military service, should be popularized by all available methods." \* \* \* "As a matter of fact, only a small portion of our able-bodied men are really needed to meet any ordinary emergency, yet it is essential at the same time that all young men should receive training according to some general plan and be impressed with their obligations, whether ever called to the colors or not." As advantages to the individual, General Pershing points out that such training develops self-discipline, respect for authority, physical improvement and precision.

Brigadier General William Lassiter, in the same report goes into more specific details. He says: "For the first time in our history as a Nation we have legislation authorizing the establishment of a definite framework on which can be built systematically and with reasonable promptness the citizen army required in times of great emergency. It provides for a National Army, National Guard, and Organized Reserves."

#### The Regular Army

"The Regular Army provides the permanent establishment necessary to furnish the overhead, and the other machinery necessary for the development of the great citizen army and also furnishes our overseas garrisons, our coast defense troops, our military school establishment, and a limited number of mobile troops ready for service at any time, at home or abroad.

#### The National Guard

"The National Guard forms by far the larger part of our force in being in time of peace and our plans allot to it one-third of our war-time Army. Its Units have been allotted so as to reach every community in proportion to population, so that every part of the country has its due quota of National Guard Units to raise.

#### Organized Reserves

"The Organized Reserve is a skeleton organization existing in peace time only in embryo, but with the framework so established that on the outbreak of war the needed man-power can be quickly absorbed into the framework. The Reserves are to furnish more than half of the National Army for an emergency. The Units are apportioned so as to give each community throughout the country its share of the force to raise. We have at present nearly 70,000 reserve officers, veterans for the most part of the World War. Up to the present time the number of enlisted men enrolled in the reserves is extremely limited.

"The Units now being definitely established will provide a force of about 3,000,000 men.

"The personnel required for this expansion must be made up of the young manhood of the country."

## Military Training in Our Schools

Brigadier General Lassiter goes on: "The main objective of military training given in our schools, colleges, and summer camps is to fit our young manhood to fill up the commissioned and non-commissioned grades in the National Guard and Organized Reserve Units of their particular localities."

Training in Colleges and Universities is known as the Senior Division and that in the secondary schools as the Junior Division.

The Senior Division now reaches 124 Colleges and Universities and 57,000 men. This is less than one-fifth of the total (670) institutions and one-sixth of the College student enrollment (334,000).

The Junior Division reaches 105 of 1,200 secondary schools, where Junior Units might be maintained, and 39,000 boys out of a possible 450,000 are now receiving military training.

Congress is now appropriating approximately \$3,000,000 for the support of the Reserve Officers Training Corps, but this figure "by no means represents the total cost of the system."

The law authorizes "very material Federal support to further the success of this military training in College and lower schools."

And one is forced to recall the bitter opposition expressed by Congress against the Sterling-Towner Bill for Federal aid to procure a higher standard of general education in public schools throughout the States.

In the summary of the Report of the Committee on the Reserve Officers' Training Corps it was unanimously agreed that a fundamental factor for adequate national defense is "Complete and proper conception by the young men and women of the country of their rights, privileges, responsibilities and duties as citizens, together with proper preparation for each and every one to render some useful service in the organized defense of the Nation in an emergency."

With other recommendations, this Committee also advises that every effort should be made to increase the efficiency and the number of the Senior Units "by giving the subject due weight in opening addresses at the beginning of the College terms, by members of the faculty stressing its importance on every proper occasion; by using available means of publicity to place and keep this idea before the attention of the student body; credits toward a degree in colleges and Government subsidy in high schools and other secondary schools not essentially military."

It is well, after this brief review of the Report of 1923, to go back to the Reports of the Secretary of War for the years 1921 and 1922, the original National Defense Act of 1920, and the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy for 1922:

By the National Defense Act, two of the new departments cover the Air Service and the Chemical Warfare Service.

### Air Service

The Air Service, composed of 1,500 officers and 16,000 enlisted men, will receive 50 per cent additional pay when on aviation duty. Twenty per cent of the Air Service is defensive, 80 per cent is offensive. In the 1921 Report it is stated that 75 per cent of the personnel must be between the ages of 21 and 35—the maximum efficiency covers a period of about five years—so that the Air Service should rely largely upon the Reserve officers.

The 1922 Report lowers the maximum age of available men from 35 to 30. There are six Air Service Reserve Units in colleges and the Department regards as "unfortunate" the Act of Congress of 1922 prohibiting the formation of more such units.

The Report gives the high wreckage of airplanes and casualties of fliers but the increase of pay in the air service is the only indication of the high mortality and injury rate in this form of service. During the war the average length of life of a flier in active service was less than one week.

### Chemical Warfare Service

The Chemical Warfare Service, with 101 officers and 1,200 men, has for its purpose "the investigation, development, manufacture or procurement, and supplying to the Army all smoke and incendiary materials, all toxic gases, and all gas defense appliances; the research, design, and experimentation concerned with chemical warfare and its material; and chemical projectiles, filling plants, and proving grounds; the supervision and training of the Army in chemical warfare both offensive and defensive, including the necessary schools of

instruction; the organization of equipment, training, and operation of special gas troops, and such other duties as the President from time to time may prescribe."

The 1922 Report states that "there is no great reason to expect a greater percentage of disability cases following gas poisoning than from injuries of the acute respiratory diseases." Through experimenting with guinea pigs belief has been established "that there is a great field of usefulness for mustard gas from a prophylactic point of view."

The further development of smoke and incendiary materials is advocated, such as "white phosphorus, which is also capable of creating casualties by burning. White phosphorus is adaptable not only as a smoke but as a burning material to attack personnel."

"The moral effect of burning phosphorus is too great to be overlooked at any time."

"Hydrocyanic acid gas is tasteless, odorless, and produces no discomfort, death ensues instantly upon breathing it, and without struggle, and many accidents have occurred."

The justification of the War Department for experimentation with these gases is placed on the use which the Public Health Service can make of them as vermicides. Two million dollars a year is needed as a minimum by the War Department to keep up the study of poisonous compounds.

### Personnel

The maximum enlisted strength of the Regular Army was increased by the National Defense Act from 175,000 to 280,000 men. This was cut down through Congressional appropriation of 1921 to 125,000 men and 12,000 officers. The National Guard has a strength of 114,000 men. The number of officers has been enormously increased (approximately one to every ten enlisted men), especially among the higher ranks, and an entirely new class of officers, 1,120 in number, established, called warrant officers, which include among others, bandmasters, clergy, nurses. Even the head of the finance department is made a brigadier general, "with 141 officers in grades from colonels to second lieutenants, and 900 enlisted men." This of course means not only an increase in pay but in prestige, and offers inducements for enlisted men to work up to non-commissioned officers.

### Perpetuation of World War Units

It was a specific intent of this Act to preserve, as far as practicable in the reorganization of the national defense, privatic and subordinate units that served in the World War—not only of the Regular Army but of the National Guard and the Organized Reserve. The Secretary of War says in his report of 1921 "The importance of this action as a means for maintaining the spirit and traditions aroused and acquired in the World War has already become manifest."

And again, in regard to the assignment of General Pershing as Chief of Staff and his Deputy, "These assignments are particularly appropriate in view of the fact that one of the main features of the policy evolved under the National Defense Act aims at the reconstitution of the great combat divisions which so distinguished themselves as units of the American Expeditionary Forces under the leadership of these officers."

### Present Plan

In the so-called framework of a National Army, "The Regular Army, the National Guard, and the Organized Reserve are mutual counterparts and are differentiated only in phase of application." The plan calls for officers of the Regular Army to develop the training classes in Colleges, Schools, National Guard, and Citizens' Camps.

"The Organized Reserve is a purely Federal Force and is raised, trained, supported, and employed by the United States, and in a war of magnitude would compose the major part of the Army." This Federal Reserve Force takes the place of the old State Militia and, when Congress authorizes the use of troops in excess of the Regular Army, is subject to draft by the President without consent of the Governor of each State.

### The Volunteers' Oath

Both officers and enlisted men in the National Guard take a written oath that they *volunteer* for a period of three years under the conditions prescribed by law, and they will serve the United States and their own State honestly and faithfully "Against all their enemies whomsoever," and they will

obey the orders of the President, the Governor, and the officers appointed over them "according to law and the rules of Articles of War."

This places them subject to martial law. They can be called out at any time by the President to quell internal disturbances such as industrial strikes. When Congress shall have authorized the use of land forces in excess of the Regular Army the President may *draft* them into the Federal military service for the period of the war or the emergency.

### Paid Volunteer Service

There are strong evidences that we are still an anti-militaristic Nation when love of fighting does not lead us into volunteer military organization without compensation. The 1920 law offers as an inducement to both officers and enlisted men in the Reserve Units pay proportionate to a corresponding grade in the Regular Army: provided that not less than 50 per cent of the officers and 60 per cent of the enlisted men attend a minimum of drills and drill for at least an hour and a half each time.

### The College Bait

In colleges where three hours military training a week is required for two years a boy may secure his tuition and maintenance to complete his four-year course by agreeing in writing to take five hours a week in military courses. It is a bid for the boy of slender means with ambition to acquire a college degree.

### Military Advertising

The popular demand for preparedness is slight when the Chief of Staff must plead by radio broadcasting for mothers to send their sons to military camps for "physical training." Posters urging men to enlist are like a flier for a summer tour with no indication of the war-time duties of the Army and Navy, and popular magazines must continue their war-time methods of militaristic propaganda, filled with sophistry, playing upon the pride and fear of the reading public.

General Pershing writes in one of these, March 10, 1923, of "An Army springing from the people, retaining their high ideals and obedient to their will."

Is an army obedient to the will of a people or is a people obedient to the will of the Army?

It depends on the variety of the propaganda, which is spread through popular newspapers, magazines, radios, and motion pictures, all of which were used during the last war to stuff the people full of falsehoods.

No better illustration of Military propaganda could be given than this last public statement of General Pershing in the Saturday Evening Post. One has only to look back to the Washington Army Conference to find the same man equally plausible on the other side.

### What Is the Enlisted Force?

Secretary Weeks (Report 1923) laments the fact that lacking a crisis the average citizen is not keenly interested in the National welfare, and there are signs of an "unhealthy condition in our citizenship."

There are eleven million male workers in manufacturing industries and transportation and eleven million more in agriculture, the two major activities involved in the production of wealth. (General Lassiter, 1923 Report, p. 12.)

These are the men who will form more than half of the Army in times of war, and whom General Pershing wishes to train in military obedience in the Organized Reserve. They are the same people to whose will the Army would supposedly bow. And these are the same people against whom the War Department can call out the National Guard Reserves to help the Regular Army if and when they manifest their will through strikes, or organize for political ideas which to the War Department appear "absurd."

### Questions

There are questions that must be answered before the American people should accept this radical and revolutionary program of the Army Department.

What effect will this system have upon the people of each State? What is it costing the people and what return do they get? How will it affect us politically?

## Political Significance

Tasker H. Bliss, former Chief of Staff of the U. S. Army (Foreign Affairs, Dec. 1922), speaks of the "Military principle that war is but a continuation of political policy in a new form." Bearing in mind that the Officers' Reserve Corps are to be organized in every State, and that reserve officers must be citizens (in other words, voters) between 21 and 60 years of age, there is a new political significance in the National Defense Act which gives absolute authority to the President to prescribe the grades of officers and the number in each section; to appoint and commission all Reserve Officers (except general officers) for a period of 5 years, which is one year longer than the President serves before chance of re-election; to discharge a Reserve Officer at his discretion; to order Reserve Officers to active duty at any time and for any period.

If war is declared during the appointment of a Reserve Officer he becomes automatically a part of the Regular Army, is bound until six months after the termination—"the grades of enlisted men shall be such as the President may from time to time direct. The pay of enlisted men is determined by their grade."

A big stick in a political issue is a most effective way of mobilizing the "free will" of a people.

The law reads "No Reserve Officer can be employed on active duty for more than 15 days in any calendar year without his own consent." That does not prevent his serving 365 days with his consent and when on active service he receives the same pay and allowances as an officer in the Regular Army of the same grade and length of active service. It is a simple method of recruiting a skeleton army and a flesh and blood political machine at one and the same time.

The Federal subsidizing of colleges and public and private schools for military training also has its political significance.

### Economic Effect

Economically it diverts our industries from the manufacture of the necessities of daily life, raises prices through competition of the necessities with the manufacture of war equipment, and diverts enormous sums for the development and maintenance of this gigantic organization machine which must be placed upon the already tax-burdened back of the people as an insurance against attack by a suppositious foe.

### Social Effect

Socially it threatens to build up a military hierarchy, dominated by an artificially stimulated fear of our great bulk of loyal citizens who are producing our wealth for us in the mines and the factories of the country.

Such a military system developed to its full strength, interlocked with directorates of big industries, colleges, the press, and our present banking system would, in my belief, be the match to start an industrial conflagration in this country which would be comparable with the revolutions of France and Russia.

### Psychological Effect

We are having superimposed upon the coming generation the belief that war is necessary, is heroic, is patriotic. So that the minds of the young people not only of the United States but of the world will be befogged into believing that it is their responsibility to take on the debts of the last war and prepare for the next, in order that the old system of the economic exploitation of the world may maintain.

If the United States can be led into the system of a "Nation in Arms" the great interests that juggle the world need not fear that the other nations will disarm and rob them of their chance for plunder.

### The Navy Also

It is only the Army that is covered by the National Defense Act. But the Navy Department too has its plans for militarizing the country. In the Report of the Secretary of the Navy, 1922, our Naval policy was given as "Second to none," "Guard our overseas possessions," "Every effort, ashore and afloat, at home and abroad, to assist the development of our American interests."

The Navy Department advocates that a bill be submitted to Congress for the reorganization of the U. S. Naval Reserve forces, and the Secretary recommends that "as conditions warrant Congress be asked for such increase as will tend to balance our fleet and make and keep it the equal of any in the world."

The Washington Arms Conference, called by President Harding and enthusiastically received by the people of the United States, is but an example of an abortive attempt to help the world toward peace.

Captain Clark, of the Bureau of Operations, Navy Department, reports that the Maine and Missouri were listed for scrapping before the Conference for the Limitation of Armaments completed its sessions, but these vessels are now listed as having been scrapped in compliance with the agreements reached at the Conference. "No other vessels scrapped to date, March 6, 1923."

This despite the fact that according to the 1922 Report of the Secretary of War "we threw our hearts and souls into the Conference for the Limitation of Armaments."

### Appropriations

That the entire purpose of the National Defense Act has not been accomplished is evident in the 1922 Reports of both the Army and Navy.

Although the Secretary of the Navy "reluctantly postponed many projects" for the fiscal year 1923 and submitted a low budget, Congress cut it to about 60 per cent.

As for the Army, the appropriations act of June, 1922, reduced the Regular Army to 125,000 men and 12,000 officers. The Secretary of War says: "The past year has been one of reduction for the Regular Army; so it has been for the National Guard a year of measureable delay."

Plans called for 238,950 men in the National Guard, but the actual strength fell 33 per cent short, to 159,658 men.

### Crying for More

Congress appropriated \$330,074,738.87. Was that enough? Apparently not, for the Secretary of War says in this report "Nothing but finances stand between us and a complete realization of the objects of the Act of 1920."

This year the House passed an appropriations bill for the Army alone of three hundred thirty-three million and the Senate raised it to three hundred and forty million. This includes nearly twenty-nine million dollars for river and harbor work which falls to the War Department to administer, and which is probably the most notorious of the pork barrel appropriations.

Adding to this, the appropriation of the Navy shows that next year (1924) the Army and Navy will cost us \$548,000,000 net, exclusive of the not inconsiderable sums that we must pay through State taxation for the development and maintenance of the National Reserves.

This is more than three times the combined expense of the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Departments. It is more than three times the amount the Government will spend on Public Works, and ten times the amount it will spend on Research, Education, and Development work.

### Now Is the Time to Act!

Loyal friends of the Republic of the United States during the coming months should investigate the effect in their own States and upon the Federal Government of this new military system established by the National Defense Act. And then through legal organized channels take action to support or

### Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Section for the United States

Room 305, 1403 H St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

The object of the Section for the United States is to promote that peace between nations, races, and classes which is based on justice and good will, to outlaw war, to substitute law for war, and to co-operate with women from other countries who are working for the same ends.

The membership consists of all women who support the object and pay the prescribed dues. (No pledge is required.)

There are National Sections in 21 Countries

Members of the League are each asked to obtain twelve new members in the next twelve months.

35  35

Telephone Franklin 8218

### THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL SUMMER SCHOOL

will be held at Pödebrady, Czecho-Slovakia (on the River Elbe, an hour's ride east of Prague).

Price for U. S., \$40. Dates, latter half of August. Details later.

reject this system according to their own conviction while it is still in the form of a stage.

We men and women who believe the world was made for the happiness and welfare of all the people of whatever race or creed or nationality, must bend our efforts to bringing the United States back to its ideals of a republican form of government if we would be of service to the world. We must know our laws and the underlying implications.

The opportunity for action is before us. A new Congress with improved personnel will come into session next December. A Presidential election is only 18 months away.

The subject is in flux now and can be handled. In a few years it will be irretrievably entangled with selfish interests.

### SUGGESTIONS TO STATE AND LOCAL BRANCHES NATIONAL DEFENSE QUESTIONNAIRE

In order to know the significance of the National Defense Act, and to give the facts the widest publicity it is suggested that the States and Local Branches obtain answers to the following questions in connection with their States.

The National Office will look up any question of Federal significance.

1. How is history taught in your schools? What text books are used?

2. What military training is there in the public and private schools, colleges, and universities of your State, and of what does it consist? Is it optional or compulsory?

3. Are any of the schools or colleges receiving a Federal or State subsidy by maintaining military training? How much? Is there an arrangement by which a boy can receive free tuition in a college or school by agreeing to take military training throughout the course? Does this bind him to postgraduate military duties?

4. How many military training schools, summer or winter training camps, are there in your State? How are they used? What are the social conditions in and around them?

5. How large a National Guard have you? Where are the divisions located? What is their method of action?

6. What active service have troops given your State in past years?

7. How much does your State spend annually on military training of all kinds?

8. What do you get in return for this money?

9. How much does your State spend on education?

10. How much does your State spend on good roads?

11. What plants for the manufacture of war material are in your State and where?

12. What are the chief industries?

13. Are plans under way to use these industries for the manufacture of war material in times of emergency?

14. What inducements are offered young men on posters, in local papers, movies, etc., to enlist in the Reserves; in the Regular Army and Navy?

15. Are they enlisting and do they understand what enlistment means?

16. Are there any military bills pending in your State Legislature?

Place the information gathered from these questions before parents, teachers, young people, and both your State and National legislators.

Ic. Paid.  
Washington, D. C.  
Permit No. 271

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# OUR NEW MILITARY POLICY

## A Discussion of the Army Reorganization Act of 1920

BY MRS. ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE

A Nation in Arms

Mrs. LaFollette said in part:

"Secretary of War Weeks, General Pershing, and other officials of high rank have recently rebuked the women and the churches for their opposition to the Army Reorganization Act.

"We accept the challenge. And we refuse to be included among that inconsistent group who condemn 'niggardly' appropriation for armaments and demand that the United States go to war against the Turks.

"On the contrary we regard the recent tragedy of the Near East as a terrible object lesson to the world of the futility of war as a method of settling quarrels among nations. And we protest that the awful sacrifice of human life to the commercial ambitions of France and Great Britain should, under the disguise of a Holy War, be made the occasion of propaganda for preparedness and for the announcement of our Secretary of the Navy that the scrapping of ships agreed upon at the disarmament conference was to be indefinitely postponed.

"General Pershing has drawn a dark picture of the humiliating spectacle the United States has hitherto made in the conduct of each of the separate wars in which we have engaged since Colonial times—all because of our stupid neglect to adopt a policy of preparedness such as the Army Reorganization Act of 1920 now affords.

### Germany Was Prepared

"Alas, for General Pershing's preparedness philosophy. It breaks down when tested in the light of hard cold facts. Surely Germany cannot attribute her sad fate to the stupid policy of lack of preparedness. And Germany was not handicapped by any of that insufferable 'political tinkering' of which General Pershing complains in this country.

"War is only a method—one method—of settling quarrels. Today war is not only the most terrible, it is the most futile of all methods. The chaos of Europe radiographs this truth around the world.

"Nations are settling differences all the while by other methods than war. The friendly A. B. C. mediations which settled our differences with Mexico when we were in danger of going to war over the salute of a flag is a most happy illustration of how much better the jury method of settling a controversy than the war method.

"It is not 'stupidity' that General Pershing is up against in carrying out the huge program of the Army Reorganization Act. It is the plain common sense of the plain people who have learned from the world war experience that 'preparedness' makes not for 'defense,' but for aggression, imperialism, and more war. We everyday people insist that hereafter differences shall be settled by other methods than slaughter of men. We refuse to sacrifice our youth and spend billions in taxation to keep an Army and Navy ready to fight for foreign investments in oil and mines, or for any other kind of trade supremacy.

### Universal Compulsory Military Training and Conscription

"In order to keep in mind the far-reaching purpose of the Reorganization Act, we must place emphasis on the fact that both the Chamberlain Bill and the Wadsworth Bill, which were the basis of the Reorganization Act, contemplated universal compulsory military training.

"And it was very largely through the efforts of women that universal compulsory military training, which seemed headed to pass both Houses of Congress and to be approved at the White House, really never got through either House of Congress. But the military men have taken this decision as only a temporary one and are now trying to convince us that not only is compulsory military training necessary to our safety but that it is enormously beneficial to the health of both the individual and the Nation. This, in spite of the fact that the enlightened educators of the Nation generally agree that for the maintenance of health, stamina, bodily and mental tone, military training is the poorest kind of physical education.

"The issue of universal compulsory training is not dead. In all the official reports, public addresses, magazine articles, you can read between the lines the ominous threat that if voluntary training fails the only alternative for the militarists is forced training.

"It may be timely right here to suggest that we work for a constitutional amendment abolishing conscription which was declared lawful by the Supreme Court. To be forehanded and for once get an advantage of the militarists, we might make such an amendment cover compulsory training.

NOTE: This discussion was presented at the Annual Conference of the W. I. L., Washington, D. C., March 1923, following the Analysis of the Act made by Miss Amy Woods, National Secretary.

"Secretary of War Weeks, in his first annual report, interpreted the Reorganization Act to mean, 'Each citizen of military age a potential soldier!' 'The Regular Army, the National Guard, the Reserves—component parts of One Force'—the Army of the United States. He recommended doubling the capacity of the West Point Military Academy. 'Briefly,' he said, 'our plans for complete defense provide for an initial mobilization of a force of approximately two million men!'

"This report was followed by an address in which Secretary Weeks advocated the mobilization of men, money, and manufactures under a conscription law in the event of future war—a policy differently stated by the Chief of Staff to mean 'A Nation in Arms.'

### Expansion of National Guard and Organized Reserves

"Under pressure of public opinion, Congress reduced the Regular Army in spite of the protests of President Harding, the Secretary of War, the Chief of Staff, and other spokesmen of the militarists. The expansion in national militarization is therefore being made through the other components of the United States Army which are less in the public eye—the organized Reserves and the National Guard. Note their insidious growth.

"The present number of students in the Officers' Reserve Corps is 104,000. The appropriation for next year will permit of an increase to over 110,000. In 1921 civilian training camps were given \$250,000. Next year they will have ten times that amount to expend. For the year 1923 the National Guard was given \$25,815,000; for 1924, \$29,814,140. Last November the Guard numbered 163,000 men, an increase of 46,000 during the year. It is expected to reach 190,000 by the first of next July. The new appropriation will allow the enrollment to reach 215,000. It is estimated that altogether more than 300,000 men will receive training in military camps this year.

### Wisconsin Women Doing Good Work

"The National Guard offers the W. I. L. of every state a fine field for combatting the growth of militarism under the Reorganization Act. I recommend careful study of the report which follows on the work recently done under women's leadership to secure legislation against militarism in Wisconsin. Irma Hochstein, who makes that report, is one of our ablest young women. She is not only a recognized authority in research—she is an effective worker in our women's organizations for civic and social progress.

### War Department Would Educate Youth of Our Land

"At recruiting stations and elsewhere the Army and Navy are being sold to our boys by alluring posters that represent military service as a jolly adventure in sport and travel, with opportunity for an education thrown in.

"Secretary of War Weeks last November called a conference whose evident purpose was to enlist educators and prominent citizens in a far-reaching plan of having military training adopted in all the schools of the nation attended by boys of the right age. Correction of defects—physical, mental, and moral—disclosed by the Draft Act is set forth as the object.

"It is deplored in this report that the plans of the War Department for educating our youth have thus far reached only one-sixth of the total college student enrollment and less than one-eleventh of the secondary school enrollment.

"I have always thought it was a sad reflection on our national ideals that we should make so much of our Army and Navy Departments and tuck away the Educational Bureau in an obscure corner of the Interior Department. But I had never expected to see the time when it would be seriously proposed that we should turn over the education of the youth of our land to the War Department.

### Reorganize for a Better Purpose

"The Draft Act revealed that nearly one-half our youth are physically or mentally below standard: that one-fourth cannot read or write intelligently.

"These conditions indeed call for reorganization and reconstruction—state and national. But this work in my judgment cannot safely be entrusted to the War Department. Some of our great women should have a share in the undertaking. And a part, at least, of that great stream of appropriation now pouring into the war hopper should be used to prepare our youth to live."

## Wisconsin Legislation Against Militarism, Session 1923

By Irma Hochstein, Wisconsin Branch W. I. L., Madison, Wisconsin

What steps can a state take in carrying out an anti-militarist program?

The platform of the Wisconsin progressive republican party in its 1922 campaign read as follows: "We appeal to the citizens, especially the wives and mothers of Wisconsin, to take definite political action looking to the outlawry of war. To this end, we favor control by the people of the war-making power through an amendment providing for a popular referendum whenever Congress, in other than a national emergency, shall vote to declare war. We condemn the present excessive expenditures for military and naval purposes, as being an encouragement to imperialism, grossly wasteful of the public funds, and provocative of war. We reaffirm our unalterable opposition to universal military training or any other militaristic system in either state or nation." In attempting to carry out this pledge the wives and mothers especially appealed to were confronted with the question of adjusting ideals to practical action under the constitutional limitations imposed by federal and state governments.

### Military Training in Universities

The first step being taken in Wisconsin to do away with militarism is in the attempt to make military training optional in the University. The spur to the start was given by Miss Amy Woods and Miss Rankin in their talk in Madison last fall.

In 1886 General Charles King persuaded the regents to adopt a rule requiring all male students to attend military drill. The Wisconsin statutes have provided that "all able-bodied male students in whatever college may receive instruction and discipline in military tactics." The rule of the regents made this training compulsory. Bill 170A, introduced by Mr. Sachtjen, amends this provision of the statutes to read "and any able-bodied male student may at his option receive instruction and discipline in military tactics." Should this bill pass, the rule of the regents would be abrogated.

The Morrill land grant act required the inclusion of military tactics in the curriculum of the land grant colleges. Whether that teaching should be compulsory or not does not seem to be determined. The twenty-six land grant colleges which replied to a questionnaire report that military training is compulsory.

(Note.—The Wisconsin Attorney General's office has rendered an opinion to the effect that while the Act of Congress of July 2, 1862, sometimes known as the Morrill Land Grant Act, makes it compulsory that the University of Wisconsin provide facilities for military training, the statute does not require that military training be compulsory as to the students attending the University.)

### National Guard Repeal

The second step, the repeal of the national guard, has caused much more bitter contention. Bill 47A, introduced by John Polakowski, was to repeal the state law providing for the national guard. This bill, later indorsed by the Wisconsin Women's Progressive Association and by the Wisconsin branch of the W. I. L., passed the assembly with little opposition by a vote of 62 to 17. By the time it reached the senate, questioning on the legality of this repeal gained headway. The relation of the national guard to the federal government under the National Defense Act was questioned and given publicity. For the first time the provisions of the National Defense Act were aired. Had the legislature, in considering the bill to abolish the national guard, placed itself in the anomalous position of attempting to abolish something over which, by virtue of the National Defense Act, it had no power? Without reaching any conclusion on this question the senate settled the fate of the bill by its indefinite postponement.

The way open for a state to indicate to the national government its disapproval of the increasing preparation for defense seems to be by reducing or withholding appropriations. The Governor of Wisconsin, in a special message to the legislature, February 27, 1923, has suggested that Wisconsin would meet its obligations to the federal government by a change in the strength of the national guard from 6,900 to 3,900, in the expenditure from \$574,748 to approximately \$300,000. Whether or not we consider this reduction ade-

quate or whether we demand the repeal of the appropriation, we have gained ground. We have begun to make comparisons on a state basis.

(Note.—Final action on the appropriation for the national guard had not been taken at this date. The state senate passed April 26 an appropriation of \$255,000. It may be assumed this amount will not be increased by the assembly.)

### Cost of National Guard

In 1914-15 the total federal expenditures on the national guard were \$3,858,383.15. The total expenditures of the states were \$7,729,673.13, a total expenditure of \$11,588,056.28. The federal appropriation in 1922 for the national guard was \$25,554,100, an increase of 700 per cent, and the United States Militia Bureau estimates the cost to the United States for a national guard of a strength of 250,000 to be \$52,500,000, the cost to the states to be \$24,407,500. The states have an opportunity to indicate by their stand on national guard appropriations whether they wish to keep on expending these large amounts on military preparedness.

### Spiritual Effect of State Action

But the question of expenditure, though important, is not the main issue. That issue has been so well expressed in a letter by Zona Gale that it ought to be included here. Miss Gale writes:

"I am alive to the objections which may be brought at doing away with any form of militarism, all the way from a national guard to a huge standing army, and then on from there to a World War. Always there are situations which make any form of military machinery and operation seem temporarily reasonable. I concede that the abolition of its national guard by any state might lend argument to the men at Washington who urge a great standing army. But I know something better than that. I know that more powerful than those men will be the spiritual effect upon the nation when one of the states lays down her arms. That act will give to the outlawing of war such an impetus as in the United States this cause has never had, save only its impetus now in the hearts of the people. For the people are sick unto death of militarism and all its manifestations. If ever we needed an act from somebody it is now.

"If before we outlaw war we wait until the trade and territorial and other causes of war are settled, we shall wait until ruin has overtaken the world. For war itself breeds new causes of war—have we ever had better proof of that than in Europe today? We are concerned with just one thing: To do away with war as a conceivable method of ever dealing with our trade or territorial or any other difficulties. To this end we must cause war to cease to be respectable. We must brand it as what it is: Crime. But the expensive upkeep by a state of a group of its citizens dedicated to function through physical force tends to stamp physical force with state approval, tends to create war psychology. And it is by tendencies that a people moves.

"When any body politic in all the world will say quietly through its lawmakers: 'We are done with every form of militarism in our state.' I am persuaded that this will be not the shot, but the voice, heard and echoed around the world."

### \$466,000 Already Saved to Wisconsin Taxpayers

The people of Wisconsin ought to know that over \$450,000 has already been saved to the taxpayers of this state as a result of the agitation that has followed the raising of the national guard question.

The Capital Times, Madison, Wisconsin, has from time to time, in its editorials, stated that the women in the progressive association and the members of the assembly have rendered a great service to Wisconsin in bringing to the attention of the people of this state the facts concerning the insidious penetration into this state of the military machine at Washington.



THE HAGUE 1915

ZURICH 1919

VIENNA 1921

# FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Jane Addams, President, Hull House, Chicago, U. S. A.  
Emily G. Balch, Secretary-Treasurer, U. S. A.; Gertrud Baer, Germany; Thora Daugaard, Denmark; Lucie Dejardin, Belgium; Gabrielle Duchêne, France; Yella Hertzka, Austria; Lida Gustava Heymann, Vice President, Germany; Catherine Marshall, Vice President, Great Britain; C. Ramondt-Hirschmann, Asst. Secretary, Holland

**Date: May 1 to May 7, 1924. Place: Washington, U. S. A. Subject: A New International Order**

The League met for the first time at *The Hague* in 1915 to protest against the war and to formulate principles of permanent peace.

A second Congress was held in 1919 in *Zurich* at the end of the war which analyzed the Versailles Treaty and reported back to the Peace Conference then sitting in Paris those parts of the Treaty which they believe contain the seeds of new wars.

The third Congress, held in *Vienna, 1921*, reaffirmed the principles of the League and laid plans for active work, especially in southeastern Europe.

In December, 1922, because of the threatening conditions in Europe, the League called an *Emergency Conference at The Hague*. One hundred ten organizations with aggregate membership of ten million men and women were represented. The Conference resolved to work unremittingly for a World Congress to be called by the League of Nations, a single nation, or a group of nations to achieve a New Peace.

Today, with the same high courage with which the members of the League faced militarism during ten long years, they hope to find a way to reorganize international relations through the political and economic and spiritual forces which underlie all human endeavor.

## PRELIMINARY AGENDA

Wednesday, April 30, 1924, 8:30 to 10:30 P. M.

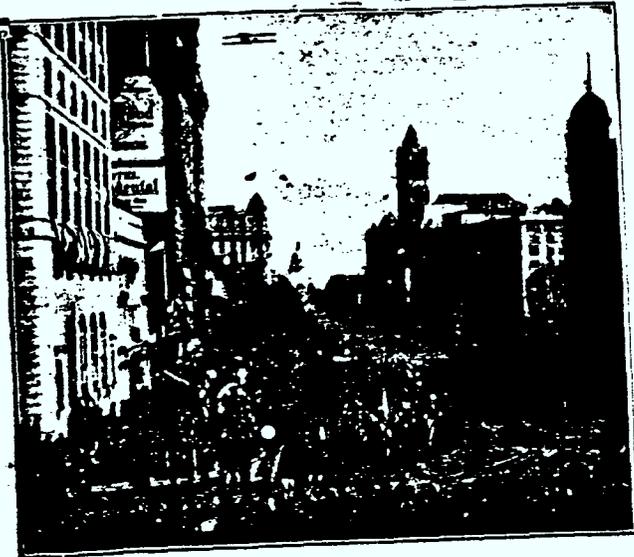
### Opening Reception

To the Foreign Delegates and to representatives of the Embassies whose nationals are official representatives to the Congress.

Addresses of Welcome by:

- Lucy Biddle Lewis, National Chairman Women's International League, Section for the United States.
- Mrs. Henry Villard, International Women's Peace Society.
- Miss Elinor Byrns, Women's Peace Union of the Western Hemisphere.
- Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, International Bureau for Peace.
- Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, International Council of Women.
- Miss Agnes G. Regan, International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues.
- Miss Waite, Institute of International Education.
- Mrs. Alexander Wolf, International Federation Council of Jewish Women.
- Miss Rose Schneiderman, International Congress of Working Women.
- Mme. Helene LeRoy, Comité Internationale D'action Democratique.
- Dr. Valeria H. Parker, International W. C. T. U.
- Mrs. George Mathes, World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship Through the Churches.
- Mrs. Coralie Franklin Cook, Pan African Congress.
- Miss Edith Picton Turberville, International Y. W. C. A.
- Miss Grace Hutchins, International Fellowship of Reconciliation.
- Hannah Clothier Hull, Friends' Service Committee.
- Mrs. James B. Warbasse, International Cooperation Alliance.
- Mrs. Harry Edmonds, Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Clubs.
- Distinguished members of other International Organizations committed to World Order.

Headquarters for the Congress  
Hall of Nations, Washington Hotel  
15th and Pennsylvania Ave.



Washington Hotel, United States Capitol, Pennsylvania Avenue

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FILE

**Thursday, May 1**  
**9:30 A. M. to**  
**12:30 P. M.**

**Opening Address—Jane Addams, International President.**

Appointment of Committees: (a) Resolutions, (b) Credentials, (c) Nominations.

Reports of National Sections (three minutes each): Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, United States, Uruguay.

Reports of Affiliated Societies: Argentine, Brazil, Ceylon, Chile, China, Czecho-Slovakia, Egypt, Haiti, India, Japan, Latvia, Mexico, Roumania, Syria.

Ratification of New Sections.

Reports of Committees from Vienna Congress, 1921:

- (a) Peace Missions in Finland, in Schleswig, in the Ruhr; Mathilde Widegren (Sweden), Chairman.
- (b) Passive Resistance, Carolena Wood (U. S. A.).
- (c) Cooperation with Youth in Various Countries, Gertrud Baer (Germany).
- (d) Cooperation Toward Ending Social Injustice, Emily Balch (U. S. A.).
- (e) Cooperation with Relief of Children Suffering from War Conditions and Action of the German W. I. L. in the Devastated Regions, Andrée Jouve (France).
- (f) Laws Regarding Nationality of Married Women in Cooperation with the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, Dr. Aletta Jacobs (Holland) and Florence Kelly (U. S. A.).
- (g) International Peace Day, Thora Daugaard (Denmark).
- (h) Cooperation with League of Nations, Gladys Rinder (England).
- (i) Special Study of Conditions in Countries where War is Threatening, Catherine Marshall (England).
- (j) Protection of Minorities, with Reports of Conferences of the Eastern-European Federation (W. I. L.), in The Hague, December, 1922; in Podiebrady, August, 1923; in Warsaw, March, 1924.

**Thursday, 2 to 4 P. M.** A Survey of the Nine Years' History of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, by Lida Gustava Heymann, Vice President W. I. L. Discussion and questions.

**Thursday, 8:30 P. M. Evening Meeting** **Subject: Pan-American Problems in Relation to World Peace**

Chairman: Zonia Baber (U. S. A.).

Speakers: Señora Conde de Avila (Mexico), Señora Pasteriza Flores (Ecuador), Donna Berta Lutz (Brazil), Agnes Macphail, M. P. (Canada), Mme. Houdicourt (Haiti), Señora Vera Zouroff (Chile), Miss Josefa Llano (Philippines), representatives from the Virgin Islands and of the Antillia Association.

The following resolution, adopted at The Hague, 1915, will be submitted for reaffirmation at the end of the meeting:

"Inasmuch as the investment by capitalists of one country in the resources of another and the claims arising therefrom are a fertile source of international complications, this International Congress of Women urges the widest possible acceptance of the principle that such investments shall be made at the risk of the investor, without claim to the official protection of his government."

**Friday, May 2**  
**9:30 A. M. to**  
**12:30 P. M.**

**Subject: A New International Order: Its Political Aspect**

Speakers: Dr. Ethel Williams (England), Dr. Surowzowa (Ukraine), Jeannette Rankin (U. S. A.).

~~Opening of the Discussion: Lotta Heller (Austria), Mrs. Johnson (Ireland), Virginia Patti Tango (Italy).~~

**Friday, 2 to 4 P. M.**

Presentation of the *Cahiers de la Paix* to the Congress for Ratification; Gabrielle Duchêne (France), Anita Augspurg (Germany).

Suggestions for Discussion sent to the International Office, Geneva, by the various National Sections:

- (a) Action with Governments: For the abolition of conscription, of capital punishment, of military propaganda, especially among colored races; and for the introduction of Free Trade.
- (b) Action with the League of Nations: Opposition to the Treaties of Mutual Guarantee.
- (c) Action through public opinion: Propaganda for the United States of Europe; propaganda to establish chairs at universities for the teaching of the scientific foundations of world peace; organization of a world-wide Press Service for pacifistic action.

**Friday, 8:30 P. M. Evening Meeting**

**Subject: How to Secure World Peace.**

Chairman: Thora Daugaard (Denmark).

Speakers: Gladys Rinder (England), Martha Vankova (Czecho-Slovakia), Yella Hertzka (Austria).

William E. Borah (United States Senator from Idaho): *Need of a World Economic Conference.*

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**Saturday, May 3**  
9:30 A. M. to  
12:30 P. M.

**Subject: New International Order: Its Economic Aspects**

Speakers: Mme. Dumont (France), Emily G. Balch (U. S. A.), Yella Hertzka (Austria).  
Opening of Discussion: Lucie Déjardin (Belgium), Isabella O. Ford (England), S. Cunningham (Canada).

**Saturday, 2 to 4 P. M.** Manifesto written at the request of the International Board in London, February 4 to 5, 1924; submitted to the Congress for ratification.

**Saturday**  
8:30 P. M.  
**Evening Meeting**

**Mass Meeting**

Chairman: Jane Addams.  
Speakers: Judge Florence Allen (U. S. A.), Mme. Cor. Ramondt-Hirschmann (Holland), Rosika Schwimmer (Hungary), Marcelle Caby (France).

**Sunday, May 4**  
2:30 P. M.

**Mass Meeting of Young People, if possible at Lincoln Memorial**

Chairman: Annalee Stewart (U. S. A.).  
1. Music, Quartet of Hampton Institute.  
2. The Past War from Point of View of an Ex-Soldier, Private Peet (Canada).  
3. What the Next War Will Mean, Dorothy Evans (England).  
4. Statement of Present Situation and What Youth Are Doing for a New International Order, Tomi Wada (Japan), M. Sein (Mexico), Miss Thilleyampalam (India).  
5. Cooperation (League of Nations, Disarmament, Economic Conferences, Revision of Text Books, Fellowship of Students), Eugène Corbie (University of New York).  
6. Outlawing of War, Allan Hunter (Union Seminary, New York).  
7. A Message from the Youth Movement of Europe, Gertrud Baer (Germany).  
8. Quartet singing "Ain't Goin' to Study War No More."

**Sunday, 8:30 P. M.**  
**Evening Meeting**

**Special Concert at Howard University**

Arranged by Mary Church Terrell. Negro Spirituals and Plantation Songs, by the Choral Society of Howard University; Lulu Childers, Director.

**Monday, May 5**  
9:30 A. M. to  
12:30 P. M.

**A New International Order: Its Psychological Aspects**

Speakers: Anita Augspurg (Germany), Andrée Jouve (France), Dr. Gleditsch (Norway).  
Opening of Discussion: Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann (Holland), Professor Gertrud Woker (Switzerland), Edith Waterworth (Australia).

**Monday, 2 to 4 P. M.** Headquarters Report: Vilma Glücklich, International Secretary.  
Discussion: Relation between the International Office (Geneva) and the National Sections.

**Monday, 8:30 P. M.**  
**Evening Meeting**

**Subject: European Problems in Relation to World Peace**

Chairman: Dr. Aletta Jacobs (Holland).  
Speakers: Bertrand Russell (England), Augusta Kirchoff (Germany), Maria Aull (Czecho-Slovakia), Dr. Khrapko Dragomanowa (Ukraine), Lucie Déjardin (Belgium).

**Tuesday, May 6**  
9:30 A. M. to  
12:30 P. M.

**Business Meeting**

Amendments to Constitution:  
(a) Which have been submitted by the Board meeting in London, February 4 and 5, 1924.  
(b) Which have been submitted to the International Secretary three months before the Congress.

**Tuesday, 2 to 4 P. M.** Reports of Committees on Nominations and on Resolutions.  
Discussion of Resolutions submitted.

**Tuesday, 8:30 P. M.**  
**Evening Meeting**

**Subject: How to Prevent the Next War**

Chairman: Lida Gustava Heymann (Germany).  
Speakers: Kirby Page (U. S. A.), Tano Jodai (Japan), Dorothy Evans (England), Robert L. Owen (United States Senator from Oklahoma), "Open Diplomacy"; Henrik Shipstead (United States Senator from Minnesota), "World Disarmament."

**Wednesday, May 7**  
9:30 A. M.  
to 12:30 P. M.

**Business Meeting (continued).**

Election of Officers.  
Unfinished business.

**Wednesday, 2 to 4 P. M.** **Subject: Future Work.** Discussion opened by Gertrud Baer.

**Wednesday, 8:30 P. M.** Closing Reception to the Delegates.

The Young People's Meeting is under the following Committee appointed by members of 32 cooperating organizations of young people: Morton B. Penfield, Fellowship of Youth for Peace; Caroline Granger, Philadelphia; Andrew J. Allison, Urban League; Dorothy Biddle, The Young Friends; Gertrude Klein, Editor of "Free Youth"; Grace Louise Hubbard, Women's International League; Dorothy Beard and Richard Williams, Junior International League; Kenneth Close, Intercollegiate Cosmopolitan Club.

Resolutions and formal reports appearing on the Agenda will be placed in the hands of the Delegates each day, printed in French, German, and English.  
A Who's Who of the Delegates and a final program will be issued at the opening of the Congress.

### Arrival of Delegates

Delegates from Europe are expected to arrive in New York on the steamships Majestic, Olympic, Orduna, and other boats, between April 19 and 29. They will be welcomed at the dock by the New York Branch and on the evening of April 23 the First Mass Meeting in this country will be held in New York at which many of the international delegates will speak.

### International Board Meeting

**April 24 to April 29** The International Board of Officers will meet at Lansdowne, Pennsylvania, for business sessions at the home of Lucy Biddle Lewis, National Chairman, U. S. A.

### Social Affairs

**During the Congress**

Tea will be served each afternoon at 4 o'clock by different groups—National Woman's Party, Alice Paul hostess; National Council for the Prevention of War, Mrs. Raymond Morgan hostess; University Women's Club, Mrs. John Jay O'Connor hostess. On one afternoon Mrs. John Jay White will act as hostess at the headquarters of the National Federation of Women's Clubs and present her dramatic poem "Christus."

There will be opportunities to visit Government Buildings, the parks, and other places of special interest.

An excursion is planned to Mount Vernon, the plantation home of George Washington on the Potomac River.

**May 8**

President and Mrs. Guth, for Goucher College, Baltimore, Maryland, will entertain the delegates at a luncheon followed by a reception to which students of the college and friends from Baltimore are invited.

**May 9**

### Visits to Other Cities

*New England:* While the International Board is in session April 24-29, other delegates will be entertained in New England and fill speaking engagements arranged by the Massachusetts Branch.

*Pennsylvania:* May 9-10 the delegates will be guests of the Branch in Philadelphia. Meetings are being planned by foreign-born citizens and an International May Breakfast will be held at noon at the Hotel Bellevue Stratford.

### Pax Special

The *Pax Special*—a private car—will carry twenty-five international visitors from the Congress to Chicago for the International Summer School. At the close of the Summer School the *special* will continue to Montreal, reaching there by June 7, the sailing date of the European delegates.

The members of the *Pax Special* will live on the train, stopping frequently along the way for special meetings. Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Detroit, Cleveland, and Toronto have arranged mass meetings to which the delegates will bring the message from the Fourth International Congress.

### Accommodations

*Room Rates:* At Headquarters, Washington Hotel, for one person, \$4-\$6 per day. Members of the United States Section will please make arrangements direct with the hotel management. All official delegates of European Sections coming directly from their own countries to the Congress may obtain rooms at half rates at the Washington Hotel by writing to W. I. L. Headquarters, 1403 H Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

Visitors and American delegates who prefer accommodations in private houses at lower rates may secure them through the National Headquarters.

### Reduction of Railroad Fares

From all points of the United States and Canada, tickets to Washington will be on sale under the certificate plan. On the Pacific coast they can be purchased April 24-29; nearer East, April 26-May 2. They will be good for return trip until May 10. Certificates *must be secured* from the ticket agent at time of purchase of a regular one-way ticket to Washington and *must be deposited* at Congress Headquarters upon arrival. If a minimum number of 250 are received, the railroad will issue a return ticket at half rate to be used over the same route as each original ticket purchased. (Members coming from nearby cities can help to fill the quota by taking advantage of these rates.)

All communications concerning International Congress should be addressed to National Headquarters, Miss Amy Woods, Secretary,  
1403 H Street Northwest, Washington, D. C.

# AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

## Section for the United States

January  
1915

The beginning of the Woman's Peace Party came soon after the outbreak of the war. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence of England and Mme. Rosika Schwimmer of Hungary came over to the United States and addressed meetings from one end of the country to the other; a convention was called in Washington by Miss Jane Addams and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt January 10, 1915, three thousand people attending; addresses were made by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Catt, Miss Addams, and others; the Woman's Peace Party was organized. A ringing preamble, written by Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, was adopted with the following demands:

1. The immediate calling of a convention of neutral nations in the interest of early peace.
2. Limitation of armaments and the nationalization of their manufacture.
3. The further humanizing of governments by the extension of the suffrage to women.
4. "Concert of Nations" to supersede "Balance of Power."
5. The substitution of economic pressure and of non-intercourse for rival armies and navies.
6. Removal of the economic causes of war.
7. The appointment by our government of a commission of men and women with an adequate appropriation to promote international peace.

Miss Jane Addams was elected national chairman. Other officers were Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, Mrs. Henry Villard, Mrs. Louis F. Post, and Mrs. John Jay White. Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead was appointed national secretary and Mrs. Eleanor Daggett Karsten executive secretary. Miss S. P. Breckenridge, treasurer, and Mrs. Glendower Evans acted as organizer and chairman of the financial committee. Headquarters were established in Chicago.

February  
1915

At once a call was sent to twenty thousand persons for a National Emergency Conference to be held in Chicago, February 27, 1915. This conference was presided over by Miss Addams; leading members of the Woman's Peace Party and men and women from other organizations took active part. This was followed by many large mass meetings and at each the call was urged for a conference of neutral nations.

April  
1915

About this time an invitation came from Dutch, German, British, and Belgian women for an International Congress of Women to be held at The Hague. Miss Addams gathered a body of forty-seven women from the United States and they sailed for Holland in April, 1915. This International Congress of Women met at The Hague April 25, 1915, Miss Addams being unanimously elected international chairman. In spite of the fact that the world was in the clutches of an almost universal war, the fourteen following nations were represented: Great Britain, Germany, United States, Switzerland, Belgium, Spain, Brazil, Denmark, Russia, Poland, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Sweden, and Norway.

All voting members were required to be suffragists and to believe in the settlement of international disputes by pacific means. This remarkable congress, though consisting of members from belligerent as well as neutral nations and with two thousand persons in attendance, was conducted with solemnity, efficiency, and scrupulous courtesy. All discussion of the causes of the war and its conduct was prohibited. Professor Emily G. Balch of Wellesley College, who was a delegate, wrote: "What stands out most strongly among all my impressions of those thrilling and strained days at The Hague is the sense of wonder at the beautiful spirit of the brave, self-controlled women who dared ridicule and every sort of difficulty to express a passionate human sympathy, not inconsistent with patriotism, but transcending it."

The International Congress of Women drew up important resolutions which embodied many of the principles afterwards expressed by President Wilson in his Fourteen Points. The women protested against the madness of war and the destruction of so much that humanity has labored through centuries to build up. The congress urged the governments of the world to come to an agreement through arbitration and to begin peace negotiations. It asked that no territory be transferred without the consent of the inhabitants; that autonomy and democratic control should not be refused to any people; that this democracy include the equal representation of men and women.

This International Congress of Women urged that a conference be convened immediately after the war. It advocated universal disarmament but realized the necessity of international agreement.

In order to urge the governments of the world to put an end to bloodshed and to establish a just and lasting peace, special delegates were appointed to carry the resolutions of the congress to the rulers of the belligerent and neutral nations of Europe and to the President of the United States.

Fourteen countries were visited by these delegates, and forty-three private conferences were held with high officials. The visits were taken seriously and were welcomed, and valuable information was given and acquired. A permanent committee consisting of two women from each country was organized called "The Woman's Committee for Permanent Peace," and its members were to form committees in their respective countries or to induce existing organizations to become sections of the International.

The appointment of state chairmen and vigorous work in many states was the next step for America, and at the first annual meeting held in Washington, January 8 to 10, 1916, two hundred delegates were present. It was voted that the Woman's Peace Party should become the United States Section of the Women's International Committee for Permanent Peace.

From that time all reports showed great activity; Miss Addams was given \$5,000 by the Carnegie Peace Foundation towards a guarantee fund for the presentation of "The Trojan Women," to be given in cities all over the country. Over three thousand letters were sent to President Wilson urging him to call a conference of neutral nations. Mass meetings were held, material was sent out to aid speakers; 237,530 pamphlets and folders were distributed in a few months. The enrollment of members at large and group memberships numbered at this time 677; the world was at war, and only the most courageous came in.

A congressional program was adopted in 1916, including: measures to oppose universal, compulsory military service; to secure a joint commission to deal with problems arising between the United States and the Orient; to secure the passage of the Federal suffrage amendment; and to formulate the principle that foreign investments should be made without claim to military protection.

After the United States went into the war a meeting of the Woman's Peace Party was held in Philadelphia, at the Friends' Meeting House, December, 1917, and a "Program During War-Time" was adopted. Recommendations were made to promote the spirit of goodwill; "Let those of opposed opinions be loyal to the highest that they know, and let each understand that the other may be equally patriotic." A statement was issued at this time: "We have avoided all criticism of our government as to the declaration of war and all activities that could be considered obstructive in respect to the conduct of the war, and this not as a matter of prudence but of principle."

At this Philadelphia meeting, differences of opinions as to policy having developed during the year, it was resolved that all branches should hold intact their relationship and effort in working for the "just and righteous settlement of this war on a basis of democratic world organization for a durable peace," but that every branch should become strictly autonomous as to name, management, and publications. The National Board was to be held responsible only for its own activities and publications.

In 1918 the Massachusetts branch changed its name to "League for Permanent Peace," and at its spacious headquarters carried on large activities, with lectures, study classes, publications, and relief work; the New York branch changed its name to "Woman's International League," and was very active in arranging mass meetings, lecture courses, etc.; some other branches continued to do a moderate amount of work.

As soon as the war was over a second International Congress was called at Zurich, Switzerland, in May, 1919. The congress held twelve sessions in Zurich, ending with a banquet given by the town and four public meetings in large and crowded auditoriums. It was attended by delegates from Austria, Argentine, Australia, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Roumania, Sweden, Switzerland, United States of America.

Miss Addams said in her opening address: "We would fain pour into the approaching sessions all that we have learned and hoped through the poignant suffering of the past five years. While we approach our share in the great task with a full sense of complicity in the common disaster of the great war, may we not in all humility of spirit still claim that we essay the task free from any rancorous memories of willful misunderstanding or distrust of so-called enemies?... The women have been too close to the clarifying spirit of reality to indulge in any sentimentality or unconsidered statements."

The views of the various nationalities attending the congress differed on many points regarding the League of Nations but the congress held that the peaceful progress of the world can only be assured when the common interests of humanity are recognized in the establishment of a league which shall represent the will of the people; that membership must be open

January  
1916

December  
1917

1918

May  
1919

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to all states; that immediate reduction of armament and final disarmament shall be on the same terms for all and that free access shall be given to raw material, with an enforcement of demands by other means than military pressure or food blockade. A woman's charter and an educational program were drawn up. The name was changed to Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Geneva, the seat of the League of Nations, was chosen for headquarters. Miss Addams was re-elected international president; Miss Emily G. Balch became international executive secretary.

November  
1919

The first meeting of the United States Section held after the Zurich Congress took place in Philadelphia in November, 1919. An amendment to the constitution was adopted, regional vice-chairmen were appointed, and the name, "Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Section for the United States" (abbreviated to "W. I. L.") was chosen. Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer was elected national chairman; local organizations were encouraged, but all dues were to be paid into the national treasury, thus securing direct communication between individual members and the national office.

January  
1920

In January, 1920, a delegation was sent to Washington to present in person to the State Department our protest against "the blockades" and the seizure for deportation and exile of those designated as "reds"; against "compulsory military training as a feature in the plans for reorganization of the United States Army"; and also our "Appeal for the release of political offenders and conscientious objectors and our appeal for the release and return to their homes of all prisoners of war in all countries."

April  
1920

The work of the season 1919-20 was done largely through committees: the Oriental Relations Committee in California, Free Trade and Legislative Committees, Pan-American Relations Committee; all worked hard and handed in live reports at the annual meeting held in Chicago, April, 1920. At this Chicago meeting important resolutions were adopted, among them the following: That the United States Government be urged to recognize the *de facto* government of Russia. That in Mexico we favor a constructive, co-operative policy of friendliness between our government and the Mexican government. That we declare unalterable opposition to measures tending toward armed intervention.

A strong international educational program was drawn up at this time for the purpose of establishing a basis for a new human civilization; everything to be excluded from textbooks that could arouse hate and scorn for foreign peoples; physical culture, not military drill, to be used as a means of physical development and an acquaintance with the literary masterpieces of other countries to be used as a means of arousing admiration for other nations. This educational program resolved itself into a great campaign against military training in the schools. Articles were written by leading educators and circulated by the thousand.

September  
1920

At the executive meeting in September, 1920, Mrs. Spencer insisted that she must resign as chairman and Miss Mabel Kittredge was elected in her place. Mrs. Henry Leach became treasurer and Mrs. Lucy Biddle Lewis secretary. During the preceding summer and the winter of 1920-21 there was a steady increase in membership; from 494 in April, 1920, to over 1,300 the following year. Groups naturally formed in different states, state chairmen became a necessity, and at the annual meeting, April, 1921, regional chairmen were given up and it was decided that membership dues should be paid to state treasurers, a certain per cent being turned over from the state to the national treasurer.

The reports given at the 1921 meeting showed large and active groups. To tell of the unusual organization work in ~~one state~~ or the largest membership in another or the fight for justice for aliens in a third ~~might seem to underestimate the possibly harder struggle of another state where the result was less spectacular but the odds greater.~~

As a whole the United States section helped "fight the famine," one collection resulting in \$2,757 for the Hoover fund, while Miss Addams' single effort for the children amounted to many times that sum.

Direct communication with President Harding was held regarding the demands of the majority of the W. I. L. If we entered the League of Nations, membership must be opened on equal terms to all nations, the United States should not be bound to enforce decisions by military force or such blockade as cuts off from any nation the necessities of life, and the League should not be used to enforce the treaty of Versailles.

April  
1921

Delegates from seventeen states attended the annual meeting and a report of membership came from thirty-nine states. The unanimous vote for the program of work for the year 1921-22 was that the United States section of the W. I. L. organize an intensive campaign for disarmament, working through congressional district groups so that the voice of the women might be heard clearly in Washington; also that we co-operate with all other organizations working for the same end. The 1921 annual meeting was international in character; England, Japan, Ireland, Mexico, and Russia had representation, and as men and women of different nationalities spoke at public meetings and talked together it was made plain that a common purpose tends to make national lines disappear.

July  
1921

The Third International Congress was held in Vienna in July, 1921. Twenty-eight countries were represented and in the sessions and on committees, Germans, Poles, Hungarians, Greeks, Bohemians, women from nations still at war, conferred and discussed in the honest effort to serve the common cause of a new world. From China, Japan, Australia, and Mexico came women, and among the fraternal delegates were Mrs. Henry Villard, of New York, from the Women's Peace Society, Mrs. Helen Curtis from the Pan-African Congress, and Mrs. Maud Swartz from the Women's International Labor Congress. Many resolutions were adopted at the Congress, among them the following:

"Believing that the peace treaties contain the seeds of new wars, this Congress declares that a revision of the Peace Terms is necessary, and resolves to make this object its principal task." Other resolutions covered the endorsement of the rights of subject peoples, the development of economic and political freedom, and the initiation and support of laws looking to abolition of property privileges. Jane Addams was again elected international president and Emily G. Balch, secretary-treasurer.

A successful summer school was held at Salzburg, attended by hundreds of students from all over the world.

November  
1921

The office of the United States section of the W. I. L. was moved to Washington in November, 1921. Mrs. George T. Odell became the acting national chairman to fill the unexpired term of Miss Kittredge. Mrs. W. Thompson Burch was appointed treasurer.

December  
1921

In December, 1921, a conference of the United States section was held in Washington, at which Miss Balch reported the work of the international office and Miss Addams spoke of the Vienna Congress held in July, 1921.

March  
1922

Miss Balch told of the suffering in Austria due to the economic situation there and at her suggestion a committee was formed to work for extending the time of payment of Austria's debt to the United States. A resolution was introduced in Congress and passed in March, 1922.

Another accomplishment of the W. I. L. for the winter of 1921-22 was the passage of the Russian Medical Relief Bill. In March a committee was formed to work for the recognition of the *de facto* government of Russia. Mrs. Walter Cope, chairman, Miss Ellen Winsor, treasurer, and Miss Lucy Branham, executive secretary. This committee arranged a luncheon on April 18 at which Dr. Paul Reinsch, former Minister to China, and Senator Joseph I. France of Maryland spoke for the recognition of Russia and trade relations.

April  
1922

At the invitation of the United States section three representatives of the League in Europe, Mrs. Annot Robinson of England, Fraulein Gertrud Baer of Germany, and Mlle. Pottecher-Arnould of France arrived in America at the end of April to tour the country, speaking from the same platform in the cause of internationalism.

The annual meeting of the League was held in Washington in April. A new constitution was adopted, under which the National Board of Directors was reduced to eleven members elected by the annual meeting, and other members, not to exceed seven, whom the Board might appoint. The constitution provides for state branches with local autonomy. Mrs. Lucy Biddle Lewis of Lansdowne, Pa., was appointed national chairman, and Miss Sophia H. Dulles of Philadelphia was appointed national treasurer.

October  
1922

On October 15th Miss Amy Woods of Boston, who had just returned from seven months' study of European affairs in connection with International Headquarters in Geneva, became national secretary. Miss Woods met with the Executive Committee of the International

The National Board of Directors' meeting at Lansdowne, Pa., October 26-27 decided that though the time allowed was short, the section for the United States of the W. I. L. should send delegates to the Emergency Women's International Conference called by the International Executive Committee to meet at The Hague, Holland, December 7-9, 1922, on behalf of a NEW PEACE for a Europe now tottering to its ruin. Delegates were elected and steps taken looking toward representation from affiliated groups. This conference is to take the place of the Biennial Congress which was expected to convene in the summer of 1923.

December  
1922

Reports of the International Conference at The Hague were cabled to America, stating twenty nations were represented, with Miss Addams presiding. There were thirty delegates from the United States section. Resolutions were passed which included a demand for a world conference for a new peace, reasonable settlement of reparations and withdrawal of armies of occupation. Delegates and resolutions were sent to the International Trade Union Congress, which met the following week. Proposed action included appointment of committees to wait upon governments, to bring pressure upon the Entente Governments, mass meetings, and co-operation with other women's organizations. The International Executive Board passed resolutions in regard to the release of American political prisoners before Christmas.

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ability of future wars in order to create a foundation for intelligent political, civic and educational action.

**It urges:**

- (1) The dissemination of facts regarding the causes and consequences of war.
- (2) The organization of new branches and the steady development of membership.

The National Board will help to obtain the restoration of private property which was confiscated during the war in the United States and hopes to receive co-operation in this from the State Branches.

### **International Aims**

The ultimate goal of International and National work is the same, but for purposes of adjusting the International aims to National variations it has been found advisable for the National Sections to be wholly autonomous.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS of the Women's International League at Vienna, 1921, believing that the Peace Treaties contained seeds of new wars, made the revision of the Peace Terms its principal task. It regarded as one of the most important duties of the League of Nations the immediate evacuation of all occupied territories.

At The Hague, December, 1922, it demanded a New Peace based on New International Agreements, and its members resolved to work unremittingly by every means in their power to bring about the convening of a World Congress through the instrumentality of the League of Nations, of a single Nation, or a group of Nations, in order to achieve a New Peace.

### **It Recommended to the National Sections:**

THAT they insist upon the original meaning of the term "Disarmament" in its literal sense, instead of "Reduction of Armament," which would continue the danger of war on a relatively small scale;

THAT they urge upon the several governments a free trade policy, the abolition of trade boycotts and the pressing need for international co-operation, especially for the purpose of creating credit in order to avert a further breakdown in world trade and to restore production and purchasing power in Europe;

THAT they support law looking to the gradual abolition of property privileges (for instance, by means of taxation, death duties and land reform laws) and to the development of economic independence and individual freedom, and to work to awaken and strengthen among members of the possessing classes the earnest will to transform the economic system in the direction of social justice;

THAT they appoint committees to examine school texts, eliminating statements likely to foster misunderstanding and war, substituting statements calculated to promote respect and understanding;

THAT they urge their governments to appoint national committees of experts representing labor and science to examine existing auxiliary languages, and to later become part of an official international body which should finally decide on the universal auxiliary language;

THAT they formulate ways and means by which young people may be inspired to active work for permanent peace and constructive freedom.

Headquarters, Section for the United States,  
Room 305, 1403 H Street N. W.,  
Washington, D. C.,

April, 1923.

## Program and National and International Aims Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

### United States Program for 1923-24

The Section for the United States at the National Conference assembled at Washington, March 14-16, 1923, adopted the following program:

**INTERNATIONAL.** (1) Continuous efforts to obtain a New Peace in accordance with the International Resolution passed December, 1922. (2) Promotion of a widespread understanding of the Permanent International Court at The Hague. (3) Educational work leading to Congressional action on the "Outlawry of War."

**NATIONAL.** (1) Intensive and extensive educational work in regard to the new national military system incorporated in the National Defense Act of 1920, and which is being developed throughout the United States. (2) A systematic development of junior international leagues among young people. (3) Further organization of States by Congressional districts where practicable. (4) Establishment of an International House in Washington. (5) Co-operation with other organized groups.

### National Aims

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Section for the United States, in convention assembled at Washington, D. C., April, 1922, asserted its conviction "that the aim of all International Peace efforts should be to outlaw war itself and to abolish it as a legalized institution, instead of to regulate it; and that to this end a code of international law, based upon equity and justice between nations, as municipal law is based upon equity and justice between individuals, be erected, by which the waging of war be made a crime, defined and punishable under the terms of the code."

Further principles for which the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom of the United States has stood include the international control of seas and international waterways; the abolishment of secret covenants; democratic control of foreign policies; no transference of territory without the consent of its inhabitants; the removal of the economic causes of war; the participation of the United States in a League of Nations and a World Court of Justice; opposition to universal as well as to school military training; the education of youth in the ideals of peace; and a universal system of ethics to be prepared by an international commission for use in the schools of all countries.

Looking toward the realization of the above aims, the National Board recommends that the United States Section:

- (1) Support the Resolution of the Women's International League Congress of Vienna and of The Hague by making the Revision of the Peace terms its immediate International interest.
- (2) Continue its efforts on behalf of the peoples of the famine areas of Europe, the recognition of the present Governments of Russia and of Mexico and the withdrawal of American troops from Haiti and San Domingo.

For the immediate National Interest the National Board recommends:

Continued efforts to end the disgrace to the United States, both of the withholding of amnesty to political prisoners, and of the substitution of lynching or other forms of mob violence for the due process of law;

Particular study of all National, State and City laws, pending bills and Administrative policies which have direct or indirect bearing upon the po-

ONE PENNY.

# A NEW PEACE

## Report of the International Conference of Women

at

The Hague, 7 to 9 December, 1922

Organized by

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Maison Internationale, 6 Rue du Vieux Collège, Geneva, Switzerland.



CATHERINE MARSHALL. JANE ADDAMS. JEANNE MÉLIN.

THE PEACE MESSENGERS.

## Report of the Conference.

The Conference, summoned by the International Executive on the initiative of the Dutch Section, was held at the Hotel Wittebrug and was attended by delegates from 111 International and National Organizations from 20 different countries, representing over 20,000,000 members. Among those present were: Miss Jane Addams, Dr. Anita Augspurg, Fräulein Gertrud Baer, Miss Margaret Bondfield, M. Ferdinand Buisson, Mlle Marcelle Cappy, Fr. Thora Daugaard, Mlle Dejardin, Sir Willoughby Dickinson, Mme Donzova, Mme Duchène, Miss Honora Enfield, Dr. Fabian, Miss I. O. Ford, Miss Marion Fox, Dr. Franklin, Miss Ruth Fry, Prelat Giesswein, Fr. Vilma Glücklich, Mlle Gobat, Mevr. Kuyper van Harpen, Frau Heller, Mrs. Rose Henderson, Frau Hertzka, Mevr. Ramondt-Hirschmann, Miss Emily Hobhouse, Dr. Aletta Jacobs, Mme Jouve, Graf Harry Kessler, Dr. Mme Kodis, Mrs. Larssen, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Biddle Lewis, Dr. Marie Lueders, Miss Catherine Marshall, Mlle Jeanne Mélin, M. Paul Otlet, Sir George Paish, Mevr. Palthe, Lord and Lady Parmoor, Mme Plaminkova, Mlle Rihouet, Dr. Elisabeth Rotten, M. Ruysen, Dr. Naima Sahlbom, Mrs. John Scott, Miss Mary Sheepshanks, Dr. Helene Stoecker, Dr. Naida Surovzowa, Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, Dr. Mme Budzinska Tylicka, Mrs. Raymond Unwin, M. René Valfort, Mme Vambéry, Mme Vankova, Mme Madeleine Vernet, Mevr. Dr. de Vries-Bruins, Dr. Wegner, Dr. Ethel Williams, Prof. Dr. Gertrud Woker, Mr. Charles Zueblin.

The Secretary of the Dutch Organizing Committee was Mme Ramondt-Hirschmann, and the arrangements were in the hands of a local Dutch Committee.

The Conference was presided over throughout by Jane Addams, President of the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom. On December 7th, the Political aspects of the Peace Treaties

were discussed; on December 8th, the Economic; on December 9th, the Military and Psychological aspects. On the morning of Sunday, 10th, the general discussion was continued and on that afternoon there was held a Special Session of the Women's International League only, to discuss its own particular business. At this session it was decided to send Messengers to various Governments to take the report of the Conference and to press for action.

### THE MESSENGERS.

The Messengers of Peace who were appointed were the President, Jane Addams (U.S.A.); Jeanne Mélin, from the Ardennes (France); and Catherine Marshall, Vice-President of the League (Great Britain). They undertook to endeavour to interview members of the Governments in Holland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, England, and France. Mrs. Biddle Lewis (U.S.A.), on her return to America, was to present the message there in conjunction with Miss Maude Royden. If later on Messengers could be found to go to other countries, this would also be done.

What the chief resolution does is to demand a World Congress, in the conviction that all the Powers—late belligerents on both sides as well as neutrals—would be able to make a far more just and therefore more durable peace than was made by the Victors alone in 1919. The Messengers would remind the Neutrals that, under the constitution of the League of Nations, they may, "advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of Treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the Peace of the World." They would tell the Entente Governments of the misery and wrong of which they had heard reports at the Hague from unimpeachable witnesses; they would remind them of the wretchedness of Europe and appeal for a great act of statesmanship in the making of a New Peace based truly on the principles enunciated in the Preamble to the Covenant. They would urge the Governments of the Central Powers to be willing to meet half-way any proposals for a better settlement and any invitation to join in international co-operation.

### THE SPEECHES.

Miss Addams struck the key-note of the Conference in her opening sentences, saying that unless Treaties were based upon

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consent they were always liable to be upset by force. We must do away with the illusion that progress could be obtained by military force. The only sure foundations were justice, goodwill, and mutual understanding.

Mrs. Swanwick, in opening the discussion on the evil political effects of the Peace Treaties, maintained that their worst result was that they had "retarded the establishment of a League of Nations, universal, democratic, and fully effective." The Preamble of the Covenant laid down the principle of international co-operation, but it was impossible to found co-operation on a penal settlement. A false start had been made by excluding the Central Powers from membership of the League of Nations at its inception, and since then the handing about of populations against their will and the discreditable partitioning of the German colonies had weakened belief in the impartial justice of the League, while armies of occupation and the economic disasters caused by the Reparation clauses had so embittered feeling that it had become a serious problem how to get Germany, Russia, and America into the League. The only way was for the States Members of the League to conduct Foreign Affairs in such a way as to assure the States outside the League of the truly international spirit of the League. New Treaties were essential for this.

It has already become a tradition in the Women's International League that, if a wrong has been done, it should be the section belonging to the country which does the wrong that should appeal for right. So here, in all the indictments brought against the Treaty of Versailles, it was the French who were most insistent on the wrong, and they were supported by the British and Americans. The delegates from the German section were silent on this point (although several distinguished German guests gave evidence of facts from their own knowledge) and the special reports which have been asked for from the occupied areas were presented by an English Friend, Miss Marion Fox, and a Swedish lady, Mrs. Wägner Landquist. They agreed that the situation was very much worse than in August and that bitterness of feeling was greatly intensified in the Rhineland, partly owing to the distressing contrast between the poverty of the people and the wealth of the soldiers of the Armies of Occupation (one American soldier gets daily pocket money equal to the total weekly wage of a German workman); partly to the terrible exasperation of the housing need, owing to the exorbitant claims of the victors; partly

to the compulsory establishment of brothels for foreign soldiers, with consequent heavy charges on the inhabitants and the countless other insults and restrictions which must accompany the occupation of a land by a hostile army. Political intrigue to separate the Rhineland was also mentioned as a source of much ill-feeling and the growing anxiety of the medical profession with regard to the health of the people.

Mlle Jeanne Mélin warned the Conference that the presence of an army of occupation was a menace not only for the present but for the future. Men said, "Nous ne marcherons pas." But the young men were there in the Rhineland, and, if the order were given for the old men to march in, they would follow the young ones.

Sir George Paish gave an address at the opening of the discussion on the economic aspects. This was received with much interest, and it is hoped to publish his paper as a pamphlet. He outlined a plan by which the necessary credits to get industry and trade going again in Europe could be raised. These were to be guaranteed by countries all over the world on condition that Germany promised to pay when her trade and currency had revived. It was an absolutely essential condition for the raising of these credits that there should be security that this money should not be used for armies and navies, and Sir George suggested that a universal League of Nations was the organization required to ensure this. He warned the meeting that disaster was imminent and action must be speedy.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence pointed out that the armies of occupation had spent 54 millions, whereas reparations had brought in 50 millions only. The attempt to reduce Germany to a slave nation was reducing workers of other countries to a slave class. We used to protest against prison labour competing in the labour market, but German labour now was prison labour. He agreed with Sir George that disaster was imminent, but he would have liked to see the cancelling of all war debts.

Dr. Alice Salomon, taking up a phrase of Sir George's, contemplating the revival of a great industrial Germany, said that the idealistic Youth Movement in Germany has no such ambition, but is willing to live a hard life. Insult and oppression are injurious to a people, not hardship. It was good to see the French delegates pluckily facing the possibility of being called to account for their international attitude, and declaring that they should not evade

responsibility, but go home "*le front haut*"; and the Germans eagerly accepting from Sir George Paish the suggestion that what was wanted now from Germany was "a willing promise to pay."

Miss Bondfield made the solidarity of Labour her theme, and pressed home the fact that by lowering the standard of living of German workers, England and France were lowering the standard of their own. Again and again, in speeches from Mme Duchène, Mlle Dejardin, Mrs. Robinson, Dr. Tylicka, Mlle Mélin, and others, it became clear that a very large section of the Conference accepted the resolution only as a minimum demand, and had a well considered constructive economic policy which they could have put forward under other circumstances.

Mlle Pottecher Arnould believed that disarmament would come when soldiers refused to fight; there must be a general strike against war. Miss Honora Enfield believed that the existence of vast armaments made the establishment of a real peace impossible; the physical expression of an emotion tends to produce that emotion. She did not want the establishment of an international army with all the power and prestige it would acquire.

In opening the discussion on the psychological effects of the treaties, Mme Jouve said that in 1918 it was not only the Germans who were more peaceably minded, but the French also. Since then the war propaganda of the French Government had been successful and even educated people in France believed in Germany's sole guilt. They were having it always dinned into their ears also that Germany refused to pay. A Chinese wall of ignorance and antagonism to other countries was being raised in France, and only the masses, with a few choice spirits, were sick of the whole business. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence spoke eloquently of the vitiation of the intellectual life of Europe by the lie of the Treaty of Versailles. By breaking the pledge contained in the Armistice terms, the Allies had debased the moral coinage of the world. Sir Willoughby Dickinson, in speaking of the position of minorities under the treaties, suggested that the Women's International League might do a great work of reconciliation among national groups in the various states.

The fact that so much was excluded from discussion did, of course, make for unanimity on the one subject of demonstration, but it tended to a certain monotony, which was quite agreeably broken by M. Ruysen's lively attack, the only one delivered at the object of the Conference. He complained that the resolution was

negative, and roused some good-tempered laughter by the suggestion that women were on their trial, and would be called "hysterical" if they condemned without qualification all that had been done by diplomats. Besides, were we not proposing to go to those very same diplomats to ask them to change the Treaties? He wanted an explanation of the assertion that the Treaties had infringed President Wilson's Fourteen Points. (This was not given for want of time, but we may say that, with the exception of Points 7 and 8, every one of the "points" was infringed in the letter and the spirit, and the fact that President Wilson himself allowed the massacre of his own principles offers no excuse for others to do the same.) It was evident, however, that M. Ruysen was quite cordial in the good wishes he brought from the International Council of the League of Nations Unions. M. Otlet, another Belgian friend, rose to support the Conference very warmly against M. Ruysen's criticisms, and explained that the appeal we should make would not by any means be to the "same diplomats."

One of the dramatic moments of the Conference occurred when Mme Donzova arrived on the last day, having walked over the Polish frontier because of passport difficulties. Another, when Miss Marshall, having invited us to "Coué" about the possibility of establishing peace, expressed the wordless aspiration by singing a lovely sentence from Mozart. The Co-operative women and the War-Resisters received warm welcome.

### RESOLUTIONS FOR ACTION.

This Conference was a focusing of opinion held among very widely differing sections of interest and thought. For this reason it was considered well to set aside the long and reasoned series of resolutions which had been prepared and circulated, and to draft one short main resolution, which should be a sort of greatest common measure for the various demands. It was decided not to lay down any principles for a just peace (because one could not debate or even state these in three days), except the one great principle that it should be arrived at internationally, not sectionally, and the hard rule was made that no amendments would be allowed. This really did convert the gathering into a Demonstration, and as such it was taken. No vote was recorded against it and the few who abstained from voting were not hostile, but only held some reservation.

It must be understood, however, that the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has, from time to time, laid down its principles in the matter of industrial and international peace, and will act upon them as well as, from time to time, amend and add to them.

Besides the important decision to send Messengers to the Governments, the W.I.L.P.F. at its special session on Sunday afternoon received with approval the report of united action to be taken by the national sections in the Entente Countries in the matter of Reparations and Armies of Occupation. It then passed the resolution to be sent to the Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions (to which the W.I.L.P.F. had sent a large delegation), agreed on a message to be sent to the next Reparation Conference, and recommended various ways of making propaganda for a New Peace effective.

## Delegates from the Women's International League.

There were delegations from the Women's International League Sections in the following twenty countries:—Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, Irish Free State, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Roumania, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, United States of America.

## Other Organizations represented.

### Austria.

International Roman Catholic League.  
Oesterreichischer Versoehnungsbund.

### Belgium.

Maison du Peuple.

### Bulgaria.

American Board of Foreign Missions.

**Canada.**

Calgary's Peace Society.  
 Calgary's Peoples' Homes.  
 W.I.L. Canadian Women's Labour League.  
 Women of Manitoba Labour Churches.

**Czecho-Slovakia.**

National Council of Women.  
 Deutsche Völkerbundliga.  
 Verband deutscher Frauenvereinigungen.  
 Le Cœur Maternel.

**France.**

Association Républicaine des Anciens Combattants.  
 Fellowship of Reconciliation.  
 La Ligue de la Jeune République.  
 La Ligue des Femmes contre la Guerre.  
 La Ligue pour les Droits de l'Homme.  
 Union Populaire pour la Paix Universelle.

**Germany.**

Bund der Kriegsdienstgegner.  
 Bund entschiedener Schulreformer.  
 Deutsches Friedenskartell.  
 Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft.  
 Deutscher Pazifistischer Studentenbund.  
 Frauenausschuss der deutschen Liga für Völkerbund.  
 Internationaler Arbeitskreis für Erneuerung der Erziehung.  
 Internationale Jugendliga, Deutscher Zweig.  
 Weltjugendliga Verband Deutschland.

**Great Britain.**

Fabian Society.  
 Federation of Women's Village Councils.  
 Fellowship of Reconciliation.  
 Fight the Famine Council.  
 Friends' Relief Committee.  
 League of Church Militant.  
 Miners' Federation: Great Britain.  
 National Peace Council.  
 No More War Movement.  
 Society of Friends.

Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organizations.

Union of Democratic Control.  
 Women's Co-operative Guild.

**International Organizations.**

International Association of Sociology.  
 International Co-operative Women's Committee, England.  
 International Council of Women.  
 International Federation of League of Nations Unions, Belgium.

League of Nations (International Labour Office).

Mouvement Pacifique Chrétien, Pax, France.

Movement towards Christian International.

Paco: Bilthoven, Holland.

Pan-Idealistic Group, England.

Save the Children Fund.

World Alliance for Promoting Friendship through the Churches.

**Holland.**

Thirty-nine organizations were represented at the Congress.

**Italy.**

Bureau International de Sociologie Torino.

**Rumania.**

National Council of Women.

**Sweden.**

Swedish Association of Women Teachers.  
 Swedish School Organizations for Peace.  
 Women's Christian Temperance Union.

**Ukraine.**

Alliance Générale des Femmes Ukrainiennes.  
 Conseil National des Femmes Ukrainiennes.

**United States of America.**

American Association to abolish War.  
 Barbara Frietsche Section of the Steuben Club.  
 Fellowship of Reconciliation, New York.  
 Five Years' Meeting of Friends.  
 Society of Friends.

## Resolutions.

### I.

THIS Conference, composed of 111 International and National Organizations, representing twenty million men and women, and organized by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, declares that the present terrible state of Europe, and its reactions on the rest of the world are the result, not only of the World War, but also in very large measure of the existing Peace Treaties.

These Treaties are contrary to the Armistice Terms (e.g. President Wilson's fourteen points). They are inconsistent with the spirit of the League of Nations as expressed in the Preamble of the Covenant, and do, in fact, "endanger the peace of the world" (Article 19 of the Covenant). They have proved disastrous alike from the political, economic, military, and psychical aspects.

They have:

- (a) Prevented economic reconstruction on a basis of international co-operation and the satisfaction of international interests, by treating this matter as one to be settled by those nations alone which achieved military predominance in the World War.
- (b) Recognized and created animosities and suspicions which make disarmament by land, sea, and air increasingly difficult, and the abolition of chemical and bacteriological warfare practically impossible.
- (c) Retarded the establishment of a League of Nations universal, democratic, and fully effective.

Therefore

This Conference demands A NEW PEACE based on New International Agreements, and its members resolve to work unremittingly by every means in their power to bring about the convening of A WORLD CONGRESS through the instrumentality of the League of Nations, of a single nation, or a group of nations, in order to achieve

**A NEW PEACE.**

### II.

This Conference, called by the International League for Peace and Freedom, representing twenty million men and women, meeting at The Hague, urges the Allied Prime Ministers meeting in London on December 9th to come to such an agreement on the question of reparations as shall, by restoring confidence, lead to the stabilization of the exchanges, the recovery of International Trade, and the revival of International confidence.

### III.

This Conference recognizes that every regional agreement helps on universal disarmament, and congratulates the nations (Russia, Finland, Poland, Esthonia, Lithuania, and Livonia) which, at the Conference in Moscow, have initiated a movement for progressive disarmament.

## Proposals for Action.

### I.

The W.I.L.P.F. national sections in Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Italy propose to take immediate common action in putting pressure upon their respective Governments to bring about a reasonable settlement of the demands made by the Allies upon Germany for reparations. Further, to unite in making representations to any International Organization or meeting which has the question of reparations under consideration. Further, to appoint for the purpose of joint action a Correspondent in each of these countries for intercommunication. Further, to prepare and exchange literature and a list of suitable speakers. They will invite other members of the Entente countries to co-operate.

### II.

The W.I.L.P.F. national sections in Great Britain, France, Belgium, and the United States propose to take immediate common action in putting pressure upon their respective Governments to withdraw the Armies of Occupation from the Rhineland, and to unite in making representations to any International Organization or meeting which has the question of the Armies of Occupation under consideration.

## III.

Resolution for presentation to the I.F.T.U. Congress at The Hague, December 10th to 15th, 1922.

This Conference, composed of 111 international and national organizations representing 20 million men and women and organized by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, welcomes most warmly the declaration made by the Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions held in Rome in 1922 that "The Fight against Militarism and War and for World Peace, based upon the fraternization of the peoples, is one of the principal tasks of the Trade Union Movement"; that "it is, above all, the duty of the International Trade Union Movement to combat the concluding or maintaining of alliances or agreements which might lead to concerted military actions," and to take united and international measures to "counteract all wars which may threaten to break out in the future." The organizations represented at this Conference desire to stand side by side with the workers in this effort, and welcome the initiative taken by the I.F.T.U. in calling an International Congress at The Hague with the object of organizing co-operative international action for the attainment of these ends.

This Conference notes with satisfaction that the I.F.T.U. gives its support to international efforts that are being made to secure control and restriction of the manufacture of munitions and war material of every kind. We ourselves go further, standing for total universal disarmament, national and international, and we appeal to the workers of the world to co-operate with us in this demand, and in the campaign we are initiating at this Conference to secure the abolition of the present disastrous Peace Treaties and the calling of a World Congress to achieve A NEW PEACE based on international justice, democracy, and goodwill.

## IV.

This Conference views with the greatest apprehension the international dangers of any military occupation of the Ruhr, and urges upon the Reparations Conference, which is shortly to be held in Brussels, that the best way of settling the problem of international indebtedness due to the war would be to abandon at once both indemnities and inter-Allied war debts, and make the restoration of all the devastated areas a matter for international agreement.

It heartily welcomes the suggestion advanced at the Assembly of the League of Nations (1922, Report of the 3rd Committee) that the whole question of reparations should be considered from an international standpoint, and urges the Reparations Conference to recommend to the Entente Powers that they should secure the good offices of the League of Nations in bringing together all parties for the settlement of the whole question.

## V.

(a) That mass demonstrations should be held, in co-operation as far as possible with all other friendly organizations and individuals, such as religious bodies, workers by hand and brain, youth movements, and the International Association of Former Soldiers.

(b) That this should be accompanied by an intensive press campaign.

(c) That the question of a New Peace should be made a prominent feature of all political and election work.

(d) That deputations should be sent to members of the Parliament, governments, and political parties.

(e) That newspapers might be induced to have a questionnaire on the question of making completely new international agreements, such as was carried out by the French paper *Le Matin*.

## Evening Meetings.

On Wednesday, 6th Dec., a Reception was held at the Hotel Wittebrug, when Mevr. Ramondt-Hirschmann welcomed the delegates.

On Thursday, 7th Dec., a public meeting was held at the Dierentuin. Miss Addams in the chair; speakers: Lord Parmoor, Mlle Dejardin, Dr. Marie Lueders, Marcelle Cappy, and M. Zueblin.

On Friday, 8th Dec., a public meeting was held at the Dierentuin. Miss Marshall in the chair; speakers: Dr. Alice Salomon, Mlle Mélin, Prelat Giesswein, Mme Plaminkova, M. Paul Otlet.

On Saturday, 9th Dec., a public meeting was held at Ruyterstraat. Mevr. Ramondt Hirschmann in the chair; speakers: M. Ruyssen, Fräulein Heymann, Miss Margaret Bondfield, Graf Kessler, Emily Hobhouse, and Dr. Elisabeth Kotten.

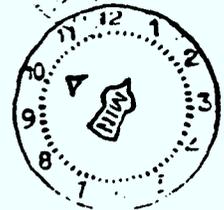
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GENERAL COUNSEL: GOOD, CEILE, BORD & WESCOTT  
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 SIX PEOPLE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF INVESTIGATION  
 May 5th, 1926 FILES DIVISION

Mr. J. E. Hoover,  
 Department of Justice,  
 Washington, D. C.



Dear Mr. Hoover:

If you haven't the time to read the attached report, turn it over to your women folks and if they are members of any clubs, let them get started in spreading the gospel to their friends about the activities of Miss Jane Addams and others of her ilk, who are doing their level best, some wittingly and others as mere pawns, to break down the morale of our citizens and eventually emasculate our national defense.

I trust that you will give this matter earnest consideration and will do your bit toward disseminating the information contained in the report. I feel quite certain that you will admit that this movement is fraught with grave danger for the common weal as this organization had the audacity to speak for 12,000,000 women voters.

Very truly yours,

*H. A. Jung*  
 COMMISSIONER  
 H. A. Jung

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 BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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*Mr. Hoover  
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CONFIDENTIAL REPORT ANNUAL  
CONVENTION OF THE WOMEN'S  
INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR  
PEACE AND FREEDOM (REFERRED  
TO IN REPORT AS WILPF)  
APRIL 25-26, 1926

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The United States Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom were in Convention assembled at Lafayette Hotel, Washington, D.C., April 25-26, 1926.

On Saturday and Sunday, the 24th and 25th, at the Lafayette Hotel, the Joint Peace Conference assembled at the invitation extended by the WILPF, in which the following organizations participated:

- Association to Abolish War
- Fellowship of Reconciliation
- Fellowship of Youth for Peace
- Peace Association of Friends in America
- Peace Committee of the Phila. Yearly Meeting of Friends
- Peace and Service Committee of (Hicksite) Phila. Yearly Meeting
- War Register's International, U.S. Section
- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, U.S. National and State Sections

Woman's Peace Party

Women's Peace Union of the Western Hemisphere.

At that Convention, cooperative plans were made relative to the disarmament program to be put into effect the following year.

The opening meeting of the WILPF was held on Sunday evening at the Play House, Dr. Anna Garlin Spencer presiding. The topic of the evening was "America's Next Steps Towards Peace". The speakers of the evening were Dr. William I. Hull of Swarthmore College (see Lusk's Report relative to Pacifist activities during the war), whose subject was "Disarmament"; Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead on "Arbitration" (see Lusk's Report relative to Lucia Ames Mead's Pacifist activities previous to and during the war). At this meeting, \$1000.00 was raised to defray expenses of delegate to Dublin Congress.

Hannah Clothier Hull, National Chairman, presided at the Monday morning session. She is the wife of Dr. Wm. I. Hull of Swarthmore College.

Some of the outstanding personalities who took pertinent interest in the discussions of the Monday morning session were Jane Addams, Madame Ramondt Eirschman of Holland, Mrs. Berger wife of Victor Berger, Mrs. Norman Hapgood, Miss Boynton, Mrs. Lucy Biddle Lewis of Pennsylvania, Mrs. Lola Maveric Lloyd divorced wife of William Bross Lloyd, Emily Green Balch (see Lusk's Report, also see Socialism in Colleges by Woodworth Clum), all of whom are well known for their potent influence in directing the thought and molding public opinion for abolition of Army and Navy, F.O.T.C., and the abolition of military training in schools and colleges and for World Disarmament.

The outstanding feature of the morning session was the presentation of the petition to President Coolidge, "To End War" through universal abolition of Army and Navy and complete disarmament of the world. Miss Jane Addams led the delegation of eleven women who were chosen to represent different sections of the country. It was discovered that there was no red, white and blue ribbon to tie the petition, and amidst much laughter and applause it was stated that they would not let the D.A.R. get ahead of them, and one of the delegates offered at the last minute to go out and get the ribbon to tie the petition in order that it would have the patriotic atmos-

On the return of the delegation, Miss Jane Addams reported that they were received by the President with all the courtesy that is extended to delegates and that the President stated he was very glad to see them and that he was pleased to see that women had so energetically taken hold of the question of disarmament, and that by doing so they would render a very great service in the end. It was also stated that while the delegation was being received by the President, the President's Secretary opened the door three times to show them that there were other delegations waiting and that they should hurry, but that the President and Miss Addams were conversing, therefore they did not move hurriedly on. It was also said that when they went to the White House to be received by the President, the comments through the hall were, "There goes Jane Addams and her Peace Delegation".

Monday afternoon. Plans for the International Congress in Dublin were discussed very thoroughly and discussion of future plans and policies, including Arbitration, Compulsory Military Training, Imperialism, Disarmament, Outlawry of War, etc. In order that Miss Addams' advice might be obtained as to how these plans should be most effectively carried out, since she was leaving that night for New York "to obtain some money for the WILPF", the program was changed and the plans and policies for future work were taken up.

One of the most important angles of the drive for disarmament was to win over the teachers, in order to mold the opinions of the youth of the country, and that angle is to be pushed in this year's program of work of the WILPF. Katherine D. Blake, head of the kindergarten of Chicago, is a member of the WILPF National Board, and was spoken of as delegate, and possibly elected alternate, to the Dublin Conference, as she will be abroad during the summer.

Lectures and discussions in schools and colleges were also emphasized, and Miss Dorothy Detzer, the Executive Secretary of the U. S. Section, gave a wonderful report of her tours in West Virginia, speaking to student conferences and awakening interest and discussions relative to disarmament, abolition of training camps and militarism in schools and colleges, etc.

A telegram was read from Miss Sophia Dulles, of Philadelphia, requesting that Miss Detzer appear before the hearings on the Welsh Bill and speak to the Committee in favor of same, which, in substance, states that no Federal money shall be paid to any college which requires military training as a prerequisite for graduation.

For your information I will state that John Neven Sayre, representing the Joint Peace Conference called on April 24-25 by invitation extended by the WILPF, has asked for a full day at the hearing in order to present the combined strength of this joint Peace Conference, composed of ten organizations, to use their influence in the passage of this Bill.

Another bill approved and being worked for by the WILPF is Senate Resolution No. 22. The Capper-Johnson Bill No. 1620 is not held in favor by the WILPF, as it is supposed to be a new venture in oiling the machinery of war. It was stated that this bill would be worked for by many who honestly believe that it would be a deterrent to war, but that the WILPF believes that the abolition of conscription itself in every form, whether soldiers or labor, would be the surest death knell to the whole war system, so the League is attacking first the principle of conscription. It was stated that while this bill clearly provides for the conscription of labor, that not one penny of the wealth of this country would be conscripted, in spite of all the fine slogans sung by its sponsors. An excellent analysis of this bill (from the Pacifist standpoint) can be procured by writing to the National Council for the Prevention of War.

In discussing the Disarmament Conference at Geneva and as to its relation to their program for peace, Miss Addams stated that the mother of Hugh Gibson was a member of the WILPF and that she also happened to know Allen Winslow, who is unofficially a member of the U. S. Commission and is now at Geneva. It is also supposed, but not checked, that Sophia Dulles, at onetime Treasurer of the Pennsylvania Branch of the WILPF, who sent the telegram that Miss Detzer represent the WILPF at the hearings on the Welsh Bill, is a cousin of Allen Dulles of the State Department who is also on the Commission.

One of the plans for increasing the power and effectiveness of the WILPF throughout the U.S.A., was to bring within of clubs and having its membership placed on the International Relations Committee of all organizations. There is close contact with the League of Women Voters. Miss Zoria Baber of Chicago, member of the WILPF and also of the League of Women Voters, together with Emily Green Balch, Mrs. Hinton of New York, Charlotte Atwood of Washington and Miss Grace Watson of Philadelphia, were members of the party organized by the WILPF to visit Haiti and investigate conditions there, a report of the visit having been made to the Conference at the evening session.

In advancing the interest of the WILPF, strict instructions were given to avoid press publicity which it was stated was hostile to the WILPF, and also to steer clear of the Legion Auxiliary, which was even more hostile than the Legion itself, and not to come in contact with the D.A.R. in their organization work.

Mrs. Berger stated that she was handicapped by being labelled, but that she had been enabled to work out a plan for obtaining money by sending leaflets to all people who were accustomed to contribute to community activities, charities, and otherwise, just before these contributions were made, asking that a certain percentage of their usual contributions be given for peace; and also letters had been written to philanthropic individuals, asking contributions to the Peace fund. Mrs. Berger stated that the result of writing ten letters was \$300. She also stated that the Madison Branch of the WILPF took charge of its legislative program and had been doing splendid work among the law makers.

#### Finances of the WILPF

The Treasury seems to be in good condition, with a goodly surplus of \$20,000 is appropriated annually for the expense of the National Headquarters at Washington. Miss Addams stated that the expense of publishing the Pax Special, sent out from Geneva, was made by contributions from the Garland Fund. When a delegate from Massachusetts got up and stated on the floor that there had been criticisms on account of the WILPF using the Garland Fund, Miss Addams replied that it was called the American Fund for Public Service (donated by Charles Garland, eccentric Massachusetts millionaire, founder of April Farm "love colony" near Allentown, Pa., recently convicted and sentenced to sixty days because of the death of an infant born by Betina Hovoy, one of his free-love wives. Miss Addams seems not averse to having the WILPF accept money from such a creature for the purposes of tearing down our National Defense Act, and Garland himself is an admitted "Red") and that \$200 a month went for the publication of the Pax Special, while \$50 a month was appropriated to help out on Miss Doty's salary.

Miss Madeline Z. Doty, editor of the Pax Special, is the wife of Roger N. Baldwin, whose activities are too well known to comment on. Miss Doty was also chosen a delegate to the Conference in Dublin.

Miss Addams stated that America paid the expenses of the WILPF at the Headquarters at Geneva and that \$500 a month was sent regularly for its maintenance, and that it was expected that America would contribute funds to pay the expenses of all delegates from all of the countries which were too poor financially to meet the expenses of their delegates. An "Appeal" included in the pamphlet "What is the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom?" circulated at the Conference, states:

"May we ask your help toward defraying the expenses of the Fifth International Congress to be held in Dublin, Ireland, in July, 1926.

Delegates are already planning to come from twenty European countries--from India, China, Japan, Canada, United States, South America and Mexico.

At least Ten Thousand Dollars must be secured in America to make certain the success of this Congress. Such a sum provides the expenses of the Congress, helps finance the International Summer School, and assures the continuation of the vital work being done through the International office of the League at Geneva.

Please make checks payable to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and mail to Jane Addams, Hull-House, 800 South Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. The fund will be administered with the most rigid economy through the international officers."

It is interesting to note that at this biennial congress, reports will be made from different countries as to the best ways and means of establishing the NEW SOCIAL ORDER in place of the existing social conditions. This question, which was taken up at the last biennial congress in Washington in May, 1924, is to be threshed out at the Dublin Conference.

Leading women of the WILPF in every country were selected to study and formulate plans for the establishment of this New Social Order, which, in its last analysis, is World Socialism.

#### Periodicals Circulated

Among the pamphlets given out at this Conference was "Military Training in Schools and Colleges of the United States" by Winthrop D. Lane, recommended by Miss Jane Addams, Senator Wm. E. Borah, Prof. John Dewey, Rabbi Stephen Wise, Carrie Chapman Catt, Zona Gale, Senator LaFollette, James H. Maurer, Mary E. Wooley, Kirby Page, John Neven Sayre, Senator Shipstead, Oswald G. Villard, Thos. Q. Harrison and other representative, outstanding members of Pacifist and Youth Movements in the U. S. A.

Another pamphlet distributed was "Security and World Peace", a Radic Debate in Boston, Oct. 1925, by Lucia Ames Mead and Rev. Raymond Grant. This pamphlet is published by the National Council for the Prevention of War, Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead being Vice Chairman of that organization. Pledge cards for financial contributions were also circulated, and a little pamphlet called "What is the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom?" containing an Appeal, which was quoted on a preceding page.

A most interesting "Outline History of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom", compiled by Emily Green Balch, was also circulated. This outline states on page 12, "No sort of pledge is or ever has been required for membership either nationally or internationally." This is rather unusual when we examine the pamphlet "America Menaced by Militarism" by Harriet Connor Brown, at that time a member of the Executive Board of the WILPF, circulated and sold by the WILPF at their annual convention in Washington in 1922, which contains, on page 31, this:

#### "SIGN THIS PLEDGE"

"Believing that true peace can be secured only through reconciliation and good will and that no cause justifies the organized destruction of human life, I urge immediate and universal disarmament and promise never to aid in any way the prosecution of war.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_

Tear off this slip; sign it, and send, with 25 cents, to U.S. Section, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 125 East 37th Street, New York City. If you are a member of the League, this fee is not necessary. Membership dues in the League are \$1.00 per annum."

At the Washington meeting of the members of the WILPF in April, 1923, Mrs. Brown, still a member of the Executive Board, stated: "I admit that the WILPF did not make the oath a test of membership, but you all know that we agreed, in our hearts, to the pledge. It was not made a test of membership because some of the members thought that it would stand in the way of an increased membership. Some of the members

thought we must have a big membership...but we all agree to that in our hearts, if we stand for peace. \* \* \* I think the pledge should be made a test of membership. All of us agreed in 1922, that it should be made a test of membership--or most of us agreed, anyway. I stand by what I said. The rest of you are backing down....I stand for what I said, and I am the most vulnerable, the only vulnerable member of the Executive Board. My husband's job could be taken from him in a minute--but I stand by what I said. I would not help in any way any more than I would kill a member of my family, or eat a baby."

In the official proceedings of the second and third Executive Congresses of Women at Zurich in 1919 and at Vienna in 1921, over which Miss Addams presided as President of the WILPF, the official report states, May 12, 1919, on page 156:

"Pledge to Work for Peace"

"Emily Balch stood and raising her hand, invited all present to join her in pledging themselves to do everything in their power towards the ending of war and the coming of permanent peace."  
The whole assembly rose and pledged themselves.

"Yolla Hertzky moved, seconded by Madeline Doty, the following resolution:

"The International Congress resolves that the National Sections be urged, in case of the threat or the declaration of war, to organize women to refuse their support immoney, work or propaganda."

Page 160:

"Martha Larsen moved the following amendment:

This International Congress of Women recognizes that a strike of women against all kinds of war can only be effective if taken up internationally. This Congress therefore urges the National Sections to take up work for an international agreement between women to refuse their support of war in money, work or propaganda."

Another interesting thing about the new "Outline History" which is being circulated by the WILPF in this year of 1926, is that it omits the fact that Miss Pethwick Lawrence of England and Madame Rosika Schwimmer of Hungary came over to the United States and addressed meetings from one end of the country to the other in 1915, creating the atmosphere for the organization of the Woman's Peace Party, Miss Jane Addams being elected National Chairman. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, together with Miss Jane Addams, called the Convention which resulted in the organization of this Woman's Peace Party, which is now the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom. The other officers were Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, Mrs. Henry Villard, Mrs. Louis F. Post, Mrs. John J. White, Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Mrs. Wm. I. Thomas, Mrs. Ella Daggett Carston, Miss S.P. Breckenridge and Mrs. Glendower Evans.

This information relative to Pethwick Lawrence of England and Rosika Schwimmer of Hungary was printed in all previous outlines of history of the WILPF, but is eliminated from the 1926 outline compiled by Emily Green Balch.

Another thing omitted from the 1926 Outline History is, quoted from the old outlines of history, that the WILPF in 1920 sent a delegation to Washington to present in person to the State Department, our protest against blockades and the seizure for deportation and exile of those designated as Reds. In the 1926 issue it states that a delegation was sent to Washington to present to the Secretary of State appeals for the release of prisoners of war and conscientious objectors and to present arguments against the hunger blockade then still in force, and against "Unjust deportations" (for an authoritative account see "The Deportation Delirium of 1920" by Louis F. Post, Asst. Secretary of Labor at that time).

Another change in the new Outline History. Where it is stated in the previous outlines "that the U. S. Government be urged to recognize the de facto government of Russia", there is added in the new Outline "not on account of approving its principles or acts, but as a part of a general policy and in the belief that normal contacts must tend toward better conditions in Russia."

It seems to be the policy to eliminate from all new literature for propaganda purposes, anything that might connect this organization in the minds of the public with Soviet Russia.

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Another point which was decided as of benefit to the organization was settled by Miss Jane Addams when a delegate stated that in the drive for new membership the object would have to be explained to the prospective new members and there seemed to be a difference of opinion as to the object of the League as stated in 1921 and in 1924 by the International Congresses. Miss Addams replied that in places and countries where it would obtain better results to state the object of the League as that decided upon in 1921, to so state it. In other places where the 1921 object would not be so effective, to state the object of the League as that which was decided in 1924.

It was stated that the WILPF had put fear into the hearts of the people on account of the strides it had made, and the power it had in forming public opinion and accomplishing results for disarmament, etc.

They paid their respects to Assistant Secretary of War MacNider and to Mr. Fred Marvin, Editor in Chief of the New York Commercial.

The last session was Executive Session, therefore, as yet the resolutions adopted have not been obtained.

It was learned that Miss Mary Winsor of Philadelphia, one of the proponents of the slacker oath of 1922 Convention, is now travelling in Japan, speaking for the peace societies. It was also stated by Miss Alice Hamilton that peace work in Russia is being done under great difficulty.

Some of the outstanding old workers of the WILPF who occupied strategic positions in the organization in 1922 were not in evidence at this congress. Harriet Connor Brown, Mrs. Odell, Florence Kelley, Mary Winsor, Mrs. John J. White of New York and many others who were powerful factors in 1921 were not in evidence. These women above named were prominent in the Woman Bloc which was formed by the Women's Committee for progressive, political action, which did such active work and had such influence in the LaFollette campaign, and are doubtless concentrating their efforts along political lines.

PRELIMINARY PROGRAMME  
of the

Fifth International Congress WILPF, Dublin, Ireland

Place-----National University Buildings  
Date-----July 8th to July 15th, 1926, inclusive  
Subject-----NEXT STEPS TOWARDS PEACE.

Under this topic come first the things that cause war.

Exploitation and Oppression.

- a) Imperialism, Economic and Colonial
- b) Relations of Minorities and Majorities
- c) Militarism

The things that do away with war.

Non-Violence.

- a) Cooperation
- b) Conciliation and Arbitration
- c) Democratic Control
- d) Disarmament

Under the head "Next Steps Towards Peace" each National Section is to prepare a report stating the conditions in their respective countries which are likely to cause war, and giving their suggestions as to the immediate steps which should be taken.

\* \* \* \* \*

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **PITTSBURGH, PA.**

FILE NO. **100-607**

REPORT MADE AT <b>PITTSBURGH, PA.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>4/13/42</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>2/26;3/5/42</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>E. L. BOYLE</b>
TITLE <b>WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Allegheny County Branch of subject organization has headquarters at 206 Stanwix Street, Pittsburgh. Local officers set forth. Purpose of organization is maintenance of international peace. Activities include lobbying and dissemination of propaganda to this end, but also include advocacy of protection of civil rights. Organization not Communistic in Pittsburgh.

- C -

**REFERENCE:** Letter to Bureau dated May 6, 1940.

**DETAILS:** AT PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

Confidential Informant T-1 advised that the subject organization has its headquarters in four rooms on the second floor of 206 Stanwix Street and that it has been in this location since 1935. T-1 advised that the organization has been in existence in Pittsburgh for many years, at least since before 1930. She supplied a list of officers of the local branch of the organization, and these are as follows:

**President:** MRS. BERNARD C. CLAUSEN (ELIZABETH)  
4425 Schenley Farms Terrace

**Vice Presidents:** MRS. H. S. DALEY (BESS)  
1520 Murray Avenue

MRS. J. FRANKLIN DALEY  
48 Hemphill Street

APPROVED AND FORWARDED

*J. C. Thompson*

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

61-1538-75

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MAY

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MRS. VERNE WRIGHT (JEAN)  
4339 Dakota Street

MRS. J. WARREN HANSON (MARJORIE HANSON)  
5635 Darlington Road

MRS. AUGUST HILLER (BERTHA S.)  
730 S. Negley Avenue

MRS. MAX HENRICI (HILDA S.)  
McAllisters Crossroads, Coraopolis Heights

Corresponding Secretary:

MRS. PRAFULLA MUKERJI (ROSE)  
5475 Bartlett Street

Recording Secretary:

MRS. J. C. MCCOMBS (SARA)  
East McKeesport

Treasurer:

MRS. J. A. JOHNSTON (RUTH)  
614 Kewanna Avenue

Previous presidents of the organization in Pittsburgh have been  
MRS. CHARLES HEIZENSTEIN, and MRS. PEMBERTON B. WEST.

According to T-1, the Western Pennsylvania Field Secretary of the  
organization is MRS. GEORGE BRAY, whose husband works for the Pennsylvania and  
Lake Erie Railroad and who lives in Baldwin Township, outside of Carrick,  
Pennsylvania.

T-1 advised that the purpose of the organization is international  
peace. T-1 supplied the writer with a history of the organization, and this  
is being forwarded to the Bureau with this report, not being set forth in the  
report verbatim. The history shows that the Women's International League was  
founded in Holland in 1915 and that JANE ADDAMS was elected head of the organi-  
zation. It was founded to present proposals to the heads of nations during  
the last World War. The proposals included a permanent court of justice,  
abolition of secret treaties, denial of the right of conquest, and world wide  
disarmament, beginning with abolition of private manufacture of munitions.

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A folder was presented to the writer by Informant T-1, and this states that the United States Section of the Women's International League is set up in state branches, in turn divided into local units, which carry on active legislative and educational work. It states that legislative work is largely directed from Washington by Miss DOROTHY DEPZER, the national executive secretary. Study groups, church activity, public meetings, radio talks, personal service, are carried by local groups.

T-1 advised that the activities of the group include the spreading in various ways of propaganda to promote peace. She stated that one of their projects is to campaign to get the department stores to sell toys to children which are of a constructive peacetime nature and to discourage the selling of war toys. She said that the local group has study classes which meet twice a month and regular meetings are held once a month. She advised that the local group had a membership as large as 500 within the past five years but at the present time the group is down to a membership of about 200. She stated that since the war they have lost a great number of their Jewish members. She said that in western Pennsylvania there are two additional branches, one in Erie, Pennsylvania, and one in Johnstown, Pennsylvania. She stated further that the price to be a member is \$1 a year for a local membership and \$6 a year for an international membership. She stated that there are no restrictions as to color, religion, or race, and although the majority of the members are Pacifists, this is not a prerequisite. One of the projects under way by the local group, according to T-1, is a project to get money to bring over to this country a refugee German family which is now stranded in Sweden.

Another recent project, according to T-1, was a lobby in the Pennsylvania legislature to get relief for aliens. T-1 stated that at the present time the league takes the position that this country is committed to a course of action which the league can not oppose, and they are now looking forward to organization after the war. She stated that one thing that they will surely oppose is the conscription of women. She stated that they would be in favor of registration of women but not conscription. She said that one of their projects is to propagandize for the maintenance of American democracy through the protection of civil liberties, during the period of the war. According to T-1 and according to literature given to the writer by T-1, the entire organization is supported by membership dues and contributions. In addition to this, the local organization has an annual musical to raise funds. At this musical is presented typical music of different nationality groups, and it is shown by this that the arts and culture are international and are not local.

100-607

T-1 stated that although the national headquarters of the organization are in Washington, D. C., the National Literature Distribution Department is in Philadelphia, at 1924 Chestnut Street.

T-1 stated that the local branch of the league had a booth at the last Allegheny County Fair, at which they distributed their peace literature. There is no evidence that any of the officers of the subject organization are Communists, and, as a matter of fact, this organization in Pittsburgh did not follow the Communist Party line on June 22, when Russia and Germany went to war, but they maintained their cry for peace instead of advocating, as the Communist Party did, all-out aid for Russia. T-1 stated that the only time the Community Party line and the policy of the International League was parallel, was during the period of the German-Russian alliance, during which the Communist Party was advocating peace, and in that way adopted for themselves the policy of the International League.

There is being forwarded to the Bureau with this report a five-page folder containing a history of the Women's International League, U. S. Section, and, also, a small circular setting forth the officers of the U. S. Section of the subject organization.

The following are being retained in the Pittsburgh File:

- (1) A letterhead of the local branch of the subject organization
- (2) A throwaway entitled "1914 Again?"
- (3) A throwaway entitled "Children's Toys," in which it is advocated that people buy peace toys instead of war toys.
- (4) A throwaway entitled "Why Not a World Community?"
- (5) A circular entitled "Religion and World Peace," which is "a brief guide on methods for conducting peace work through the channels of organized religion."
- (6) A bibliography and price list which can be used to order literature from the Women's International League, Distribution Department, Philadelphia
- (7) A one-page mimeographed throwaway entitled "Toy Committee," explaining the policy of the league with regard to toys

Since there is no indication that this organization is subversive in Pittsburgh, this case is being closed.

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Enclosures: To the Bureau

- (1) History of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
- (2) A circular entitled "W. I. L. Carries On"

- C L O S E D -