

# PAX INTERNATIONAL

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom aims at uniting women in all countries who are opposed to every kind of war, exploitation and oppression, and who work for universal disarmament and for the solution of conflicts by the recognition of human solidarity, by conciliation and arbitration, by world co-operation, and by the establishment of social, political and economic justice for all, without distinction of sex, race, class or creed. — The work of all the National Sections is based upon the statements adopted and the Resolutions passed by the International Congresses of the League.

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Jane Addams, Honorary President

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Jane Addams

## Jane Addams wins the Nobel Peace Prize

All pacifists and all women who are really devoted to the cause of peace will have learned with joy that Jane Addams has received the Nobel Peace Prize.

Jane Addams, whom many Americans call the First Citizen of America, is also one of those Citizens of the World who do honour to humanity.

## Jane Addams Nobel Prize Winner

On hearing the news that the Nobel Prize had been awarded to Miss Addams, I am sure the first thought of each of us was: At last Miss Addams has received what she deserves. At last the woman who has done what few others have for world peace and reconciliation, has been publicly and internationally recognised as a peace worker.

Whoever knows Jane Addams, knows how little she would seek such recognition and distinction; whoever has come into close touch with her and has felt her great simplicity, would not wonder if she saw in this honour a sign of recognition of women's work for peace and wished to put anything personal in the background.

We, however, cannot deny ourselves the joy of taking this opportunity to call special attention to the part that Miss Addams' personality, combined with the influence of her whole life work, played in bringing women together in a great international peace demonstration during the war and in making possible, after the war, a peace organisation, whose numbers are constantly increasing.

When the invitations went out for the Women's Peace Congress at The Hague in 1915, surely no name bore such weight as that of Jane Addams. I say this, not wishing in the very least to detract from the services of the real initiators of the Congress, Aletta Jacobs and Rosika Schwitter. But no name was known in such wide circles as that of Jane Addams and none was so closely connected with peace work in the widest



sense of the word. For what is and has been the work of Jane Addams at Hull House if not peace work? It is work for international peace and understanding, when a strange land is made homeland to a helpless, forlorn immigrant. It is peace work between different generations when understanding is aroused in the younger generation for the peculiar and precious things that the older generation has brought from its age and country. Once again, it is peace work when the head of Hull House—together with her fellow workers—repeatedly takes a stand for social justice and thus places a sense of class responsibility face to face with the class struggle.

The goodness, sense of justice and wide vision that Miss Addams has shown in her social work, have also distinguished her peace work. She has really only carried her fundamental ideas over into the field of international reconciliation. Thus her whole life's work has unity, however rich and many sided it may be.

We think with the greatest gratitude of what Miss Addams has done for and in the W. I. L. P. F., of the unflinching patience, the constant devotion, and the deep fidelity to her convictions with which she has served the cause of peace and which have inspired others with a desire to do *their* best. We want to congratulate her for the distinction she has received; and yet we rather feel as though we should be congratulating ourselves since our cause has found such a leader, and since the recognition, which she has received, will go to strengthen and advance the cause. Thus our congratulations are transformed into warm and sincere thanks to Miss Addams.

Clara Ragaz.

## Homage to Jane Addams

In awarding the Peace Prize to Jane Addams the Nobel Prize Committee has done honor to itself and has settled an obligation which has been due her since she began her worldwide peace work during the World War. The proof of her worthiness, if any be necessary, lies in her work for World Peace at a time when great statesmen, who have since been awarded the Prize, were doing homage to war. She was at that time organising work for peace in the five parts of the globe.

Though she may be one of the first women of the United States and of the world Jane Addams is "only" a woman. She is "only" an "idealist",

an advocate of peace without precautions, without assurances, without reservations, without conditions; a fighter for Disarmament, general world disarmament, regardless of the legend of defensive wars, regardless of the possessions, money or interests of those in power. Such a stand sufficed, in war time, to ostracize America's most popular woman. She suffered extremely from the gross persecutions of embittered persons who from the security of their clubs and press rooms in the United States, far from the horror of gas and the mutilation of shrapnel of the European battlefields, incited the people to war. Her suffering was not from sensitiveness or smallness of spirit but was a genuine grief for the sufferings which the aberrations of humanity brought on itself. Her whole strength (and she had been delicate since youth) she employed to make America's relief work for chaotic Europe as fully effective as possible. She recognized that woman's mission was not limited to healing the wounded and devotion to social work but included a political duty as well. She demanded of women that they assume political initiative in world peace; she personified the movement.

I shall never forget the evening of May 2, 1922, when, for the first time after the war she presided at a public meeting in New York which was addressed by three women whose countries had recently been at war with one another. As she stepped onto the platform the cheering crowd rose spontaneously to greet her as the torchbearer of political rationalism, of humanitarianism, of peace, she, who had been outlawed during the war by misled public opinion.

To write the story of her political work for peace would be to write the history of the Women's International League, whose leader she has been since the beginning; would be to write the story of a life which has expended itself in giving and being for others, in thinking for others, in acting for others. What does it mean that the international forum of government in Geneva, that the United States of America, have as yet found no use for the gifts of organization, the constructive ability, the knowledge, of a woman like Jane Addams with her many doctors degrees, or for her influence and the power of her personality? "This queer old world of ours", (as Jane Addams calls it) must be quite out of joint since persons of the stature of such a woman are not called upon to set it right.

The noblest of the women of the world has received the Peace Prize. Let us,

as members of the Women's International League, show that we are worthy of her leadership. Do not give in, fellow workers in Asia, America, Australia, Africa and Europe, in the fight against war! Do not retreat one inch from the ground we have won, go on and on in the daily, tenacious struggle against world wide reaction; draw the peace phalanx closer together; hammer into the hearts and heads of your statesmen Jane Addams' demand for general, total world disarmament! Come in May 1932 to the Grenoble Congress, to do homage to Jane Addams, to make a new advance on the way to justice, freedom and peace.

Gertrud Baer.

## Jane Addams Biographical sketch

Jane Addams was born in 1859. Her early distress at social conditions led her, in 1889, in partnership with Ellen Starr, to found Hull House, the most famous settlement house of the United States. Apart from social questions, she has always had a deep interest in national and international political problems.

In 1915 she was invited by a group of European women to preside the Women's Peace Congress at The Hague, out of which grew the W.I.L.P.F. She led the negotiations with great success and extraordinary tact.

Jane Addams headed one of the two delegations from the Congress which, in order to propose a plan for continuous mediation, had audience with the Governments of fourteen States. She was also received by the Pope. Miss Addams has presided all the international Congresses of the W.I.L.P.F. and has been President—now Honorary President—since its foundation. She also presided an emergency conference called at The Hague in 1922 on "A New Peace" and after this Conference visited statesmen and other leading people in Holland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Great Britain and France, advocating a new basis for the question of Reparations and International Debts, for International Disarmament, and for withdrawal of the armies of occupation. Her journey was continued to India, the Philippines, China and Japan.

Miss Addams was instrumental in the organisation of the W.I.L. Congress at Washington and the Summer School in Chicago in 1924.

After the W.I.L. Congress in Zurich 1919, Miss Addams, together with Mr. Hoover, organised the American Relief

Committee in Germany. She has been a member of practically every American Relief Committee in Europe.

Miss Addams worked intensively to keep America from entering the war, and after the outbreak of war, still adhered immovably to her peace principles. At the time of the Washington Congress, she again had to face abuse and slander. Her peace principles dimmed her popularity for a time, but the great dinner given in her honour a few years ago, to which Mr. Coolidge, then President, sent a message, was proof that she had been re-instated as the "first lady of the land".

Miss Addams has written several books on social questions, two on peace questions: "New Ideals of Peace" and "Peace and Bread in War Time" and last year published her "Second Twenty Years at Hull House".

The W.I.L.P.F. will never be able to measure the debt it owes to its beloved president and presiding genius.

A. Z.

Just as we go to press, we learn that Finland has 90,000 signatures, Great Britain 1,850,000 and expecting to get two million, Japan has 150,000 and Norway has sent off a first package of 65,000 signatures.

Remember that all lists must reach our headquarters office by January 15th.

Miss Addams' whole life, all her work which has been relief of necessitous circumstances in different periods and among different groups, can be resumed in a phrase: A lifetime of service to humanity.

Since the news of the Nobel Prize award, we have received numerous letters, from the Vice Presidents, from the Sections in Great Britain, Sweden and Holland, telegrams from Norway and Denmark.

Many friends of our League, admirers of Miss Addams' work, have expressed to us their joy and sympathetic pleasure, besides sending congratulations to Chicago.

The patriarch Bishop of Prague has written us, and in sending congratulations spoke of his joy at the success that our disarmament campaign was having in Czecho-Slovakia.

## Jane Addams at Hull House

Jane Addams' name is known round the world. Many are the people who think of her with respect and affection; such a woman, as Lida Gustava Heymann says, may only appear once in five hundred years. Many W.I.L. members have met her and been encouraged, in the strife of pacifist congresses, by her reposeful and understanding presence. Perhaps they will feel what her name means to those of us who have held it in our hearts since earliest infancy, her name a watchword, her life an example.

Jane Addams' pacifism goes to the roots, like Gandhi's. In the beginnings of playgrounds, settlement workers had trouble with rowdy boys whose behavior was not according to code. There was one, in the first Chicago playground, whose ruffianism knew no bounds. The well-intentioned people, who were trying to run the playground, were in despair; some of the ladies timorous. One day, one of the more stalwart men took affairs into his hands and violently banished the boy from the playground. Jane Addams was told, with a sense of proud achievement, of this feat. "Oh, said Miss Addams, "you shouldn't have done that!" Distressed, the playground workers said: "What would you have done?" And Miss Addams: "I should have sat down and talked with him!"

One must have seen "Lady Jane" at Hull House to know her; attending to innumerable details and people, with time for everything. One must have seen her sitting quietly in a rocking chair in the main hall, settlement life eddying round her; tranquilly taking time for a certain political problem with some fervent spirits; listening over a cup of tea in the cafeteria to the woes of three Russian Jews; heading the long dining table and herself serving the big family of Hull House-ites, eager for food and for the stimulus of her presence; climbing the steep stairs to the top floor to make sure that some young girl's bed was comfortable; giving of herself constantly and yet having time and thought for the bigger and more impersonal problems.

I have two photographs of Miss Addams in my room. One is as she is now. The Maison has the same one on its mantel-piece. The other I love even better and is even more comforting: Jane Addams as a young woman of thirty. There is the same serenity and strength, less the look of sharing the world's sorrows—she had been doing so for a shorter time; there is always the sense of her great humanity and nobility;

but in that photograph her youth makes her example to me more approachable. She is a great solacer and to many of us mentor and patron saint.

Anne Zueblin.

## With Jane Addams at The Hague, 1915

I am happy to add my testimony in honour of Jane Addams. I was one of the youthful members of the American delegation which accompanied her to The Hague in April 1915. When the late Dr. Aletta Jacobs of Amsterdam had the courage and vision to call upon women of neutral and belligerent countries to meet together at a congress at The Hague and appealed in vain to several leading American women, it was Jane Addams who answered the call. A delegation of fifty American women crossed the Atlantic with her on the Dutch liner Noordam. When we reached the English Channel, officers came on board with orders from the Admiralty, and we were held four days before being allowed to proceed to Rotterdam. Our wireless was stopped and we were neither permitted to send messages nor to receive any. Our only means of communication was by means of a fisherman in a row-boat who brought us London newspapers from Dover. From these we learned of the bitter attack against us as spies, and of the 180 British women, ready to come to the Congress, who had been refused passports. Fortunately two British women, Miss Courtney and Miss MacMillan, had already proceeded to The Hague some weeks before to help prepare the Congress. French women refused to participate. They sent a memorandum stating that they could not meet with German women, not could they talk of "peace" while their territory was invaded, and they called upon us to protest against the barbarous acts of the enemy. It is part of war psychology that no one may talk of peace even in the abstract without being accused of favoring the enemy. Yet the purpose of this women's congress was not to discuss a peace to end the war then in progress but rather to study, at the moment when the human butchering match was at its height, the means of avoiding such a catastrophe in the future. Progress is slow, but some of the proposals of this Congress which Miss Addams presided have already been recognized.

Constance Drexel.



## Jane Addams and non-violence

In selecting Miss Addams to receive the peace prize this year the Nobel Commission deserves the unalloyed appreciation of the whole world. Not only is she a world leader in the great movements to establish permanent peace, and a national leader in all outstanding humanitarian efforts in the United States, but from day to day, as well, in her tremendously busy life, she has demonstrated in personal relationships of every kind her philosophy of life without the use of force, except the moral force of self-control based upon conviction.

I have seen her unravel the family difficulties of a neighbor with the same care with which she presides at an International Congress, where divergent views seem to be laying sticks under a boiling caldron of peace. By simple analysis in both instances she lays bare the essential facts and places her reliance on others to reach a necessary decision. She has that rare quality of thinking in world terms when the rest of us falter. She shares with Mr. Gandhi the great power of personal simplicity which relies on truth and not on cleverness. Life to them both is a laboratory where their philosophies are being tested by actual living.

Why do we pacifists go on working against all the political and economic and psychological stupidities in the world? Because, from time to time out of the human whirlpool appear a Gandhi and a Jane Addams and something within us responds to them. We admire the courage of their integrity, and we love them. They show us that non-violent methods have greater strength than those of force, and that peace is but another word for intelligent living, which in time humanity will recognize and heed.

Amy Woods.

## Editorial Note

We would have very much liked to have the cooperation of many of our friends in the United States, Canada, Australia, Honolulu and all European countries, in getting out this number about Jane Addams but this was prevented because of the necessity of having the text ready before the holidays. We ask the pardon of all those people who would have liked to express, in *Pax*, their admiration and affection for our President.

## Jane Addams A Symbol and an Example

On December 10th, when we returned to the Maison Internationale after the Gandhi meeting, we found a telegram from the Norwegian Section with the glad news that Jane Addams had received the Nobel Peace Prize. Soon after, all the newspapers were giving the news.

We have become so accustomed to identifying Jane Addams in her work for peace, with our League, that we all see in her the symbol of what the W.I.L. would like, and ought to be, and an example for us all.

Truly it is difficult, when one is revolted by social injustice, widespread poverty and violence, to remain calm and to be serene in the struggle. It is difficult tranquilly to face pettiness, lies and intrigue. One has need at such times to think of those persons who can remain serene throughout storm and stress. They are really strong. Jane Addams is one of those rare persons who unite tireless energy with gentleness.

The greater the difficulties become, the more we turn towards those persons who are not only a light, but strength, who are not content to be well informed but must give absolute devotion to the cause they serve.

We did not need to see the Nobel Peace Prize consecrate Jane Addams' work, in order to appreciate its value, but we are very happy to have the attention of the world drawn to her from whom we derive inspiration and support.

Camille Drevet  
International Secretary.

Many papers, in speaking of the Nobel Prize, did not mention that Jane Addams is our President. I sent a note to the international press which has appeared in several papers.

**PAX** tries to be the mirror of the international work of our League. If you believe in the principles of the W.I.L.P.F. and are interested in our activities, subscribe to **PAX**.

## Reception at the Maison Internationale in honour of Jane Addams

On Friday, December 18th from four to seven we held a reception to celebrate the Nobel Peace Prize award.

Madame Rolli, in the name of the Geneva Group, Madame Gallone for the Italian women, Anne Zueblin for the Youth Group and Camille Drevet, expressed their gratitude to our President and their affectionate admiration.

An hour of music added to the pleasure of the afternoon. Madame Micalaiew, accompanied by Mlle Fraissinet, sang, among other things and very movingly, an unpublished song on war by Moussorgski.

Several persons became members on that day—an effective way of doing homage to Jane Addams.

A telegram was sent to Jane Addams after the reception.

## Grenoble Congress

The next Congress of our League will be held at Grenoble from May 15th to 19th.

The following subjects will be dealt with:

1. To what extent is the economic crisis a menace to peace?
2. War industries and peace industries.
3. Internationalisation of civil aviation.
4. International police force.
5. Other means of assuring security.

A public meeting will give opportunity for a declaration of women's will to *Disarmament* and a statement of what they expect from the Disarmament Conference.

The question of *Security*, to be attained by other means than armaments, will be given special study.

We hope that our Sections will understand how necessary it is for us to meet and work together at the Congress so that we may draw up a program of work, and strengthen and solidify our feeling of solidarity and international unity.

Our task is made heavier and harder through world economic and social conditions. Our Grenoble Congress should be informative and a source of spiritual strength.

I must remind our Sections that we are unfortunately unable to pay delegates' travel expenses; the disarmament campaign has emptied our funds. We know that our Sections' funds are also often at low water but we are sure that, in spite of that, they will send delegates to the Grenoble Congress.

# GANDHI IN GENEVA

Gandhi speaks at a meeting at Victoria-Hall organised by our League



The Gandhi meeting at Victoria Hall, Geneva, December 10th, 1931.

On Monday, December 7th we had a phone call from Villeneuve to say that Gandhi would come to Geneva on the 10th and we had been chosen as the organisers of the meeting. For two days the Maison was over-run with people coming to get tickets. On the 10th at 12.30, Victoria-Hall was filled with an audience of more than 1800. A few minutes of organ music, and then Gandhi entered, followed by Edmond Privat, Pierre Ceresole, Professor Pierre Bovet, and Camille Drevet who seated themselves behind him on the stage.

It is difficult to give a summary of Gandhi's remarks, and as the press has so often misquoted him, we are publishing his speech in full, as it was made in English. Edmond Privat translated phrase by phrase into French.

Edmond Privat:

Last Tuesday at a meeting in Lausanne, presided over by our friend Pierre Ceresole, apostle of non-violence and civil service, some personal friends of Gandhi, of the great Mahatma, were gathered together in more intimate fashion. Today at Geneva, we are holding a big meeting for the people of Geneva and citizens of the Confederation come from different cantons.

I call upon Madame Camille Drevet

to say a few words, as organiser of the meeting, in the name of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Camille Drevet:

In the name of the women of our League who are scattered over the world but united by the same desire to work against war and oppression, I wish to express our gratitude to Mahatma Gandhi. Several months ago, he gave us his support by signing in India our petition for total and universal disarmament. Today the presence here of Mahatma Gandhi, whose life is a torch and an example, gives us profound joy and encouragement which we shall never forget.

Mahatma Gandhi's Lecture.

My friends,

It is a matter of very great joy to me to be in your most beautiful country. I have heard a great deal of the magnificent scenery of your country but the seeing of that scenery has passed my expectation. The proofs of affection that I have so generously received from the people around me in Villeneuve and wherever I went through have added to the joy of seeing your beautiful country. I wish I had more time at my disposal

to make the acquaintance of individuals and see the various beautiful spots of this land of yours. But I must not detain you over inviting you to share my joys. I know that all of you who have come to this meeting have been deprived of your luncheon and I must not waste that precious time of yours by talking to you of my joys. Therefore I want to talk to you of that to which my life has been dedicated and that particular thing which at the present moment is being tried on a scale never to be seen before in history on the face of the earth. I refer to the means that we have adopted in India for vindicating our independence.

History shows that wherever people have been subjugated and have desired to get rid of that subjection, they have resorted to the use of arms. In India, on the other hand, we have resorted to means that are scrupulously and absolutely non-violent and peaceful. India has testified, and I am here to give my own testimony that in a very great measure we seem to have succeeded in attaining our goal. I know that it is still an experiment in the making. I cannot claim absolute success for it as yet. I venture to suggest to you as I did to the citizens of Paris, as the experiment has gone so far, that it is well worthwhile your studying it. I further suggest that if that experiment becomes a whole success, then India would have paid her contribution to world peace, for which the whole world is to-day struggling. You have in this great city of yours the central office of the League of Nations. That League is expected to perform wonders. It is expected to replace war and by its own power to arbitrate between nations who might have differences between themselves. But it has always seemed to me that the League lacks the necessary sanction. It depends, as it has to do, largely, if not exclusively, for its decisions to be effective on the goodwill of all nations concerned. Therefore I venture to suggest to you that the means that we have adopted in India supply the necessary sanction, not only to a body like the League, but to any voluntary body or association who works for that great cause of the peace of the world.

But I must not detain you in taking you through the different phases of this movement. I must satisfy myself with



having just introduced to you this movement, and having told you the promise that the movement makes if it becomes successful.

I shall at once proceed to the questions that Mr. Privat has selected out of a sheaf that he had before him.

#### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The first question refers to a contradiction that I gave to a report that has appeared in one of your newspapers about what I had said and what I had not said in London. This is what has been put into my mouth :

"I have no sympathy for terrorists but, if necessary, the masses of India would resort to violence. Call that as you like, it is complete independence that is wanted".

Answer. — I understand that the editor of the journal referred that paragraph to his correspondent in London and that the correspondent confirms in its entirety the report that he sent. But I see that he has not reproduced whole passages from the speeches in which he says he quoted his citations. My speeches at the Round Table Conference have been officially reported and I can only tell you that throughout those speeches there would not be found a single word in corroboration of that statement.

Now it is stated that I made a similar statement in some other speeches to the press. I would like to see the reports of those other speeches. Meanwhile I must ask you to believe me when I say that I never made a statement of this description and that I never declared that the masses of India would resort to violence if necessary. I regard myself as incapable in my lucid moments of making a statement of this character. Non-violence is not a mere policy with me, it is a matter of fundamental creed. I would pray to God that he would give me strength to lay down my life rather than to consent to any violence, directly or indirectly.

As this matter has now attained some local importance, I respectfully suggest to the editor that he should call upon the correspondent of his newspaper to give his name and evidence of his statement. And though to-morrow I shall be outside your country and jurisdiction I shall undertake to give the fullest explanation in connection with the matter when the evidence is sent to me in India or wherever it may be. I want to do so because I want to retain your goodwill if I have

obtained it. My movement and I have to die or to live according to the declaration that I have made that it depends entirely upon non-violence and truth.

At the same time I tender you my apologies for having taken so many minutes for what is after all a personal explanation.

The second question is the following : Why did you make such a solemn protest at Lausanne because newspapers had reported your statement that soldiers enlisted in an army ought to shoot in the air ?

Answer. — Whether I made a solemn protest or not I do not know, but I made my position clear. I do not want a soldier, whether Swiss or any other, to be misled into thinking that he is promoting the cause of peace and non-violence when, after having joined an army and taken an oath to respect discipline, he pretends to follow discipline by shooting in the air. I regard myself as a soldier, though a soldier of peace. I know the value of discipline and truth. I consider it as a cowardice and a deceit when a soldier who has taken an oath to discipline denies himself by pretending to carry out orders when he is defying these orders by shooting in the air. In my opinion, when a soldier comes to the conclusion that it is contrary to the human dignity of man to shoot a fellow man he ought to lay down his arms, honestly declare that he will not take part in such an action and be ready to undergo the chastisement he deserves for his insubordination.

The third question is a most important one. How can labour obtain justice without violence? If capitalists employ violence to suppress their efforts why should they not destroy their oppressors ?

Answer. — This is of course the old law of the jungle, blow against blow. I am endeavouring to make the experiment which I consider essentially human, of getting rid of the law of the jungle which is ill-suited to men.

You may not know that I am supposed to be the chief adviser of a Labour Union in a place called Ahmedabad which has commanded the unsolicited testimony of many labour experts who have visited this town. This Labour Union has been endeavouring to enforce the method of non-violence in connection with conflicts concerning capital and labour for more than fifteen years. Therefore, what I want to tell you is based on a real

experience, an experience which is in the very line about which the question has been put.

In my opinion labour can always vindicate itself if it is sufficiently united and self-sacrificing, no matter how oppressive capitalists may be. I am convinced that those who are connected with labour and who guide it have themselves no idea of the resources that labour commands and that capitalism itself will never command. If labour would only understand and recognize that capital is perfectly helpless without labour, labour would immediately come to its own.

We have unfortunately come under the hypnotic suggestion and influence of capital, so that we have come to believe that capital is all on the earth. But a moment's thought would show us that labour has at its disposal a capital that capitalists will never possess. Ruskin said already in his age that labour had vital opportunities. But he spoke above our heads. At the present moment there is an Englishman who is nearly making that very experiment. He is an economist and also a capitalist himself. But through his economic researches he has come by experiment to the same conclusions that Ruskin arrived at intuitively. He has brought to labour a vital mission, a vital message. He says it is quite wrong to think that a piece of metal constitutes capital. It is also wrong to think that even so much produce is capital. But if one goes to the sources, it is labour that is capital. That living capital cannot be reduced. It is absolutely inexhaustible.

It is upon that law that we have been working in our Union. It is upon that law that we have been working against the Government. It is upon that law that we have liberated 1,070,000 enslaved human beings from a centenarian tyranny. I cannot tell you what that tyranny was but those who are interested in the problem will be able to study it more seriously.

In the English language there is a very important word— you have it in French too, and also in other languages, for it exists in all languages, —a word that has only two letters: *no*, the French word is *non*. The secret is that when capital wants labour to say *yes*, labour, as one man, answers *no*. And as soon as labour comes to recognize that he has got the choice before him of saying *yes* when he wants to say *yes* and *no* when he wants to say *no*, labour becomes master, and capital becomes slave. And it does not make the slightest difference even if capital disposes of

arms, machine-guns and poison gas: capital will be helpless if labour asserts its dignity by making good its "no". Then labour does not need to retaliate, it has just to stand defined, presenting its breasts to receive the bullets and poison gas, and still insist upon its no: victory is certain.

I will tell you why labour so often fails. Instead of sterilizing capital as I, as a labourer myself, have suggested labour should do, labour wants to seize capital, in order to become a capitalist. Therefore, capitalism, who is entrenched in his position and well organized, finding in labour, people to support the cause of capital, does not need to be anxious. If we were not really under this hypnotic spell every man and woman would recognize this rock-bottom truth without the slightest difficulty.

Having achieved success through a series of various and long experiences I am speaking to you with some authority when I say that what I have put before you is not super-human but within the craft of every labourer, man or woman. Again you will see from further thinking of the problem that what labour is called upon to do under this scheme of non-violence is nothing more than what Swiss soldiers are doing in one sense. For the ordinary soldier who is armed, from top to bottom, seeks to inflict destruction upon his adversary but at the same time carries his own destruction in his pocket. I want labour to copy the courage of the soldier without copying that brutal part of the soldier's task: the ability to inflict death and sufferings to his adversary.

I suggest to you that a labourer who has the courage to sacrifice himself without the slightest hesitation and without any arm to destroy his adversary, shows a courage of a much higher degree than a man who is armed from top to toe.

This is a fascinating subject but I must reluctantly leave it at this point and go to the fourth question.

The fourth question is: Since disarmament depends chiefly on the great Powers why recommend it to a small State like Switzerland which is neutral and non-aggressive ?

Answer. — In the first place, on this neutral ground of yours I am speaking to all nations of Europe and not only to Switzerland. If you will not carry this message to the other parts of Europe, it is not my fault. Since Switzerland is a neutral territory and is not even aggressive, it does not need an army.

Through your hospitality and by reason of your occupying this envied position in Europe you attract people of all the nations of the earth. Is it not better for you to give the world a lesson in disarmament and show the world that you are brave enough to do without arms ?

The fifth question follows the previous one: What is to be the civic education of service and sacrifice if your teaching weakens the sacred traditions of military devotion of general conscription in order to save our homes? The mere presence of our Swiss army at the frontier saved us from its horrors.

Answer. — Will the questioner forgive me if I say that a double ignorance underlies this question ?

He deplors that if you gave up the profession of soldier you would be deprived of the education that you receive in civic service and sacrifice. He commits a serious mistake when he thinks that you will be deprived of this opportunity. Non-violence is made of a stuff which is much stronger than militarism. No one thinks that, because you avoid or give up military conscription, you are not called for a nobler conscription of a severer type.

When I spoke to you about labour, I have told you that labour has got to assimilate all the noble qualities of the soldier: endurance and defiance of one's own death as well as self-sacrifice. It is not suggested that when you have disarmed and given up soldiery you are going to enjoy yourselves the whole time. On the contrary you have to go through another kind of discipline, a discipline which is perhaps much more severe but is constructive instead of destructive.

I do not mean that you will be absolved of the duty of saving your homes; on the contrary women and children will be taught, how to take part of that duty. And again I am not talking without experience. In the little institution I spoke of we are teaching our women and children how to save our institution, because we are isolated and live in the midst of robbery and piracy.

Everything becomes simple and easy as soon as you learn the lesson of giving up your life in order to save the lives of other people.

And lastly, is it really forgotten that the innocence shown by a man who has no arm to vindicate it impresses the world much more intensely and gives a safety which no amount of arms will ever give.

A same ignorance underlies the second part of the question: "the mere presence of our Swiss army at the frontier saved us from its horrors." I must respectfully deny the truth of this statement. Although Belgium had its own army at its frontier, it was not saved from the horrors of war. If rival armies would have passed through Switzerland you could not have prevented them from doing so. Of course, you may say that you would have given blow against blow. But if I had time I could show you that you could have done much better in employing non-violence, if rival armies had dared to pass through Switzerland.

The sixth question is: Would it not be a cowardice for a neutral country to let an army pass through its territory in order to cut the throat of a third country? How could a neutral and disarmed country practically prevent such a passage? Is all this not gossip in the air by your friends like Mr. Ceresole ?

Answer. — At the risk of being considered a visionary or a fool I must answer this question in the manner I know. It would certainly be cowardly for a country like that if without any ado it allowed an army to pass through its territory. But a moment ago I told you that there was one thing in common between the soldier of peace and the soldier of war. If I had been a citizen of Switzerland or the President of the Federal State, what I would have done would have been to invite every citizen to refuse passage to these armies by refusing all supplies, secondly by repeating the sacrifice of Thermopylae. You would have presented the wall of men, women and children to those armies who dared to cross your country and invited them to walk over your corpses.

You may say that such a thing is beyond human experience and beyond human endurance. But it was not beyond the endurance of our men and women in India last year. We saw at this time women standing without retaliation, without the slightest fear or cowardice, with their breasts forward to receive the showers of the sticks. Thousands of men stood firm under a hail of bullets without any retaliation at Peshawar. Imagine such men and women in front of an army who will cross a country! You may still say that such an army would be brutal enough as to walk over your corpses. I can then suggest to you that you would have done your duty, and that you would have won a glorious victory. And the army who



would have done this once, would not be able to repeat it.

You may, if you wish, refuse to believe in the possibility of such courage of masses of men and women. But you must then admit that non-violence is made of something very strong. It has never been intended to be an arm for the weak but a weapon for the stronger men.

The seventh question is: What do you think of the International Red Cross, founded at Geneva sixty years ago as a spiritual gift of Switzerland to the world? It has saved wounded and prisoners by the millions.

Answer. — I am ashamed to say that I do not know the details of the history and origin of such an admirable institution. If it has saved wounded and prisoners by the millions my head bows before it. May I still suggest that this institution ought to cease to think of giving relief only in time of war and think of saving the world from war.

If war had no relieving features, no courage, no service behind it, it would be a most despicable thing and not need any speech on the part of anybody to destroy it. But I want to present you something nobler and superior to war and all its branches like Red Cross Societies. Believe me, there are many more millions of prisoners who are the slaves of their own passions and different conditions of life. And believe me also when I say that there are millions of wounded by their own folly, millions of homes destroyed on the face of the earth. Therefore the non-violence societies of to-morrow will have more work for them when they will undertake international service of mankind. And may Switzerland lead the world in that branch of service.

The eighth question is: Will you be kind enough to give a public message to individuals of different countries working in international institutions like the League of Nations.

Answer. — I must avow that if I have not given in the previous answers a message sufficiently clear to the individuals working in international offices, I do not know what I could tell them.

Ninth question. — What is the difference between your message and the Christian message that we would prefer to retain? Why do you teach the annihilation of the individual instead of developing it?

Answer. — I do not profess to give you any original message at all. My message is as old as this earth. I do not know that it is at all different from the Christian message if by it you mean the message of non-violence. I should therefore be very sorry to discover that you have given up the central teaching of Christianity which is to be found in the Sermon on the Mount. Nothing would give me more pleasure than to see Christians of Europe translating in their own lives the message of Christ, as well as in their individual as in their collective life.

The second part of the question betrays ignorance. Shall I answer it in Biblical language? It says that "you cannot save yourself without losing yourself".

\* \* \*

I thank you very much for having given me your attention. I hope that this contact between you (who represent different nationalities) and me (representing only India) will not end to-day but will grow from day to day.

Edmond Privat:

I am going to ask the audience not to leave the hall until Mr. Ceresole comes back again and we know that the Mahatma has left in his automobile; this because at previous meetings, there have been unfortunate incidents in every town, all due to the curiosity of the crowd and the bare feet of a poor old man.

Camille Dreyet:

During these two minutes that you are still in the hall, I would like to take the opportunity of saying that we, in our office, were very sorry not to be able to satisfy the desire of all those who wished to come to this meeting. Please make our excuses to those friends. In less than three days we had to organise this meeting and we gave out the tickets as fast as requests came in. We did our best to please everyone.

I would also like to say that this meeting, as you can imagine, has been a heavy financial burden, and we hope that, as you go out, you will not only seek out those who will be taking up the collection, but give generously.

I scarcely need remind you that our Women's International League has been deeply honoured in organising this

meeting. We here in this hall are not all people with the same opinions on the questions of peace and disarmament. I wish that all pacifists here might realise that, in spite of some differences, we all have something in common; and that we might feel conscious of this unifying force in order to work better in future.

It must not be thought that, because people talk a great deal about peace and because many institutions devote themselves to the question, the work is made easier. You know very well that, on the contrary, as the time of the Disarmament Conference draws nearer, the opposing camps take a more definite stand against each other: the camp of those who wish disarmament and the camp of those who do not. The work of pacifists is very hard at present. I would ask all those who are conscious of their duty, to work with us, — or with other organisations, that is of little importance; the important thing is that pacifists should somehow combine forces, for the coming months will see a stubborn and difficult struggle.

Humanity, torn asunder by five years of war, is on the brink of wars still more monstrous where millions of young lives and all the hopes of the future would be irremediably engulfed.

If women do not fight to the last breath against the approaching scourge, the blood of their sons be on their own heads. They will have been accomplices in the massacre which they had not the energy to prevent.

Romain Rolland.

Read

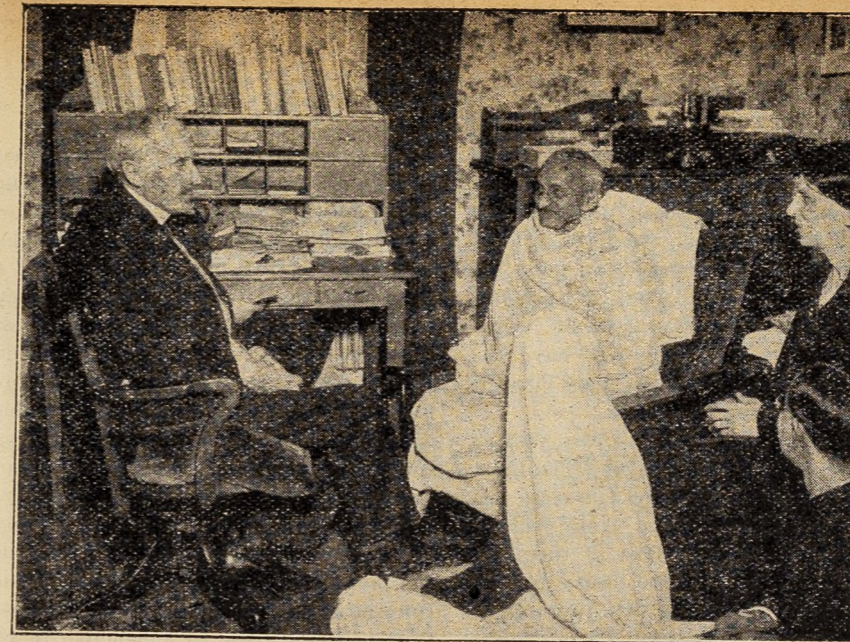
## MAHATMA GANDHI

by

ROMAIN ROLLAND

True politics should take no step without first paying homage to morals. The States must form a peace alliance different from all peace treaties in that it would put an end to all wars, whereas the peace treaties put an end to only one.

Kant.



GANDHI with Romain Rolland

After the meeting Gandhi returned to Villeneuve.

Ever since December 10th we have had many telephone calls and letters and have seen many people who were deeply moved by the meeting. Radical pacifists are very grateful that in spite of material distress and great anxieties, Gandhi came here and gave expression, with simplicity and strength, to his faith in non-violence. All those, to whom Gandhi's presence brought conviction of the strength of spiritual forces, have renewed courage and faith for the struggle which is daily growing harder. The curiosity seekers, sceptical and ironic, were doubtless more impressed than they would admit. People are now continually asking each other: "Were you at the Gandhi meeting?" and, in discussing it, everyone must take some position, state some belief. Naturally, advocates of military force are not satisfied. But, since December 10th, we have found new friends and strengthened the bonds with old ones. We are very, very grateful to Madeleine and Romain Rolland and to Edmond Privat for conferring on us the honour of organising the meeting for Gandhi in Geneva. December 10th will remain for us an unforgettable day.

### As I Saw Gandhi in India

It was on a Sunday afternoon in the winter of 1928. Gandhi was to dedicate a village outside Calcutta to home-weaving. It was a gala day. Not only was the whole village to give itself over

to the philosophy of the spinning wheel, but the head of the village also, — a well known physician — was to dedicate his life to the task of wiping out malaria.

The All Indian Congress had completed its sessions and Gandhi on the return journey to the Ashram had stopped over for one day in Calcutta.

I had come up from Ceylon on a five days chance of meeting Mr. Gandhi, and my first day in Madras unexpectedly opened the way. Through his very kind publishers, with whom I spent several hours, I not only was put in living touch with his basic philosophy and his political methods but was shown the way to find him two days later in Calcutta. When I left them, they filled my arms with Gandhi's writings and these proved an open sesame to many friendships on the train going from one city to the other. As an admirer of Gandhi I was welcomed eagerly by both Mohammedans, Hindoos and English speaking missionaries.

The village consisted of perhaps two thousand souls. They were all there, crowded into a long open space surrounded by houses. The ground was partitioned off into squares reserved for different groups. The municipal officials would sit cross-legged in one square, the women in another and so on through all the various categories that go to make up a community. Presently the crowd parted and Gandhi came to a small platform elevated perhaps a foot above the ground. Seated on this, with Mrs. Gandhi and other men and women beside him, he removed at once the lay — or flower wreath — which custom placed about

### The Union of the Peoples

To-day, when the League of Nations is facing very grave problems and its effectiveness is being questioned, it is of interest to read the following text:

"The perfect system for the Rights of Men, would be to constitute an international association. All the States which became members, would send delegates chosen from among the most virtuous and capable citizens.

"The aim of the Great Union would be first of all, the application of good will and concord among the States.

"The Union would arrange that natural resources should not remain buried underground and should not be exploited solely for the profit of the proprietor State, but in the interests of everyone (given the consent of the proprietor State).

"The Union would so arrange, that a State, especially privileged by nature (that is with a large population) should not profit from its strength (its manual labourers).

"The Union would see that the scope of charity was widened and that it was applied not only to its own nationals, whom every State must care for, but to all persons without distinction. It would arrange that every man should have the wherewithal to live.

"It would arrange that old people be assured of the necessities of life until the end of their days, that every adult find employment, that every child be assured of proper opportunity for development."

This text was quoted by Louis Le Fur and Georges Chklaver in the "Recueil de textes de droit international public", Librairie Dalloz, Paris 1928.

It is not modern. It is taken from the old and venerable Chinese philosopher Confucius and has particular interest to-day in view of recent events.

his neck. His eyes were alight, his face smiling. His personality permeated the crowd. When he spoke it was in simple words of his own language in a conversational tone. There was no oratory.

The ceremonies over, he talked with me for a short period and answered the question which was uppermost in America at that time. Did his nationalistic program repudiate internationalism? I cannot quote him exactly but he gave me the certainty that his work concentrated in one small portion of the globe would contribute to world solidarity because it was sound ethically and politically. He seemed to me both a great spiritual leader and a world statesman.

Amy Woods.



# Gandhi at Villeneuve

Madeleine Rolland

Gandhi has come. He is seated in the little room on the second floor, where the light comes in through three windows, rather grey and dull these days of fog and rain, but sometimes splendid and warm. He is seated, legs crossed, on a rug, back braced against the low bed. Any of his friends may come in; he writes; raises his head and smiles, he replies briefly to questions, his piercing eyes let nothing escape; or else he weaves, turning with his delicate fingers the silent wheels of his travelling *charka*, a spinning wheel which can be folded into a light valise, which he thought out and perfected, during his months of imprisonment, before having it made by a worker at his *Ashram*. He also receives friends during his scanty meal: goat's milk, fruit, raw vegetables. Not one wasted moment. His big metal watch is always there, at his belt or beside him on the ground, to recall the flight of time. Incessant but never feverish activity. One feels that this man, who is at the same time so firm and so fragile, has been able to accumulate an extraordinary reserve of strength, through long physical and moral training. Remember that he has just passed through two months of trials, discussions, crushing fatigue in England where the sessions of the Round Table Conference did not prevent his getting into touch with the people of the suburbs of London, with workers and employers in Lancashire, students and professors at Oxford and Cambridge, young Indian Communists exiled from their country, not to speak of innumerable groups eager to talk with him of the distressing problems of the Empire and the World; and he there won over a portion of the public whose help will be most valuable to him when the battle begins again in India. And yet, after a few hours in Villeneuve, his face is quiet and smiling. At dawn his thin, naked legs stride along the paths of the parc du Byron and the streets of Villeneuve at a pace which winds his companions.

Every morning, except that of the Geneva meeting, he crosses the few yards of garden that separate him from the Villa Olga to come and talk long and affectionately with Romain Rolland. They discuss social and spiritual questions with entire frankness. Doubtless there will be echos of these conversations later on. I translate inelegantly but as faithfully as possible. His two secretaries are there, silent, taking notes, two cultivated

young men with open minds, always anxious to learn, who sacrificed their future and social position to follow the cause of *Bapu* (father), who have suffered with him, been imprisoned, gone on hunger strike, and who, at present, tranquilly envisage the moment when once again in jail, they will have the right to rest and to plunge again into the study of European languages.

Then Gandhi returns to the visitors who are waiting for him at Villa Lionnette. They are of every age, class and nationality. Some have come simply out of curiosity, but most of them are actuated by an intense desire to see, touch, hear this man who is unique in our time, who scrupulously practices what he believes and draws millions into the path of non-violence. I see, hidden in a corner, a young German artist who devotes him with his eyes before beginning a sketch, and in another corner, a Japanese sculptor with a shock of black hair, kneading a lump of clay into a rough cast of the Mahatma's head.

Some children arrive with flowers, children of working men and rich men; Gandhi welcomes them with joy and lets himself be photographed in their midst. Then comes a band of school children from Villeneuve, like gay little sparrows, to sing Swiss songs under his windows. In the evening a men's choir from Villeneuve makes the walls resound with the pastoral harmonies of the *Ranz des vaches*—(song of the Swiss cowherds)—Gandhi's son and disciples are naïvely convinced that this song, which moves them, can only have been sung by *Gopalas* (cowherds). I hope the gentlemen of Villeneuve would pardon them, if they knew that the divine Krishna was himself a cowherd! There were several touching incidents as, for instance, when a humble woman gave Gandhi an envelope containing five francs with a note: "For the poor Indian women, from a Swiss working woman".

One afternoon, the only one when he had no engagements in Lausanne or Geneva, Gandhi was able to fulfil a wish that was very dear to his heart. He went by car to Sepey to see an old woman whom Mira had known when she was still Miss Slade. This old woman of 81, still goes on spinning and weaving in her little Alpine chalet. Gandhi surprised her in the midst of her work. As delighted as he, and not at all embarrassed, she took him into a low room

which was bed-room, kitchen and studio; she showed him with pride, her spinning and made him sit beside her on a low bench while she showed him how to use the spinning wheel. It had been a long time since Gandhi had had such pleasure; her way of working was almost the same as that of the poor villagers in India. But time went quickly; before leaving, Gandhi wanted to see the stable next door to the room where two shining cows were chewing their cud along side of two well-fed goats. Gandhi was so happy!

From there it was only a short way to Leysin where Gandhi said a few words of encouragement to the students at the International University Sanatorium, and then he came back to Villeneuve to go on with his conversations with Romain Rolland and to see new visitors.

Every evening, at seven o'clock, Gandhi keeps fifteen or twenty minutes for prayers. (I cannot speak, and for a good reason, of his prayer before dawn). He says his prayer either in his own room or in the living-room of the villa Olga. Everyone who wishes to, may come, whatever his religion may be or even if he have none, on condition that he remain in contemplation and silence. Did not Gandhi say in his meeting at Lausanne (and how many other times in writing!) that for him Truth is God, and that an Atheist who honours Truth is well worth a faithful worshipper of God.

Silence falls. In the darkness a psalm is sung, much like those in our Catholic churches, a reading in Sanscrit of verses from the sacred Hindu book, the *Bhagavad Gita*; then, after a silence, a masculine voice takes up a traditional or folk hymn, whose free rythm and modulation are reminiscent of old Gregorian melodies. There is another silence and then the grave, pure voice of Mira sings in litany some of the innumerable divine names.

Gandhi and his followers retire, but he goes on, with inexhaustible patience, receiving pilgrims who come to him as children to their father; or else he stays up late re-reading, with his secretaries, notes which will be sent by airplane to *Young India*, the weekly paper on non-violence in India.

On the 11th of December, the crowd is gathered at the Villeneuve station. Gandhi is leaving; he is going to cross Italy, stop 24 hours at Rome with one of our friends, and on the 14th, take the steamer at Brindisi for Bombay. Some people are alarmed at the thought

that in Rome he will doubtless meet the Dictator. But for those who have heard him categorically declare his opposition to dictatorship and to any State based on violence, this gesture is not disquieting. Gandhi wants to meet face to face even the men whose opinions and systems of government he abhors. His burning faith as a prophet convinces him of the power of a single sincere word, victor over duplicity; and, in any case, we know that neither fear nor falsehood can live in his heart.

The crowd surrounds him, we call "farewell" to him, and our thoughts turn towards India, whence may come the salvation of the world. Several times, these last days, he repeated to us: "I can only help Europe through the liberation of India. For Europe, which is sceptical and materialistic, has need of concrete examples. May non-violence set India free and then the peaceful world revolution will be assured."

Madeleine Rolland.

## Disarmament Conference at Paris

During the Disarmament Congress, organised in Paris by Lord Cecil, a few members of the W.I.L.P.F. were given the floor. Mme. Duchêne presented the following declaration which did not appear in the report of the Congress in "Europe Nouvelle":

"We welcomed with pleasure Lord Cecil's initiative in organising a conference which, we were assured, would allow the peoples of the world to give expression to their desire for disarmament.

"It was, therefore, with some surprise that we followed the development of this Conference, that we saw the choice of Commission members and speakers left to a small committee, and realised that the latter were almost exclusively of official character.

"Can the wishes of the peoples be expressed by such men? No!

"The peoples desire Peace unhampered by the dangerous subtleties of politicians.

"The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has sounded public opinion through its world petition for total and universal disarmament and has become aware of the unanimous sentiment of the masses in all countries on the question.

"The common people begin to feel the contradiction between the statesmen's beautiful assurances of their will to Peace and their deeds.

"If the Conference of February 1932 does not satisfy the deep longings of the peoples, there will be resultant sharp discontent among the masses, an extreme disappointment whose consequences cannot be estimated.

"We women of the W.I.L.P.F., who joined together in 1915 in the turmoil of war, in a unanimous protest against the stupidity and horror of war, with the firm

intention to do everything in our power to prevent the repetition of such a catastrophe;

"Who devoted ourselves to defence of Peace and to insistence on total and universal disarmament without waiting for Peace to become popular;

"Believe that those who call themselves 'pacifists' can make no reservations with regard to Disarmament.

"We are convinced that the present policy in armaments, is leading all States to their ruin without assuring their security; that this policy makes a new conflict inevitable; that any future war will be a war of extermination.

"We demand Universal and Total Disarmament, but not being so naïve as to believe that the Conference of 1932 will bring it about, we ask our governments to give their delegates to the coming Disarmament Conference formal instructions regarding immediate study and discussion of disarmament proposals—existing and to come—no matter what their origin, and regarding the adoption of practical measures tending to bring disarmament rapidly into being.

"We believe that Disarmament cannot be the work of military men, manufacturers of destructive machines and munitions.

"We remember the Shearer case and we declare that the Disarmament Conference can have positive results only if certain guarantees are given.

"We therefore ask:

"1. That all persons—directly or indirectly—interested in the maintenance of armaments be rigorously excluded from the national delegations,

"2. That the national delegations contain representatives of pacifist bodies in each country, including women."

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The Congress unfortunately showed us that the words "peace" and "disarmament" are capable of very different interpretations, from that of "security first" to that of radical pacifism, represented by a small minority.

At the Trocadero meeting, Miss Dingman presented a declaration in the name of the Women's Disarmament Committee, but it, like others, could not be heard in the fracas let loose by the nationalist opposition.

### Pax sends greetings for 1932 to all its friends

*Pax* will not reach you until after the Christmas and New Year holidays, but I nevertheless want to send you greetings from Headquarters.

May the clouds of hatred, rivalry and danger which darken the world be dispersed and humanity blaze a new trail. May all those who long for that new trail have courage to fight through the troublous times. May *Pax* be a true bond between us, a faithful friend who brings encouragement and prevents any sense of loneliness.

Editor.

January « Pax », 16 pages, on sale at Headquarters, 50 Swiss centimes a single copy, 9 swiss francs for 20 copies, 23 Swiss francs for 50 copies, 45 Swiss francs for 100 copies.

The next number will appear late in February.

### Received for Propaganda and for Pax:

Geneva Group (propaganda) . . . Fr. 125  
Italian Group (propaganda) . . . » 25

### Message from Charles Gide

I do not think that much can be expected of disarmament in the form of limitation of armaments. As it would only be proportional, the respective strength of the countries would be unchanged. Tax payers would feel their burden lightened, but peace would gain nothing.

The only effective disarmament would be disarmament of the press. If it would call an armistice of false news and perfidious insinuations, the principal causes of war would be dispelled. Falsehood creates war. The reign of truth would be the reign of peace.



## The League and the Manchurian Question

Our relations with our friends in China and Japan remain very close.

The Anti-Opium Society of China has written expressing its sympathy for our work. Friends from different Chinese cities have appealed to us. A telegram was sent by different organisations to Geneva protesting against the situation and demanding that all measures be taken for the preservation of justice and peace in China: not only the withdrawal of the troops but also abolition of unequal treaties.

Since China was considered sufficiently mature to take her place at the Council of the League of Nations, it is rather astonishing to see the efforts made in different countries to persuade people that China has not come of age and has constant need of intervention by other powers. That is not our understanding of the relations between countries. We know how acute the situation is in China and we admire our friends who remain true to their ideals. Various Chinese organisations are trying to maintain peace at all costs.

From Japan, comes a new letter from the Woman's Peace Society expressing their desire to work for peace. We know that the task of real pacifists is very hard in such circumstances but some of the letters we receive are bitter disappointments.

\* \* \*

As for our League, some Sections have tried to take action in combatting

present events. The December *Pax* told of the work of some sections. Since then, the Swedish Section joined with 16 other organisations in approaching the Chinese and Japanese Embassies.

The United States Section sent the following letter to President Hoover on November 24th:

"Officers and members of the Women's International League are appealing to you in the deepest apprehension concerning the Manchurian conflict. Day by day we have waited for some strong public message from our Government to Japan. Fully conscious, Mr. President, of your devotion to the cause of Peace, we have felt confident that our Government would move wisely and promptly in this situation, which is jeopardizing the peace of the world. We understand that in times of great crisis the people cannot always be told of every step while negotiations are pending, so we have waited in patience for seven weeks. We feel, however, that the time has now come when the American people should be reassured as to your endeavours.

"We were pleased when you asked our American representative to sit with the Council; we hope you will continue to cooperate with the League.

"In spite of the serious crisis which Japan has created in the Far East, it is our conviction that failure on the part of the United States formally to invoke the Kellogg Treaty or the Nine-Power Pact may be of even more serious

consequence. Japan by an aggressive act may break a treaty, but she cannot destroy it. Is it not possible that our failure to use either of the pacts may be the very process by which they could be destroyed? We therefore beg you to definitely and formally invoke one or both of these treaties by declaring Japan an outlaw nation and by asking the Congress in your annual message to lay an embargo on the shipment of arms to Japan, as is now the case with China. We further trust that you will disapprove all loans at this time to the warring countries. Before it is too late, Mr. President, we appeal to you to make public all official communications, so that public opinion will have full opportunity to lend its powerful support in behalf of Peace to those to whom the sovereign people of this country have entrusted this power.

"We hope it is unnecessary to assure you of our sympathy and our understanding appreciation of the stupendous problems which you are called upon to solve."

Respectfully yours,  
Hannah Clothier Hull,  
Chairman of the National Board.  
Dorothy Detzer,  
Executive Secretary.

The British Section held a large public meeting on Manchuria on December 4th, addressed by Mr. P. J. Noel-Baker and Mr. Kingsley Martin, editor of a left wing weekly. A strong resolution was passed and sent to the Government

and to the delegates in Paris. The Section sent telegrams to Briand and Lord Cecil.

Two steps seemed to us particularly important in any action on the Manchurian question: action concerning the press and concerning traffic in arms and munitions. Everyone knows that these two powers, the press and international war industries, are closely related. We approached the Council of the League of Nations and sent the following letter to each member of the Council:

Geneva, November 7, 1931.

Your Excellency,

Several members of the W.I.L.P.F., delegated by their National Sections to the Preparatory Disarmament Conference, wish to express to you the anxiety that a large number of newspapers in many countries has caused them.

The attitude of a certain part of the press on the Sino-Japanese conflict, clearly shows the power of war industries and groups of financiers whose interests lie in aggravating conflicts between nations. A part of the press, which is in the pay of these groups, has succeeded, by means of highly coloured accounts,

false news and deliberate silence on some points, in misleading the public by discrediting one of the countries involved in the conflict for the benefit of the other.

Our League, which sent a mission to China and Japan in 1928, takes a special interest in the way in which events in the Far East are presented in the press.

We consider that press campaigns, by perverting public opinion, open the way to dangers of all kinds. They give rise to a danger of public opinion's accepting further extension of the conflict through intervention of foreign powers, since it would consider such intervention justified.

Since you represent one of the States, Member of the League of Nations, and whose duty it therefore is to maintain peace, we urge you to use your influence in your country to bring about cessation of such biased and dangerous press campaigns.

Great harm has been done. He who does not fight the evil, shares responsibility for its possible consequences.

I am, etc.  
C. Drevet,  
International Secretary,  
member of the W.I.L.P.F. mission  
to China and Japan.

We are quite aware that the first thing to do is to get at the root of the campaigns of the "Bloody International" of industrialists and financiers interested in war. The German Section sent a letter to its Government demanding that a stop be put to the traffic in arms and munitions to the Far East (see December *Pax*). It is necessary that similar action be taken in industrial countries. No one can be uninterested in this international question. No one should avoid the elementary duty of a pacifist: stop war where it exists, demand that the press stop inciting to war, demand that the governments which have signed conventions outlawing war open their eyes to manufacture and traffic in all articles of warfare.

Events in Manchuria show the necessity of action against traffic in arms and materials of warfare.

The Council of the League of Nations is to meet on January 25th in Geneva. We do not know what the situation will then be but our Sections should follow events closely and we in Geneva, must take whatever action the circumstances demand.

C. D.

## Governments and Propaganda against War

Our Section in Tunis informs us that the Tunisian Government has just added to its decrees concerning the Press, the following article:

"Any Act of provocation, by the methods set forth in Art. 23, which tends to prevent men in the Army and Navy from performing their military duties or from obeying orders of their superiors pertaining to military laws and regulations, or which seeks to draw young men away from fulfilling their military obligations, who have not yet been called to the colours but who will be required under military laws to serve, is punishable by imprisonment of from 2 to 5 years and by a fine of 100 to 3000 francs."

The Tunisian Section passed the following resolution:

"The Tunisian Section of the W. I. L. P. F.,

"Having taken note of the additive to the decrees concerning the press, which with the evident object of hindering militant pacifism and work for disarmament, tends to punish heavily so-called anti-militarist propaganda,

"Considering that many States, including France, have signed a solemn pact for the renunciation and outlawry of war,

"Considering it to be shameful that this act menaces with legal sanctions those who are trying to put the Briand-Kellogg Pact into execution, and to prevent governments from repudiating their signatures,

"Makes energetic protest against this new legislation and decides to inform international organisers and the League of Nations of it.

"This resolution has been sent to the Resident General Minister in Tunis, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Executive Committee of the W. I. L. P. F. and to the League of Nations."

At the request of our Section, I am sending these documents to the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

I want to draw the attention of pacifists to the importance of such decrees at the present time, when advocates of the old military system and believers in disarmament are, in all countries, coming into conflict with each other. C. D.



In our work for disarmament, let us not forget economic and social conditions. Let us not forget that in all the countries of the world, there are millions of men, women and children who lack bread.



## News of the Sections

Frida Perlen and Gabrielle Duchêne have been on a lecture tour in Germany, getting signatures to the disarmament petition and working for reconciliation between France and Germany. They spoke to crowded meetings in Stuttgart, Bruchsal, Karlsruhe, Alsheim in Rheinhessen—a meeting attended by six hundred men and women peasants—the University of Bonn, Dortmund, Coblenz and Bielefeld. Everywhere there was great interest, sometimes lively discussion; most of the meetings were organised by groups of the W. I. L.

Our Austrian Section has sent us a most interesting document on pacifist education in Austria which unfortunately does not permit us to publish here. We would advise our Sections to put themselves in touch with our Austrian friends and get acquainted with the important pacifist work being done among Austrian young people.

The Canadian Section has 350,000 signatures to the disarmament petition and expects to reach a total of over 500,000.

Agnes MacPhail spent the month of November on a lecture tour which carried her across the Continent. She spoke on disarmament at 45 meetings. The tour was arranged by the Associated Canadian Clubs, open meetings were held in most towns, attended by all groups of the community, and, at various places, Miss MacPhail spoke to High School students.

The Toronto Group voted a resolution urging the Government to select Canadian representatives to the Disarmament Conference for their interest in and understanding of the problems involved. The resolution suggested as delegates, among others, Agnes MacPhail and J. S. Woodsworth, whose wife is an active W. I. L. member and he himself stands staunchly for peace in the Canadian Parliament.

The Caravan of the United States Section travelled nearly 9,000 miles, covering 25 States and holding meetings in 125 cities. It crossed territory where the W. I. L. had never been before. One result, quite apart from the signatures, is that it will be possible to organise new W. I. L. groups in various sections and a great part of hitherto unexplored country will be opened up for peace work.

In Great Britain the Indian Sub-Committee and the Women's Consultative

Council on Indian questions continue to work for Self-government in India. They are now much occupied with the recent repressive Bengal Ordinance on which a resolution was passed.

The British Executive passed the following resolution on Polish Ukraine:

"The Executive Committee of the W. I. L. has learned with regret that there has been no improvement during the past year in the situation in East Galicia and that the influence of the constitutional movement among the Ukrainians is undermined by the long delay in settling their legitimate grievances.

"It urges His Majesty's Government, in the interests of both parties to the dispute and of the peace of Europe, to do its utmost at the January Council to secure without further delay a just settlement of the complaints made by the Ukrainians of infractions of the Minority Treaties and to ask for a further inquiry into the causes of friction between the Poles and the Ukrainians."

The Irish Section has voted a resolution protesting against the Act lately passed in Ireland which abolishes trial by jury in political cases and gives increased power to the police. Under this Act, political cases, from the most serious crime down to the least case of "sedition" (such as being in possession of a leaflet issued by a Republican or Communist society) are tried before a military tribunal consisting of three army officers, which has power to inflict the death penalty at its discretion, and from which there is no appeal.

The Czecho-Slovak Section is carrying on active regular work. The Commissions meet weekly. Several meetings have been held this fall and others are in view. The Section cooperates with 54 other organisations in a peace cartel which it presides. Work for the disarmament petition has brought in 60,540 signatures up to date. The recent Annual Assembly voted resolutions on Stateless Persons, on economic questions and against militarist education which were sent to the National Council. The Section has worked in favour of Stateless Persons, the Ukrainians in East Galicia and the Armaments Truce.

The German Group in Czecho-Slovakia has also been working hard and has contributed 12,000 signatures to the Czech total. A meeting, a short time ago, addressed by Dr. Herbert Cysarz on "Schiller and the Problem of Morality in Europe", was most successful, also financially.

## International W. I. L. P. F. Petition for Universal and Total Disarmament

**MORE THAN THREE MILLION SIGNATURES.**

**LET'S GO FOR THE FOURTH MILLION!**

Send your petitions to the Geneva office by January 15th.

### Disarmament Petition on December 15th, 1931

| Country   | Number of inhabitants | Number of signatures |
|---|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Australia . . . . .   | 6 millions            | 72,000               |
| Austria . . . . .   | 7 "                   | 10,545               |
| Belgium . . . . .   | 8 "                   | 1,472                |
| Bulgaria . . . . .  | 5 "                   | 13,000               |
| Canada . . . . .  | 9 "                   | 350,000              |
| Czecho-Slovakia . . . . .   | 14 "                  | 87,143               |
| Denmark . . . . .   | 3.5 "                 | 50,000               |
| Finland . . . . .   | 3.6 "                 | 26,000               |
| France . . . . .  | 40 "                  | 50,653               |
| Germany . . . . .   | 62 "                  | 100,000              |
| Great Britain . . . . .   | 44 "                  | 1,575,349            |
| Holland . . . . .   | 8 "                   | 35,000               |
| Hungary . . . . .   | "                     | 4,720                |
| Ireland . . . . .   | 3 "                   | 8,020                |
| New Zealand . . . . .   | 1.5 "                 | 30,000               |
| Norway . . . . .  | 3 "                   | 45,108               |
| Palestine . . . . .   | 887,000               | 2,000                |
| Poland . . . . .  | 29 millions           | 10,000               |
| South Africa . . . . .  | 8 "                   | 5,872                |
| Sweden . . . . .  | 6 "                   | 100,000              |
| Switzerland . . . . .   | 4 "                   | 311,000              |
| Tunis . . . . .   | "                     | 1,039                |
| United States . . . . .   | 118 "                 | 150,000              |
| Albania, Argentine, Ceylon, China, Cuba, Egypt, Esthonia, India, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Madagascar, Mexico, Morocco, Portugal, Roumania, Spain, Syria, Tasmania, Uruguay |                       | 2,320                |
| 45 countries . . . . .  | Total                 | 3,044,280            |

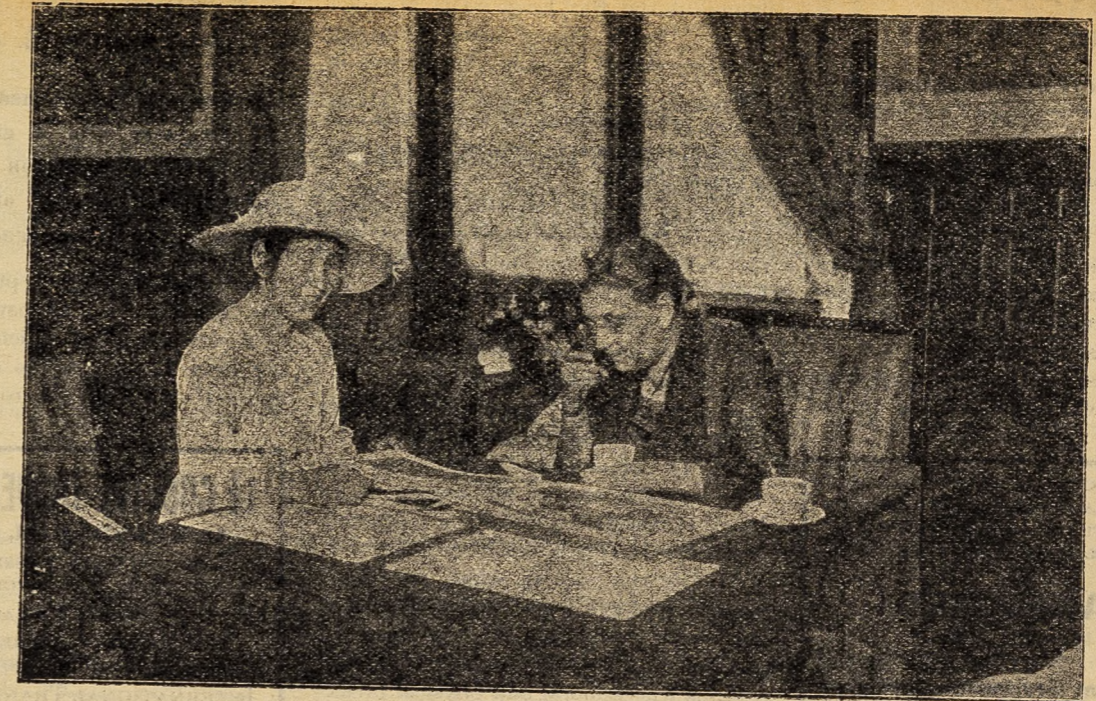
### Books received

*Le fils de l'étranger.* — E. Romelly.  
*L'enseignement de l'histoire.* — J.-L. Claparède.  
*Léon Bourgeois.* — Hamburger.  
*Pour supprimer ce crime: la guerre.* — H. Demont.

Propaganda leaflet:

*The Question of the Day: Disarmament.* 1 d.  
*La Question du jour: Désarmement.* 0.30 (French).

Order from the Geneva Office.



Jane ADDAMS in Japan

## Conference on Scientific Warfare and the Problem of Disarmament

The Conference on Scientific Warfare and the Problem of Disarmament which was to be held at the Athénée, Geneva, on January 28th and 29th has been postponed.

A public meeting will however be held on the 29th at 8.30 p.m. in the Salle Communale de Plainpalais. The speakers

will try to convince the public that a country's true security does not reside in armaments.

The date of the Conference will be announced later. Several of the speakers could not come to Geneva at the end of January.

### FOR NEWS OF THE WORK OF THE:

German Section read *DIE FRAU IM STAAT*, edited by Dr. Anita Augspurg and Lida Gustava Heymann, Kaulbachstrasse 12, Gartenhaus 1, Munich.

British Section read *THE NEWS SHEET*, 55 Gower Street, London W. C. 1.

French Section read *S.O.S.*, 7, Quai Tilsitt, Lyon.

Danish Section read *FRED OG FRIHED*, Skovvej, Aarhus.

Australian Section read *PEACEWARDS*, 40 Evelina Road, Toorak, Melbourne.

United States Section read *NEWS OF THE UNITED STATES SECTION*, 1805 H St. N. W., Washington D. C.

Women in France read *LA VOIX DES FEMMES*, 10, rue Montmartre, Paris, which also reports on the international work of the W. I. L. P. F.

## Around the World

### INDIA

The Madras Constituent Annual Conference of the All-India Women's Conference, meeting on October 24th under the Presidentship of Dr. Miss E. McDougall, Principal of the Women's Christian College in Madras, passed the following resolution which, it is hoped, will be presented to the February Disarmament Conference:

"World Peace: The women of this Conference realising the vital importance of disarmament for the peace and the happiness of the world, urge the women of India to give their whole-hearted support and sympathy to the World Disarmament Conference to be held in Geneva in February 1932.

"This Conference calls upon the Hindus and Mohammadons and all communities in India to live together in love and peace and to work in harmony one with

another for the common welfare of the country."

## Latest News Items

We hear from Tunis that a demonstration on Manchuria was organised together with the Combatants républicains and the Socialist Party.

We have good news from Prague on the work of the German Group: 16,000 signatures to the German petition.

The meeting in London on Manchuria and on the question of the export of arms made a deep impression on English public opinion.

Our San Francisco Group has recently organised a meeting on Manchuria.

The Belgian Section has 1343 new signatures to the petition.

From different sources we have received documents concerning the situation of the Ukrainian minority in Poland and the treatment of prisoners. We are asked to approach the League of Nations on this new *Pacification of the Ukraine*.

We are going to have at Headquarters, from January 15th to March 15th, two young girls, a Pole and a Bulgarian, who will work with us and get acquainted with our international work. We know that many members of the League are particularly interested in this project, which should facilitate propaganda in certain countries, and we should be very grateful for financial help. We hope to receive a few gifts.



## Opium in the Far East

### The Conference at Bangkok

The Conference called at Bangkok by the League of Nations ended on November 27, 1931.

The countries which took part (Great Britain, France, India, Burma, Japan, Holland, Portugal and Siam) have interests in the sale of opium.

It was expected that the Conference would set a definite date for the gradual

reduction, leading to suppression, of opium in the Far East. The observer for the United States made an appeal that this should be done, but it was in vain.

The four decisions of the Conference on retail trade and on minors, do nothing to check the evil.

It must not be forgotten that opium is one of the principal sources of revenue for colonial governments in the Far East. Between 1919 and 1928 opium brought in 336,078 florins in the Dutch East Indies and 110,367 dollars in French Indochina. Similarly elsewhere.

Another reason against prohibition of opium, was set forth by the Portuguese Government: The workers are used to opium and its suppression would have a disastrous effect on economic conditions!

This is the way in which the grave opium problem was considered and millions of workers in the Far East will continue to be the victims of drugs; victims whose moral and physical breakdown is a source of government revenue.

## W. I. L. P. F. International Petition for Universal Disarmament.

Switzerland has finished its campaign for signatures with a grand total of 311,000. The population is less than four millions. One out of every eleven persons in Switzerland signed the petition.

Our petition has been published in the last number of "Peacewards", organ of Australian peace societies and it has appeared in the "Revue chrétienne des femmes" of Rio-de-Janeiro.

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