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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.

Published
by the Women's International League for Peace
and Freedom



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27 AUG 1976

International Headquarters:
12, rue du Vieux-Collège, Geneva
Jane Addams, Honorary President

THE GRENOBLE CONGRESS

The Grenoble Municipality generously placed several offices in the old Hôtel de Ville at the disposal of our Congress. They opened out into the formal garden where, in 1788, the movement started that ended with the Estates General.

On the Sunday morning the Congress opened in the Salle des Concerts with Emily Balch presiding. The delegates were united in regret that Jane Addams was not there to open the Congress and preside at it and they listened with emotion to the reading of Miss Addams' telegram by Miss Balch.

In this telegram Miss Addams expressed her regret at, for the first time, being absent from the Congress. She spoke feelingly of The Hague Congress and the successive congresses where the spirit of friendship and understanding triumphed over difficulties. She was convinced that again, at the Grenoble Congress, this spirit would animate the work of the League.

After a few words of welcome by Mme. Duchêne, speaking in the name of the French Section, and the speech of Dr.

Augspurg, Miss Woolley, official delegate of the United States to the Disarmament Conference, and Miss Dingman, chairman of the Disarmament Committee of Women's International Organisations, spoke.

Then the International Secretary gave a summarised report of the work of the League since 1929.

During the rest of the meetings, reports and discussions took place according to the programme: report of Dr. Schoedon on the economic crisis, of Miss Courtney, Miss Woods and Camille Drevet on the Geneva Conference, of Mr. Michon on the situation with regard to armaments, of Camille Drevet on East Europe, of Mr. Lehmann-Russbüldt on war industries, Mr. Angström and Miss Balch on the internationalisation of aviation, Edith Pye on China, Dr. Sahlbom on scientific warfare, Dr. Clark on minorities, Frl. Heymann on opium. On the organisation of peace we heard Andrée Jouve speak of co-operation and non-violence and Mrs. Laura Puffer-Morgan of the juridical aspect. Miss Widgren spoke on Peace Missions, Miss Eaton and C. Drevet of political prisoners, Mrs. Mildred Olmsted of the Inter-American Conference at Mexico. Mr. Arnold Forster's speech on an International Force was followed by a short statement by Mme. Duchêne against such a force.

Donald Grant and Amy Woods spoke on security without armaments.

The Treasurer's report was accepted unanimously and the Secretary's report was completed by brief statements from some delegates of Sections.

Jane Addams remains Honorary President and Lida Gustava Heymann Honorary Vice-President of the League. The following were elected to the International Executive Committee: Gertrud Baer, Emily Balch, Elsa Bauer, Camille Drevet, Gabrielle Duchêne, Yella Hertzka, Edith Pye, Clara Ragaz, Cor. Ramondt-Hirschmann, Dr. Naima Sahlbom, Dr. Anna Schustlerova, Amy Woods.

The Executive Committee, which met from May 20th to 23rd and whose decisions we will print in the next *Pax*, elected its chairmen. We would have liked to have Mme. Ragaz continue to direct the work of the W. I. L., but, to our great regret, she said she would be unable to do this after October. The Committee also had to accept Miss Balch's regrets at not being able to continue as chairman, due to being at such a distance from headquarters. Mme. Ramondt-Hirschmann accepted again to carry on the ungrateful office of treasurer which she has so devotedly filled. After discussion as to possible candidates for chairmen, the Committee elected Gertrud Baer and Edith Pye, who not only have the confidence of the whole League, but also represent the different currents of opinion in our organisation. Edith Pye will take up her functions immediately and Gertrud Baer in October. We know how important the office of chairmen is and how valuable their work is at the present time. We are all very happy to have Jane Addams accept to remain honorary president of our League; she thereby gives us incalculable moral support and great encouragement.

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When, during the Congress, Mrs. Hull had to leave to return to the United States, all the delegates rose in expression of affection for Jane Addams, for the United States Section and for Mrs. Hull herself.

All the reports and discussions showed great desire to treat of present events in all their complexity. Everyone felt the anxiety caused by the economic situation and the danger of war, but in some persons it took expression in an urge to take energetic action and make bold statements: in others to take into consideration present possibilities and take more prudent steps. All had the same intentions and longings. It would perhaps be interesting to study possibilities more closely so as to gain greater confidence in the masses of all countries. The public meeting seemed, to me, a lesson and an encouragement. It pleases a section of international opinion, because it does not know the inhabitants of the towns and villages, to represent France as very militaristic; and yet in Grenoble over two thousand persons answered the call of our League. The municipal theatre was filled to the brim and everyone listened to the speeches in complete silence only interrupting to applaud the most outstanding and radical statements. The Mayor of Grenoble, Mr. Mistral, who is a Socialist deputy, presided at the meeting. Mme Duchêne gave an account of the history of the W. I. L. and introduced the speakers; Miss Pye spoke of pacifist work in England, Mr. Tchow explained the Sino-Japanese situation and Camille Drevet showed by means of facts drawn from different countries, the absolute necessity of changing the present regime of profits and violence.

Gertrud Baer's speech was listened to in a profound silence and was applauded with enthusiasm which came from understanding and serious interest, was in perfect agreement with the character of the speech and was token of the clear, forceful minds of the citizens of the Dauphiné.

All through the meeting, the audience listened, without dissension, to arguments for revision of the treaties, abolition of traffic in arms, total disarmament.

Is this not proof anew that the masses are ready to accept total disarmament when they understand what it means?

Two simple receptions were held during the Congress, one given by the Executive Committee at the Hotel Moderne, the other by the Town of Grenoble in the Town Hall.

Besides letting us invade the Hôtel de Ville, the Town of Grenoble gave us a subvention of Fr. 3000 for the Congress.

If one remembers that, at the other end of France, the Town of Lille offered us hospitality for our Executive in April 1931, it will be understood that the true face of France is to be seen neither in her big newspapers nor in her delegation to the Geneva Conference. And this would be true of most countries.

Thanks to Mme Duchêne, helped by Germaine Baurez, thanks to the French Section, and to Mme. Rouvel, Mlle. Leduc, and other members of the Grenoble Group, thanks to the collaboration of Selma Meyer and Miss Rolandus, who helped in the office, the work of the Congress, which had been carefully prepared by Mme. Ramondt, went off well. Certain unforeseen events, such as legislative elections and the death of the president of the Republic, complicated affairs. At any Congress there are certain material arrangements which evoke criticism, but with the grave situation we have before us to-day, I think we should concentrate on the impression the Congress made on public opinion.

The impression made was great and this is due, in part, to the local press (*Dépêche dauphinoise* and *Petit Dauphinois*) but particularly to Mr. Y. Farge, who is devoted to our cause and followed the Congress closely.

The delegates took advantage of rare leisure left by the crowded programme to spend a few hours at the Chartreuse, at the Lauteret or at Sassenage, and they were all enthusiastic about the beauties of the Dauphinois countryside.

An American journalist, Mr. Strong, who followed the Congress attentively, spoke of his hope of seeing Jane Addams' spirit animate the work of the League.

Since the Congress the voices of individuals and groups have been raised against war. While Einstein and Ponsby were setting forth at Geneva before the international press a programme of work which is magnificently described by a Swiss paper as "a menace to peace", the Second International at Zurich was calling on its members to be ready to combat war.

Our League must remain in the advance guard, for the danger of war is increasingly great. Let us not forget the slogan of our Grenoble Congress: "World Disarmament or World Disaster".

Camille Drevet.

(The Secretary's report will be printed and sent to the Sections.)

The Congress Report will appear towards the end of the month.

OPENING ADDRESS AT THE GRENOBLE CONGRESS BY Dr. ANITA AUGSPURG

Dear Friends,

You can be no more disappointed than I that, in place of our honoured and beloved President, I am to open the Seventh Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and bid you heartily welcome.

I give greetings to you all, members and fellow workers from far and near. I want especially to welcome our new friends from Africa and our old members from India, China and Japan, threatened with war and disaster.

We thank our French friends from our hearts for their invitation to the Congress and the preparations which have cost them such effort. I also want to thank the authorities of this beautiful city who have given such generous support in the preparations and have received us in such a beautiful room.

We had profoundly cherished the hope of having Jane Addams with us, of seeing her quite recovered from her serious illness; and of having her personality of such rare strength — in Goethe's sense — to lead and inspire us. We are deeply grieved at our loss.

Her spirit and leadership were never more necessary than at this Congress when we are more than ever faced with a world torn by crisis, misery and chaos, and when, in our work, we need more than ever to keep before our eyes and in our consciences the inviolable principles of our League:

Peace and Freedom.

Cultural and spiritual progress, economic justice, can only exist under Peace.

Peace can only exist where there is freedom; there only will there be peace and cultural development.

We want freedom from any oppression of weapons, of economic exploitation, of race or sex privileges.

The oppression of humanity in these three forms is, however, the characteristic mark of our times.

Militarism defends itself with desperate solidarity against the united demand of all the peoples for disarmament. It tries to drown this demand in new bloodshed, by letting loose war in the Far East, which may spread to Europe and start a new world conflagration.

Financial forces are also concentrating their strength in a life and death struggle. Natural resources are even less productive than before the war; technique and methods of production have grown better,

Manifesto

of the 7th Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

In these anxious days when the fate of the world is being decided, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom urges the Governments, before it is too late, to respond to the united appeal of the peoples for peace by abolishing arms and armies and by carrying out national and international reforms which will assure to them a future in which all nations will co-operate in harmony, and in which humanity may attain its full development.

The disastrous results of the last war through which States are being driven into agricultural, industrial, commercial and financial bankruptcy, are increasing every day. Although the world as a whole has abundant means to supply the needs of all the continents, millions of human beings are dying of hunger.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom believes that organised world co-operation must be the first step towards a new era and whatever dangers may menace mankind, in the future, none can be compared with the evils of war, which through the discoveries of science would be a war of extermination. If the world is to be saved from disaster, this co-operation must be organised without delay and must include the prevention of all possibility of war.

Following the example of its founders when in 1915, in war time, they met at The Hague to give warning to the world and to try to find ways of escaping disaster, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom assembled in Congress at Grenoble, May 1932, repeats this warning.

It is convinced that tremendous issues hang upon the success of the Disarmament Conference, and that its failure or prolonged delay would bring such an increase of fear and suspicion, such an addition to the miseries of the peoples already bowed down by the burden of armaments, as would lead inevitably to world war.

It follows, therefore, with deep anxiety the work of this Conference, from which the peoples expect immediate measures which will lead as rapidly as possible to total and universal disarmament. The methods of obstruction employed, the rejection or putting aside of propositions for disarmament and the composition of many of the delegations awake in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom a justifiable indignation.

It rejects the suggestion that war can be humanized and declares that the only security lies in the abolition of war itself.

It declares that the solution of the problems of the organisation of peace must be found in an international agreement for total and universal disarmament.

Consequently it insists that the Governments shall give to their Delegates at the Disarmament Conference orders to declare unequivocally from now onwards that total and universal disarmament is their goal and to fix the stages by which this shall be attained.

Convinced that reduction of armaments will lessen the danger of international conflicts, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom considers that this first Conference can and must respond to the peoples' demand and decide upon important reductions in all categories of armaments, sea, land, and air, upon an equal basis for all countries concerned, which must not imply rearmament of countries disarmed by the peace treaties.

Aware that profits made by certain groups and individuals are a main obstacle to disarmament, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom urges that immediate measures be taken to put an end to private manufacture and unrestricted trade in armaments.

It is strongly opposed to the creation of a new form of militarism in the shape of an international armed force in any form.

It demands the establishment of a Permanent Disarmament Commission with power to supervise the carrying out of agreements reached.

Grenoble, 15th - 19th May, 1932.

CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

KELLOGG PACT

Considering that in general the existing constitutions are not in conformity with the obligations of the Briand-Kellogg Pact, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom urges its National Sections to demand from their Governments and Parliaments revision of their respective Constitutions in order effectively to outlaw war as an instrument of national policy.

PRINCIPLES OF THE W. I. L. P. F.

In these anxious days when the fate of the world seems to hang in the balance and violence is growing in many directions throughout the world, this *VIIth Congress assembled in Grenoble* desires to re-affirm the stand of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and all its National Groups and Sections, against violence and oppression of every kind; whether employed between different nations, classes or individuals and whether under the influence of Fascism or Communism or any other system of government. It declares the League to have no financial affiliation with nor to be under the domination of any political party, national or international or any government whatsoever.

The W. I. L. P. F. 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 by National Sections is based upon the statements adopted and the Resolutions passed by the International Congresses of the League.

OPIUM

The Anti-Opium Commission follows with growing anxiety the increasing evil effects on health and morals developed by the trade, smuggling and use of noxious drugs in many countries, especially in the East. The efforts of individual Governments and authorities to stop trade and smuggling by legal measures and penalties can be of no effect; only collective action by all countries can bring a change.

After years of negotiations, conferences, examination, etc., the Opium Commission of the League of Nations, in which 57 countries were represented, adopted a Convention in 1931 which, when ratified and put into effect, will check the over-production of noxious drugs which is the root of the evil.

To bring this Convention into effect, it is necessary to have the ratification of four of the following countries: France, United States, Great Britain, Japan, Holland, Germany, Switzerland and Turkey.

illusion of the duty of preserving the family or the nation, takes active part or even gives tacit consent to such "preparations for mobilisation against gas warfare" becomes accomplice in advance to a monstrous crime;

Believes that the scheme for promoting defensive or offensive air warfare could be checked if sufficient women and citizens refused to lend themselves to the part they are asked to play;

By giving publicity to this refusal, they would put their own and other governments in the moral impossibility of continuing this preparation of general massacre under cover of "humanitarian precautions".

In consequence, the Executive Committee proposes to women, mothers, teachers and all citizens to sign the following declaration which, formulating as it does what each one can and must do, should be adopted and distributed everywhere as a categorical and final refusal

The Seventh Congress of the W. I. L. P. F., meeting in Grenoble, urges the Governments and Parliaments of the countries in question to ratify the Convention proposed by the Opium Commission of the League of Nations as rapidly as possible; it further appeals to all organisations, all men and women, in the countries concerned, who combat opium and noxious drugs, to make every effort to secure from their Government, as promptly as possible, ratification of the Convention.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AFTER THE CONGRESS

This Executive Committee regards with horror the results of unrestricted trade in armaments and of the profits derived from their manufacture and sale, through which it is convinced that war scares and competition in armaments are fomented.

In 1915, realising that disarmament could only be secured by international agreements, the W. I. L. P. F. urged as a first step that Governments agree to the nationalisation of arms and munitions. It saw clearly that: *„private profits accruing from the great armament factories are a powerful hindrance to the abolition of war.“*

It believes that the Disarmament Conference cannot make effective advance towards its object unless a way is found and accepted to prevent these evils.

against any governmental attempt to enroll the civil population in "manoeuvres against gas warfare".

Declaration

I refuse to my Government the right to prepare itself and to prepare me for poison gas warfare, that is, for universal assassination.

I refuse to provide for myself or to be considered as provided for against this monstrous crime. By this public refusal I leave to my Government and to other Governments the responsibility of undertaking such unexampled murder, for which they alone can give the order, against an unarmed population.

In order to deprive them of all pretext or excuse, I therefore indignantly refuse to take part in any way in exercises which are called protective but which in reality mean moral and material preparation for gas warfare; and I undertake to oppose them by all legal means.

The W. I. L. P. F. therefore makes the following proposals:

1) No new orders for war material should be permitted for an agreed number of years.

2) During this time the estimated need for every country for small arms only (police, frontier guards, sport, etc.) shall be registered at the Secretariat of the League of Nations; new estimates to be presented at fixed intervals.

3) When the existing stock of small arms in a country falls below its requirements it may be authorised to manufacture small arms only in state factories up to the amount required under (2).

4) Production and registering by the States to be subject to international control.

The Executive Committee, believing that the proposals now before the Disar-

mament Conference for the abolition of certain classes of armaments are an advance towards total and universal disarmament, urges all states represented at the Conference to agree to the abolition of the armaments prohibited in the Peace Treaties.

(Further resolutions voted by the Executive Committee will be published in the July Pax.)

DEPUTATION TO HENDERSON

Mr. Henderson received a Deputation from the W. I. L. P. F. on June 7th at 5 p.m. in the Secretariat of the League of Nations. Mrs. Ramondt-Hirschmann headed the Deputation and presented to Mr. Henderson the Manifesto and the

IMPRESSIONS OF THE CONGRESS

The Study of Disarmament Problems at the Congress.

The W. I. L. P. F. covers such a big field of activities that it was not possible, even in five days, to find time for adequate discussion of the urgent problems which need to be understood by those who are trying to help the progress of immediate disarmament measures.

We have learned a good deal of how our Sections are working in a number of countries but we lacked time to hear what the general public are saying, how they are likely to influence their Governments, how far the Governments are likely to go and in what points they might go further in response to the pressure of world public opinion.

What the delegates will do now at the Conference depends, not on what pioneer pacifists are saying, but on whether the mass of the people in their countries are insisting that they must act.

The W. I. L. P. F. delegates come from countries where there is at least the profession of democratic government though in some the economic catastrophe has brought about virtual dictatorship. It has been very valuable to get more knowledge of the difficulties and problems which this brings, though shortness of time has left us guessing at much which might have been cleared up.

American and English members of the Executive learned with surprise in the last discussion before closing their lengthy agenda of something which seems to be so familiar to Continental Sections that it was never mentioned in the Congress—the widespread pro-

paganda that is being carried on to persuade people to learn how to protect themselves from gas attacks. Although the International Red Cross reported in 1929 that there is no practicable method for the protection of civilians, the Red Cross Societies are joining in this campaign through which many thousands of people are being made to feel that gas warfare is certain to come, that they can be protected from it and that there is no special call to protest about it.

In the afternoon lectures of the Congress several important questions closely concerning the Disarmament Conference were studied and valuable material was given to the delegates and visitors.

The manufacture, trade and supervision of war industries was dealt with by Dr. Lehmann-Russbüdt on the lines of his well known book. Tord Angström of Sweden gave a most interesting account of the development of aviation, showing how it has been influenced and to some extent hampered by the absorption of Governments in the military side. This has brought a wrong spirit into a new enterprise which should have been regarded primarily as a means of strengthening international relations and has also tended to less efficiency and economy than development on purely commercial lines might have given. At present commercial aviation does not pay and the aircraft industry would be hampered by abolition or even reduction of Air Forces unless government support were given to it. Angström is afraid that complete internationalisation would involve great delays

Resolutions voted at the Seventh Congress of the W. I. L. P. F. at Grenoble.

The Deputation was composed of four members of the Executive Committee of the W. I. L. P. F.: Emily Balch, U.S.A., Camille Drevet, France, Cor. Ramondt-Hirschmann, Holland, and Amy Woods, U.S.A. The following represented different national sections and groups: Frau Goldman, Austria, Vassilka Kerteva, Bulgaria, Thora Daugaard, Denmark, Hilda Clark, England, Gerta Andersen, Estonia, Mathilde Rolli, the Geneva Group, Henriette Kuipers, Holland, Mme Ferrero-Lombroso, the Italian Group Abroad, Enid MacNair, Scotland, Mathilde Widegren, Sweden, Blanche Huber, Louisa Jaques and Blanche Lévy, Switzerland, Helena Dudley, Anna Graves, Lola Lloyd and Anne Zueblin, U.S.A.

to technical and economic progress and could not be applied to private flying, through which abuses for military purposes might occur. However he believes that international control and supervision could be made effective and strongly supports the abolition of all military Air Forces.

Emily Balch spoke briefly to the same subject and her most valuable paper was distributed, giving an account of the various proposals that have been made.

The question of an international Armed Force was dealt with by Mr. Arnold Forster who gave us excellent material for our arguments against the French proposals for the retention of modern armaments under the pledge of international use. In an analysis of the international method necessary to prevent war and to curb an aggressive State, he explained the importance of collective action to make sure that an "aggressor" does not gain anything by force and the impossibility of bringing effective pressure in restraint of a State while the world is armed as at present.

This policy that States should refuse to "recognise" a situation brought about by methods of war was also discussed by Mrs. Laura Puffer Morgan in a most valuable survey of the possibilities of American cooperation to promote disarmament by collective action in restraint of a peace-breaker. She believes that the practicable way is on the lines of agreement to consult and that this would give confidence to other States that America would not obstruct measures taken to prevent war.

Hilda Clark.

Impressions of the Grenoble Congress.

The city of Grenoble is welcoming and beautiful. It is a city of mountains, of the South and with its university is full of young people. Spring adds wisteria and lilacs to Grenoble's loveliness.

One felt poignant emotion at finding old friends from all corners of the world meeting together in the most serious period since the war: desperate situation in Central Europe with war latent; the Sino-Japanese war in progress and Russia threatened; war in India, unemployment and bankruptcy in all countries. We live in a time of terrible chaos which seems the dawn of a combination of international war and uprising, poverty and unending violence. Without doubt there are people in all countries making conscious resistance but it is also true that the peoples, having been tricked and made desperate, are carried away by Fascist demagogues.

Our role is to:

- (1) State our principles more clearly than ever;
- (2) Denounce all those who foment war;
- (3) Propose remedies for present evils;
- (4) Support and clarify the peoples' desire for peace by influencing them through our propaganda to take pacific action.

Is this the role we took during the Congress?

(1) Our principles? We are all agreed in holding to them. The W. I. L. remains independent of all political parties and seeks to work against injustice and violence in any form. Anita Augspurg reminded us of this most firmly in her opening address.

(2) We condemn the treaties of 1918 and the minority situation created, secret diplomacy, the great power of the military, of banks, of manufacturers and traders in arms and munitions, of the proposal for an international force. This condemnation was strengthened by C. Drevet, H. Clark, G. Michon, Otto Lehmann-Russbüldt, G. Duchêne, G. Baer, F. Perlen, Léo Wanner, etc.

(3) Our remedies? This is where difficulties arose. Everyone is agreed as to the necessity of working to abolish manufacture and traffic in arms and that this would facilitate the attainment of our goal of total and universal disarmament. But tactics are different according to the degree of confidence placed in the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference and according to whether we think we should speak their language and work step by step, or whether we think we should make immediate demand, without concessions, for the final goal

with definite stages laid down now. In our League there are two camps which are in constant opposition on this difference of method.

Everyone is agreed as to the necessity of consolidating all peace forces in a great movement of resistance to war, war in China and the extension of the conflict to the rest of the world. But here again the methods are different: the one side wishes to make as great use as possible of all that international jurisdiction offers, and it believes that is sufficiently efficacious; the other side no longer has faith in jurisdiction and, feeling that time presses, thinks the moment has come for the peoples to organise themselves to oppose war by united refusal, unanimous conscientious objection. Both sides condemn violent methods.

These differences were very much marked in the discussion on Miss Pye's report on the Sino-Japanese war and on the resolutions concerning India; agreement was even more difficult in the drafting of a Congress Manifesto to the Disarmament Conference.

I do not, however, think that the importance of these differences of tactics should be exaggerated, as long as our principles are safe — nor should one conclude that concerted international action is impossible. These two methods, indeed all methods, can be used at the same time and their efficacy can be judged by results. The Sections are free to use one or the other, according to the time and to the temperament of those taking action.

(4) As regards propaganda among the public, we have found that it is everywhere listened to with interest and growing enthusiasm. We know, in France, where the crisis is less absorbing, what progress has been made in late years. The Grenoble meeting was encouraging proof. The applause showed clearly that our decisive and radical programme pleases a public which refuses to be deceived and insists on peace. I hope that this change in French public opinion has given our friends from other countries some little hope in the future of our poor world.

In concluding, I wish to express some regrets and some desires. In the first place, the regret not to have had Jane Addams with us. Her great serenity enables her to keep the discussions at a level where all personal questions and conflicts of temperament disappear. I have often expressed the wish that the form of our Congresses might be rejuvenated. A Congress, and this was painfully true at Grenoble, is encumbered by

antiquated rules of order which take life from the discussion; on the other hand, as there are too many and too strict rules, these are not carefully followed and the result is disorder which wastes much precious time. Would it not be possible to agree on a few precise but supple rules, drawn up in advance, and which would be closely followed?

Finally our Grenoble programme had two faults which could be prevented in future:

(1) It was too full and this made intensive work, without any breathing space, necessary. How much better the work would have been if we could have had one free afternoon in the middle of the Congress and have kept to the eight hour day!

(2) It was a great mistake to spend four fifths of the time on documentary studies and accounts of work done in the last three years—certainly very interesting but these could be read—while the vote on resolutions on the political situation only occupied a fifth of the time. Thus, with inevitable delays, the most important work—indeed the "raison d'être" of the Congress—was crowded into a feverish half day and left unfinished. I think the proportion should be the other way round: Present and future work, with full discussion and suggestions from the audience, should take up the larger part of the time. The greatest possible profit should be drawn from the unique opportunity that a Congress offers for us to meet, exchange observations, but particularly to agree on possible immediate action in the present anxious state of the world.

Friendly relations still unite us in spite of barriers; our principles are maintained in spite of a world where brutality, coarseness of spirit and violence do not cease to grow; fine people in all countries come in larger and larger numbers to understand and agree with our ideas and to wish to work with us. This indeed should prevent our losing hope in our work and in the world.

Andrée Jouve.

.....
**BRING IN NEW MEMBERS
AND SUBSCRIBERS TO PAX
AND HELP OUR INTERNA-
TIONAL WORK**
.....

not worse; men's will to work and to produce is at its strongest lashed by necessity and privation. But they are not allowed to produce goods, or exchange them, because concentration of capital dominates the earth and financial forces use their power, either to check each other or to force Governments and Parliaments to serve the ends of capital.

The entire financial profit from the world war has, in the last analysis, flowed into the armaments industries, which are international and stand shoulder to shoulder. They plotted the war and the peoples allowed themselves to be led into a state of complete collapse. Recognition of this relationship has gradually become so widespread, that armaments' magnates feel their supremacy endangered and are at work to strengthen it through new quarrels.

The most urgent work of our Congress seems to me the protection of the world from these new manoeuvres of armaments' industries; it is expressed in the words: *World Disarmament or World Disaster*.

Our knowledge must be broadened and deepened: our realisation that Fascism, which is growing in various countries, is subsidised by armaments' interests, that a powerful international press, many parties in many countries and many influential statesmen are under their influence; that all over the world the germs of discord and jealousy are sown and nourished by them.

We must oppose our whole moral strength against these powers and spread understanding, enlightenment and knowledge concerning the new, secret undermining of confidence and of the interests that the states have in common. Union and cooperation among the nations can alone guarantee welfare and progress for all individuals, peoples and races.

Let us work in this spirit and let us send Jane Addams a message that with great love and the deepest wishes for her recovery, we shall try to fulfil our task according to her example.

Anita Augspurg.

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**SUMMARY OF THE SPEECH
BY
GERTRUD BAER
AT GRENOBLE, MAY 15th, 1932**

On the different occasions when, since the war, I have spoken in France, it has always been at a time of peculiar tension between our two countries. But the root of the tension remains the same: disarmament, reparations, debts, economic

crisis. These problems rise up like monsters before us; one head is destroyed but others grow in its place. These problems cannot be separated from one another and the clearest result of the Geneva Conference is to have proved their interdependence. People talk disarmament and think reparations; they talk reparations and think Danube Federation; they talk Danube Federation and think economic crisis and millions of unemployed. Behind all the conversations and reflections of statesmen at Geneva and at home, lurks the phantom of fear which dictates their policies, imposes the two theses of security and equality on the Disarmament Conference, disunites the peoples of France and Germany, threatens to lead whole populations to ruin and is incapable of construction or synthesis.

Yet what we need is a policy of synthesis and the first step should be that Franco-German rapprochement which we have long asked for. The Geneva Conference shows that no progress will ever be made without reconciliation of the German and French theses.

For us, women of the German Section of the League, equality can exist only in total disarmament, and never in armaments themselves no matter what form they take. It is the same for security. The peoples have a right to equality and security, but they can only attain them by disarming their own country as they wish to have "the others" disarmed. Statesmen must abandon a policy of armaments. If we are to be faithful to the Kellogg Pact, waste must be stopped while almost a hundred million people, for lack of work, live in poverty.

Do people want disarmament? They do and they don't. They want to continue with the manufacture and traffic in arms which enrich a few men, but on the other hand they don't want to continue because war has shown itself bad business for the world economy. The nearer we got to the Geneva Conference, the more intense manufacture and traffic in arms became and in February 1932, air waves brought us the double news of the Disarmament Conference and of bombs falling on Shanghai, illustrating the duplicity of the present regime.

This murderous business, which is shameful for our so-called civilisation, must be put to an end. There must be an end to the regime of war profits, private profits and state industries. Nationalisation of war industries cannot be a solution. But is sincere disarmament possible under the present regime of profit? I myself do not believe so as the profiteers are not willing to give up sure

profit at a time when less destructive and less murderous businesses are bad.

Where is the world going? It is going where we push it. But it has not yet got very far. Thirty three years ago to-day, on May 18th, 1899, the first Conference for Disarmament was opened at The Hague and to-day, once again, official experts are puzzling their brains and trying to find a way of washing producers of war materials and military men without wetting them. The danger is greater to-day than in 1899 because of the importance of the industrial potential. This term implies the whole horror of a future war, whether international or civil. Therefore internal disarmament is as necessary as external disarmament.

The International of War Industries is preparing war horrors, but where is the International of those who protest against the hypocrisy of governments and the cynicism of profiteers? To be silent in the face of these things, is to tolerate them. Hitler's movement would never have grown so fast if progressive elements had not tolerated it. To tolerate means to give up progress without a struggle.

Where is the International of activists? Where are the workers who refuse to load arms and munitions for the Far East? Where are the leaders who encourage the few workers who had the courage to strike? The sympathy of the whole world should have supported the workers who refused to be accomplices to the butchery in China. Every weakness on the part of adversaries of war is an enormous gain for the International of War Industries. Truth must be told with a loud voice. It is not enough for us to defend ourselves; our slogan must be the attack. It must be: Solidarity among all those who fight for total disarmament, among all those who refuse to take part in any preparation for war, among all those who refuse to manufacture or transport war material, among all those who denounce the machinations of those who foment war.

We must denounce, at the Disarmament Conference, relations between private industry and present wars, between the state manufacturers and the Sino-Japanese war. The producers of war materials should be classed with common law criminals; those who prepare war and profit by it should at last be punished.

We want state constitutions to be in harmony with international treaties, we want public law that will insist on execution of treaties, for commercial treaties are signed with countries and customs wars then carried on against them. Peace treaties are signed and military

wars are carried on, with or without declaration of war.

Women, workers and young people: do not let us be crushed by reductions of salaries and unemployment which make people tractable. Do not let us be crushed by fear and desire for revenge sustained by war profiteers. Let us show up the objects of these profiteers, national objects often related to international interests. We are the nations. The true frontiers do not follow political boundaries; they divide the peoples into exploiters and exploited. The nations

are all those starving, unemployed, desperate persons, those thousands of children who are undernourished because their parents' unemployment insurance is too little for life but too big for death. You in France knew the terrible evils of war, you suffered and we felt for you. The world now knows the sufferings of the post-war period, the desperation

which brings violence and blindness, but cannot bring peace. To work for peace means to work for a new order, for a social and economic system which will provide bread and work for everyone. Technical and scientific inventions are not created in order to destroy us, but in order to build up a new world of peace and justice. Justice engenders peace which in turn can alone fortify a world regime of justice. This is a grave moment. We have come to the crossroads and we must choose between the collapse of our civilisation and peace.

Madame Marthe Bray

member of our League and an active pacifist and feminist, founder of the Paris Branch of the League for Feminist Action, informs all members attending the Grenoble Congress that she can provide comfortable rooms at very reasonable prices in the

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PAX INTERNATIONAL

MONTHLY BULLETIN OF THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

published by the Headquarters Office of the
W. I. L. P. F., 12, rue du Vieux-Collège, Geneva.

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