

# BEHIND THE SCENES AT THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

Z. LIPPAY

**WHY WAS HENDERSON ELECTED  
CHAIRMAN ?**

**WHY DID FRANCE SUPPORT JAPAN ?**

**WHAT IS AMERICA'S GAME ?**

**WHY DID THE SOVIET GOVERN-  
MENT GO ?**

● *The only pamphlet exposing the  
falsity of the official "reports"  
to the Conference on Armaments*

**A STARTLING AND  
TRENCHANT EXPOSURE**

64 pages with 10 pages of armaments statistics,  
3d. (4d. post free).

Published by the British Delegation to the World Anti-War Congress,  
53 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

# UNITED FRONT AGAINST WAR

**27 COUNTRIES**

represented by

**2,196 Delegates from**

**30,000 Organisations and**

**30,000,000 People**

**REPORT and  
MANIFESTO**  
OF THE  
**WORLD ANTI-WAR CONGRESS**  
AT  
**AMSTERDAM**

**AUGUST 27th—29th, 1932**

**ONE PENNY**



## CONTENTS

	Page
Foreword - - - -	I
Manifesto - - - -	6
The Pledge - - - -	II
The British Delegation - -	13
Enrolment Form -	p. 3 of cover

---

**Your attention is especially called to the  
Enrolment Form on the inside back cover**

## The World Anti-War Congress

ON August 26th, 1932, two thousand men and women, the delegates of thirty million workers from twenty-seven countries, met together in Amsterdam. They were the first Anti-War Congress ever to be held by the workers of the world.

No one who saw the Anti-War Congress in session will ever forget the scene. We delegates faced a platform on which sat some of the most remarkable figures in the world to-day. At the rostrum stood Henri Barbusse, the originator of the Congress, thin, nervous, sensitive, typically French. Behind him sat the stalwart figures of Münzenberg, the German workers' leader, of Cachin, the French leader, and of our own hale veteran of innumerable industrial struggles, Tom Mann. A little to the left sat Mrs. Wright, mother of two of the negro boys condemned in the Scottsboro' case, her eager face lighting up at the sight of such a Congress. Then there was Patel, from the Indian National Congress Party, in his snow-white cotton cloth, and away on the right the fine-drawn face of Mrs. Despard, who has given a long life to the service of the Irish people. There should have been other faces there. Einstein, the greatest scientist in the world, and Rolland, the great writer, were both only prevented from coming by ill-health. But the biggest gap of all were the empty seats which should have held Maxim Gorki and the Russian delegation. The Dutch Government had paid Gorki and the other Russians the tribute of excluding them from Holland. The Congress rose to cheer the red banner which the Russians sent as a token of their intended presence.

But it was not on the platform, but in the body of the hall that the scene was most striking. Every nation on earth seemed to be present. Japanese and Chinese workers sat next to each other. Here were men who had come at the risk of their liberties, if not of their lives, from the military dictatorships of the Balkans. Here were delegates from South American republics struggling against United States Imperialism, and beside them was a delegation of United States workers. The British delegation was next

the German. And it was upon the German delegation, above all, that attention was centred.

The hall in which the Congress met was decorated with streamers and banners which carried on them phrases expressing the purpose of the Congress in a dozen languages, such as "Stop the Transport of Munitions," "Defend the Soviet Union," "Stop the Brigandage of Japan," "Break the Fascist Terror." For every delegate these words were meant in deadly earnest. But when we looked at the German delegation we saw men and women who had just come from the scene of a violent struggle for the realisation of the ideas expressed by the words inscribed on the banners, who had come from daily and hourly peril to their lives, and who were the next day to return to that peril. There were Red Front fighters (the Communist Defence Organisation) and Reichsbannermen (the Socialist Organisation), both in uniform, expressing the determination of the German workers to fight shoulder to shoulder against the Fascist terror. They were the living symbol of the united front of the workers. These were comrades from "the front." There were seven hundred of them, young men and women, for the most part; keen, active, moved from time to time to fierce enthusiasm, which infected the whole hall, when a speaker succeeded in expressing the pent-up determination of the Congress. At such times, the whole Congress would leap to its feet and thunder applause. From the Germans would ring out their battle cry of "Red Front," thrice repeated with clenched fist held high, until every delegate in the Conference took up the cry. And at the third shout the strain of the International would break loose from two thousand throats.

It was, above all, this unconquerable spirit which surged through the conference; it was the sight of thousands of young, ardent faces, of the bright shirts or striking uniforms of the delegates; it was the waves of singing, the stamped applause—it was all this which inspired the Congress.

Nor was the French delegation less impressive. Here were more than 500 workers conscious that their Government was aggressively and violently Imperialist. Their speeches showed the other, the true France, the France, not of Poincaré and the Ruhr, but of the French workers and peasants, expressing their solidarity with their German comrades. And these French and German workers knew

that co-operation could never exist between them so long as they were ruled by their respective capitalist masters. They told the Congress that they knew what must be done in order to end the age-long strife between them. They told the Congress plainly that what was necessary was not to chatter and bicker at Geneva, but to overthrow each his own capitalist government. Then and then alone could the "Franco-German problem" be solved.

The Italian delegates, like the Germans, spoke at the risk of their liberties. And the most courageous act of the whole Congress came from an Italian naval rating, who spoke to the Congress in the full uniform of the Italian navy.

But the British delegation had something in store for the Congress along this line. Len Wincott, a leader of the mutiny in the British navy, told the story of Invergordon. You may imagine the sensation which it made when Wincott rose to speak. For here was a man who, along with others, had organised revolt in the armed forces of a great Imperialist State to the point of open mutiny in defence of working class interests.

Marcel Cachin, the leader of the French Communists, expressed admirably the utter disillusionment of the workers with the League of Nations and all that it stands for. "The fight against war," he said, "is impossible without a clear condemnation of the Geneva brand of pacifism. What is the balance sheet of Geneva? We have had ten years of conferences, ten years of speeches, of sessions, of commissions, of propositions, and at the end of these ten years the result is war in Manchuria and China, war which threatens to engulf the whole world!"

Some fine speeches were made by members of the Social Democratic parties of the European countries. These parties correspond to the British Labour Party and are all constitutional parties committed to anti-revolutionary methods. Nevertheless, 347 members of these parties attended the Congress and several of them made speeches in which they testified to the determination of the Socialist workers to take direct action against war and war preparations, even in spite of their own leaders. M. Poupy, for example, a French Socialist Member of Parliament, in a remarkable speech, expressed the determination of the French Socialist workers to make a united front with

everyone who was prepared to fight war, while M. Nicolle, Editor of a Swiss Socialist newspaper, gave the same testimony on behalf of the Swiss workers. But the speech which roused the Congress most of all came from Willi Münzenberg, the German member of Parliament. He told us of a conversation which he had just had with Patel. Patel is a supporter of Gandhi's non-violence methods. Patel said that he considered that he who receives a bullet is braver than he who fires it. "May be," said Münzenberg, "but it's a fact that he who fires the bullet stays upright, while he who receives it falls to the ground. And we, we workers," continued Münzenberg with terrific vigour, "we workers do not wish to die. We wish to defeat the White Army, to triumph with the Red Army. We will the death of Capitalism and the triumph of Socialism."

That brought the whole Congress cheering to its feet. Here was the authentic voice of the workers of the world, free of any illusions about the necessity for struggle, but determined to fight for themselves not for their masters, determined to live and not to die, determined to overthrow the Governments of the world which threaten to send them to another slaughter.

But what *was* this Anti-War Congress, it will be asked. How did it come into existence? Who summoned it? Under what auspices was it held? The World Anti-War Congress was summoned at the invitation of two great French writers, Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland. These two men, when they felt the frightful danger of war growing greater month by month, sent out in the early summer of 1932 a world-wide call to every man and woman to take up immediately the task of organising a vast movement of mass resistance to war. They represented no particular political party and they had no organisation. And yet in a brief three months their original appeal had brought together a vast congress at Amsterdam. How was this miracle accomplished? From the first, many of the greatest scientists and writers, the most famous men in the world of intellect, rallied to their appeal. But from the workers of the world in their millions came the greatest response. In every country a campaign to secure a delegation to the Congress was launched. For it was clear that the appeal of Barbusse and Rolland had struck a note which re-echoed in millions of minds. Whatever differences,

whatever doubts the workers of the world might have, it soon became clear that this issue of the fight against the menace of war, and how best to conduct it, was something which united them almost to a man. And so a world-wide campaign of meetings and conferences secured the election of over two thousand delegates. These delegates were men and women trusted by their fellows, Trade Union branch secretaries, chairmen of Co-operative Guilds, members of all the working class parties. In Britain, for example, I.L.P.'ers, Labour Party members and Communists alike, represented the determination of millions of British workers to find a practical and effective way to resist both the preparation for new wars and the waging of existing wars.

By these means the possibility of a universal Anti-War Congress was made into a reality.

It was an astonishing story and the Congress was an amazing scene. And yet out of the whole vast newspaper Press of the world, out of all the hundreds of Conservative, Liberal and so-called "Labour" newspapers, not one gave it more than a few lines. What greater tribute to the power and the determination of the workers, and to the soundness of the methods which they are now adopting, could the capitalists' pay than to instruct their pressmen that so terribly dangerous an event as the Congress Against War must not even be mentioned?

The Congress ended with the adoption of the detailed manifesto which forms the second half of this pamphlet. But the work of the Congress has not ended. It is only beginning. The World Anti-War Congress was the first important step in the development and mobilisation of the world-wide movement of the workers against war. Here is a test issue. Here is the simplest of all working class demands—the demand for life itself—the demand not to be killed in a new Imperialist butchery. Who will support this demand? Who will help the workers to organise their resistance to the preparations for war at home, to the actual waging of war in the Far East? Who will support the refusal of the workers to make or load munitions?

This is the campaign which is being waged this winter in Britain and in every other country. We call on every worker no matter what his political opinions may be to help to organise the fight against War.

# MANIFESTO

OF THE

## WORLD CONGRESS AGAINST WAR,

Amsterdam, 27, 28, 29 August, 1932

The workers by hand and brain united in this Congress against War realise the importance of the task which has been entrusted to them by millions of men and women in all countries. In order to lay a solid foundation for their future work, they wish to record in a single document the efforts and intentions of this Congress and to come to an agreement on the essential points and conditions of the struggle against war, and the duties and responsibilities incumbent on each and on all.

The Congress, regardless of the ideological and political differences which may separate its various component elements, desires to face facts and facts only. It emphasises that the dangers of war are no less real and grave to-day than in the years immediately preceding 1914. Though no one, not even those ready to launch the war, can specify the exact date of its outbreak, the fate of the human race is nevertheless at the mercy of some diplomatic conflict, of some frontier incident, or of a political crime.

### EXISTING WARS.

The Congress faces the facts. It points out that colonial wars, wars for the purpose of establishing protectorates and for economic robbery, are raging in all parts of the world. It points out that entire nations and vast countries such as India, Morocco or Nicaragua, are at the present moment waging a defensive war against the armed forces of imperialist profiteers.

The Congress observes the invasion of China by Japan, a fact which implies that the Great Powers are the latter's accomplices. This dastardly act of brigandage on a vast scale will inevitably be followed by a division of the spoils no less bloodstained than the conquest itself.

In the present political situation, with its more or less veiled alliances and treaties, and its various conflicting yet interlocking capitalist interests, any imperialist war must certainly spread until the whole world is involved.

### WAR PROPAGANDA.

The Congress denounces the attitude of the big newspapers and of public men who, through servility or love of gain, either maintain silence about the wars which are now in progress or else misrepresent or distort the truth concerning them and concerning the catastrophes towards which the present generations are being visibly driven and in which, unless they make a vigorous resistance, they will be engulfed.

### MILITARY PREPARATIONS.

The Congress notes and condemns the huge and ever-growing armaments throughout the world, which flatly contradict the idealist statements and theatrical proclamations of the governments concerned. It denounces the terrible efficiency of these armaments, as well as the sinister instruments of scientific extermination, namely poison gases and disease germs, certain to be brought into use in the next world war.

### IMPERIALIST RIVALRIES.

It condemns the capitalist policy which aggressively shuts off one country from another for the exclusive benefit of a greedy minority, and drives every government to exploit to the utmost the territory, wealth and population of weaker countries, in order to secure markets at any cost. The Congress accordingly condemns the agreements recently concluded at Ottawa and elsewhere.

These protectionist measures, adopted under the pressure of the economic crisis, which results from the existing economic system and can only end when that system is ended, merely deepen the crisis and render inevitable the transformation of economic rivalry into armed conflict. The sole course open to the governments of capitalist countries, or rather to the business men who thoroughly dominate these countries and these governments is forcibly to dip the scales to the exclusive if temporary advantage of the best armed and most powerful group among them. Capitalism is the cause of the economic crisis and the economic crisis hastens war.

### CAPITALIST BREAKDOWN.

Amid all the facts of the world crisis, the Congress denounces one single fact which illustrates the deplorable

plight of world capitalism, namely, the destruction of enormous stocks of foodstuffs in certain regions of the world while in others famine reigns. In India and in China a large proportion of the population lives always on the verge of starvation, and in the other continents millions of human beings are suffering and dying of misery.

#### THE ATTACK ON THE SOVIET UNION.

The Congress points out that all capitalist powers treat the Soviet Union as a common enemy which they are attempting to undermine and overthrow. There have been direct wars of intervention, encirclements and blockades, armed attacks supported by Western imperialism, arming of White Guards in Europe and Asia, attempts at destruction by sabotage within the Soviet Union, unprecedented campaigns of calumny and defamation, all carried on under flimsy cover of diplomatic relations established merely for the sake of immediate financial advantage. And to-day is being openly prepared in the Far East a definite armed crusade against the Soviet Union.

The Congress points to the steadfast peace policy systematically pursued by the Soviet Union, and repudiates the legend of "red imperialism," the only object of which is to justify and mask the persistent attacks against the Republic of workers and peasants.

#### THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE WORKERS.

The Congress proclaims that the present and future victims of the whole situation are the great masses of the people. The crisis of over-production and maldistribution resulting from the chaotic system of private profit, the consequent increase of unemployment which has reduced hundreds of millions of human beings throughout the world to the point of starvation, the enormous growth of military expenditure, the rise in the cost of living and in taxation, all combine to crush the working masses already decimated by the late war and after 14 years still suffering from its wounds and bereavements. After having been ruined they are now to be driven to the slaughter once more.

The Congress points out that the Japanese workers have, by their heroic example, already shown how the fight against imperialist war must be carried on. They have

stood up against their own bourgeoisie, held up war production and munition convoys, and revealed this war in the eyes of the Japanese soldiers for what it is—a war of piracy.

#### THE PEACE TREATIES.

The Congress points out that the maintenance of the artificial frontiers imposed by the peace treaties—those one-sided arrangements dictated by vengeance and by political interest, and sacrificing the immediate future to a momentary gain to the victors—has created a great division between the nations which conjures up war upon all frontiers. The very basis of these treaties, Article 237 of the Treaty of Versailles, which ascribes the sole responsibility of the war to Germany, is a flagrant untruth which has been used by a trick of demagogic mysticism to contribute to the growth of the Fascist reaction in Germany.

#### IMPERIALIST WAR AIMS.

The Congress points out that regardless of this or that apparently pacifist manoeuvre every imperialist power, whether it be the United States, or England, or France, or Japan, or Italy, is working for war.

It draws attention to the leading role played by French imperialism which, in its preparations for war, is attempting to bring about and to direct, with the aid of its Polish, Roumanian and other vassals who are themselves the victims of their own imperialism, a regrouping of the imperialist forces. (Danubian Federation, Lausanne Pact.)

#### NECESSITY OF CONCERTED RESISTANCE.

Determined as it is to offer every resistance in its power to the current which is sweeping the whole of the present generation towards disaster, the Congress sees salvation only in the concerted action of workers, peasants and all who are exploited, and oppressed.

It declares that there is no other adequate means of carrying on the war against war.

#### FUTILE PACIFISM.

It is aware that many distinguished minds are desperately seeking to find a means of saving society by noble dreams. It is aware that there are men who offer a personal resistance to war which may draw down upon them the vengeance of capitalist laws. But it considers that in the face of the

terrible challenge offered by present developments it is impossible to stop short at abstract formulas, or to confine oneself to means of resistance foredoomed to failure; notably the—unfortunately futile—sacrifice constituted by the noble attitude adopted after a declaration of war by conscientious objectors, and by all others who fling themselves individually against a collective disaster.

It hopes that the men of character and courage who preach those heroic measures and who are prepared to accept for themselves the very grave consequences of such an attitude, will join with the others in erecting, stone by stone, from the ground up, a massive collective barrier against war. Every form of opposition to this work merely helps the enemy.

#### “THE PLEBISCITE.”

The Congress considers that the so-called Plebiscite, proposed by some in the event of war, is ineffective. Such a referendum can have no influence once the war has broken out. Public opinion will then be forced to accept the situation as it is, and will do so the more readily since it will have been intoxicated by newspaper propaganda.

#### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Above all the Congress warns the public against governmental institutions, and especially the League of Nations, which functions at Geneva as the immediate mouthpiece of the imperialist powers. The words spoken at its great pompous ceremonies are words of peace, but its acts are the acts of war. The Congress calls upon the sincere men and women assembled here in response to our rallying cry against war, to expose this hypocrisy which, like all merely verbal pacifisms, aims only at lulling the vigilance of the masses, so that war may once more take them by surprise.

#### THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL.

The Congress warns the true enemies of war against the political compromises with the prevailing system practised by certain leaders of working class organisations. Such co-operation strengthens this system and betrays the cause of the struggle against war. The attitude of the leaders of the Socialist International in August, 1914, one of the outstanding facts of the last war, marks a notable setback

in the movement towards human emancipation. The hostile attitude adopted by the leaders of the Workers' Socialist International towards the present Congress, confirms the impression that they maintain the same political position which they held in 1914, in flagrant violation of the true principles of Socialism.

#### MASS ACTION.

The Congress addresses itself to the innumerable masses of the proletariat which need only conscious organisation in order to come to power.

On the strength of the mandate given to it by a multitude of people coming from all quarters of the globe and united in their sincere and burning desire for peace, though holding divergent political opinions, on the strength of its profound conviction that the struggle against war is only genuine to the extent to which it is efficacious and influences the facts, the Congress calls upon the masses the only invincible power existing in the tragic disorder of our times, to enter upon this scene of disorder in closed and disciplined ranks and to raise their powerful voice.

It is along these lines that this Congress intends that its International Committee for the struggle against War shall work towards extending this front of the working class across the world.

#### THE PLEDGE.

Each of us here takes what is in the nature of a pledge, and we take it all together.

We swear that we will never allow the formidable unity which has been established here among the exploited and victimised masses to be broken up.

We swear to fight with all our force and with all the means at our command against imperialist capitalism, that purveyor to the slaughterhouse.

We swear to dedicate ourselves with all our forces and all our resources to our immediate and pressing tasks, taking our stand

against armaments, against war preparations, and in consequence against the governments ruling us;

against chauvinism, jingo national incitements and fascism, the police army of imperialism which leads to imperialist war and provokes civil war against the working class ;

against war budgets, a vote for which is a dishonour and a crime ;

against the loans and taxes that rob the masses to build armaments ;

against the campaign of propaganda and slander aimed at the Soviet Union, the country of Socialist construction which we will not allow to be touched ;

against the dismemberment of China, of which each imperialist power covets a portion ;

against the exploitation, oppression, and massacre of the colonial peoples ;

for the support of the national minorities and the peoples fighting for their national and social independence ;

for the effective support of the Japanese workers who have raised the standard of struggle against their own imperialist government.

All the burdens of war, as well as all the burdens of armed peace and of war preparations, are laid on the shoulders of the working class, whose vanguard is formed by the armament and transport workers. The working class must therefore immediately organise and be on its guard. We swear to fight with all our power against the gathering disaster.

#### THE APPEAL.

And we continue to appeal to all : to appeal to the workers, peasants, and intellectuals of all countries, to the exploited and oppressed to join us, and at public meetings and demonstrations to enter into the pledges we have entered into here and to put them into effect.

## THE BRITISH DELEGATION.

The British Delegation to the World Anti-War Congress at Amsterdam comprised 80 persons, elected from all parts of the country, mainly by working class organisations at specially convened conferences to which the various local organisations were invited to send representatives for the express purpose of electing one or more delegates to attend the World Congress. From the particulars stated below it will be seen that the great majority of the delegates are proletarian workers :—

### DELEGATES.

Mrs. BAKER, Co-operator, representing the Romford and Dagenham Anti-War Committee.

LESLIE BANKS, A.E.U., I.L.P., Dockyard Engineer, Medway District Anti-War Committee.

ARTHUR C. BARKER, Municipal Worker, Chairman Stepney Branch N.U.G.M.W., representing East London Anti-War Committee.

J. W. BARRETT, Stevedore, Blue Dockers' Union, representing East London Anti-War Committee.

PAT MURPHY, Seaman, representing East London Anti-War Committee.

Mrs. BINNS, Middleton Co-op. Guild, Leeds Anti-War Committee.

HENRY BRINTON and Mrs. JOYCE POLLARD, of the Peace Army.

Mrs. ISABEL BROWN and F. LEGROS CLARKE, representing the W.I.R.

J. A. T. ABEL, Clothing Worker, representing North-East Lancashire Anti-War Committee.

J. H. CAVANAGH, Secretary of the Manchester Branch of the Operative Spindle and Flyer Makers' Trade and Friendly Society, representing the Manchester District Anti-War Committee.

MARGARET CLARK, ETHEL WOODS, PATTY JARVIS and B. W. VINCENT, Teachers, elected from a Conference of London Teachers at the Essex Hall.

PERCY COLLICK, Chairman of the London District Committee of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, representing the London Locomen's Anti-War Committee.

W. FERRIE, Vehicle Builder, representing the North London Anti-War Committee.

ALEX. DICKIE, N.U.R., and JAMES SHIELDS, Glasgow District Council of the N.U.W.M., both elected at the Glasgow Anti-War Conference

G. H. FLETCHER, Baker, and HUGH DRONFIELD, Chairman, Sheffield 12 A.E.U., elected at the Sheffield Anti-War Conference.

GLADYS DRIVER, Teacher, representing the League against Imperialism (Harrow Branch).

JOHN MACKAY, Woodworker, A.S.W., Edinburgh and Leith Anti-War Committee.

WILLIAM JEEVES, Steel Moulder, delegate from the Sheffield Educational Settlement.

W. T. GRIFFITHS, Tinworker, Secretary of the Llanelly Branch of the British Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association, delegate from the Llanelly Branch of the F.S.U.

GILBERT HITCHINGS, Chairman of the Bristol Branch of the A.E.U., representing the Bristol N.U.W.M.

T. J. JONES, Miner, S.W.M.F., Secretary of the Maesteg Branch of the I.L.P., representing the Maesteg Anti-War Committee.

ALDERMAN A. S. LE MARE, B.A., Warden of the Friends' House, representing the Walthamstow and Leyton Anti-War Committee.

COUNCILLOR WILKINSON LUMLEY, Chairman of the Ryhope Lodge of the Durham Miners' Association, representing the North-East Coast Anti-War Committee.

ALFRED MARSHALL, Estate Agent, I.L.P., elected at a meeting of the Nottingham Trades Council.

J. MARVILL, representing the National Union of Clerks and Administrative Workers (London and Home Counties Area).

B. F. MOORE, N.U.W.M., delegate from the Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire Anti-War Committee.

FRANCIS MULLERVY, Bricklayer, A.U.B.T.W. (London District), elected at Catford Anti-War Conference.

Mrs. WADDINGTON, Co-operator, I.L.P., representing Lewisham Anti-War Committee.

TOM MANN, President of the National Minority Movement.

Mrs. OUTEN, Guildford Trades and Labour Council.

BEN PARKIN, Teacher, delegate from the "No More War Movement."

ALFRED WEBB, A.E.U., Co-operator, and HILDA PERCIVAL, Teacher, both elected at a Conference called by Mixed Co-operative Guilds in S.E. London.

MORGAN PHILLIPS, Lecturer, delegate from the Fulham Co-operative Political Council.

AITKEN FERGUSON, Boilermaker, delegate from the C.P.G.B.

SH. SAKLATVALA, delegate from the London District Committee of the C.P.G.B.

C. LYNCH, delegate from the National Committee of the Young Communist League.

D. H. REES, Miner, representing the Ammanford Colliery No. 2 Lodge (Anthracite District S.W.M.F.)

W. T. ROGERS, Tinplate-worker, representing the Old Castle Tinplate Workers, Llanelly.

TERENCE ROWAN, A.E.U., delegate from East London Anti-War Youth Committee.

E. G. SHEAD, L.C.C. Inspector, elected at an Anti-War meeting of New Eltham citizens.

W. H. STOKES, A.E.U., Miller, delegate from Coventry Anti-War Committee.

C. THURLOW, A.E.U., delegate from St. Pancras Anti-War Committee.

LEN WINCOTT, dismissed Invergordon sailor, and Mrs. HADEN GUEST, delegates from the I.L.D.

H. J. YARHAM, N.U.R., and F. J. WOODROOFE, A.S.L.E. & F., delegates from West London Anti-War Committee.

WILLIAM WOOKEY, Miner, delegate from Rhondda Anti-War Committee.

PROFESSOR MIRSKY, individual delegate.

DAVID GUEST, Student, Cambridge Marxist Club.

F. S. MEYER, Student, October Club, Oxford.

Mrs. BRAMLEY and W. ELLIOT, Co-operators, delegates from London and District Co-operative Conference representing 150,000 Co-operators.

P. S. WILDE, A.E.U., and F. G. DAVEY, Shop Assistants' Union, delegates from South West London Anti-War Committee.

O. B. PASK, delegate from the London Schoolmasters' Association, representing 2,600 members.

THOMAS RICHFIELD, T.G.W.U., Docker, delegate from the Southampton Anti-War Committee.

DOREEN BROCKHOUSE, delegate from the Cambridge Communist Party.

JAMES SAUNDERS, representing the War Resisters' International.

JOHN STRACHEY, delegate from the League Against Imperialism (British Section).

Mrs. JESSIE EDEN, Housewife, and HENRY RUSH-TON, Coach Trimmer, representing Birmingham and District.

F. MOORE, Teacher, and ALBERT COLE, Seaman, delegates from the Merseyside Anti-War Committee.

WAL HANNINGTON, National Organiser of the N.U.W.M.

WILLIAM SEARLE, Weaver, delegate from the Burnley Strike Committee.

N. CARRITT and D. MCGREGOR, Students.

WILLIAM ZAK, National Minority Movement, representing the *Weekly Worker*.

IVOR MONTAGU, delegate from the National Committee of the Friends of the Soviet Union.

R. S. SHUBE, N.A.F.T.A., organiser of the British Delegation.

TOM REED, Birmingham Federation I.L.P.

R. BRIDGEMAN, delegate from the Provisional Anti-War Committee, Secretary of the Delegation.

About 50 members of the Delegation are active members of their respective Trade Unions. The majority of these were nominated by their Branch at the various anti-war Conferences. There were 4 Miners, 12 Metal workers, 4 railwaymen, 4 Dockers and Seamen, 10 active Co-operators.

Over 30 of the Delegates were ex-servicemen, several of them having taken part in "famous" battles during the war. 14 of the delegates were women.

Two railwaymen, members of the N.U.R., who had been elected as delegates to the Congress from East London, were refused leave of absence by the Railway Co.

---

## THE SOVIET UNION and PEACE

From 1917 to 1929, the documents of the Soviet Union's struggle for a Real Peace.

Introduction by HENRI BARBUSSE. 3s. 6d.

---

## THE SOVIET'S FIGHT FOR DISARMAMENT

Carries on the story with Litvinov's recent speeches, and an Introduction by LUNACHARSKY. 6d.

---

## "ROAR CHINA"

A play on the constant warfare of Imperialism against the Chinese workers. 1s. 6d.

---

Order from **WORLD ANTI-WAR COMMITTEE,**  
53 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

---

Leicester Co-operative Printing Society Ltd., 99 Church Gate, Leicester.

# The World Anti-War Congress

Amsterdam, August 27th-29th, 1932

---

HELP TO CARRY OUT THE DECISIONS  
OF THE CONFERENCE

---

## ENROLMENT FORM

To be sent to the Hon. Secretary, British Delegation,  
World Anti-War Congress, 53 Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1.

---

I adhere to the principles of the Manifesto adopted by the World Anti-War Congress at Amsterdam, and pledge myself to support organised action against imperialist war.

Signature.....

Address.....

Organisation.....