

WILPF CONGRESS

Resolutions and Proposals

1919



©The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom 1919

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Full Congress report can be found on www.wilpf.org

RESOLUTIONS AND PROPOSAL

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The following pages are an extract of page 241–279 in the original version of the Congress Report of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom’s second Congress, which took place in Zurich, Switzerland, from the 12–17 May 1919.

PART 1: RESOLUTIONS

A. RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE OF THE POWERS IN PARIS

The following Delegation was appointed by the Congress to present these Resolutions: Jane Addams, President, USA; Charlotte Despard, Great Britain; Gabrielle Duchêne, France; Rosa Genoni, Italy; Clara Ragaz, Switzerland; Chrystal Macmillan, Secretary, Great Britain.

I. ON FAMINE AND BLOCKADE

This International Congress of Women regards the famine, pestilence and unemployment extending throughout great tracts of Central and Eastern Europe and into Asia as a disgrace to civilization.

It therefore urges the Governments of all the Powers assembled at the Peace Conference immediately to develop the inter-allied organizations formed for purposes of war into an international organisation for purposes of peace, so that the resources of the world – food, raw materials, finance, transport – shall be made available for the relief of the peoples of all countries from famine and pestilence.

To this end it urges that immediate action be taken:

1. To raise the blockade, and
2. If there is insufficiency of food or transport
 - a. to prohibit the use of transport from one country to another for the conveyance of luxuries until the necessaries of life are supplied to all people,
 - b. to ration the people of every country so that the starving may be fed.

The Congress believes that only immediate international action on these lines can save humanity and bring about the permanent reconciliation and union of the peoples.

By unanimous vote, this Resolution was telegraphed to the Powers in Paris.

II. TREATY OF PEACE

3. Peace Terms.

This International Congress of Women expresses its deep regret that the terms of peace proposed at Versailles should so seriously violate the principles upon which alone a just and lasting peace can be secured, and which the democracies of the world had come to accept.

By guaranteeing the fruits of the secret treaties to the conquerors, the terms of peace tacitly sanction secret diplomacy, deny the principles of self-determination,

recognize the right of the victors to the soils of war, and create all over Europe discords and animosities, which can only lead to future wars.

By the demand for the disarmament of one set of belligerents only, the principle of justice is violated and the rule of force is continued.

By the financial and economic proposals a hundred million people of this generation in the heart of Europe are condemned to poverty, disease and despair, which must result in the spread of hatred and anarchy within each nation.

With a deep sense of responsibility this Congress strongly urges the Allied and Associated Governments to accept such amendments of the Terms as shall bring the Peace into harmony with those principles first enumerated by President Wilson upon the faithful carrying out of which the honour of the Allied peoples depends.

By unanimous vote of the Congress, this Resolution was telegraphed to the Powers in Paris.

4. League of Nations.

The views of the Congress regarding a League of Nations are given here in the shape in which they were presented at Paris. A fuller statement of them will be found on page 250 and following.

This Congress holds that the peaceful progress of the world can only be assured when the common interests of humanity are recognized in the establishment of a league of nations which shall represent the will of the peoples and promote international cooperation. It therefore records its satisfaction that the idea of a League of Nations, regarded as impracticable by the majority of people at the time of the Congress of Women at the Hague in 1915, has become so widely accepted; that, incorporated in the armistice terms on November 11, 1918, it was agreed to, both by the Allied and Associated Powers and by Germany. But the Congress regrets that the Covenant of the League, now submitted by the Allied and Associated Powers, in many respects does not accord with the fourteen points laid down as the basis for present negotiations, contains certain provisions that will stultify its growth, and omits others, which are essential to world peace.

Essential Conditions omitted from the Covenant.

The Congress declares that to be a real instrument of peace, capable of development, rather than one which sets up conditions tending to produce war, the League of Nations should embody certain fundamental principles, now omitted from the Covenant.

In order to avoid future wars, it urges the immediate adoption of these following, essential conditions:

- a. Membership freely open, from time of the establishment of the League, to any State desiring to join and willing to perform the duties of membership.
- b. The number of Nations to be included in the executive body to be not less than eleven.
- c. Immediate reduction of armaments on the same terms for all member-states.
- d. Abolition of conscription in all states joining the League.
- e. Adherence to the principles of self-determination in territorial adjustments and matters of nationality, whether sanctioned by the secret treaties, by the treaty embodying the Covenant of the League of Nations, or by later treaties.

- f. The right of direct presentation to the League of Nationalities and Dependencies within any government of their desires as to self-government.
- g. Free access to raw materials for all nations on equal terms.
- h. Abrogation of regional understandings, like the "Monroe Doctrine" and "other international engagements", in so far as inconsistent with the Covenant of the League.
- i. Provision for easier amendment of the Constitution.

Endorsement of Certain Principles now in the Covenant.

The Congress welcomes the recognition in the Covenant of certain principles which it has held since its foundation but believes that they cannot be put into practice unless the following essential conditions are also included.

These principles are:

- a. Establishment of machinery for arbitration and conciliation.
- b. Abolition of secret treaties.
- c. Provision for the revision of treaties which have become inapplicable and for changing certain international conditions, which, if continues, may endanger the peace of the world.
- d. Recognition of the necessity for the reduction of armaments and for publicity concerning their manufacture.
- e. Abrogation of certain obligations inconsistent with the Covenant.
- f. Promotion of "Freedom of transit" and of equal trading opportunities for all members of the League.
- g. Organization by the League of international resources to combat disease and to improve health.

Additional Principles to Strengthen the League.

This Congress considers that the League will be greatly strengthened as an instrument of peace when the nations composing it agree to the adoption, in addition to the essential principles enumerated above, of the following principles not now found in the Covenant.

- a. Total disarmament (land, sea, air).
- b. Enforcement of the decisions of the League by other means than military pressure or food-blockade.
- c. Registration and review of all existing treaties and international engagement within a specified time, and the abrogation of such as are not thus registered.
- d. National ratification of treaties only by an elected legislative body.
- e. Executive power of the League to be democratically elected.
- f. Universal free trade.
- g. Adoption of a plan of world economy for the production and distribution of the necessities of life at the smallest cost.
- h. Abolition of the protection of the investment of the capitalists of one country in the resources of another.
- i. Guaranteeing the representation and protection of the civil and political rights of minorities within each nation including those of language, religion and education.
- j. The requirement that all backward races under the tutelage of more advanced nations should be put under the guardianship of the League and that the mandatory powers be required to promote the development and power of self-government of their wards.

- k. Complete freedom of communication and travel.
- l. Abolition of child labour.
- m. Agreement between the nations in the League to the abolition of government censorship.
- n. Establishment of full equal suffrage and the full equality of women with men politically, socially and economically.

Women's Position in a League of Nations.

The Congress welcomes the international recognition of women in the proposals put forward by the Entente Powers, providing in their draft for a Covenant of a League of Nations for the admission of women to all positions "in connection with the League", thus making them eligible for the Assembly, the Executive Council and the Commissions therein proposed, and urges that this be explicitly stated in the Covenant.

5. Women's Charter.

The Peace Conference is urged to insert in the Peace Treaty the following Women's Charter:

The Contracting Parties recognize that the status of women, social, political and economic, is of supreme international importance.

They hold that the natural relation between men and women is that of interdependence and cooperation and that it is injurious to the community to restrict women to a position of dependence, to discourage their education or development, or to limit their opportunities.

They hold that the recognition of women's service to the world not only as wage earners but as mothers and homemakers is an essential factor in the building up of the world's peace.

They recognize that differences in social development and tradition make strict uniformity with respect to the status of women difficult of immediate attainment. But, holding as they do, that social progress is dependent upon the status of the women in the community, they think that there are certain principles which all communities should endeavor to apply.

Among these principles the following seem to the Contracting Parties to be of special and urgent importance:

- a. That suffrage should be granted to women and their equal status with men upon legislative and administrative bodies, both national and international, recognized.
- b. That women, equally with men, should have the protection of the law against slavery such as still exists in some parts of Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa.
- c. That on marriage a woman should have full personal and civil rights, including the right to use and disposal of her own earnings and property, and should not be under the tutelage of her husband.
- d. That the mother should have the same right of guardianship of her children as the father.
- e. That a married woman should have the same right to retain and change her nationality as a man.
- f. That all opportunities for education should be open to both sexes.

- g. That women should have the same opportunity for training and for entering industries and professions as men.
- h. That women should receive the same pay as men for the same work.
- i. That the traffic in women should be suppressed, the regulation of vice abolished and the equal moral standard recognized.
- j. That the responsibility not only of the mother, but also of the father, of a child born out of wedlock should be recognized.
- k. That there should be adequate economic provision for the service of motherhood.
- l. That no political or industrial quarrel should deprive the mother of food for her children.

Without claiming that these principles are complete, the Contracting Parties are of opinion, that they are well fitted to guide the policy of the League of Nations, and that if adopted by the communities which are Members of the League, they will confer lasting benefits upon the whole world.

6. Women and the General Labour Conference.

Since the general Labour Conference to be set up under the Treaty of Peace deals with questions which directly affect large numbers of wage-earning women in all countries this International Congress of Women call attention to article 3 of the report of the Commission on International Labour Legislation, which proposes that this general Labour Conference should consist of representatives from each country, namely, two Governmental delegates, one representative of employers, and one of employees; and urges that in the interest of these women workers this article should be amended so as to provide that at least one representative from each country shall be a woman.

7. Woman's Vote in Plebiscites.

This International Congress of Women urges that the following clause be inserted in the Peace Treaty:

That in any Plebiscite taken under the Treaty of Peace or a League of Nations, women should have the same right to vote as men.

It was resolved by the Congress that any of the proposals contained in this Resolution, which were not accepted for incorporation in the Treaty of Peace, should be brought before the League of Nations.

III. PRESENT MILITARY ACTION IN RUSSIA AND HUNGARY

This International Congress of Women, recognizing the right of each nation to determine its own form of government on the lines laid down in President Wilson's 14 points, urges the immediate cessation of attack upon Russia and Hungary, whether by armed force, by supply of munitions or money, or by blockade.

It protests against the warfare now being waged, without open declaration of war, upon peoples who are experimenting in a new social and economic order, which may prove to have a great contribution to make to the world, and which has not yet had a fair trial.

IV. AMNESTY FOR WAR PRISONERS

This International Congress of Women urges all the belligerent nations immediately to proclaim an amnesty for political prisoners, including conscientious objectors to military services, and requests that, where necessary, public funds be given to ensure the return of prisoners of war from Siberia and other remote places.

B. RESOLUTIONS FOR FUTURE WORK SUBMITTED TO THE NATIONAL SECTIONS

V. LEAGUE OF NATIONS

This resolution as here printed embodies in a logical order the decisions of the Congress regarding the type of League of Nations for which the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom ought to work: the text was not before the Congress in just this form. The briefer statement of these decisions presented at Paris will be found on p. 243 [in the Congress Report] and following.

This Congress resolves to work for a League of Nations with a constitution which is of easy amendment, and on the following basis.

8. Membership.

Membership of the league should be freely open, from the time of its establishment, to all States which express their desire to become members, and their willingness to perform the duties of membership.

9. Organisation.

a. *Governing Body.*

Such League should have a democratically elected Assembly, consisting of men and women, and holding regular meetings to deal with practical proposals for further international cooperation. This assembly should be so constituted, that it could formulate and enforce those principles of justice, equity and goodwill, in accordance with which the struggles of subject communities could be more fully recognized, and the rights not only of the great powers and small nations, but also those of weaker countries and primitive peoples gradually adjusted under an enlightened international public opinion. The number of nations included in its executive body should not be less than eleven.

b. *Courts of Justice and Arbitration.*

A permanent International Court of Justice should be established to settle differences of a justiciable character, such as arise on the interpretation of treaty rights or of the law of nations.

c. *Conciliation.*

International differences arising from economic competition, expanding commerce, increase of population and changes in social and political standards, should be settled either by this International Assembly or by some body appointed by it.

d. *Decisions of the League.*

The decisions of this Assembly should under no circumstances be enforced by military means, or by cutting off a population from the necessities of life.

e. *Women's Eligibility.*

Women should be eligible to every position in the League of Nations.

10. Political.

a. *Self-determination.*

The right of self-determination and of self-government should be conceded to all nations.

b. *Rights of minorities.*

Representation and protection of the rights of minorities within each nation, with regard to such questions as language, religion and education should be assured.

c. *Right of Appeal.*

Nationalities and dependencies within any government should have the right to present directly to the League their desires as to self-determination and representation.

d. *Territorial Adjustment.*

Provision should be made for adjusting questions of territory and nationality, in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

e. *Abrogation of Treaties.*

The following should be void:

- i. Secret treaties;
- ii. All treaties or international engagements inconsistent with the constitution of the League of Nations;
- iii. All treaties and international engagements not registered at the Headquarters of the League.

f. *Ratification of Treaties.*

Ratification of treaties should take place by plebiscite.

g. *Revision of Treaties.*

Provision should be made for the revision of treaties which may have become inapplicable under changed international conditions, or the continuance of which might endanger the peace of the world.

h. *Mandatoryes.*

All backward races under the tutelage of more advanced nations should be put under the guardianship of the League and any power entrusted by the League with their administration should be required to promote the development and the power of self-government of its wards and to present an annual report to the League.

i. *Abolition of Government Censorship.*

Abolition of Government censorship should be required.

j. *Women's Equality.*

The suffrage and all legal, political economic rights should belong equally to men and women.

11. Military.

a. *The Right to Declare War.*

The right to declare war should be abolished.

b. *Reduction of Armaments.*

Immediate reduction of armaments on the same terms for all states, and the abolition of private manufacture of and traffic in munitions of war, should be undertaken, as steps towards total international disarmament.

c. *Conscription.*

Military conscription should be abolished.

12. Economic.

a. *Free Trade.*

Free trade should be established; trade routes on land, sea and air should be opened to all nations on equal terms.

b. *Concessions.*

Concessions in undeveloped countries should be under the control of the League of Nations, and withdrawn if abused; the right to protect investments of capitalists of one country in the resources of another should be abolished.

c. *Production and Distribution.*

Such methods of production, trade and transit should be adopted as should insure a just distribution of the necessities of life at the least cost.

d. *Universal Coinage, Weights and Measures.*

A universal system of coinage and the same weights and measures in all countries should be adopted.

13. Social.

a. *Communication and Travel.*

There should be complete freedom of travel and communication.

b. *Child Labour.*

Child labour should be abolished.

VI. ACTION TO BE PROPOSED TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS WHEN ESTABLISHED

14. International Commission on Marriage laws.

In view of the difficulties for women in international marriages caused by the national differences in marriage and divorce laws, this International Congress of Women urges the League of Nations to appoint a Commission of an equal number of men and women to investigate marriage and divorce laws as they affect marriages between persons of different nationalities.

15. International Commission on War Profits.

This International Congress of Women asks the League of Nations to appoint an International Commission, to sit in public, with power to take evidence on oath and to command the attendance of any witness it may desire to call, to enquire into the facts regarding profit-making due to war and preparation for war.

VII. PROGRESS IN THE POLITICAL POSITION OF WOMEN 1915-1919

This Congress welcomes the progress made in the establishment of the principles laid down at the Hague Congress of Women, in 1915, in national and international affairs. In particular it welcomes:

16. International.

The international recognition of women in the proposals put forward by the Entente Powers:

- a. Providing in their draft for a covenant of a League of Nations for the admissions of women to all positions "in connection with the League" thus making them eligible for the Assembly, the Executive Council and the Commissions therein proposed, and urges that this be explicitly stated in the Covenant;
- b. Recognizing in the Labour Charter, proposed by them for incorporation in the Treaty of Peace, the principle of equal pay for equal value as between men and women:

17. National.

The national acceptance of the principle of woman suffrage by the extension of the franchise to women in Iceland (1915), Denmark (1915), Canada (1917), Great Britain (1918), Ireland (1918), Germany (1918), Austria (1918), Hungary (1918), Poland (1919), and Russia and the extension of suffrage to women in many States of the American Union.

It urges the other countries of the world to come into line with these nations by recognizing the citizenship of their women.

Since the Zurich meeting, full suffrage has been gained by women in Holland and Sweden and the United States.

VIII. PROGRAMME IN MATTERS AFFECTING WOMEN'S STATUS

This Congress holds that women cannot make their fullest and most characteristic contribution to the community in any capacity, so long as they have not social, political and economic independence and full opportunity for education and development: it

believes that the recognition of women's service to the world not only as wage earners, but as mothers and home makers is an essential factor in the building up of the world's peace.

This Congress therefore lays down the following principles as essential to the freedom and development of women and adopts them as its programme.

18. Women Suffrage.

Suffrage and eligibility should be granted to women on the same terms as men.

19. National and International Political Status.

The equal status of women with men upon legislative and administrative bodies, national and international, should be establishment and the Governments of the different countries urged to include women amongst the representatives appointed to the League of Nations and its commissions and to other international and national positions.

20. Application of Slavery Laws to Women.

All customs, whether social, religious or domestic, which entail the sale, barter, or disposal of women or girls in marriage or otherwise, should be decreed to be contrary to international law, and the law against slavery should be applied in such cases.

21. Equality between Husband and Wife.

Legal and economic equality between husband and wife should be established both in relation to each other and to their children, including:

- a. the equal guardianship of children.
- b. the same civil rights for married women as for men.
- c. the right of married women to the use and disposal of their own earnings and property.
- d. the same right for a married woman as for a man to retain or to change her nationality.
- e. the equality of the laws of divorce as between husband and wife.

22. Endowment of Motherhood.

Since women who are mothers, perform a service of supreme importance to the state and have in the past been reduced to economic dependence by reason of the very service they have rendered, some scheme for the endowment of motherhood by the state, not dependent upon the poverty of the mother, is both just in principle and necessary to secure status of women as free citizens.

23. An Equal Moral Standards.

An equal moral standard between men and women should be recognized and in particular:

- a. the state regulation of vice should be abolished, as also all other forms of unequal treatment of men and women for moral offenses or in connection with venereal disease, whether by law or administration.

- b. the age of consent should be raised and the law on this subject made effective.
- c. the traffic in women, national and international, should be suppressed.

24. Equal Pay, Equal Education, Equal Opportunities.

Women should have the same pay as men for the same work. All professions, trades and industries should be open to women and training for these should be available for men and women alike. Women should have the same opportunities for education, including technical education as men and the opportunity to enter trade unions on the same terms.

25. Women as Home-makers and Consumers.

- a. Work in connection with the home and the family, as well as industrial work, should be organized in such a way that women may make their fullest and most characteristic contribution to the community.
- b. Since the majority of women are providers for the home, they are entitled to demand that adequate consideration should be given in all legislation dealing with land, industry, finance or tariffs, to the needs of the user as well as of the producer.

26. Responsibilities of Unmarried Parents.

The responsibilities not only of the mothers but also of the fathers of children born out of wedlock, should be recognized and the state should assist in the establishment of paternity and in the securing of maintenance from the father.

IX. INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

Believing that the basis for peace between nations and within nations is a fuller and wider education of the peoples, this Congress resolves that a Permanent International Council for Education be instituted for the purpose of promoting the idea of world organization and international ethics and citizenship.

See also page 265 in the Congress Report.

X. PEACE AND LIBERTY

27. Consent and Coercion.

Since the test of the civilization of a State is the extent to which it relies upon moral appeal and consent rather than coercion, the International Congress of Women affirms that it should be the aim of all government to replace coercion by consent and cooperation, and with this object in view to educate and strengthen the free will of the people by democratic institutions, the safeguarding of the rights of minorities, and the strict limitation of the power of the State.

28. Peaceful Methods in Revolutionary Movements.

The world is facing wide-spread revolutionary changes at a time when the habit of violence has been fostered by a world war.

This International Congress of Women recognizes that there is a fundamentally just demand underlying most of these revolutionary movements and declares its sympathy with the purpose of the workers who are rising up everywhere to make an end of exploitation and to claim their world. Nevertheless the women of the Congress reassert their faith in methods of peace and believe it is their special parting this revolutionary age to counsel against violence from any side.

29. Conscientious Objectors.

We delegates assembled at this International Congress of Women wish to record our deep sense of the heroism of those who have counted no sacrifice too great to service the cause of Peace. We recognize the devotion alike of those who believed that in offering their lives in war they were helping to end war, and of those who, with equal courage and, as we believe, with deeper insight, fought war by refusing to take part in it. It fortifies our courage and our faith in the achievement of permanent peace, to know that in so many countries thousands of young men have for that end counted it worth the cost to bear the loss of health, fortune and friends and to face imprisonment, obloquy and death.

30. Misleading of Public Opinion.

Since all perversion of truth, one-sided accounts of facts and government propaganda to control opinion whether by press, pulpit or educational system tend, as acts of sacrilege against the truth, to destroy clear thinking, and thus to undermine mutual confidence, the women of this International Congress have become convinced, especially by their experience of the last five years, that this misleading of the popular understanding is one of the greatest dangers to human welfare. They therefore condemn the censorship of the press and government interference with private correspondence and declare to be both inexpedient and wrong all laws which prevent the expression of public opinion.

31. Self Determination for Ireland.

This International Congress of Women maintains the right of Ireland, the nation whose struggle to regain her lost liberty has been the longest of any in Europe, to self-determination.

32. Race Equality.

We believe no human being should be deprived of an education, prevented from earning a living, debarred from any legitimate pursuit in which he wishes to engage, or be subjected to any humiliation, on account of race or colour. We recommend that members of this Congress should do everything in their power to abrogate laws and change customs which lead to discrimination against human beings on account of race or colour.

33. The Jews.

We hold that no restriction should be placed on the civil or political rights of the Jews because of their race.

34. Deportations.

Mass deportations have become a world-wide phenomenon since 1914, and inflict suffering and death in many forms upon innocent people. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom recommends that this subject should receive attention at the earliest possible moment. The expulsion of thousands of innocent people cannot be treated as an internal affair of any of the nations concerned.

35. Rights of Asylum.

Several freedom-loving nations, which had for centuries distinguished themselves by affording asylum to refugees and exiles have, since 1914, reversed their age-long enlightened policy. We therefore recommend to our National Sections that they urge upon their Governments the re-establishment of the right of asylum, and the repeal of all laws which endanger or abolish it.

36. Rejection of War as a Means of Settling Differences between Peoples.

This International Congress of Women abides by the principle laid down by the Women's Congress at the Hague in 1915, that we do not admit war as a means of settling differences between peoples.

37. International Organisation of Women Against War.

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

C. ACTION TO BE TAKEN

XI. PRESENTATION OF RESOLUTIONS TO PEACE CONFERENCE

It was voted that a delegation consisting of Jane Addams (America), Charlotte Despard (Great Britain), Gabrielle Duchêne (France), Rosa Genoni (Italy), Clara Ragaz (Switzerland), and Chrystal Macmillan (Great Britain), should go to present to the International Peace Conference now sitting in Versailles the Resolutions regarding:

Blockade and Famine
 League of Nations
 Women's Charter for the Treaty
 Women and the Labour Conference
 Women's vote in Plebiscites
 Amnesty
 Present Military Action in Russia and Hungary

and to the Conference of the Allied and Associated Powers in Paris,
 The Resolutions regarding the Treaty of Peace.

The report of this delegation is given in News Sheet No. 3 issued by the Geneva Office, and in the pamphlet "Towards Peace and Freedom" (price 3d) issued by the British Section.

XII. CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS: AMNESTY

It was agreed that the Resolutions relating to these subjects should be sent to all organisations of conscientious objectors in all countries, and, through National Sections, to the pacifist, socialist and religious press.

XIII. FINANCES

It was agreed that any money remaining after the expenses of the Congress had been paid should be given over to the Geneva Bureau.

XIV. POWER OF REVISION

The Executive Committee shall have power to revise all Resolutions adopted in this Congress, and to make any minor alterations of wording and arrangement which may seem desirable, provided that no change of principle is involved.

XV. DELEGATION TO SOCIALIST CONGRESS AT LUCERNE

It was agreed that a delegation including a French and a German representative should be elected to go to Lucerne, and present there the proposal already approved by the Zurich Congress, to work for an international agreement to refuse to support war by money, work or propaganda.

XVI. MEETING AT WASHINGTON

In view of the plan for a meeting of the Council of the League of Nations at Washington in October 1919, the Executive Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is empowered to call at the same time and place a meeting to which the two consultative members from each country shall be convoked, in order to take a position at once on the Resolutions there passed.

Since the League of Nations was not convened at Washington, no such meeting was held.

XVII. PROGRAMME FOR FUTURE WORK

It was voted that the League should devote itself to carrying out the Resolutions passed at the Hague, 1915, and at Zurich, 1919, and in particular

To working for the establishment of a true League of Nations.

It was also proposed that, for the furtherance of the idea of peace, two delegates from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom should be sent on a journey to those countries which are not in a position to form an organisation of their own. The delegates would have to meet their own expenses.

XVIII. INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Since this Congress, believing that the basis for peace between nations and within nations is a fuller and wider education of the peoples, has resolved that a Permanent International Educational Council should be instituted for the purpose of promoting the idea of world organisation and international ethics and citizenship it hereby asks the officers of the W. I. L.P. F. to appoint an International Committee, which shall create the preparatory machinery of the Council, procure the financial support, and draw up a programme indicating the general principles upon which the work of this Council should be based.

Dr. Emily Arnesen (Zoological Museum, Christiania, Norway) is chairman of the International Committee on Education constituted according to this Resolution.

XIX. INTERNATIONAL APPOINTMENT OF WOMEN

This Congress is of the opinion that if world problems are to be treated adequately, and solved on the broadest humanitarian basis, women must hold responsible positions on international bodies. We urge members to work for the selection of women for the highest positions on the League of Nations.

PART 2: PROPOSALS

PROPOSALS

The Congress, lacking time for adequate discussion of these proposals, voted to refer them to the National Sections for study.

XX. THE PROBLEM OF POPULATION

Since a special responsibility lies upon women with regard to the birth rate, this Congress recommends the National Sections to consider the problem of population in the light of knowledge and self-control, and demands that no obstacle shall be placed in the way of obtaining the best scientific information on the subject.

It insists that above all in matters of birth control, full weight should be given to the judgment and opinion of women.

XXI. EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME

The events of the last five years have proved that our civilisation has completely failed. Our lives have been dominated by a purely materialistic philosophy, by a policy of sheer force and violence.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom seeks to establish a basis for a new human civilisation. Properly to accomplish this, we must begin with the education of the peoples. Respect for human life, the sacred character of the individual personality, must become fundamental in our thinking. Only men and women of high moral and intellectual standing can be trusted with so sacred a task.

Creation of an International Spirit through Education.

Everything which tends to hinder international understanding, to injure national pride, or to arouse hate and scorn for foreign peoples should be excluded from text books. The history of civilisation should be fundamental to all instruction; the young should be made familiar with the evolution of peoples, and with the lives of great men of all times. Instruction in civics should develop a world consciousness and give an introduction to the duties of world-citizenship.

The introduction to national literature should go hand in hand with acquaintance with the masterpieces of other countries.

The preparation and distribution of books exciting to hate should be subject to the same legal penalties as exist for impure foods. International commissions to examine such books are proposed.

In future the press cannot, as an international influence, be permitted to continue in the service of violent and imperialist politics, but must be put upon a new basis as a factor in the education of mankind.

Instruction in foreign languages should be supplemented by the introduction of an auxiliary world-language.

Especial attention should be paid to comparative studies of the psychology of peoples.

The establishment of a free international university and of an international normal school is desirable.

The existing exchange of professorships and exchange of students should be extended. A period of residence in foreign countries should so far as practicable be required as part of preparation for teaching. Higher schools for women should train the woman as a world-citizen for her responsible task as mother of humanity.

There should be established in all countries:

Numerous clubs, unions and summer courses for foreigners without distinction of nationality; circulating libraries for foreign books; internationally organised associations of professors and students.

Exchange lectures on the experience of various countries in special fields might become the basis of a permanent institute for international information.

Development of physical culture should take the form, not of military drill, but of a method of developing the strength and efficiency of the human race.

XXII. PROGRAMME OF POLITICAL EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL REFORM PROPOSED BY THE FRENCH NATIONAL SECTION

The following programme submitted by the French National Section, while at some points overlapping matters dealt with in other resolutions, constitutes in a certain sense a whole, and is recommended, unchanged, to the National Sections for study.

38. Liberty of Labour.

All workers shall be free to work, men or women, native born or foreign, without distinction of race or religion.

39. Working-Hours.

a. Working hours shall not exceed eight hours a day and forty-four hours a week.

b. In order to combine household-duties with the necessities of factory work, shifts working according to a half-time schedule shall be organised in the various trades. Mothers of families, and especially nursing-mothers, shall have the right to belong to these shifts whenever they choose.

c. The weekly rest-period shall have a duration of at least thirty six consecutive hours. It shall, except in cases of absolute need, include the weekly day of rest generally adopted in the country. Industries in which exceptions to this rule are unavoidable shall not interrupt the weekly rest for periods of work exceeding four hours, and the annual total of such hours shall not exceed seventy-two hours. Rest by rotation shall not be tolerated except in cases where its necessity has been proved. It shall then be

organised in such a manner as to allow the workers to enjoy once a fortnight the day of rest generally adopted in the country.

d. Night-work, i.e. from 8 P.M. to 6 A.M., shall be prohibited, save in cases made inevitable by technical reasons or by the nature of the work itself.

e. In the interest of the protection of health, and to guarantee workers against accidents, the hours of labour shall be reduced to less than eight for dangerous work or work involving special effort or a continuous strain.

f. Employers of labour shall not be allowed to give out homework to be done after regular workshop hours.

g. The practice of granting a yearly vacation of at least a fortnight, with fully paid wages, shall be made general.

40. Payment for Work.

a. A minimum living wage, on the principle of "equal pay for equal work", shall be fixed for all categories of workers.

b. This minimum wage shall be a living wage in the widest acceptance of the term, i.e. high enough to insure to workers not only the satisfaction of their material needs but also of their moral and intellectual needs and to enable them to bring up a family under satisfactory conditions.

c. In seasonal industries involving long slack seasons, unless it seems possible by combining two industries, to remedy the unemployment entailed, the minimum wage shall be such as to give workers a living during slack seasons exceeding in duration those provided for by insurance against unemployment.

d. Extra hours of work shall be paid at a rate at least 50 % higher than ordinary hours. For night hours, wages shall be doubled.

e. Work shall always be paid in cash. The "truck-system" shall not be tolerated in any form.

41. Safety and Hygiene of Workers.

All premises where work is carried on shall be so fitted up as to guarantee the safety of the workers. They shall fulfill the sanitary conditions necessary to safeguard the health of the work-people.

a. The most effective measures shall be adopted for protection against dangers of all kinds inherent in the various occupations.

b. A list shall be drawn up of poisonous products to be prohibited.

c. The use of noxious substances shall be absolutely prohibited in all cases in which it is possible to replace them by other products. Sanitary measures shall be taken to reduce the danger to a minimum in cases where science has not yet furnished any way of suppressing their use.

d. The sanitation of workshops, or other industrial premises shall be strictly enforced. The premises shall be made as comfortable and pleasing as possible. Sanitary inspection shall be extended to the premises where workers are housed by their employers, as well as to the homes of home-workers.

e. Home-work shall be authorised only on premises fulfilling the required sanitary conditions.

f. To be excluded from dwelling-houses are:

- i. Work injurious to health;
- ii. Work dealing with food-stuffs, or the making of any accessory articles, such as cardboard boxes, bags, etc., intended to contain food-stuffs or medical products.

g. The declaration of infectious diseases, of any kind shall be made compulsory in the case of all industries carried on at the homes of workers. Work shall be prohibited on any premises where such diseases have broken out. A compensating indemnity, equal to the usual wage, and in no case inferior to the wage fixed for the district, shall be paid during the whole time that work is forbidden. This indemnity shall be guaranteed by the insurance.

42. Protection of Maternity.

Women shall not be employed in work recognised as dangerous to their potential maternity. Such prohibitions shall be strictly determined after consulting commissions of women composed of delegates of the labour organisations of the trade in question, inspectresses of labour, physiologists, hygienists, women doctors and any other women competent in the matter.

These commissions shall, before making a decision, examine whether the possible unfitness of women for a particular trade does not depend on unhealthy methods of work, or conditions that might be modified.

Prohibitions may also be justified individually by pathological considerations.

During pregnancy all work done standing shall be prohibited, as also work involving great expenditure of strength, and working hours shall be shortened, for those women who wish it, by the organising of a half-time schedule.

Any woman, whether gainfully employed or not, shall be, entitled to an indemnity during the six weeks preceding and the six weeks following her confinement. This, maternity benefit shall not be inferior to the minimum living wage established in the region.

Any pregnant woman, proving by a medical attestation that her state of health prevents her earning her living, shall be entitled, from that moment and for as long a time as is necessary, to the maternity benefit, which shall be at least equal to the minimum wage established in the region.

Any woman whose work capacity is decreased by her rearing her child at home shall continue to receive the maternity benefit during the three months following her confinement; and during the six following months shall be paid half the indemnity.

The maternity benefit granted by the State shall be independent of any social insurance policy taken out by the party concerned, with or without the participation of the employer.

Institutions shall be created making it possible to reconcile in the most satisfactory manner that can be devised, the exigencies of paid labour and the duties of maternity.

43. Protection of Childhood and Youth.

a. An effective protection of childhood and youth shall be insured in order to make the future generation finer, physically, morally and intellectually.

b. In all countries, education shall be gratuitous and compulsory up to the age of fifteen, and shall be given without distinction of sex, class, race or religion.

c. In general, education shall, in every country, be carried on in a spirit making it possible to replace the present system of antagonism and competition by cooperation and brotherhood among nations as well as among the citizens of the same country.

d. The medical supervision of children shall be compulsory up to the age of fifteen.

e. Physical education and medical supervision of this education shall be compulsory in all schools. Social and civic teaching shall be organised.

f. From fifteen to eighteen years of age attendance at continuation schools, also gratuitous, shall be compulsory. Higher education shall be accessible to all.

g. Training in child welfare shall be instituted. Elementary teaching on infectious diseases, in particular on tuberculosis and venereal diseases, shall be organised for adolescents.

h. Industrial and agricultural apprenticeship and instruction in homemaking shall be carried on during the school years with a view to vocational guidance.

i. For branches of industry subject to long slack seasons the vocational education shall give a preparation for working alternately in two trades capable of being combined.

Children under fifteen shall not be employed in industry, commerce or any other gainful occupation.

Medical examination shall be compulsory before any permit to work is delivered.

Young people from 15 to 18 years of age shall not be employed more than six hours a day.

It shall be unlawful to employ young people from 15 to 18 years of age:

i. Between the hours of 8 P.M. and 6 A.M.

ii. In unhealthy industries.

iii. In underground work in mines.

iv. Unskilled labour shall no longer be undertaken by young people, but shall be done by machine and by unskilled adults.

44. Unemployment.

The fight against unemployment shall be systematically undertaken, a special appeal being made to the Trade Unions and associations of employers in all countries.

Industry shall be supervised so as to prevent speculation resulting in overproduction.

Seasonal industries shall be combined in such a manner as to avoid unemployment due to long slack seasons.

In order to make the demand and supply of labour, balance as nearly as possible there should be a constant supervision of the state of the labour market so that foresight may be used to guide children usefully in the choice of a vocation.

Apprenticeship and technical training shall be organised with a view to develop professional ability equally in all workers, men or women.

When new processes are introduced that may throw out certain kinds of workers, measures shall be taken to facilitate their adaptation to the new methods.

Employment bureaus shall be rationally organised on the basis of joint committees. A system of social insurance shall provide against unemployment however caused.

45. Social Insurance.

Social insurance shall be compulsory for all workers of both sexes.

a. Insurance against unemployment. This insurance shall secure to workers out of employment a daily indemnity which shall in no case be less than the minimum wage fixed for the district.

This indemnity shall be paid during one or several periods in a year, the total must not exceed the maximum fixed by the State in which the worker is living. The maximum however shall in no case be inferior to 60 days.

In the case of home-workers, the prohibition of work on account of an infectious illness in the household shall give the worker thereby deprived of his pay the right to unemployment indemnity during the whole time of the prohibition.

b. Insurance against sickness, accident or total or temporary disability. This insurance shall secure to the workers:

- i. Free medical, surgical, dental, pharmaceutical and hydropathic care; the providing of orthopedic apparatus, artificial limbs, spectacles, etc.
- ii. A daily indemnity corresponding to the usual wage and which shall, in no case, be less than the minimum wage fixed for the district.

This indemnity shall be paid as long the illness or disability lasts. When the person insured has to be removed to a hospital or an institution, his family shall receive half the daily indemnity.

c. Partial disability. This insurance shall secure to workers:

- i. Free medical, surgical, dental, pharmaceutical, and hydropathic care; the providing of orthopedic apparatus, artificial limbs, spectacles, etc.
- ii. A daily indemnity such as added to the wage should at least be equal to the minimum wage fixed for the district.

d. Insurance for old-age or invalidity. This insurance shall secure to the workers: A life-annuity enabling the person insured to live decently without being a burden to his family.

The annuity shall in no case be less than the living wage fixed for the district.

If, during the course of the payment, the cost of living should increase, the amount of the annuity to be paid shall be raised proportionately.

e. Life-insurance. This insurance shall secure to the family of the deceased a single payment equal to at least forty times the amount of the minimum daily wage fixed for the district.

If a member of the family of the person insured should die an indemnity equal to at least twenty times the amount of the minimum wage fixed for the district shall be paid, in one instalment, to the person insured.

f. Insurance for the benefit of widows (married or unmarried) with children. This insurance shall secure to the widow a pension, the amount of which shall be equal, for each of the children under 18 years of age, to one quarter of the father's usual pay.

46. Professional Organisation and Protection.

The right to form Trade Unions shall be recognised in all countries for all workers. Trade Union organisation shall be encouraged and facilitated.

The right to strike shall also be guaranteed to all workers. These rights shall be granted to foreigners as well as to natives.

Contracts agreed upon by the most representative workers' and employers' unions shall have force of law, and their conditions shall be applicable to the whole branch.

All means of facilitating negotiations between employers and employed shall be adopted and multiplied. The institution of shop-stewards shall be made general. Work-councils, regional and national, shall be instituted.

An effective participation of workers of both sexes in the management of the industry, business, or public or private service to which they belong, shall insure an ever closer cooperation between the two principal factors of production.

47. Enforcement.

The conditions enumerated above shall apply to all workers.

On account of the difficulty in applying the regulation respecting the hours of work to agricultural labourers, to seamen and to domestic service, the study of the necessary modifications shall be immediately undertaken.

Individual contracts shall not exempt from the laws and regulations adopted to realize the principles of the present Charter.

States in which custom or legislation are more favourable to the interests of workers than the legislation recommended by the present charter shall on no pretext consider this charter as a warrant to curtail the advantages enjoyed by workers in those States.

Employers of foreign labour shall have posted up in each of the languages of the workers the working regulations and other important notices.

The enforcement of the above provisions shall be entrusted in every country to men and women inspectors of labour. These shall be selected among competent technical specialists, hygienists and economists and they shall be aided by workpeople and employees of both sexes.

48. International Organisation.

The International Labour Office provided for in the Constitution of the League of Nations shall be invested with the power of passing resolutions having legal force, internationally.

The mode of representation adopted shall consist, for each country, of at least two delegates for each of the parties concerned, in order that there may be a greater likelihood of women being chosen as delegates, and for one representative of the Government, acting as arbitrator.

It shall be compulsory to have women in the Governing Body and in the Executive

Committee.

The International Labour Office shall institute a Bureau to centralise all documents relating to Labour. This Bureau shall act in cooperation with Trade Unions and Labour Exchanges in all countries. Exchange of information, in particular information relating to the supply and demand of labour, shall be facilitated. Every State shall furnish statistics according to a uniform method.

The Commission of International Labour Legislation shall also create a Bureau of Research having as its aim the scientific organisation of Labour. The physiological study of the conditions of Labour shall be undertaken by that Bureau in a purely scientific human spirit, i.e. not with the aim of seeking the means of obtaining from the worker the maximum output, but of using his aptitudes rationally with the minimum of fatigue or strain for himself and the maximum of benefit for the community.

49. Economic Councils.

National Economic Councils, as well as an International Economic Council, all including a large number of representatives of labour, of both sexes, shall be instituted, with the aim of regulating the production and distribution of food and essential manufactured articles, and of substituting economic cooperation, both national and international, for the present system of antagonism and competition.

These organisations shall take all needful measures in order:

- a. To develop those economic organisations, national and international, which during the war provided for the needs of the population and of industry in allied and neutral countries.
 - b. To suppress all barriers which, by opposing the reestablishment of a world-market, raise the cost of living.
 - c. By the development of the cooperative system and by nationalisation, to prevent natural sources of wealth and natural forces, also the key industries and the great services of public utilities, from being worked for private profit. The latter shall be internationalised.
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WILPF was founded in The Hague, the Netherlands, in 1915, but it was at the Zurich Congress in 1919 that the movement acquired its enduring name, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

This tiny, but mighty booklet contains the powerful resolutions and proposals that came out of the Zurich Congress. These draw parallels to today and the work we still have ahead of us to create the foundations for permanent peace.

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